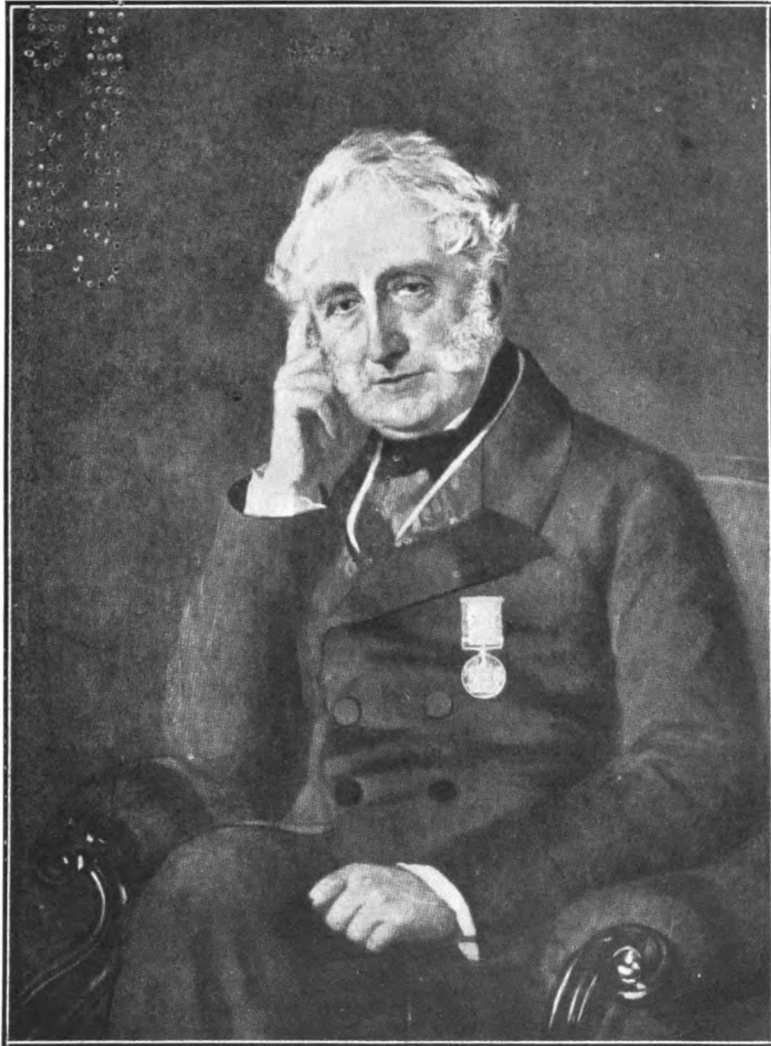


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2ND CAPTAIN
FREDERICK ROBERTSON, R.A.

From the original painting by Edwin Williams, in the library of Cheltenham College.

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No. 19.

REMINISCENCES OF A WOOLWICH CADET OF 1802.

BY THE LATE SECOND CAPTAIN FREDERICK ROBERTSON, R.A.

With Notes by LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

INTRODUCTION.

Second Captain Frederick Robertson, Royal Artillery, the writer of the following article, was commissioned as Second Lieutenant on 22 December, 1803. He retired on half-pay on 10 October, 1821, then being a Second Captain, and died at Bath on 13 July, 1873, at the age of eighty-five.

His son was the Rev. Frederick William Robertson, the well-known and eminent incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, from 1847 to 1853, in which year he died.

Shortly after Robertson received his commission he was sent abroad, and served for some years in the West Indies, both on land and at sea, and received the General Service (Naval) War Medal, sanctioned in 1847, with clasp—'Boat Service. April—May, 1813'—serving with a fleet of small vessels, under the command of Rear-Admiral George Cockburn, in Chesapeake Bay, North America.

NAVAL GENERAL SERVICE MEDALS. 1793—1840.

Issue sanctioned by Admiralty Order, dated 1 June, 1847.



Silver medal, 1.4 inch in diameter. Ribbon— $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide: white with blue edges.

M42056

' Boat Service ' is defined in an Admiralty Order of 7 June, 1848:—

" Her Majesty has also been pleased to take into Her gracious consideration the many instances of gallantry displayed by Officers, Seamen and Marines in boat actions . . . and to direct that such services, if distinguished by the promotion of the Officer conducting the enterprise, shall entitle those who were present and now living, to a medal But the Officers, Seamen and Marines of the ships, from which the boats were detached, are not to participate in a distinction which only properly belongs to those personally engaged."

54 different ' Boat Service ' clasps were issued, the date of the service being shewn on the right and the year on the left of the clasp.

55 medals with the ' April-May. 1813 ' clasp were issued.

Only six other officers of the Royal Artillery received this medal for ' sea ' service, during the long period which it covered—1793 to 1840. Their names are:—

| Rank. | Name. | Clasp. | Year. |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-------|
| 2nd Captain | Peter Faddy | San Sebastian | 1813 |
| 1st Lieutenant | John Thomas Fuller ¹ | Algiers | 1816 |
| Captain (Bt. Major) | Thomas Gordon Higgins | Syria | 1840 |
| " " | James Nesbit Colquhoun | " | " |
| 1st Lieutenant | Henry Sebastian Rowan | " | " |
| " | Hew Graham Ross | " | " |

In 1805 Robertson had the good fortune to serve, in command of a detachment of R.A., in Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*, then cruising in the West Indies, there being, as Robertson states, ' between two and three hundred Artillerymen on board ' ; but when Nelson sailed eastward on 13 June the troops were transferred to other ships and landed again. And this is how the Royal Regiment of Artillery just missed taking part in Nelson's famous battle.

In 1861 Robertson published *Reminiscences of " Ubique "*—four short articles, one of which is entitled ' Nelson's Search for the Toulon Squadron,' which gives a full account of the incident above mentioned.

The book is rare. I have a copy myself, but know of no other. The library of the British Museum does not possess one. J. H. L.

My name was one of those left on Lord Cornwallis's list of fifty selected candidates for the Royal Military Academy, handed over to his Lordship's successor as Master-General of the Ordnance,² when he was appointed Governor-General of India.

On August 17, 1802, being called up for examination at Woolwich—having attained the age of fourteen in the May previous, the prescribed age of admission being then from fourteen to sixteen—I presented myself, accompanied by my father (an old soldier, who had been wounded

¹ Commanding a detachment of the Rocket Troop with the Fleet.

² In 1801. He was succeeded as Master-General of the Ordnance by the Earl of Chatham.

in the battle of Jersey, the Academy having originally been founded solely for the sons of officers), at the office of Major Phipps, R.E.,¹ then the Inspector of Studies, one other candidate only coming up at the same time, a Canadian of the name of Le Maitre.

The Inspector having satisfied himself by placing us under the standard, that we came up to the regulation height of 4 ft. 9 in. without our shoes, he took us into the Under Academy, a somewhat recently erected white brick building, which now—together with an adjacent and more ancient edifice then appropriated to the cadets of the Upper and Medium Academies—forms part of the Laboratory, in the Royal Arsenal, then called the 'Woolwich Warren'; which name it retained until the year 1805, when, after a visit from George III., its designation was changed.²

Here we were examined by Mr. Evans,³ the Head Master of this Academy; no trifling ordeal for lads of fourteen who then, suddenly, for the first time, found themselves in the presence of, as it were, a military tribunal!

The prescribed subjects of examination in those days were simply the Rule of Three in vulgar fractions and the Latin accident; and this not competitive. This I readily passed, but Le Maitre failed, and never came up a second time. Whether this failure was from want of qualification or from nervousness and being confused from some *espiègle* catching his eye and holding up his slate on which was written 'SPUN' in large letters, I know not—for such was too often the practice when lads were under examination, distracting them by every imaginable means, when the Cadet corporal on duty to preserve order had his back turned as he perambulated from desk to desk. Gould, I recollect, was the name of the corporal at the time; he got into the Engineers before I joined the Academy.⁴ I was much taken with his gentlemanly bearing.

My success having been made known to my father, I was then directed to proceed to the Cadet Hospital for surgical examination (an

¹ George William Phipps, afterwards Lieut.-General. He held the appointment of Inspector of the Royal Military Academy from 1792 until 1828. He died at Woolwich in 1841.

The appointment of Inspector was instituted in 1772. It appears to have been a sort of Head Mastership, for the Inspector had to render to the Governor a monthly report upon the 'state of learning' of the cadets. See p. 21 of *Records of the Royal Military Academy, 1741-1850*, by Colonel W. D. Jones, published in 1851.

² "The Ordnance Board have signified to General [Vaughan] Lloyd, who commands the artillery at Woolwich, that the *Warren* at that place is no longer to bear that name; but from this time to be denominated the "*Royal Arsenal*." The old name had its origin from the place having actually been a *rabbit warren*; but the name of one of the tamest of all animals was certainly ill-suited to the nature of the place. On the recent royal visit to what is called the Warren, where all ordnance, stores, ammunition, &c., are lodged, his Majesty noticed how little appropriate the name was to the place, &c., and suggested the propriety of changing it to that of "*Arsenal*." The Master-General [of the Ordnance] admitted the justice of the idea, and instantly adopted it; henceforward, therefore, in compliment to his Majesty's suggestion, the Warren is to be called *The Royal Arsenal*."—*The Gentleman's Magazine* of 27 July, 1805.

³ The Rev. Lewis Evans, Mathematical Master.

⁴ Edward Gould. He was commissioned in the R.E. on 1 October, 1802, and died in London in 1807.

examination by the way, which ought to have preceded the scholastic one). Mr. Jameson,¹ was the Medical Officer on duty. He desired me to divest myself of every article of clothing, and I stood before him in my birthday suit. Having been found 'sound in wind and limb,' we returned to the Inspector, who desired me to join, on a certain day, a private academy at Deptford, kept by a Mr. Green—composed for the most part of boys of an inferior class—until a vacancy should occur in the Royal Military Academy, there being, then, two of these Out Academies, as they were called; the other on Shooter's Hill, under a Mr. Watson—for the reception of supernumerary cadets, until the new Cadet Barracks on Woolwich Common should be built.² Before these were completed, however, the supernumerary cadets were transferred to Marlow, the temporary location of the then recently-established Royal Military College for Line Cadets, pending the erection of the building at Sandhurst.

I was about nine months, inclusive of the vacation, at this Out Academy, taught nothing, learning almost nothing! Major Phipps then came to examine some of us in orthography—a subject not paid any attention to at the school—previous to our being admitted into the Royal Military Academy.³ Four or five of us were called up when the Inspector of Studies dictated from a pocket dictionary he had with him eight simple words for us to commit to writing. Mistakes were noted in the papers of one or two, but we all passed, and were ordered to join at Woolwich in a week or two—namely, in June, 1803—there being then, as far as I can recollect, no Midsummer vacation at the Academy that year.

JOINING THE CADET COMPANY.

The company⁴ consisted of one hundred Cadets, sixty being King's and forty East India Company's, Addiscombe⁵ not then being in existence. The company was officered from the Regiment of Artillery, Captain West⁶—Jimmy West, as he was called—an officer of the American revolutionary war, being in command, and Thompson,⁷ who had lost an arm in Egypt, with Durnford,⁸ as Lieutenants. There were twelve under-officers denominated Corporals, being the senior Cadets, wearing a gold epaulette on the left shoulder.

The Cadet Barracks at this time were in the arsenal, in rear of a set

¹ Probably Surgeon MacMillan Jamieson, R.A.—No. 14 in the List of R.A. Medical Officers.

² These were completed and first occupied by Cadets in August, 1806. The general lay-out of the building has not greatly changed during the intervening 120 years.

³ In 1772, the Inspector reported that a Cadet who had 'lately joined the Company . . . does not know the letters of the alphabet; thence it is impossible that he can make any progress.' See *Records of the R.M.A.*, op. cit.

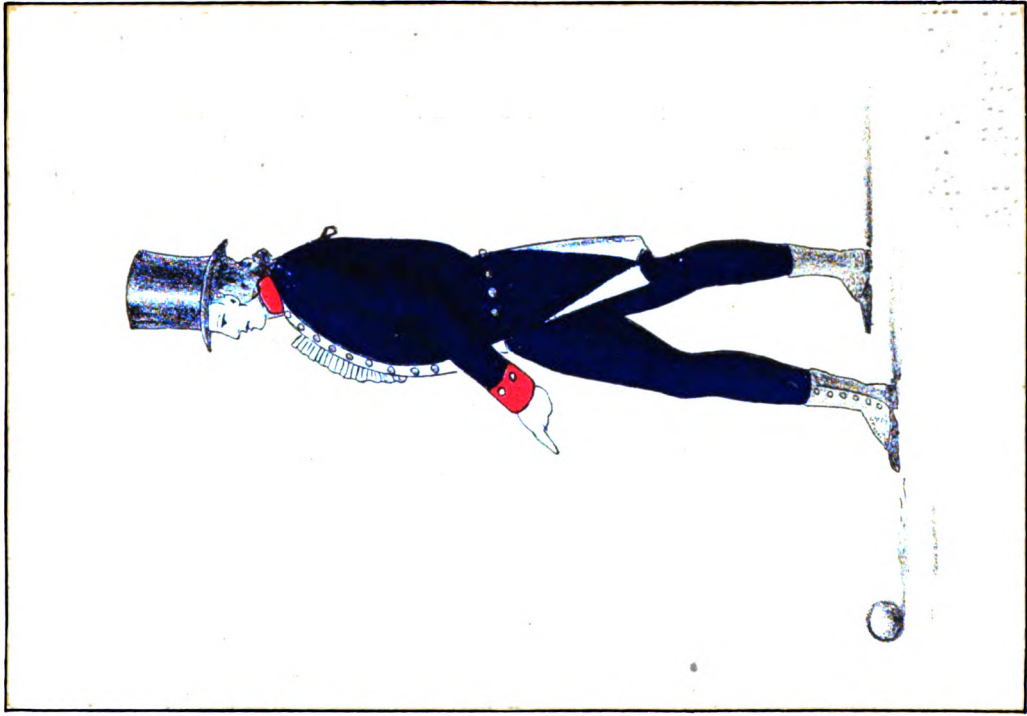
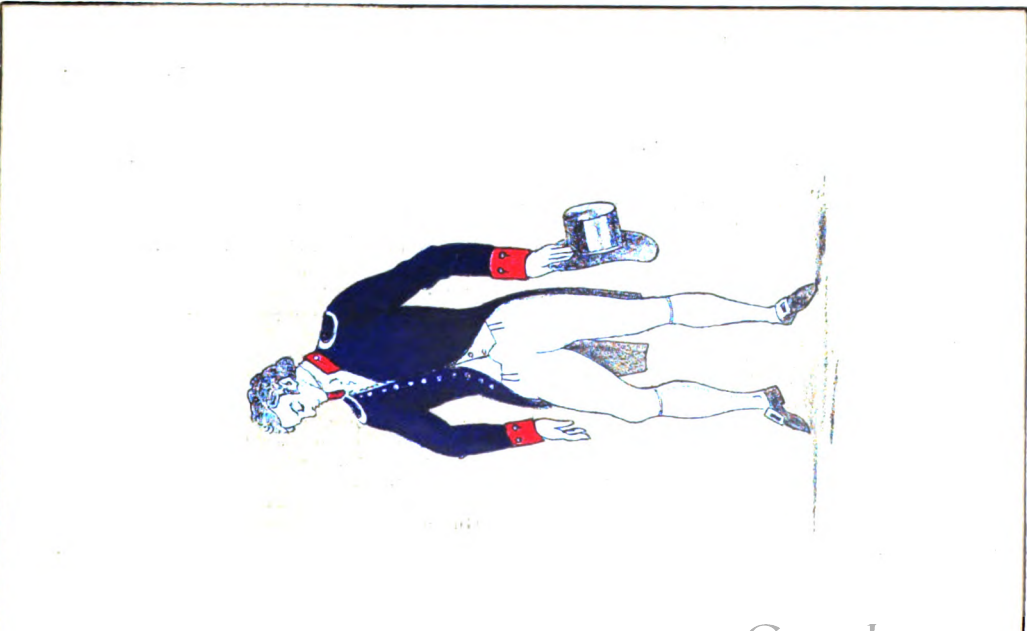
⁴ The 'Company of Gentlemen Cadets' was borne on the strength of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, of which it was an integral part. The Master-General of the Ordnance was always the titular 'Captain' of the Company.

⁵ The so-called 'Seminary' at Addiscombe for the education of the Artillery and Engineer cadets of the East India Company's service was started in January, 1810, and seven years later Infantry cadets also were admitted. Prior to that date—from 1798—some 'Indian' cadets were educated at the R.M. Academy, Woolwich.

⁶ Second Captain James West, R.A. He died at Woolwich on November 28, 1821.

⁷ George Thompson, R.A. He died in Guernsey on 26 May, 1814.

⁸ Philip Durnford, R.A. He died in Jamaica on 9 December, 1829, then being Lieut.-Colonel.



GENTLEMEN
CADETS
OF
THE
ROYAL
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ACADEMY,
WOOLWICH.

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of houses on the right of the open space going in, occupied as Field Officers' quarters—a range of buildings with a green in front, now [1865] inhabited by Arsenal officials. Twenty-four rooms were appropriated to the Cadets, with a dining-hall in the centre, each room holding four beds, with the exception of two, which each had two extra beds. The junior Cadet in each room was the 'Neuks'—a name the origin of which, I believe, is unknown¹—who was obliged, with the cognisance of the officers, to fag for the Head of his room, a species of servitude, under certain limitations, according to my experience, forming a good training for a profession whose very vitality consists in the maintenance of subordination.

We breakfasted in our rooms, after the beds were turned up, in a most beggarly style. The Cadet servant served out to each Cadet one round of dry bread and a pint of milk, for which each Cadet had to provide a basin. To this meal we sat down, irrespective of one another, at a deal table without a cloth!—the Neuks, when there were fires in the rooms, toasting his Head's bread as well as his own—if not, doing it in the hall. A nephew of the Duke of Wellington² was my Neuks, and a nice gentlemanly-minded fellow he was.

In about a week after joining I was equipped with regimentals—viz. a blue coat, cut away in front, like a court or livery dress, with scarlet cuffs and collar tipped with scarlet; a white kerseymere waistcoat, the greater part of which was visible from the rounding off of the coat; blue pantaloons, and spat-shoes, which buckled at the sides; a black velvet stock; showing about the eighth of an inch of an under white neck-cloth; a round hat with a cockade and white feather at the side completed the Cadet uniform. On Sundays we wore white kerseymere breeches, white stockings, with spats or gaiters half way up the legs. We wore no belt or sword. To the best of my recollection, we had no great-coats. It was, I think, not more than two years before this time that the Cadets got rid of that monstrosity, hair-powder and pigtails!³

In the back yard of each division of the barracks there was fixed a long wooden table under a shed, which was lit up every Saturday night. Here the Cadets then repaired to whiten their waistcoats and breeches, amidst a cloud of dust, the Neuks cleaning also those of the Head of his room; and it was not uncommon if the Head on clapping these in the morning between his hands found any whitening dust escape, to inflict a 'wet towelling' on the hapless Neuks when he was in his shirt in a state of nakedness.

We dined in the hall, told off in squads of seven; to each of us was served a seven-pound leg of mutton, or the like quantity of boiled beef on Wednesdays. One day in the week we had a rice pudding and a

¹ The 'snooker' of to-day. *Neuks* is not given in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, although *Snooker* appears as 'Woolwich slang—a newly-joined cadet.'

² William Pakenham, whose first cousin, Catherine Pakenham, married Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, in 1806. Pakenham entered the R.M. Academy on 12 April, 1803, about eight months after Robertson.

³ Hair-powder and queues were discontinued in January, 1801.

shoulder of mutton. Small beer was served out in moderation. In the hall, also, we supped on bread and cheese and small beer, no cloth being on the table.

We were not paraded by beat of drum, but as some doggerel lines at the time had it, were

‘ Slaves to an hour,
Vassals to a bell.’

Twice every day we were marched to the Academies, under the Lieutenant on duty. Marching by *fours* was not practised in those days, the whole company of the Cadets marching in files well ‘locked up!’ Whenever the step was lost—when, in drill serjeants’ language, ‘our legs were moving about like stockings hung out of a hosier’s shop on a windy day’—we got the word ‘Plant your time!’ Then, as our left feet came to the ground three consecutive times, we stamped loudly, so that the cadence of step, regulated by the ear, became uniform. I have the sound of this ‘planting time,’ as we passed down the Rookery, even now, as it were, resounding in my ears.

Such had been the call on the Cadet company to supply officers to the Ordnance Corps, in consequence of the renewal of war with France, that before the expiration of my first term I had got through the Lower and Medium Academies, and I had been but a fortnight in the Upper, with four or five under me, when a day or two before the Christmas vacation, I learnt to my surprise at the Inspector’s office that all the Cadets in the Upper Academy would get their commissions in the Artillery on the breaking up. And accordingly I, with the rest of the batch, was gazetted to a Second Lieutenancy on 23 December, 1803, being at the time only fifteen and a half years old. I had, while at the Academy, taken [*i.e.*, gained] ten places and lost three; one of these from my having been one week in hospital, through which a junior Cadet’s numbers in the monthly list and mine were equal; so, according to the then custom, he was placed above me. There was no discredit in losing the other two places, as one was taken by a Cadet since highly distinguished for mathematical science, who went with Parry to the North Pole;¹ the other by a Scotch lad, a Company’s² Cadet, who came up at sixteen years of age and shot through the Academy in six months.

My qualifications for the *scientific* Corps were that I had got as far in algebra as Quadratic Equations; had mastered a few theorems in Hutton’s Course; got through part of Landmann’s *Practical Geometry*; had had a few lessons in French, which was taught only in the Under Academy, but of which language, however, I had a fair knowledge before I passed for a Cadet; and I had drawn in pencil, while in the Medium, a nose and a mouth (surely not a style of drawing for a military *élève*) under Joe Barney.³ Fortunately for me, I could draw very well for

¹ General Sir Edward Sabine, R.A., President of the Royal Society. See ‘D.N.B.’

² *i.e.*, a cadet of the Hon. East India Company.

³ Mr. Joseph Barney, Second Drawing Master at the Academy, since 1793.

my age before I joined. I had never done a single plate in Artillery or Fortification, which sciences were taught only in the Upper; and I once only attended a lecture given by Professor Landmann¹ while standing up before the model of a fortress. As for *instruction* in any branch, there was none given. Jack Bonnycastle² was too much concerned in compiling a treatise on mathematics to pay any attention to us; and if a Cadet went up to Dr. Hutton³ asking for an explanation or direction how to proceed in his work, the Doctor used to say, pointing to his Course of Mathematics, which was the text-book in the Academy, 'There, boy, there's the rule; I can't make it plainer.'

The Doctor—and indeed all tutors—would have done well had he taken a hint from a story told of one Barrister on the Northern Circuit rallying another after dinner for dwelling so long in a case of prosecution, when addressing the jury. 'Why,' said the one, 'the case was as clear as a pike-staff! Why did you keep hammering away at it so?' 'Did you see,' said the one addressed, 'that fellow standing up in the jury-box in a red plush waistcoat? Well, I saw that my statement, which was evidently convincing enough to the rest of the jury, did not reach the comprehension of the red-waistcoated man. So, as I took him to be a thick-headed, headstrong fellow—who would never have given in to the rest of the jury, and consequently I should have lost my cause—I kept putting the case in various ways, until I saw my friend nod his head and sit down.' Now, in every class in a school there are some in a red waistcoat, as I may say—who may not comprehend a proposition in the dry logical way in which many a preceptor puts it—men of that lucid comprehension who, having had no difficulty themselves in acquiring learning, cannot comprehend the perplexities which beset many a tyro in his studies. Temper and patience are qualifications absolutely necessary to form a good tutor. A man may be a Wrangler, or have come out Senior in the First Classical Tripos, and nevertheless be a very indifferent 'preceptor.'

Let me add that during the time I was a Cadet—*i.e.*, one term only—military instruction was even more defective than the scholastic, for not once was I at gun drill, although two 3-pounders were on the green ready for the purpose; nor was the company ever exercised in small arms.

In justice, however, to myself, and indeed for the credit of my noble corps, I must say that in some measure I afterwards made up for deficiencies in the theory of fortification and other subjects. And by

¹ Isaac Landmann, Professor of Fortification and Artillery from 1777 to 1815. See 'D.N.B.'

² John Bonnycastle, who had been Mathematical Master at the Academy from 1773. See 'D.N.B.'

³ Dr. Charles Hutton, F.R.S., one of the most eminent mathematicians of his time, was appointed Professor of Mathematics in 1773. He retired in 1807, and died in 1823, aged 86. See 'D.N.B.'

much attention to mechanical manœuvres in the Repository,¹ which I carried into practice when in detached commands, and during five years I was adjutant in North Britain, and while on service, I became a tolerable practical gunner, and in this respect could 'hold my own' with my brother officers in general long before I quitted the service, which I did after sixteen years as a Second Captain.

JOINING THE REGIMENT.

I joined the headquarters of the Royal Artillery² in January, 1804, having had one month's leave after quitting the Academy, where I held a warrant signed by the Master-General. The demand for officers at this time—owing to an augmentation of the Corps, in consequence of a renewal of hostilities with France³—being greater than the Royal Military Academy could supply, several young men who had been studying privately with Professors of the Academy were admitted into the regiment.

In those days 'Long Coaches,' as they were called, drawn by three or four horses, ran from Charing Cross to Woolwich by the lower road. After a while they were discontinued, only to be revived in the public conveyance which now, under the appellation of 'omnibus,' in numbers traverse the streets of London.

At this date [1804] the regiment consisted of eight Battalions, with one Invalid Battalion, and, if my memory serves, of only eight Troops of Horse Artillery.⁴ The seventh Battalion was incorporated from the Irish Artillery at the Union in 1801; and the eighth had but recently been raised at the time of my joining the Corps.⁵ Two, if not three, Companies of foreign Artillery were attached to the regiment, serving exclusively in the West Indies, and composed of Artillery officers and men, French, German and Dutch, who had passed over from the French to the Duke of York's army in the Netherlands.⁶

The New Barracks,⁷ as they were then called, had but within a month or two been occupied. These were that portion of the whole range on the right of the archway, with the Horse Artillery square and all the buildings in rear of this wing—all corresponding with the old or left wing.

¹ Founded in the Warren in 1778 as *The Repository of Military Machines*. Later it became *The Royal Military Repository*, and was moved to new ground on Woolwich Common.

The Rotunda Museum of Artillery is now located in its grounds—the best museum of its kind in this country. It is open to the public. (See *Vincent's Records of the Woolwich District*. 2 vols. 1890.)

² At Woolwich. The headquarters of each battalion was stationed there.

³ War was declared by Great Britain on May 18, 1805.

⁴ 'H' Troop, R.H.A., was raised in 1804, making the total number of H.A. Troops eight. The designation 'Battery,' instead of 'Troop,' was introduced in 1859.

⁵ The 8th Battalion was raised by Royal Warrant dated 1 September, 1803. (Public Record Office. W.O. 55/381).

⁶ This 'corps of Foreign Artillery' appears for the first time in the official Army List of 1807, and is so continued until 1816. In 1817 the officers are all shown on the Half-pay List. The corps was commanded by Le Chevallier de Nacquard, and consisted of four companies—four captains, four second captains, eight lieutenants, four second lieutenants, and a surgeon.

⁷ The Royal Artillery Barracks of to-day.

The Repository—a name by no means indicating a place where instruction is given in the mechanical manœuvres of artillery—was then in a state of formation.

The Riding School—at which officers on joining the corps were not, as they ought to have been, compelled to attend—and the Library were at this period in existence.

THE OFFICERS' UNIFORM.

This was as follows: A double-breasted blue coat, like the present plain dress-coat, buttoned up close to the throat—where the shirt frill was exhibited—with buttons stamped with the Ordnance arms; stand-up scarlet collar, sloped in front so as to show a black velvet stock with an eighth of an inch of an under white neckcloth. The cuffs were scarlet, each having five buttons at the top, from which proceeded lines of mohair worked as button-holes nearly to the ends of the cuffs. The skirts were lined with white kerseymere turned up, and sewn down, and so cut away that they were not more than five inches wide at the end—swallow-tails, as they were called—ornamented with knots of embroidery on a bit of scarlet cloth, sewn on the tail. Captains and subalterns wore a single gold bullion epaulet on the right shoulder. Shortly after I joined, the bullion tassels of the subaltern's epaulet were changed for a coarse gold fringe, to distinguish them from captains. This shabby distinction, however, did not long continue. Some difference was nevertheless made in the epaulets, the subaltern's bullion being made thinner than that worn by captains.

Cocked hats were worn with a drooping white hackle feather. On parade the hat was worn square, but off parade it was worn 'fore and aft,' as naval officers wore them.

On full-dress parades, on guard, and on Sundays we wore white leather breeches, with stiff leather boots coming up to the knee in front, and cut out at the back so as to allow the joint to bend—such as are worn by the Life Guards—a preposterous costume for foot Artillerymen. At other times we wore tight blue pantaloons, with Hessian boots over them, coming up within about four inches of the knee in front, ornamented with a black silk tassel.

Our hair was pomatumed and powdered. A pigtail about two feet long, made of whalebone not thicker than a common clay tobacco-pipe, and bound round with black ribbon with a curl of hair at its end, was attached to the back of the head. (This monstrous freak of fashion, absolutely ridiculous for a lad of fifteen, as I then was, was discarded about two years after this, and long before in hot climates, if indeed it was ever tolerated between the tropics.)

Our swords—wretched weapons as they were—were slung in a white buff cross-belt, fastened by an oval breastplate, on which was engraved some regimental device.

Crimson knitted silk sashes, wound round the waist, were worn on parade and by officers when on duty. Sashes, as I heard from old Line officers, were originally intended to bear wounded officers off the field,

and with this object were made long enough to go three times or so round the waist; from which, after being tied in a knot, hung the ends of fringe about sixteen inches long. The netting opened out a considerable width, forming, I may say, a sort of hammock. I wore one of these dimensions which had been my father's. They afterwards became considerably reduced in size.

Gorgetts, as an insignia of duty, were not worn by the Artillery, but were in use by Line officers some time after I entered the Service. These gorgetts—now, I suppose, only to be seen in some old armoury—were gilt convex crescents, about nine inches from point to point, with the Royal arms engraved thereon. They were suspended from the collar of the coat, fastened on two buttons, ornamented by rosettes of ribbon.

In those days—and I may say till long after the battle of Waterloo—no officer was allowed to appear in plain clothes in any garrison at home or abroad.

The custom of appearing at mess in full evening dress—namely, in white kerseymere knee-breeches, with white silk stockings, and shoes with large silver or plated buckles on the instep—had nearly gone out of use in the Army except at balls and at King's levees; but I well remember the Denbigh Militia, then quartered at Woolwich under their colonel, Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, still thus appearing *en grande tenue* on their parades just before going to their mess in the former Artillery mess-room in the old barracks, afterwards converted into a chapel.¹

However, whatever martinetism there might be in dress, these were not days of luxury in the Army, either in the living or in the fitting up of our quarters. Officers, for the most part, had little or nothing but their pay. Scarce a barrack-room was seen with any furniture—no, not even a carpet—save a table and a couple of cherry-tree chairs, supplied by the Barrack Department, besides a camp bed and washing-stand belonging to the officers.

In those days, alas! we had no marching money, nor were we messed, as now, on board a transport at a moderate cost. We had to lay in our own sea stock—and a pretty mess we made of it!

THE DRESS OF THE MEN IN THE RANKS.

Men in the ranks at this time, as well as my memory serves, wore double-breasted blue coats with scarlet facings, white cloth breeches, and long black gaiters up to the knees; black leather stocks, with a quarter of an inch of white cambric on the upper part, fastened so as easily to be replaced when needed; a felt cap of a sugarloaf form, a foot high, with a peak, having some brass device in front, and a nine-inch white hackle feather. Broad white crossbelts were worn by all but serjeants, who carried pikes, with large white leather pouches, ornamented with a brass crown, mounted on a small bit of scarlet cloth. These pouches were a mere show, as they would not have held more than a dozen rounds of ammunition. In one of the belts in front appeared the brass head of a

¹ That part of the front barracks now [1926] occupied by the Royal Artillery Theatre.

hammer, also the brass heads or rings of two priming wires, for piercing the cartridge before entering the tube,¹ as was usual in those days, thereby ensuring its being rammed home²—somewhat of an absurdity, as men would not be called upon to serve guns with pouches and bayonets!

On the afternoon undress parades the men appeared in 'Laboratory frocks.' These were long single-breasted frock coats, reaching about six inches below the knees, made of fine white canvas;³ and loose trousers, of the same material, fringed at the bottom! A black leather forage-cap in the shape of half a moon, which shut up like a *chapeau bras*, completed the equipment; no accoutrements being worn at this time.

All the men in the ranks wore *queues*. These consisted of a tin case covered with a black ribbon, full an inch in diameter at top, a foot long and tapering towards a point, from which protruded a lock of hair, the natural hair being allowed to grow long enough to enable the *queue* to be fastened to it. The non-commissioned officers still had their heads greased, and powdered, or rather smeared with flour, although this filthiness was no longer in use by the gunners.

FIELD EXERCISES.

During the time I was at Woolwich, before I embarked for the West Indies, the garrison was never turned out to be drilled at battalion field evolutions, further than being formed in line on the barrack field; then in open column, and marching past in ordinary and quick time!

Field Artillery, even at this period, was in a very pristine state. Six-pounders were moved by drag-ropes; a truck (Hanoverian) was shipped at pleasure in the double bracket-trail, as gun carriages were then constructed, to facilitate the movement of the gun. The gun detachment consisted of fifteen men, including a non-commissioned officer, the first six being exclusively drag-rope men, ranged in a line of three on the right and left of the gun, the others, who served the gun, assisting when the piece was to be moved.

When Field Artillery was moved by horse-power (excepting with the 'Troops' of Horse Artillery) it was done by contract horses and drivers. Mr. Willan—who then had a large dairy farm on the present site of Regent's Park, extending to Primrose Hill, consisting of 999 cows—according to vulgar saying, he could never get the thousandth cow to live—had the contract, and, I believe, furnished the Foot Artillery guns in the war in the Netherlands,⁴ under the Duke of York, with drivers and horses.

¹ *i.e.*, before placing the metal or quill tube in the vent at the breech end of a gun.

² Evidently meaning that if the cartridge was not rammed 'home,' the fact would be noticed at once when the priming iron, or pricker, was introduced, as there would be no cartridge to pierce.

³ The modern 'jumper.'

⁴ 1793-5.

The first and only time I went out 'Brigading,' as it was called, during my novitiate, the Brigade consisted of six light six-pounders with limbers, but without ammunition waggons, drawn by three horses tandem-wise; the officers not mounted. The drivers were men in white smock-frocks with long waggoners' whips!

Formerly field guns did not act in Batteries. Each Battalion of Infantry, in camp at home and on active service in the field, had two guns attached. In order to concentrate the fire of Artillery, as rendering it more efficacious in action, the 'battalion guns' of a Brigade of Infantry—viz., three regiments—were massed or brigaded together. Hence the six guns acting together got the incongruous name of 'brigade.' The present denomination, 'field battery,' is a definite and proper term.

Here I take leave to say the new application of the term 'Brigade' to a battalion of Artillery is misapplied. A Brigade of Cavalry or a Brigade of Infantry we know to be, and has long been known to convey the idea of, two or three regiments acting together under one General Officer. How, then, can the term Brigade, with propriety, be applied to a single Battalion of Artillery?

If two or more Field Batteries were acting in consort, under the command of one Field Officer, they would be justly styled a Brigade. So the present application of the term to a Battalion of Artillery may lead to confusion.

Then, again, a Company of Foot Artillery, even without guns or horses, is now [1865] denominated a Battery. Surely the term ostensibly refers to cannon, and this at times without gunners? How, then, without confounding terms, can a mere Company of artillerymen be termed a Battery?

At the period I have been speaking of, Field Artillery was assuming a new and more efficient form. The contract system was being got rid of. The Corps of Gunners and Drivers¹ was in a state of formation, not officered by officers from the Regiment, but by extemporised officers, whose duty was that, as it were, of head grooms, having solely to look after the drivers and horses, the whole Corps being under Field Officers and a Colonel Commandant of Artillery. Car Brigades were now formed, each light six-pounder gun and waggon being drawn by four horses with mounted drivers. The ammunition waggons were then termed Cars, because the carriages, with front and rear ammunition boxes, rested but upon one pair of wheels—too severe a strain on the shaft horse even at a walk, much less at the quicker pace at which the Car Brigades were required to move. This defective construction was soon remedied by the substitution of the present limber waggon.

THE WOOLWICH MESS.

The Mess subscription on joining was three guineas, without any monthly contribution; the daily payment for messing, two shillings,

¹ The Corps of Royal Artillery Drivers was raised in 1794.

unless absent for more than two days, due notice of which had to be given. We sat down about seventy to dinner, at two tables. The viands for the most part were served *au naturel*, the culinary department evidently not being under a *cordon bleu*.¹ The wine drunk at dinner was charged equally between those who partook of it, as noted by the mess butler, whose name was Kid. After dinner the first allowance or portion of wine, one-third of a bottle, was called the 'First Cannon.' The next, a like quantity, the 'Second Cannon.'² Those who sat after the last of these was consumed had what was drunk charged among them. A silver label was placed on the last decanter of each 'cannon,' that those who partook and were not desirous of exceeding might know when the quantity was nearly at an end, and so quit the table.

The only mess plate we then had, besides spoons, was four silver bread baskets, one on each sideboard, at which a tall mess-waiter, in white livery with silver lace and blue cuffs and collar, was stationed—presented by Lord Eardley.³ I had not, however, joined a month or so, when we were called upon for an extra subscription of half a guinea to buy silver forks!

In November, 1804,

'I crossed th' Atlantic with my comrades brave,
Where sickness swept whole regiments to the grave.'

This may be said almost literally; for in less than six weeks, in the autumn of the first year I was in Barbados, there died in that garrison *twenty-four officers*, one of whom was Sir William Myers, the Commander of the Forces.⁴ I was nearly making the quarter of a hundred. About four hundred men died in the same short period.

Out of twelve of us Artillery officers who then embarked in the *Aguiar* transport for the Windward and Leeward Islands and Jamaica commands, five died in the first six months, and one came home sick.⁵ He was killed at Albuera. And what is further noticeable, four of the twelve at this date⁶—a period of full sixty years—are now in existence.

¹ The sky-blue ribbon worn by Knights Grand Cross of the French Order of the Holy Ghost, the highest Order of Chivalry under the Bourbon kings, and hence extended to other first-class distinctions. In this instance the expression is used jocularly, meaning a first-class cook.

² From the French, *canon de vin*—a glass of wine.

³ They are actually six in number, and were presented to the R.A. Mess in 1800, where they are still in daily use. See *Proceedings R.A. Institution, Woolwich*, vol. xxxii. pages 146 and 233.

⁴ Lieut.-General Sir William Myers, Bart., Colonel of the 2nd West India Regiment. He died on 29 July, 1805.

⁵ It is difficult to say who these five officers were, or who the one was who came home 'sick'; but Robertson was mistaken in saying that he was killed at Albuera—May, 1811. Only two units of R.A. were engaged in that battle—viz., the then 'D' Troop R.H.A. ('V' Field Battery, R.A., in 1926) and Captain James Hawker's Company of the 4th Battalion R.A. (No. 72 Company, R.G.A., in 1910), and no officer was killed. Possibly the reference may be to Lieut. P. J. Woolcombe (No. 1127 in the List of Officers, R.A.), who was serving in the West Indies in 1805 in the 7th Battalion, R.A. He went out to Spain in 1810, was wounded at the battle of Barrosa on 5 March, 1811, and died the following day.

⁶ 1865—the year in which this article was written.

CONCLUSION.

A Cadet of 1802 now brings his Reminiscences to a close. Although I am now in the seventy-eighth year of my age, Memory, I believe, has faithfully served me in what I have penned; for I am blessed with excellent health, and with faculties, I believe, unimpaired!

In looking over the 'Army List' I see, as still in the Corps, the names of only five of my contemporaries in the same batch with whom I got away from the Academy—viz., the whole of the Upper—all these being Colonels-Commandant, one of whom was my junior in the Service. I see none on the Retired List; so I conceive nearly all the rest have either fallen in action or passed away in the ordinary course of nature.

About six years ago I went down to Woolwich. Vast I found to be the improvements and changes in the whole system since I quitted the Service, especially in the manufacture of ordnance. I then felt as I apprehend an Artilleryman in the days of the battering-ram, the catapults, and the ballista¹ would feel who should now get out of his grave and go over the 'Warren' and see Horse Artillery and Field Batteries moving on the Common with lightning speed, and keeping up an incessant thunder!

And now, finally, I say: May my noble Corps, to which I was, and am still, much attached, although retired from it forty-three years, ever stand pre-eminently renowned! And oh! that each individual member, 'at the Great and General Review of us all at the Last Day,' when 'the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised,' might be found enrolled in that 'Army which no man can number,' under the CAPTAIN OF OUR SALVATION! This is my earnest heart's desire.

[NOTE.—This article originally appeared in *The Naval and Military Gazette* of 19 and 26 August, 1865.—J. H. L.]

A RECRUITING SCHEME OF 1777.

By J. M. BULLOCH.

The latest catalogue of MSS. at the British Museum discovers for us among the Liverpool papers a scheme proposed in 1777 by the Hon. Lockhart Gordon (1731—1788), then in the 35th Regiment, for getting infantry recruits in England. His "Plan for Recruiting the Army and Establishing a Militia" is contained in a quarto pamphlet (pp. 8. 1777) and preserved (though printed) in the Additional MSS. (38209 ff. 76). There is no copy in the British Museum Library itself. The

¹ An ancient military engine, resembling a bow, stretched with cords and thongs, used to hurl stones, &c.

pamphlet is anonymous, but a covering letter to Lord Liverpool from Samuel Martin, Secretary to the Treasury, assigns the authorship to Lt.-Col. Lockhart Gordon (1732—88), third son of the 3rd Earl of Aboyne.

Gordon's plan, which was to apply "to the meridian of England alone" and then only to infantry, took its stand on the principle "that the nation has a right to call on those for its defence who have been nursed up under the humanity of its laws and fed and clothed by the bounty of its inhabitants." Upon this principle he maintained that "Parliament has a right to call on those to serve in his Majesty's army who have, in their infancy, been relieved or supported by their parish."

He pointed out that there were 9,284 parishes in England and Wales, and it was not unreasonable to suppose that there were three men in each parish from 16 to 30, unmarried, capable of bearing arms, who owed their existence to the parochial provision for the poor. That would supply 27,000 men from the body of "hardy and undebauched peasantry." Recruits were to be annually drawn by ballot in such manner as Parliament should direct. He proposed a bounty of £3 for each recruit. Gordon worked out his main calculations thus. The last augmentation had been:—

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|------|
| | 9,370 men in 1762. | |
| | 2,000 Highlanders in 1775. | |
| | 17,877 Germans in 1775. | |
| The charge of 9,370 men in 1762 under Parliament | £163,711 | 12 6 |
| The charge by Gordon's plan | 127,666 | 5 0 |
| Saving | 36,045 | 7 6 |
| Allowance voted by Parliament in 1775 for 2,000 | | |
| Highlanders | £47,000 | 12 0 |
| Estimate under Gordon's plan | 33,250 | 0 0 |
| Saving | 13,750 | 12 0 |
| Levy Money for two months' advanced pay to | | |
| 17,877 Germans... | £151,954 | 10 0 |
| Levy to 17,877 Englishmen on Gordon's plan | 53,631 | 0 0 |
| Saving | 98,323 | 10 0 |

The total difference between raising 19,877 men under the existing Government conditions and Gordon's plan worked out at £112,073 10s. 0d. He argued that the yearly supply of recruits from 9,248 parishes would cause an annual discharge from the army (completed out of the 27,000

men it was supposed to contain) of soldiers still in the vigour of life and perfectly disciplined. "With these men discharged according to seniority of age and service it is proposed annually to compleat a Militia of 2,000 drafted from the present Militia and composed of its best trained men, allowing cloathing at the rate of 30/-; 40/- per annum in ready money, and 1s. per day to each private for twenty-one days while assembled for the purposes of mustered, paid, cloathed and exercised. By the establishment the Army will be a nursery for the Militia, and the Militia a comfortable retreat from the Army: whereas at present by the prohibition to enlist substitutes, the Militia is a drawback to the Army, and for the want of a regulation such as the one proposed, the expense of the superannuated Chelsea Pensions is a vast burden to Government.

"By this Plan also, the whole expense of a monstrous half-pay list would for the future be prevented: as upon every augmentation of the Army an addition of one subaltern per company would suffice, even if the Army was to be augmented to double its last peace establishment of 31,000 men in Great Britain."

He thought his Plan would abolish desertion, "which is become a trade among the idle and dissolute." Having fully gone into the question of the Militia, he concluded:—

"These outlines of a plan calculated for the benefit of the Army, Militia and the Nation, hastily arranged, are left to stand or fall on their own merit, without aid of either interest or declamation to support them; and the Public is at liberty to guess the author's motives for laying them before a Tribunal so deeply interested at a time when 'the morning low'rs and heavily in clouds brings on the day.'"

On February 1, 1779, Gordon wrote from the War Office to Charles Jenkinson, the future Lord Liverpool (Add. MSS. 38736 f. 203):—

"I have had the honour of your letter of the 27th ult. I am obliged to you for your politeness in sending me a copy of the observation on the Recruiting Bill which you had transmitted to Lord Amherst. I am sorry to differ from you in your opinion upon the Plan to which you allude. But I have not done it without having first given it all the consideration I was able, and if I am ever called upon to the House of Commons to assign my reasons I shall be ready to do so."

A letter which his wife, who was the only sister of the 2nd Earl of Portsmouth, wrote to Jenkinson, on August 20, 1779, may have been written to get permission for Gordon to raise a Highland regiment. At any rate, Jenkinson replied to her on August 24 (Add. MSS. 38307. f. 22 b):—

"I do not know that there is at present any intention of raising any new corps in Scotland, and I believe that some proposals that have been made of this sort have been refused."

Gordon, who retired from the Army on July 13, 1779, and became Judge-Advocate-General of Bengal in 1787, was the father of Lockhart and Loudon Harcourt Gordon,¹ who ran off with Mrs. Lee, De Quincey's "female infidel," in 1804.

¹ See *The Earls of Aboyne*—pp. 49-72—by J. M. Bulloch, published in 1908. Loudon Harcourt Gordon was an Officer in the R.A., from 1795 to 1803.

THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE OF REGIMENTS.

BY A. S. WHITE.

The following sketch of the various Orders relating to the Precedence of Regiments of the Army has been compiled, not only with the object of explaining the principles on which the Numerical Designations of Regiments were fixed, but also for showing that the relative order was not always the same. It also explains the reasons why certain regiments which were disbanded in 1712-13 had their rank restored to them on re-raising. Throughout the article regiments have been referred to by their subsequent Numerical Designation in order to shew more clearly the changes in relative order; and regiments which were shortly afterwards disbanded have been omitted for the same reason.

The first Order of Precedence is that laid down in the Warrant of Charles II, dated 12 Sept., 1666.¹

“ For the preventing of all Questions and Disputes that might arise for or concerning the Ranks of the several Regiments, Troops and Companies which now are or at any Time hereafter shall be employed in our Service We have thought good to issue out these following Rules and Directions.

First, as to the Foot, that the Regimt. of Guards (*i.e.*, Grenadier Guards) take place of all other Regiments the General's Regiment (*i.e.*, Coldstream Guards) to take Place next, the Admiral's² immediately after and all other Regiments and Colonels to take place according to the Date of their Commissions.

2^d. As to the Horse, that the three Troops of Guards (*i.e.*, Life Guards) take place before all others That the King's Regiment of Horse (*i.e.*, Horse Guards) take place immediately after the Guards”

(The remainder of the Warrant deals only with the precedence of Officers.)

The next Order of Precedence is given in the Warrant of Charles II dated 6 Feb., 1684.³

“ concerning the Ranks of the several Regiments of Foot,” wherein it is stated “ That Our Own Regiment of Guards (*i.e.*, Grenadier Guards) take place of all other Regiments of Foot That our Coldstream Regiment of Guards take place next, After which Our Scotch Regiment (*i.e.*, 1st Foot) and Tanger Regiment (*i.e.*, 2nd Foot) Our Brother James Duke of Yorke's Regiment² are to have Precedency as they are here ranked.” This Order of Precedence is followed by a general ruling:—“ That all other Regiments of Foot take place according to their respective Seniorities from the time they were raised, so as that no Regiment is to loose its Precedency by the Death of their Colonell.”

¹ Public Record Office—W.O. 89/1. ² Aft. Prince George of Denmark's Regt., disbanded 1689. ³ Public Record Office—W.O. 26/6.

On 3 Aug., 1685, James II issued a new Warrant⁵ which repeated the above general ruling and fixed the following Order of Precedence:— Grenadier Guards, Coldstream Guards; 1st, 2nd, Prince George of Denmark's,² 3rd, 4th, 7th to 15th Regiments of Foot. (It will be observed that the 5th and 6th are omitted from this list. These were dealt with in the 1694 Warrant, *q.v.*). A note appended to this Warrant reads as follows:—" This Order was cancelled and the matter of it contained in the Declaration " (*i.e.*, 1694 Warrant).

The next Warrant, dated 20 April, 1686,³ was only for " preventing disputes between Our Regimented and any of Our Non Regimented Companies of Foot," and has consequently been omitted.

On 18 July, 1689, William III issued a Warrant⁵ for " preventing of all Questions and disputes . . . concerning the Ranks of the Severall Regiments of Foot lately raised for Our Service." This contained no general ruling but fixed the precedence of the 16 newly-raised regiments, only 3 of which survive, and these, the 22nd, 23rd and 24th Foot are given in their present order of seniority.

It will be noted that the foregoing warrants do not include the regiments which were raised on the Scots and Irish Establishments, but these were dealt with in the next Warrant, issued by William III on 10 June, 1694. This is an important one, as it lays down the general principles which, although temporarily altered in Queen Anne's reign, were finally adopted for fixing the Order of Precedence of all regiments. The Warrant reads as follows:—

" Order for Setling the Rank of the Foot.⁴

William R.

A Report having been made unto Us by a Council of Warr of the Generall Officers of Our Army touching the Rank of Several Regiments of Foot now in the Low Countrys, and for the Setling for the future the Precedency of such Regiments as may hereafter be raised or taken into Our Service, Wee have thought fit hereby to Declare our Royall Will and Pleasure.

1st. That an English Regiment⁵ shall take place of all other Regiments, being otherwise in the same circumstances.

2^{ly}. That an Irish Regt. shall have rank from the Day it comes upon the English Establishment, and not loose it afterwards by their return into Ireland, or being putt upon the Establishment of that Kingdom.

3^{ly}. That a Scots Regiment coming upon the English Establishment shall take rank with other Regiments from that time.

4^{ly}. That any Regiment of what Nation soever being raised in England, Shall have Rank from the time of its raising.

5^{ly}. That the Three English Regts. that have lately Served in Holland (*i.e.*, 5th, 6th and Cutts's⁶ Foot) take their Rank immediately

² See footnote 2, p. 17.

³ P.R.O.—W.O. 26/6.

⁴ P.R.O.—W.O. 26/7.

⁵ On 19 June, 1708, the Board of General Officers passed the following resolution:—" That no regiment raised in England is to be deemed an English Regiment unless placed, at the time of raising, on the Establishment of England " (Public Record Office. W.O. 71/1). This was reaffirmed by the Board in 1715. (W.O. 71/3).

⁶ Cutts's (aft. Seymour's), disbanded 1699.

after the Queen's Regiment of Foot (*i.e.*, 4th Foot), in respect of the Capitulation that was made for them by the Earl of Ossory in the Year 1668, with the allowance & Direction of . . . Charles the Second, which is likewise to have effect as to the Rank, with the Scots Regiments (*i.e.*, of the Scots Brigade in Holland) among themselves: Upon which Considerations Wee Do hereby Declare Our Will and Pleasure is, that the Rank and Precedency of the Several Regiments Serving Us in the Low Countries be as follows, vizt. (*Here are given the names of 31 regiments of which the following survived:—1st to 5th, 7th, 10th, 12th, 14th to 19th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 26th and 27th Foot*).

Which Rules and Rank of the Severall Regiments above-mentioned Wee Do hereby Direct to be hereafter observed, and all Persons whom it may concern are to govern themselves accordingly.

Given at our Camp at Roosbeck this 10 day of June, 1694. In the Sixth Year of Our Reign.

By His Majestys Command.
W.B."

In 1708 the Board of General Officers appointed for the purpose of examining "the Seniority of the Dragoon and Foot Regiments Ordered to Encamp in the Isle of Wight" met and, on 23 June, 1708, reported⁷ "the Rank and Precedency of the said Regiments with Respect to each Other to be as followeth":—3rd and 4th Dragoons; 12th, 19th and 34th Foot, followed by several foot regiments subsequently disbanded. On 20 Jan., 1711,⁷ the Board of General Officers decided that the 6th Dragoons should have precedence of the 7th, because the 6th "as well from its Ancientness from ye first Raising of it, as from It's being brought soonest on the English Establishment, to have a Right to take Post of the [7th]."

Up to this time the relative order of such of the regular regiments as have been enumerated in the various Warrants is the same as at the present time, but in 1712 Queen Anne issued certain orders which being at variance with King William's ruling completely changed the seniority of certain regiments. These "New Orders in Relation to the Rank of ye Regts."⁸ addressed to the Secretary of the Board of General Officers by the Secretary at War, were as follows:—

Whitehall, 28 July, 1712.

"Her Majesty having been moved upon the Affair relating to the Ranks of Sevl. Regimts. now Settling by the Board of General Officers, I am to Signify to You Her Pleasure That Regard is to be had to the Dates of Raising the said Regimts. and not to the time of Their coming upon the English Establishment. Which You are Desired to Communicate to the Board."

Whitehall, 5 Augt., 1712.

"I am Comanded by Her Majty. to Acquaint You that it is Her Pleasure that you Sumon a Board of Genl. Officers forthwith to Meet to

⁷ Public Record Office—W.O. 71/1.

⁸ Public Record Office—W.O. 71/2.

Settle & Determine the Ranks of the Sevl. Regimts. according to Her Majts. Orders lately Signified in that Behalf, and it is also at the same time to be Declared that the Sevl. Regimts. are to take Post of One Another according to the Rule now Establishd by Her Majesty, Notwithstanding that some Regimts. have, by the Order of the late King for Settling the Ranks of the Regimts. taken Post of Others, to whom They must now yield the Post."

However, at a meeting on 23 Sept., 1712,¹ the Board finding that "Inconveniences did Arise" out of Queen Anne's new ruling (by which Scots and Irish Regiments should take rank from the date of raising) "It was agreed the Same should be Represented by Letter" to the Secretary at War as follows:—¹

Horse Guards, 23 Sept., 1712.

" Sir,

The Board of Genl. Officers having before Them Her Majt's. Orders signified by you in two Letters the one dated ye 28 of July, and the Other ye 5 of August last, They foresee great Difficultys in relation to Her Majt's. Horse and Foot Guards with those of Scotland; for that by Her Majt's. said Orders, the Scots Regimt. of Foot Guards and the Coldstream Regimt. will take place of Her Majt's first Regimt. of Guards; The Scots Troop of Guards be the first Troop, and the Earl of Stair's Scots Regimt. of Dragoons (*i.e.*, 2nd Dr.) have Precedency of Her Majt's. Own Royl. Regimt. (*i.e.*, 1st Dr.) and the Other Two English Regimts. of Dragoons (*i.e.*, 3rd and 4th Dr.). And the Genl. Officers being also in Doubt whether Her Majty. is pleased the present Directions should Extend to all Her Guards and other Troops, They desire you will Move Her Majty. therein, and to lett Them know Her further Pleasure.

I am, etc., I.T."

The Queen thereupon amended her ruling as is shewn in the following letter:—¹

Windsor, 30 Sept., 1712.

" Sir,—In answer to your Letter of ye 23rd Inst. upon the Board of General Officers desiring to Receive Her Majt's. further Directions upon some Difficultys that Arose upon the Rule lately laid down for settling the Ranks of the Regts., I am to acquaint you that Her Majty. has been moved thereon and has Comanded Me to Acquaint the Board that it is Her Pleasure that the said Rule do not extend to alter the present Rank of any of Her Guards, nor of any other Regimt. that was Raised before the last Warr.

I am, etc., WYNDHAM."

In consequence of the Queen's alteration in the general ruling the Board proceeded to examine the claims and drew up several lists¹ in which the order of seniority of regiments varied considerably, but as these do not appear to have been approved by Queen Anne² they have been omitted.

¹ P.R.O.—W.O. 71/2.

² Indeed, in November, 1712, when the Secretary to the Board "attended the Queen with representations of the Board upon the Petition of the Sevl. Regts. raised since the last war, Her Majty. would not suffer the same to be Read; Resented the Proceedings, and Declared, She expected Her Orders should be obeyed." (Public Record Office. W.O. 71/2.)

However, in April, 1713, a list was finally approved by the Queen and a Warrant¹ was issued, dated 23 April, 1713, which laid down the following Order of Precedence:—

Life Guards; Horse Guards; Dragoon Guards, 1st to 7th; Dragoons, 1st to 8th; Foot Guards, 1st, 2nd, 3rd; Foot, 1st to 18th, 21st, 25th, 20th, 19th, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 27th, 26th, 35th, 36th, 28th, 39th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 37th, 33rd, 34th and 38th.

A supplementary Warrant was issued on 10 June, 1713,¹ amending the above order by placing the 26th Foot before the 27th.

On the accession of George I the Board of General Officers again raised the question of the general ruling, and recommended² by a large majority that all regiments should rank from the time of their coming upon the English Establishment and not from the date of raising. In reply to this they received the following letter.

“ Rank of the Regiments to be adjusted according to
King William's Rules.²

Whitehall, 11 Jan., 1715.

Sir.—The Regulation relating to the settlement of the Rank of Regimts. by King William at Roosbeck Camp ye 10 day of June, 1694, having been laid before His Majty. as also Her late Majt's. Orders for settling the Ranks of Regimts. Dated 23rd April, 1713, And His Majty. having likewise considered the Opinion of the present Board of General Officers, is pleased to Order and Direct (Disapproving of all Retrospects) that the Rules settled by King William, which have Governed during the Two late Wars shall remain and be Established as a Regulation for the settling the Rank and Seniority of the sevl. Regimts. which now do or lately did serve in the army: I am therefore Commanded to signify to you this His Majt's. Pleasure, that you acquaint the Board of Genl. Officers therewith at their next Meeting, that They may Govern Themselves accordingly, And also that they would hear and give their Opinions upon such Petitions as shall be referred or Presented to Them on this subject, and when They have settled the Rank and Seniority of the sevl. Regimts. as They will stand by this Rule, you do Transmit to my Office a List thereof for my laying the same before His Majty.

(Sd.) WILLIAM PULTENEY.”

In accordance with these directions the Board submitted to the King on 19 Feb., 1715, the following list:—²

Horse Guards; Dragoon Guards, 1st to 7th; Dragoons, 1st to 8th; Foot Guards, 1st, 2nd, 3rd; Foot, 1st to 39th.

A further list² prepared by the Board dated 24 May, 1718, agreed with the above order, but brought it up to date by the addition of the 9th to 14th Dragoons and the 40th Foot, in their present relative order. No subsequent alterations in relative rank taking place it was on this Order of Precedence that the Numerical Designations of regiments were finally fixed a few years later.

¹ Public Record Office—W.O. 26/14.

² Public Record Office—W.O. 71/3.

A summary of the various rules governing the precedence of regiments which had been issued from time to time is given in a Report of the Board issued on 18 June, 1718 [P.R.O.—W.O. 71/3.], and is here reproduced:—

“ May it Please Your Majesty.

The Genl. Officers of the Army in Obedience to Your Majesty's Commands have Reconsidered their report in relation to the ranks of the Regts. and the Petition of Coln. Egerton and Coln. Otway (*claiming that their regts., 35th and 36th Foot, should have precedence over certain regts.*) and do thereupon most humbly Represent to Your Majesty that it appears from the best Information they can gett, That all Regmts. raised in England did (according to ye precedency of this Kingdom with respect to Scotland and Ireland) take Rank of all Scots and Irish Regimts. tho' of longer standing; Until (upon a report of a Council of War held att Roesbeck Camp in June, 1694, for settling the Ranks of the Regimts. then in Flanders and of such as should be afterwards Raised or brought upon the English Establishmt.) his late Majty. King Wm. was pleased (in favour of some Scots and Irish Regts. then actually serving with his Majty.) to Declare That the Regimts. of either of these two Kingdoms should take post as English Regimts. from the day they came upon the Establishmt. and not loose their rank as such afterwards, by being returned back to their respective former Establishmts.

Which Regulation was confirmed by her late Majtie. Queen Anne, and alwise continued in force untill ye 28th of July, 1712, when (a Reduction being then near at hand) Her Majtie. thought fit to order that the Regimts. raised in Scotland and Ireland should take post from the time of their Raising, Whereby several Regimts. which had for many years before enjoyed their Rank and precedence according to the aforesaid Order of King Wm. were broke while Junr. Regimts. were continued on Foot among which were the Regimts. now comanded by the Petitionrs. Colln. Egerton and Coln. Otway.

Your Matie. att Your happy Accession to the Throne, upon the humble Representation of several Colonels thought fit to Order a Board of General Officers to re-examine the former Proceedings in relating to the ranks of the regiments, who thereupon most humbly Reported it to Your Matie, as their opinion that they ought to take post from the time of their coming upon the Establishmt. of England and not from the time they were raised: And your Matie. was thereupon pleased to Order and direct; That the Rules settled by King Wm. which had Governrd dureing the continuance of Two Wars should remain a standing Regulation; thereby revoking the said Order of the Late Queen which Order was the only Instance wherein this Rule had been sett aside.

These considerations induced the General Officers to Rank the severall Regimts. in the order in which they were lately laid before Your Matie. And they do again in most humble manner offer the said Regulation to Your Matie. as in their opinion most fitt to be a Standing Rule whereby to determine the Rank of all Regimts. now on foot and to be raised.

And with respect to the petitions of the said Colonels the General Officers do find that their Regimts. were raised in the Year 1701 and the other Regiments mentioned in their petition not till ye Year 1702 (as they have sett forth) but the Latter being raised upon the Establishmt. of England and theirs upon yt. of Ireland they took rank accordingly.

And if the Order of King Wm. had not been broke through as aforesaid, The Regimts. of the petitionrs. had in course of Seigniority been disbanded in stead of the others which your Matie. has since thought fitt to re-establish in their former Ranks.

As touching the great hardships complained of by the petitionrs. The General Officers do most humbly represent to Your Matie. that the said Regulation of King Wm. was in force at the time the respective Regts. now under their Comand were raised and that when Your Matie. was pleased to allow them to purchase yr. Regimts. they had the same Ranks by Your Maties. own Orders which they now have.

And whereas they alledge there has been no precedent for the restoreing of Corps which have been broke to the Ranks they before enjoyed; the Genl. Officers (haveing had recourse to the practices of former times) do find that at ye Revolution King William restored several Regimts. to their former Ranks tho they had been broke by King James, And that the precedence of Rank has for special Reason been given by King Charles the Second, King James and King William to the several Regimts. of Queen Dowager, Now Coll. Kirk's Earl of Dunbarton's now Earl of Orkney's and the Dutch Guards.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Matie."

NUMBERING OF REGIMENTS.

BY W. Y. BALDRY.

The question as to when regiments first received a Numerical Designation (Vol. II. 4) has, in several Replies in the Journal [Vol. II. 60, 158; III. 63] been wrongly confused with the Order of Precedence of Regiments. Although there is no doubt that the Numerical Designation of regiments was based on this Order of Precedence as finally adjusted, it is still uncertain at what date the numerical titles were first officially assigned to regiments.

The 1740 Army List [Vol. III. 89] designates the regiments by the Colonels' names and not by numbers. The list of regiments in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740 is headed "The Names and Rank of the Several Corps in H.M.'s Army, 1740," with a note "The number before each Name distinguishes the Rank," which appears to me only to refer to their Order of Precedence. The various Millan's Lists (1742 to 1749) which I have seen certainly give numbers against the regiments, but this may easily stand for either a Numerical Designation or only for their Order of Precedence—the latter in my opinion, as the "Broke "

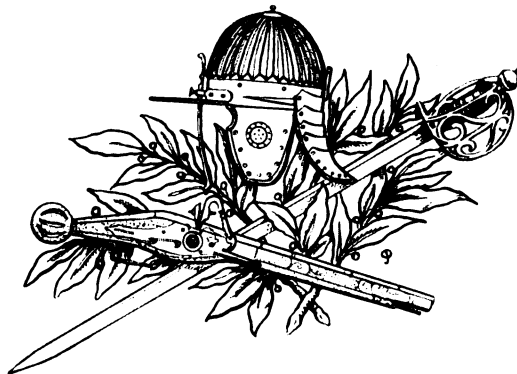
Regiments at the end of these volumes begin the numbering afresh, "1, 2, 3," etc., obviously referring to their Order of Precedence *inter se* as Disbanded Regiments.

In the illustrated volume entitled "Representation of the Cloathing of . . . the Forces" in the War Office Library (which judging from internal evidence was completed early in 1742) the regiments are *numbered*, e.g., "12th Regiment of Foot," etc. I am led to think that these are definite Numerical Titles, because in this book the "40th Regiment of Foot" (i.e., Phillips's) is followed by "Regiment of Invalids" (afterwards 41st Foot), succeeded by "41st Regiment of Foot" (i.e., Oglethorpe's, disbanded 1749) and by "42nd Regiment of Foot" (i.e., "Black Watch") and "43rd Regiment of Foot" (i.e., Gooch's, disbanded 1742/3). If these numbers were only intended to show Order of Precedence, Oglethorpe's would have been called 42nd, not 41st. Also certain regiments in this book, other than the Invalids, are designated by special titles (e.g., "Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland") and have no number attached to them, but whose numbers are allowed for in the general system of numbering.

If it is accepted that Numerical Designations were fixed as early as 1742, the question then arises as to when the Invalids received a Numerical title.

In the "Colours of the Marching Regiments of Foot 1747" in the Royal Library at Windsor, the regimental colour bearing the number XLI is obviously that of the Regiment of Invalids. At this date Oglethorpe's was still in existence and would therefore be then numbered '42nd,' and the "Black Watch" the '43rd.' This would hold good until Oglethorpe's was disbanded in 1749, when the "Black Watch" would revert to '42nd.' P.W.R. (Vol. III. p. 62) gives some evidence as to the renumbering of regiments at this period. Perhaps some other members can throw further light on this point.

Although Numerical Designations were certainly assigned to regiments by 1751, I have not found numerical titles used in official correspondence before 1754, prior to which date regiments were simply designated by their colonels' names.



ARMY INSPECTION RETURNS—1753 TO 1804.

BY THE REV. PERCY SUMNER.

[FOR PREVIOUS SECTIONS, SEE VOL. III. 227; IV. 23, 91, 104, AND 168.]

FORTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT, INVALIDS.¹

[THE WELCH REGIMENT.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

In the Center of their Colours, the Rose and Thistle on a Red Ground within the Garter, and Crown over it. In the three Corners of the Second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown.

On the Grenadier Caps, Drums and Bells of Arms, the same Device of the Rose and Thistle conjoined, within the Garter and Crown, as on the Colours.

Facings of the rank and file. Blue.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. Red.

Colour of the Lace. Plain button-hole.

On the Grenadier Caps, the King's crest; also, the Rose & Thistle, as in the Colours.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1758. 5 August. Uniform red, faced blue, without lace. Officers the same.

1768. 11 June. Officers—red, faced and lapelled blue—red waistcoat and breeches.

1769. 15 June. Officers—silver-laced epaulette.

1789. 8 May. Grenadier match-cases, 45. Major and Adjutant's Horse Furniture not according to regulation.

1792. 14 May. 20 Drums and Music. (12 Drums).

¹ Page 95 of the *Army List* of 1766. The title "Invalids" was discontinued in 1787.

FORTY-SECOND REGIMENT OF FOOT—THE HIGHLAND
REGIMENT.¹

[THE BLACK WATCH—ROYAL HIGHLANDERS.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. Buff.

The Grenadiers of the Highland Regiment are allow'd to wear Bear-Skin Fur Caps, with the King's Cypher and Crown over it, on a Red Ground, in the Turn-up, or Flap.

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Blue.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, and lining of the Coats. White. No Breeches.

Colour of the Lace. White with a red stripe.

In the Centre of their Colours, the King's Cypher within the Garter, and Crown over it. Under it, St. Andrew, with the Motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*. In the three Corners of the second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown.

On the Grenadiers' Caps, the King's Crest; also St. Andrew, as in the Colours.

On the Drums, and Bells of Arms, the same Device, with the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1768. 26 May. 6 Fifers and 2 Pipers (as Drummers)—9 Drums. Colours, 1768. 288 swords, 259 firelocks. Officers—plain scarlet short coat, lapelled to waist with dark blue; a small round blue cuff; buttons numbered; white lining, white waistcoat, kilted plaids, blue bonnets with black ostrich feathers—white Highland hose, striped with red. Neither the Grenadiers nor Battalion men appeared with swords, but they had them in store.

1769. 26 June. The Colonel furnishes plaids only in 2 years for the regiment.

Officers—scarlet frock with gold-embroidered button-holes and epaulettes, lapelled to waist with dark blue.

Men's accoutrements—black leather.

1773. 3 August. 2 Pipers and a very good Band of Music.

1774. 14 May. Colours, 1774. Officers—gold-laced button-holes and epaulettes.

¹ Title changed to "Forty-Second, or Royal Highland, Regiment of Foot," in July, 1758. Page 96 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in North America.

1775. 30 May. 10 Music. Drums are not painted according to regulation. The Major appeared on foot. Men's white purses¹ are not part of the establishment, but are bought by the men as an ornament. The Grenadiers had no swords—190 wanting for the Battalion, which was ordered to be provided forthwith. Lieut.-Col. [Thomas] Stirling says that the Highlanders on several occasions declined using broadswords in America, that they all prefer bayonets, and that swords for the Battalion men, though part of their dress and establishment, are incumbrances.

1784. 9 June. Halifax, Nova Scotia.² The 42nd could not appear in their full uniform for want of plaids, &c., which the C.O. thought proper annually to dispose of during the late War, to purchase a more commodious dress for the American service, with the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief. The regiment appeared remarkably clean dressed—the men had on white strong ticken trousers with short black cloth gaiters.

Colour, 1774. Totally worn out. 16 Fuzils in list. No swords—returned to Ordnance Store in Halifax, 8 December, 1783.

1790. 14 May. The Lieut.-Colonel appeared in boots and was mounted. 21 Musicians.

Men—very hard features and countenances, Bonnets are entirely disfigured, they are so covered with lofty feathers that they appear like high Grenadier caps of black bear-skin, and are made by that means expensive to the men.

1791. 8 June. Appearance improved by having now white accoutrements instead of black ones.

FORTY-THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT.³
[THE OXFORDSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE LIGHT
INFANTRY.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. White.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a red and a black stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1764. 22 October. Officers armed with fusils, which they are desirous that they may be permitted to make use of, instead of espontoons.

Uniforms faced white, lace gold.

Accoutrements coloured white—black gaiters; white bespoke.

¹ Sporans.

² Arrived in 1783.

³ Page 97 of the *Army List* of 1766.

1768. 21 May. Colours, 1763. Officers—red-faced and lapelled white, white capes; silver embroidered epaulette; white waistcoat and breeches.

Men—black gaiters, white garters. Band of Music.

1773. 14 June. Accoutrements not according to regulation, being too broad.

1774. 24 March. Colours, 1774.

1785. 16 June. 6 Colours, good.

1786. 23 June. Men's hats not laced according to regulation. Major's and Adjutant's Horse-Furniture not according to regulation.

1787. 12 May. The Sergeant-Major esteemed one of the best in the service. Reviewed in the new clothing—the sleeve with 2 buttons, and the hat has a pinge under the button—the dress plain and soldier-like.

1792. 18 June. 12 Drums and Fife, 11 Music (4 young) = 23.

1803. 4 May. [Guernsey.] No Grenadier caps.

FORTY-FOURTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE ESSEX REGIMENT.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. Yellow.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with Blue, Yellow, and Black stripes.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 19 June. 37 swords only. Colours, 1766.

1768. 9 May. 6 Fifers. Officers—scarlet, with a silver embroidered button-hole on the coat only, lapelled to the waist with bright yellow; yellow cape; slashed sleeve with a yellow narrow cuff; silver buttons, numbered; silver epaulette; yellow lining; white waistcoat and breeches; silver-laced hat. Men—black gaiters. Clothing according to regulation, except breeches, which are made of leather.

1769. 31 May. Officers—slashed pockets—embroidered epaulette.

1772. 20 May. Band of Music.

1773. 28 May. Officers—cross pockets—silver appliqué button-holes—white lining.

¹ Page 98 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

Men—hats well cocked, but tassels and white looping contrary to order.

1774. 3 June. Light Infantry shoulder straps and waist-belts too narrow.

1787. 16 May. (?) 12 Colours, 1785. Fifers are quite boys. Band very young.

1792. 21 June. 12 Drums, 10 Music = 22.

FORTY-FIFTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE SHERWOOD FORESTERS—NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE REGIMENT.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. Deep Green.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White with a Green stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 14 July. Iron and wood ramrods (270 of each); 27 swords only. Colours, 1766.

1768. 27 July. 6 Fifers. Officers—plain scarlet—lapelled to waist with deep-green; small round cuffs; green cape; silver buttons, numbered; white lining; white waistcoat and breeches, silver-laced hat.

Men—black gaiters.

1769. 6 May. Officers—embroidered button-holes. Clothing—half the pleat of the skirt taken out, which makes them not according to regulation.

1771. 30 May. Officers—silver-hilted swords—crimson and gold sword-knots—silver gorgets.

1774. 3 June. Officers—silver-laced epaulette.

Sergeants—small round cuff, collar and lapels to waist of deep green, with white braid button-holes.

Men—white worsted lace with a green sprig. White looping and tassels to men's hats contrary to order.

1780. 25 September. Colours, 1780. Officers—uniformly clothed, but lapels seemed rather too broad, and not of same breadth all

¹ Page 99 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

way; the button-holes were at equal distances, and not like the men's, 2 and 2; the hats were looped to a button at the top.

Men's hats, ditto. The Light Infantry cap not according to regulation, but more like the caps of the Light Dragoons.

1781. 14 September. No Band.

1784. 4 October. Band.

1790. 2 March. [Grenada]¹—"1st Notts"—Trousers the wear of this country.

FORTY-SIXTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.²

[THE DUKE OF CORNWALL'S LIGHT INFANTRY.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. Yellow.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with Red and Purple Worms.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1768. 26 May. Colours, 1761. Officers— plain scarlet coat, lapelled to waist with yellow; a small round yellow cuff; the lining of the waistcoats and breeches, white; buttons numbered; silver-laced hats and shoulder-knots.

Men—black gaiters; accoutrements white and clean. The Grenadiers appeared with swords.

1769. 26 June. Officers—silver epaulette.

Clothing—pleats of skirts taken out. Band of Music.

1774. 4 July. Colours, 1774. Officers—silver-laced hats with silver hat-bands and tassels; silver mounted small swords, with crimson and gold knots.

1775. 15 May. Officers—lapels and cuffs bright yellow.

1784. 7 June. Colours, 1778. Officers' uniforms according to regulation, except collar of coat. Men's the same.

1786. 28 July. Light Infantry had short gaiters.

1788. 21 May. C.O., Major and Adjutant mounted properly.

Light Infantry caps made of felt instead of leather.

Accoutrements according to former regulations.

1789. 24 June. Band. Light Infantry had leather caps and black spatterdashes.

1799. 28 February. Sergeants' sashes not according to regulation. No Grenadier caps.

¹ Arrived in 1786.

² Page 100 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in America.

FORTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE LOYAL REGIMENT—NORTH LANCASHIRE.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. White.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with one Red and two Black stripes.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 13 April. Colours, 1760. No swords. Black gaiters. Fifers and a Band of Music.

1768. 23 May. 4 Fifers. Officers, scarlet coat, lapelled to waist with white cloth. A slash sleeve with a round white cuff; white waistcoats, breeches and lining; buttons not numbered; plain hats with silver buttons and loops; no shoulder-knots or epaulettes.

Grenadier Officers—red leather sword-belts with silver buckles and tips worn across their shoulders. All the Officers in boots.

Men's hats laced with linen, tied on with black tape sewed to their lining.

Grenadiers appeared without swords, a new set ordered not having arrived. Accoutrements—white, clean, but they wear their pouches quite behind their hip, which occasions many of the men to take out their cartridges and tuck them between waist-belts and clothes, that they (may) more readily load.

1769. 24 May. Officers—silver epaulette and silver-scolloped laced hats.

1771. 22 May. Colours, 1770.

1785. 17 June. Colours, 1782. Officers plain hats.

1786. 27 July. Very fine active Light Company.

1787. 8 May. Light Infantry gaiters not according to regulation.

1788. 20 June. Sergeants of Flank Companies have pouches with shoulder-belts and slings. 11 Musicians. Light Infantry in half-gaiters.

1798. 8 March. [Bermuda]—"Lancashire." Men wore round hats and trousers.

¹ Page 101 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

1801. [Bermuda]—16 in Band, including the Master. “ Epaul-ettes for Corporals ” in list.

FORTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹
[THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE REGIMENT.]

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. Buff.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. Buff.

Colour of the Lace White, with a Black and a Red stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 14 April. 39 Swords only. Colours, 1766. Black gaiters. Fifers and a large Band of Music.

1768. 23 May. 5 Fifers. Officers—plain scarlet coat, lapelled to the waist with light buff; gilt buttons not numbered; a gold epaulette; buff waistcoat and breeches; lining buff serge; plain hats, gold button and loop.

Men's hats—linen for lace.

Accoutrements—white. They wear their pouches too far behind.

1769. No Colours and no Grenadiers' swords.

1782. 18 May. Officers—plain, lapelled with buff.

1784. 31 July. Officers have plain instead of laced hats.

1785. 13 May. Accoutrements according to former regulation.

1790. 2 June. [Antigua.] Trousers—50 Grenadiers' caps, bad.

FORTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.²
[THE ROYAL BERKSHIRE REGIMENT—PRINCESS
CHARLOTTE OF WALES'S.]

¹ Page 102 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² Page 103 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

1751. DEVICES AND BADGES.

Facings of the rank and file. Full Green.

1768.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with two Red, and one Green stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 1 June. Colours, 1767. 25 swords only.

1768. 27 July. 8 Fifers. Officers—scarlet, lapelled to waist with green, and the coat and waistcoat edged with green velvet, gold embroidered button holes, slashed sleeve with a small green cuff, green cape, gold buttons numbered, embroidered epaulette, white lining, waistcoat and breeches, gold laced hats.

Men—black gaiters, leather breeches.

1769. 6 May. Band of Music. Grenadiers and Drummers have black bearskins.

1772. 20 May. Colours, 1772.

1774. 25 July. Officers—lapelled full green; one epaulette; black silk stocks.

1785. 8 July. Colours, 1781. Accoutrements according to former regulation.

1790. 18 May. [Barbadoes.] Trousers.

FIFTIETH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE QUEEN'S OWN ROYAL WEST KENT
REGIMENT.]

1768.

Facings of the Rank and File. Black.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White with a Red stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1756. 21 October. [52nd Foot.] Officers—faced with black. Men's uniform—red, lapelled, lined and faced with black, looped and bound with a white and black binding; red waistcoat and breeches.

(To be continued.)

¹ Raised in 1756 as the 52nd Foot, becoming the 50th in 1757.

Page 104 of the *Army List* of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.



NOTES.

97. SHOOTING CLUBS IN EMBRYO. (Vol. IV. pp. 211-3.) The following account of a shooting match between representatives of Bristol and Exeter, in 1616, is taken from *Memoirs of Bristol*, by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, published in 1823—Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

It shows that the 'regulations' which had been issued in 1567 had borne fruit, and that inter-station competitions were in fashion.

"I cannot persuade myself to omit the following account of a contest with musquetry, which is related by Adams¹ under the year 1616; to some readers it may appear tedious; but representing the manners, particularly the military habits of the age, it is not unworthy of being preserved."

"This summer there happened great challenges to be made between certain merchants and shopkeepers of Bristoll against so many more of Exeter, for the exercise of shooting with musquets open sighted and soldierlike at a but of artillery² with bulletts, which was by each side agreed upon and covenants drawn between them."

"Our men went first to Exeter with 15 musquets chested³ and carried on horseback, themselves being well suited; and every man's bandolere suitable and covered with crimson velvet, silver lace, and silver fringe which cost them 50s. apiece. Sherife Tomlinson rode with them, accompanied with two captaines of our citie and other worshipful men to the number of 40 horse and upwards, all expert men in military discipline."

"These departed Bristoll on Monday, the 27th of May, 1616, and the 28th day they were gallantly brought into Exeter with 200 horse, cullers, drummes and trumpets, and sumptuously feasted."

"The next day being Wednesday our men proved their pieces privately, and shot well."

"On Thursday they prepared themselves, and the two companies prepared themselves and marched together to the place appointed, where Exeter men by a secret spie (unknown to our men) were acquainted of their good private shooting; whereof fearing themselves too weeke fell to wrangling, and put our men off for that day with grife."

"That night our men supped at the Sherifes house, where was great provision and many healths drank, and great protestations made how sorry they were for the great abuse offered to our men by yong wilful heads. So after supper and many healths they brought our men to their lodgings, where many more healths and burnt seeke⁴ was spent⁵ near all night, not one of the shooters of Exeter men in their company all that night.

"Friday morning most of our men being sick with drinking and watching prepared themselves to take horse for Bristoll. Then was speeches given forth,

¹ William Adams, who compiled a *Chronicle of Bristol affairs up to 1639*.

² *i.e.*, an archery butt.

³ Enclosed in a chest.

⁴ Sack.

⁵ Consumed.

that our men were cowards, and dared not shoot with them; which so enraged our men, that they would go presently¹ to try the victory, where one of our men struck out the pin.² Our men were best and second at the marke; yet by reason of one bullet from Exeter struck but the edge of the target more than was done on our side, it was judged thereby that they won two rounds, and our men one, whereby they lost 100 nobles, which otherwise they had wonne so much. Otherwise all our men were there kindly used: no man suffered to spend one penny for diet, wine, bear or provinder. Besides this small loss, our men shewed themselves valerous and bountifull. They gave away above 100*£*, in Exeter among officers and poor people of the cittie: for every man that rode thither did put 5*£* a piece into a common purse."

"The first day of July [1617] the Exeter men came to Bristoll, with three of their captaines and many other gentlemen to the number of 55 horse. Out of our cittie rode above 300 horse, with all our 3 captaines, who met them four miles off, and with trumpets and cullers brought them in gallantly, lodged them at the Bear, and bountifully feasted them with all dainties that for money might be had."

"The next day being Wednesday, they caused a but to be erected in the Marsh, which they refusing, our captaines to give them content erected another by agreement in St. Augustine's green with three tents fitting each business."

"Thursday afternoon our men in number 18 prepared themselves, being led by 3 worthy captaines with 3 ensignes and 6 drummes came to the door of their lodging; the sight whereof so daunted their adversaries, that they fell to jauling between themselves, insomuch that though before they seemed all ready, they durst not come forth, but strived to put one the other foremost. Which our men seeing that no persuasion could move them, then our men marched away to the place and hour appointed, attended by the Maior and Councill and many Knights and gentlemen; whom they placed in a fair tent as expectators and judges for the business."

"There our men tarried two hours for Exeter men, who at last with much intreaty of their gentlemen came. The wind blew hard at southwest all that day; which so much disturbed their hands, that our men that time of 52 shots put in but 7, and they 5 shots. Then night overtaking them, four of each side were to showt for trial the next day one shot a piece."

"Next morning meeting there againe, and the wind being calm, three of our men shot into the target, and the fourth one inch over, and never a one of their four shots came within half a foot of the target. So our men were best, second and third, won the three rounds, and 100*£* in money, besides much bets won on our side, all which was spent upon them. and 100*£* more to double repay their curtesie. Our captain willed their treasurer to put every penny to account which they had laid out, and repaid them again; not suffering them to give ought to any officer or poore in our cittie. So on Friday afternoon they all took horse, and our men accompanied them good part of the way." J. H. LESLIE.

98. THE BLACK WATCH TARTAN. (Vol. I. 154, 264; II. 19, 168; III. 43.) Arising out of my discussion with Colonel Drummond, and with reference to the remarks of Mr. P. W. Reynolds (Vol. II. 1) concerning this tartan, as worn with a red line in it, the following may be of interest.

The tartan with red or scarlet line in it was introduced into the Black Watch by Lord John Murray when he became Colonel of the regiment in 1743. There seems no foundation for the belief that it was a family tartan of his own, but simply a variation of the regimental tartan either designed by himself, or, more probably, made up to his order. Being thus closely associated with his name, it became in time known as the "Athole" tartan, and its true origin and connection with the Black Watch was lost sight of.

This tartan was worn by the whole regiment when in the Feilebeag or Little Kilt (i.e. when in undress)—excluding the pipers and "Band of Musick" who had

¹ At once.

² A stud fixed in the centre of a target.

a red tartan, known at that time as the "Music tartan of the Black Watch," and which appears to have been the same as the present Royal Stuart tartan worn by the pipers of the regiment.

The red-striped pattern, however, was also worn in *Full-dress* (viz. the Belted Plaid) by the Grenadier Company. The painting by David Morier at Windsor Castle, of a Grenadier, *circa* 1750, shows this.

This red-striped pattern of the regimental tartan endured in the regiment up till about 1780, according to the Order Books of Messrs. Wm. Wilson and Sons, Tartan Manufacturers, of Bannockburn. This firm supplied tartan to most of the Highland regiments from about 1770 up till the period of the Great War, when it ceased. Their order books, of great interest as regards tartans, are now in various hands. In an order book of 1781 appears an entry for "Serjeants' Kilts, 42nd," the specification being "Bleu, Black, Green, and Scarlet stripes."

Other entries in the books of this firm, of 1781-9, are of interest. They show that at that period, the Drummers of the Black Watch wore a *special variety* of the regimental tartan, with a red and a yellow stripe through the usual blue, black and green. This pattern, as worn by the Drummers, seems to have been discontinued about the same time as the red-striped pattern.

It may not be known generally, that the earlier (if not earliest) variety of the red-and-white chequered hose worn by all Highland kilted regiments up to the Crimean War period, had frequently, a narrow *blue* or *black* line bordering the red. In the order books of Messrs. Wilson are numerous references (*circa* 1781 to 1800) to this pattern, both for the 42nd and other corps, including the 78th (Ross-shire Buffs).

I. H. MACKAY SCOBIE.

99. RECRUITING POSTERS. (Vol. I. 110-21; II. 29, 56, 99; III. 104.) The following is a Recruiting Poster of the 69th¹ Regiment of Foot, issued in 1811.

A. C. W.

69TH, or SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE, REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Commanded by GENERAL CUYLER,² an officer to whose distinguished merit no language can do justice.

Wanted for this fine Regiment, a few dashing, high-spirited young men, whose hearts beat high to tread the path of glory. Young men of this description know the opportunity offered to them, which may never again occur, of enlisting into one of the finest regiments of the service, the 1st Battalion of which (1,300 strong) is most probably at this moment, with others of their most gallant countrymen, laying siege to the island of Java,³ in the East Indies, where their prize money will be almost incalculable. The 1st Battalion was also employed at the reduction of the island of France,⁴ where I had the honour of governing it, and likewise of returning to England with several of the men, who had, by their increase of pay and prize money, saved enough to purchase their discharge, and provide themselves with a comfortable independence for life in their own country.

WINE AND GUINEAS.

Such, my fine fellows, are the advantages of a soldier's life, independent of the honour of serving the King, whose indescribable virtues render him an inestimable blessing to the country. Besides all these advantages, young men and lads shall receive a bounty of sixteen guineas for volunteering into this fine regiment, and may make application to me, Lieutenant G. James,⁵ at my quarters, next door to the George Inn, High Street, or to either of my serjeants, at my rendezvous, the Flying Horse, Watergate. An early application by young men of any education will ensure immediate promotion.

¹ In 1926, The Welch Regiment, 2nd Battalion.

² General Sir Cornelius Cuyler, Bart., was Colonel of the 69th Regiment from 1794 to 1819.

³ Captured from the French in 1811.

⁴ *i.e.*, Mauritius. Captured from the French in 1810.

⁵ Joseph Gillam James.

I trust I need say nothing further to induce you to come forward to tender your services, but if after this any of you should remain in a lethargic state recollect that you are called upon to defend the cause of a lawful Sovereign against an inveterate enemy, a common usurper, a Corsican pirate. You will find me, as above stated, ready to receive you with a bottle of wine in one hand and sixteen guineas in the other, and before you join our regiment I intend to treat you with a supper and ball, when you may have the enthusiastic pleasure of dancing with the object of your affection.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

100. **MILITARY CEREMONY AT THE SWEARING IN OF THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.** On 21 March, 1740/1, Alderman Humphrey Parsons,¹ Lord Mayor of London, died.

Alderman Daniel Lambert was chosen to succeed him, and, owing to the absence of the Barons of the Exchequer 'on their circuits,' application had to be made 'for the Kings Writ requiring the Constable of the Tower² to swair him the Lord Mayor into his office.' The Board of Works was ordered 'to erect a Large Court of Wood and the Lord Chamberlain to Line it, and put the Kings Arms at the head of it.'

The Ceremony of 'Swearing in' included a certain amount of military display, and incidentally shows that The Honourable Artillery Company asserted its precedence of the two Militia Regiments which took part in the proceedings and claimed the right to march in front of the Lord Mayor.

'Both Regiments of the Militia of the Tower Hamlets' were ordered to parade 'under arms on Thursday Morning (26 March) by eight a Clock on great Tower Hill, to draw up there in good order, the Regiments faicing each other.'

The account of this interesting ceremony which follows is taken from the *Official Diary* of Brigadier Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower (*Royal Historical Society*. Camden. Third Series. Vol. xxii. 1912). J.H.L.

"At night [23 March] the Brigadier was ordered by the Constable to go with his Secretary Mr. Compton to settle everythings necessary for the Ceremony with the City remembrancer; but some difficultys arrising he went to the Lord Mayor and soon returned with his Lordships desire that these two Gentlemen would come and confer with him in Gild Hall. They waited on him, and found his Lordship intended to come on Tower Hill through his Bar at Crutchet Fryers and march from thence to the Constables Court with his Sword erect, but in regard the City pretends to lay a Claim to some part of Tower hill and that there had been old disputes between the Mayors of London and the Lieuts. of the Tower, these Gentlemen objected against it, and sayd their compliance might one day be brought as a proof or consent to the claim they lay to our ground; but, on their declaring that they allwais carried their Sword erect through Westminster to the Bar of the Barons and only reversd it there, that the writ sayd he was to be Sworen in before the Constable in the same Manner as before the Barons, and that their being allowed to carry the Sword erect should be of no consequence as to any right or demand they pretended touching the grounds in dispute—it was agreed they should March to the Court with their Sword erect as they do quite from the City to Westminster Hall.

Another demand or request they made was, to have the Liberty of being preceded by the Artillery Company, who are a body of about three hundred Men at arms well disciplined and uniformly accouter'd with a Company of Grenadiers of their owne body at their head, drums beating &c. It was thought by the Brigadier that when they came on the Tower ground the Militia of the Hamlets or the Warders was sufficient for his Lordships guard, and that he would be glad if he would be pleasd to let them come no farther than Crutchet Fryers Bar, but these mermidons it seems allwais march before the Lord Mayor even to the Bar in Westminster Hall;

¹ See 'D.N.B.'

² Charles, 5th Baron Cornwallis, afterwards (1753) Earl.

so on the score of the Warrants saying the Mayr. "Should be sworn in before the Constable in the same manner as he is at Westminster," this was acquiesd with, and everything being settled as to the ceremony after that between the Brigadier and the remembrancer and Mr. Compton, and drawn up in writing, they Parted.

A copy of what was agreed on, shall be hereafter inserted. Orderd all the warders to attend a Thursday morning by nine a Clock, and five to be immediatly added to the days wait,¹ two of which were sent to the Constables to bring any extraordinary orders he had for us.

March 25. In the morning early the Board of Works began to erect their Scaffolding and by ten next day they had finishd it and the Lord Chamberlains People had hung it all round and over the ceiling of the Court half, with a sort of green stuff like Bais but not napt, 2 yards wide and worth about a Shilling a yard. tho' when taken downe they offered by² ninepence so that it being My Perquisit I orderd it all to be brought home after the Ceremony of the day was over, and gave a good dail of it to the Servts for under Peticotes and some I sent in to the Country; there was about 150 yards of it, at 2 yards wide.

26. Everything being ready, and the hower for the Lord Mayor being appointed at two a Clock to be at the Court, the Constable came to the Tower at twelve. I orderd two Warders to attend at Crutched Fryers Bar and when the Lord Mayor came through they were to attend him, one marching on one side of the Coach the other on the other. This I did to keep up our right to the Ground he marched over. Two other Warders were posted at our Bar which joynd the other two, when his Lordship came through. At Length the Constable who went into Court, and open'd it by the Cryer, who was the Jaol keeper on the Hill, stayd there til three a clock before the Mayor came, which did not pleas him. (So that I should advise on the like occasion that the Constable should continue quite in his owne house till word is brought him that the Mayor is coming through the first bar, and that orders be given not to open our Bar for the Lord Mayor to Pass, till the Constable is got into the Court and sends his commands for opening them). At length the Mayor came in his Coach preceeded by the Artillery Company as I sayd before, the Livery men of the Vintners Company of which he was one; the Artillery Company when it came to the steps of the Court wheeld to their right and as was agreed, marchd through an opening the Militia made for them, and drew up behind them stretching in to Tower Street to receive the Lord Mayor as he went home and march before him.

The Members of the Vintners were order'd to be let into Court. At this time the Lords Mayors Coach stopt half way between the Bar and the Court steps; he got out as did the Aldermen and [those] who attended him out of theirs, and when they had got together which took about ten minutes, he came in forme into Court. As soon as he had set foot on the floor with the sword bearer on one side and the Mace on the other, they all three uncoverd and Made a low bow, to which the Constable what sat with his hat on, gave a gracious Nod, without touching it. Then they all three in a brest and bairheaded, advanc'd to the Middle of the floor and made a deep obeisance as before, the Constable giving only a graceous bend of the head with his hat stil on. Then they came to the Bar, turnd downe the point of their sword and Lowered the Mace and made a most respectfull Bow to which the Constable took off his hat and bowd and then put it on again. During this time their Coaches, according to order, drove through an opening of the Militia on their left and drew up on the hill behind them between the ditch and their body. After these bows were over the City Sergent, the Recorder being sick, and the deputy on his Circuit, made a short speech to the Constable signifying that the City of London had made Choice of this worthy Person to be their Mayor, spoke much of the great weight the City has in the affairs of the whole Kingdom as it is the Metropolis and then proceeded to say fine things of the Mayors great abillitys and how worthy

¹ *i.e.* Guard duty. *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives a quotation of 1694 from Chamberlayne's *Present state of England*, III. 608:—"The Yeoman Warders of the Tower are 40 in number . . . Ten of them are usually upon the Day's wait."

² ? but.

a choice the City had made, to which the Constable made a shorter answer, and said that he was commanded to admit him Alderman Lambert in to his Office of Lord Mayor, and that he did not doubt but a person whom the Citizens of London had made Choice of, for an Office of that importance was duly qualified for it, that his having been some years an Alderman, must have made him well acquainted with the nature of his Business and that, from his owne good qualitys and from the favourable opinion his fellow Citizens had of him, he was persuaded he would discharge his duty to the City with honour.

N.B. in the Recorders speech he sayd not a word of the Mayors affection to the King, or the Protestant Religion. My Lord Cornwallises Speech was about Six lines, and the Sergant twice as long. When they had done, the Mayor gave the Writ to the Constable seald up as it came to him from the King which being delivered by him to the deputy Steward, the Steward¹ being out of towne, he broke it open, and silence being cryd by the Cryer, he read it audibly. Then the Gentleman Gaoler Abraham Fowler who sat with a white rod, as Sheriff, in the absence of the Earle of Leicester, our Gentleman Porter, got up and went Cross the Table with the new Testament and held it to the Lord Mayor til the oath of Mayor was read to him, then the Mayor desired the Constable would be pleasd to keep the Kings writ among our Records, which the Constable promisd (and he accordingly saw it lockt up in our Presses among the other Papers and Commitments &c.) When this was over the Lord Mayor with his sword and mace bearers made their bows at the bar to which The Constable nodded, then the same in the Middle of the Room the Sword and Mace erect, and lastly a reverend bow just at the door, to which last, the Constable took off his hat and bowd. Then the Mayors Coach came to the steps of the Court, and took him in, as the rest did all the Aldermen, and so they marchd off to the city through Tower Street; but I should have sayd, before they left the Bar the Mayor invited the Constable, me who sat on his right hand, and the Major² on his left, to dyne with him that day. The Constable and Major accepted of it but in regard I had got a great cold and was feverish, I did not go, but begd of the Chamberlain who sat just below me, to Make My excuses to his Lordship.

After the Ceremony was over, I advised My Lord just to March by the front of each Regiment of the Militia in order to review and be saluted by them, which they were extreemly ambitious of. His Lordship was pleasd to go and was first saluted by his owne Regiment going and by the 2nd Regiment Returning; the two Regiments Made a Street, but should have opened it wider, for the officers had scarce room to drop the spears of their Pikes. N.B. At the day I settled every-thing with the Lord Mayor, I begd he would order his Constables, to stand by Seething Lane end and let no Coaches pass that way to Tower hill, and all that came, to turne them up Seething Lane or go back again, and at the Same time we had the Bar at the end of Thames Street in George yard and the Mayors bar by Crutchet Fryers kept shut all day, so that there was not a Coach but the Mayors and his attendants there.

The Officers of the Militia who with their Men were drawn up from the Court, through the Bar, and as far as they could stretch on Tower hill were ordered to beat a March and Salute the Lord Mayor Comming and going.

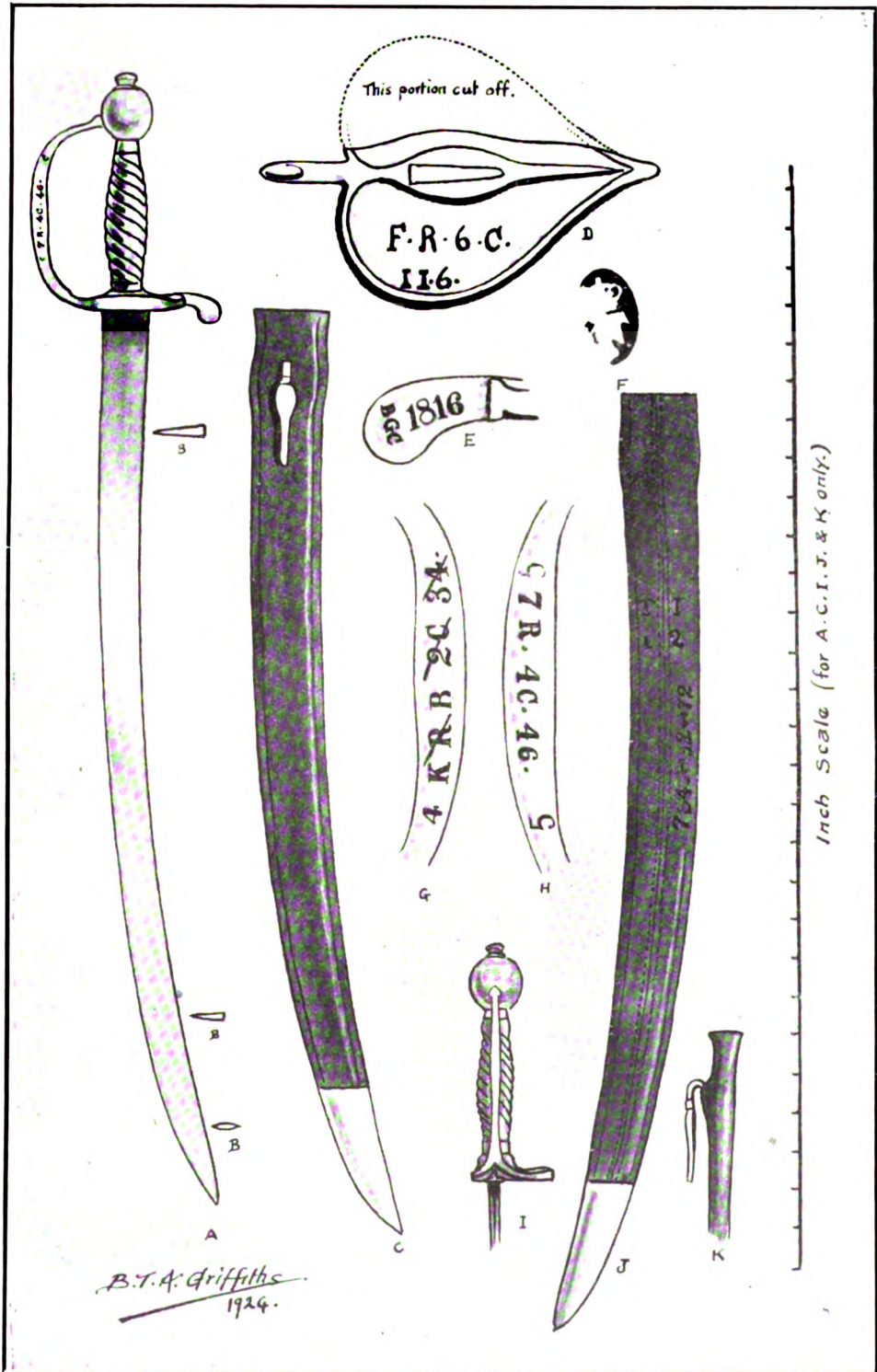
101. AN OLD INFANTRY SWORD—*circa* 1745. This weapon (at present in my collection) appears to have been used by several regiments, and I hope that some members of the Society will be able to explain the various markings, as shown in the sketch.

The hilt is entirely of brass, and the inner portion of the "heart-shaped" guard has been cut away (probably to allow the weapon to hang closer to the thigh).

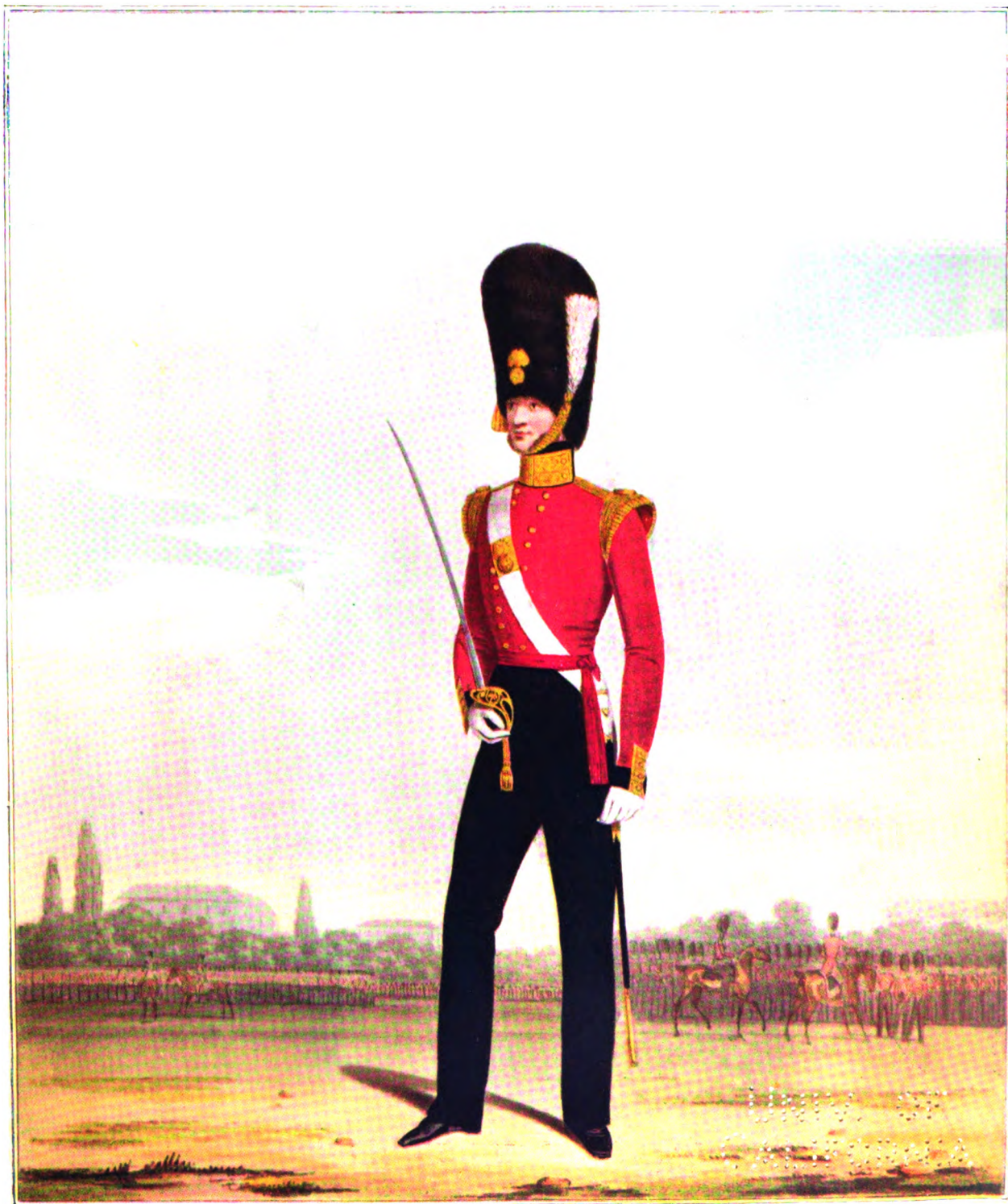
The scabbard is of black leather with chape and socket of brass. On the inner side of the blade, just under the hilt, is a half-obliterated maker's mark (shown at 'F').

¹ Of the Tower Court.

² Of the Tower.



AN OLD INFANTRY SWORD. See Note 101.



OFFICER OF THE 87TH, OR ROYAL IRISH, FUSILIERS. 1831-3.

NO. 1234
1234567890

The oldest marking appears to be that underneath the guard (D); the latest and neatest on the inner side of the guillon (E). On the outer side of the knuckle-guard (H) there appear to have been two separate markings, the first one has apparently been filed off, but two of the figures (fives) are still visible.

The marking on the inner side of the knuckle-guard (G) has been erased by three lines.

The markings on the scabbard (J) appear to be contemporary (in style) with those at D, G, and H.

B. T. A. GRIFFITHS.

102. THE 44TH REGIMENT OF FOOT—1822. An incident in the history of this regiment (in 1926 the 1st battalion of The Essex Regiment) which might readily escape the notice of the ordinary military historian is contained in the following pamphlet:—

Concise Narrative of an ophthalmia, which prevailed in a detachment of His Majesty's 44th Regt. on their voyage to Calcutta in the summer of 1822; together with an account of other tropical diseases and their treatment on board the H.C. ship, Warren Hastings, by Richard Jones, Leamington, fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons and late assistant surgeon to the Warren Hastings, &c. (Printed at Warwick. 1824. 8vo. pp. 58.)

The pamphlet is in the British Museum—T. 958 (2). The writer does not appear in Colonel Johnston's remarkable "Roll of Commissioned officers in the Medical Service of the British Army," for the Richard Jones mentioned there (who died at Kidderminster in 1827) retired on half-pay, Aug. 4, 1814.

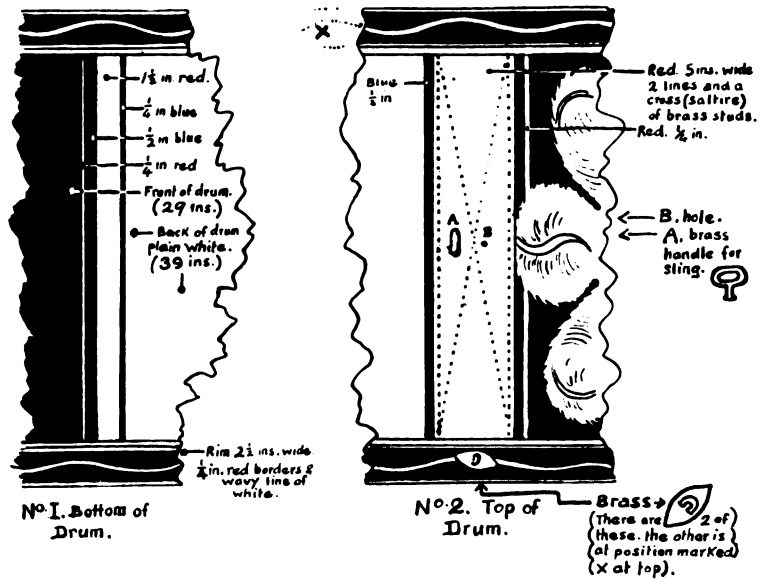
J. M. BULLOCH.

103. AN INFANTRY DRUM OF 1810. This interesting relic of the Royal Radnor Militia—*circa* 1810—was recently rescued from the hands of vandals, who were about to convert it into a coal-box.

Its dimensions are as follows:—Depth, 29½ ins.; diameter, 24½ ins.; depth of rims, 2½ ins.

The interior of the rims is painted white, with a border and wavy line of red. In the illustration the drum-stick is shown in exact proportion to the size of the drum.

B. T. A. GRIFFITHS.



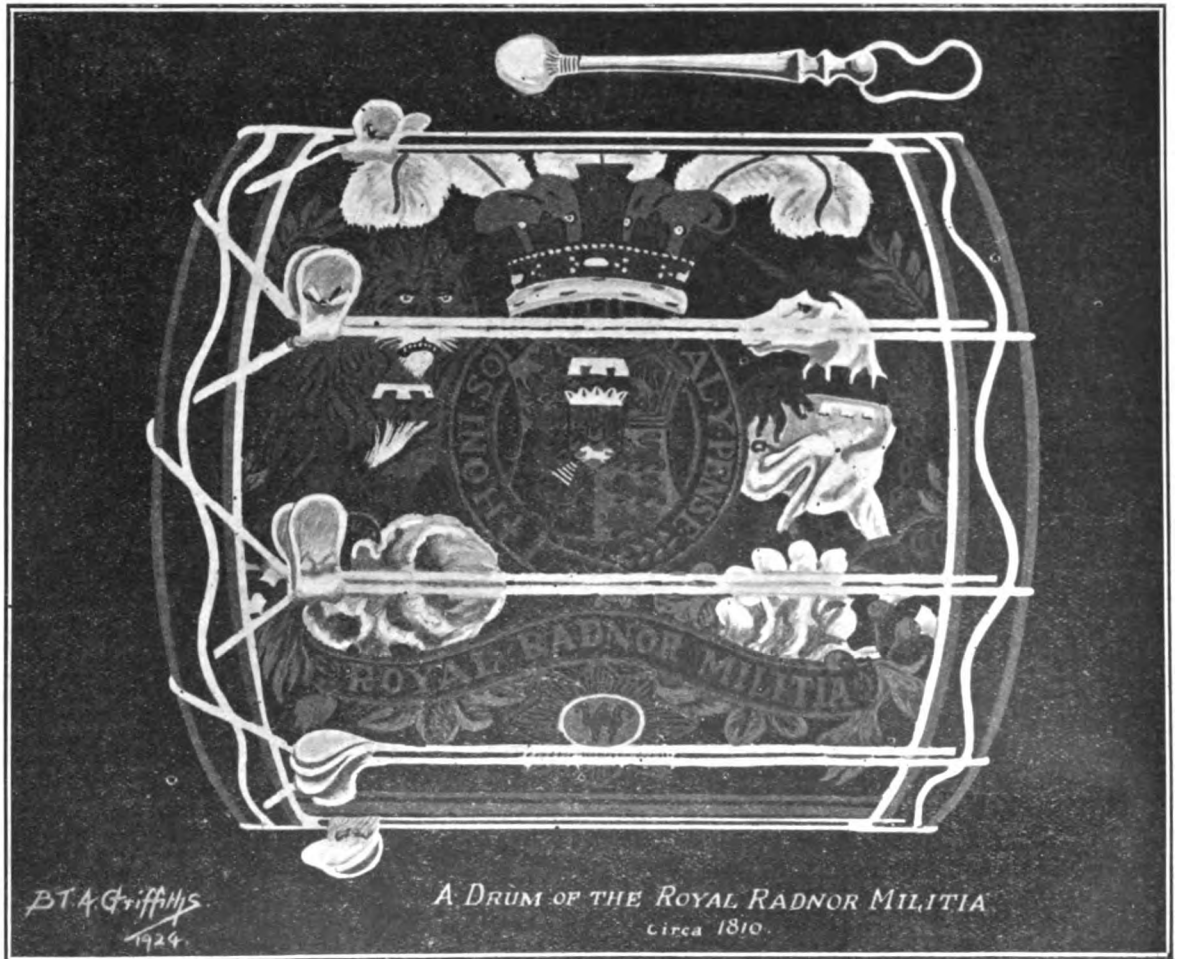
104. THE 87TH, OR ROYAL IRISH FUSILIERS. The coloured illustration—Officer, full dress—facing this page, is a copy of a lithograph, reproduced by a photographic process, from a series of Costumes of the British Army, which was published by William Spooner between 1831 and 1833. The series is known as the "Upright," in order to differentiate it from the "Oblong" series. The artist was L. Mansion and the lithographer St. Eschauzier.

The prints in this series were originally produced in plain lithography and coloured by hand by C. H. Martin or C. Bowen.

The plates vary in value according to the regiment depicted. The value of the Royal Irish Fusiliers to-day, for a good clean copy with fair margins, is £5 5s. od. Its number in the series is 34.

H.P.

N.B. The blocks have been kindly lent by the proprietors of *The Connoisseur*.



DRUM OF THE ROYAL RADNOR MILITIA.

105. **SNIPING.** (Vol. IV. p. 213.) The expression "sniping" is used by Sir Charles Napier (Journal, 18 October, 1842). See Sir William Napier's *Life of Sir Charles Napier*, 1857. Vol. II. p. 214:—

"Suppose the jungle full of bands. If you attack them with infantry they retire, sniping off, probably, an officer and two or three men." P.R.C.

QUESTIONS.

227. **SILAVE.** In *The Slang Dictionary*, published by J. C. Hotten—edition of 1865—"shave" is defined as:—

"A false alarm, a hoax, a sell. This was much used in the Crimea during the Russian Campaign."

It is supposed to have been, originally, of 'army' use only.

Two examples of its use are given:—

a. The *shave* of the day is that Burgos is evacuated and destroyed." (Letter dated 11 June, 1811, from an Army Officer serving in Spain. *The Dickson Manuscripts*, Series 'C,' Chapter VI. p. 903. R.A. Institution, Woolwich. 1910.)

b. "Lord Wellington not having returned, and of course nothing positive being known as to our destination, we have only those passing reports which the

military men call 'shaves.' " (Letter dated 12 June, 1814—at Toulouse. *The Private Journal of F. S. Larpent, Esq.*, Judge Advocate General of the British Forces in the Peninsula: Vol. III. p. 200. Richard Bentley. 1853. 3 vols.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word in this sense as 'an unauthenticated report,' giving two examples only of its use, the first as quoted above (a), and another of 1808:—

"In every Camp in war time there are curious rumours called 'shaves,' which originate no one knows how, and are disseminated with equal mystery. They are sometimes fantastic, but often curiously accurate.

I well remember the word in constant use in 1878, and later, but had no idea that it was an 'army' speciality. Other examples of its use are asked for.

J. H. LESLIE.

228. THE GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY FENCIBLES. This regiment was raised in Canada in 1812, and took part in all the fighting on the Niagara frontier from 1812 to 1815.

It was borne upon the strength of the British Army and first appears in the Army List of 1813. It was disbanded in 1816, when the Officers were placed upon half-pay.

Information regarding the services of the regiment is desired. J. E. W. H.

REPLIES.

190. CHURCH BELLS AS PERQUISITES OF MASTER OF ORDNANCE. (Vol. III. p. 103; IV. p. 58.) A document of which a copy is here given—Harl. MSS. 6852, fo. 173—endorsed "7 August, 1643. Warrant to the Gen: of the Artillery," bears on this subject. It is addressed—

"To our right trusty and welbeloved
Henry Lord Percy Generall of
our Artillery, his deputy or any
other whome it may concern.

"Whereas by the Custome of Warr those places which doe stand out after sumons given, doe forfeit their Bells to the Generall of the Ordinance. And whereas our Cittie of Bristoll hath stood out after such Sumons and thereby incurred the same forfeiture, These are therefore to will and require the Churchwardens and parishioners of the severall parishes of our said Cittie of Bristoll, to come in, and Compound wth the Generall of our Ordinance, or whome soever he shall appoint, for the said Bells, Wee being unwilling to deprive them of so necessary an Ornament. And hereunto we expect due obedience to be given by all whome it may concerne, as they and every of them will answer the Contrary at their perills.

"Given &c."

J.H.L.

191. REVENUE SERVICE. (Vol. IV. p. 57.) The 13th Regiment was stationed in Ireland from 1783—1789 inclusive, and the Revenue Service mentioned probably refers to assistance given by the Regiment to the Revenue authorities in suppressing smuggling.

The records of the 1st Somerset Militia when embodied in 1793 and stationed in Cornwall, give orders for the Regiment to assist the Revenue officers in suppressing smuggling, on application being made for that purpose. Accounts are also given of encounters between smugglers and men of the Regiment in which some of the latter were seriously injured. The orders contain the caution that "force is only to be met by force in cases of absolute necessity." There is no mention of Revenue Service in the 13th Regimental History. W.K.

192. ENGLISH GUNS IN FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM. (Vol. IV. 137.) The Bucks. Militia commanded by the Marquess of Buckingham formed the

personal guard to King George II. when at Weymouth in 1704. Possibly the County presented the guns to the Regiment for, or in commemoration of, this occasion. The Regiment was in Ireland in 1798, and in 1814 formed one of the Militia Brigade which, under the Command of the Marquess of Buckingham, landed in France for service under the Duke of Wellington. W. K.

193. BLACK DRUMMERS IN THE ARMY. (Vol. IV. 136.) The "Western Flying Post" for August 21st, 1780, gives an account of a serious riot at Plymouth Dock between the Somerset and Brecknock Militia, occasioned by a quarrel between the two blacks of the Somerset band and some of the Brecknock. A large mob assembled, and it was only after the friquet (*sic*) had fired on the rioters, killing one, and wounding ten, that order was restored. W. K.

194. TOWER HAMLETS MILITIA. (Vol. IV. p. 215.) The following extract from *The History of London* (vol. 1. pp. 532-3) by William Maitland and others, published in 1756, gives the names of the Colonels, Majors, and Captains of the City of London and Tower Hamlets Regiments of Militia, as they stood in 1722.

It shows that the titles of the several regiments, Blue, Red, etc., were the same as those of the formerly existing City Train Bands—see *Archæologia*, 2nd series, vol. II, pp. 129-44.

The Government having resolved to take all the Precautions imaginable for rendering abortive the Designs of the Conspirators, Orders being sent by the Privy-Council to the several Lieutenancies within the Bill of Mortality, to take an Account of the Number of Horses within their several Jurisdictions, the Returns thereof were as follow:—

The Returns of the Number of Horses made by the several Officers of the Militia of the City of London within their respective Beats, on the 22d of May, Anno 1722.

| BLUE REGIMENT. | | Coach Horses. | Saddle Horses. | Draught Horses. |
|---|-----|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| By Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Knight and Alderman, Colonel ... | ... | 22 | 12 | 0 |
| By Samuel Westal, Lieut. Col. ... | ... | 12 | 7 | 5 |
| By John Wicks, Major ... | ... | 2 | 17 | 0 |
| By William Brind, first Capt. ... | ... | 0 | 35 | 132 |
| By James Innocent, second Capt. ... | ... | 23 | 29 | 117 |
| By Hugh Winchworth, third Capt. ... | ... | 11 | 33 | 27 |
| By Joseph Edwards, fourth Capt. ... | ... | 10 | 45 | 28 |
| By Joseph Sperinck, fifth Capt. ... | ... | 10 | 19 | 23 |
| Number Total ... | ... | 90 | 197 | 332 |

| RED REGIMENT. | | Coach Horses. | Saddle Horses. | Draught Horses. |
|--|-----|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| By Sir Samuel Stainer, Knt. and Alderman, Colonel ... | ... | 10 | 18 | 0 |
| By James Porten, Lieut. Col. ... | ... | 80 | 66 | 18 |
| By Edward Sedley, Major ... | ... | 0 | 22 | 0 |
| By William Beale, first Capt. ... | ... | 39 | 49 | 15 |
| By Francis Smart, second Capt. ... | ... | 30 | 16 | 0 |
| By John Williams, third Capt. ... | ... | 6 | 80 | 0 |
| By Sir John Sedley, Bart., 4th Capt. ... | ... | 35 | 22 | 0 |
| By William Lewis, fifth Capt. ... | ... | 4 | 16 | 14 |
| Number Total ... | ... | 204 | 298 | 47 |

| GREEN REGIMENT. | | | |
|--|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Coach Horses. | Saddle Horses. | Draught Horses. |
| By Sir William Humfreys, Bart. and Alderman, Colonel | 4 | 36 | 4 |
| By Robert Croshaw, Lieut. Col. | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| By Christopher Perkinson, Major | 47 | 252 | 0 |
| By Ralph Snow, first Capt. | 30 | 9 | 0 |
| By Oliver Combes, second Capt. | 37 | 29 | 72 |
| By John Scrimshire, third Capt. | 65 | 52 | 119 |
| By George Stray, fourth Capt. | 17 | 122 | 56 |
| By Henry Tame, fifth Capt. | 24 | 155 | 8 |
| Number Total | 226 | 655 | 260 |

| YELLOW REGIMENT. | | | |
|--|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Coach Horses. | Saddle Horses. | Draught Horses. |
| By Sir Charles Peers, Knt. and Alder- man, Colonel | 4 | 9 | 0 |
| By Sir Peter Eaton, Knt., Lieut. Col. | 8 | 53 | 46 |
| By Thomas Gilbert, Major | 24 | 9 | 24 |
| By Alexander Garret, first Capt. | 21 | 142 | 21 |
| By Benjamin Hodges, second Capt. | 61 | 111 | 16 |
| By John Bassandine, third Capt. | 0 | 32 | 19 |
| By Nicholas Faulcon, fourth Capt. | 2 | 16 | 0 |
| By John Johnson, fifth Capt. | 25 | 37 | 56 |
| Number Total | 145 | 409 | 180 |

| ORANGE REGIMENT. | | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Coach Horses. | Saddle Horses. | Draught Horses. |
| By Sir Gerard Conyers, Knt. and Alderman, Colonel | 26 | 103 | 74 |
| By James Seamer, Lieut. Col. | 63 | 21 | 68 |
| By George Jenkins, Major | 20 | 74 | 5 |
| By George Jenkins, Sen., first Capt. | 4 | 6 | 0 |
| By Thomas Cartwright, second Capt. | 12 | 18 | 12 |
| By Joseph Bawler, third Capt. | 71 | 146 | 94 |
| By William Saunders, fourth Capt. | 33 | 7 | 0 |
| By Samuel Saunders, fifth Capt. | 0 | 24 | 3 |
| Number Total | 229 | 399 | 256 |

| WHITE REGIMENT. | | | |
|--|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| | Coach Horses. | Saddle Horses. | Draught Horses. |
| By Sir John Eyles, Bart. and Alder- man, Colonel | 7 | 2 | 0 |
| By John Shorey, Lieut. Col. | 87 | 29 | 0 |
| By Noah de la Fountain, Major | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| By Peregrine Phillips, first Capt. | 61 | 140 | 4 |
| By Seth Adams, second Capt. | 47 | 158 | 49 |
| By William Bell, third Capt. | 0 | 36 | 24 |
| By William Cowley, fourth Capt. | 117 | 152 | 20 |
| By George Gerard, fifth Capt. | 132 | 113 | 10 |
| Number Total | 443 | 631 | 107 |

The Numbers of the several Sorts of Horses, as returned by the Officers of the above six Regiments, are :—

| | | |
|-----------------|------------|--------------|
| Coach-Horses | ... | 1,337 |
| Saddle-Horses | ... | 2,589 |
| Draught-Horses | ... | 1,182 |
| Total .. | ... | 5,108 |

The Returns made by the Officers of the two Regiments of Westminster, and that Part of Middlesex within the Bill of Mortality, May 29, 1722; but undistinguished in respect of their Use.

RED REGIMENT OF WESTMINSTER.

| | | Horses. |
|-------------|--|-------------|
| Ret. Lieut. | By Robert Gardiner, Esq., Col. | 53 |
| | By William Gore, Lieut. Col. | 379 |
| | By Joseph Watts, Major | 1456 |
| | By William Hill, first Capt. | 221 |
| | By Henry Howard, second Capt. | 753 |
| | By Daniel King, third Capt. | 119 |
| | By Charles Maddox, fourth Capt. | 355 |
| | By John Rusden, fifth Capt. | 326 |
| | By Miles Harper, sixth Capt. | 432 |
| | By Thomas Frew, seventh Capt. | 1043 |
| | By John West, eighth Capt. | 111 |
| | By Samuel Wickell, ninth Capt. | 578 |
| | Number Total | 5817 |

BLUE REGIMENT WITHIN THE BILL OF MORTALITY.

| | | |
|--|--|-------------|
| | By Thomas Medlycott, Esq., Col. | 447 |
| | By John Ellis, Esq., Lieut. Col. | 592 |
| | By Thomas Ward, Major | 204 |
| | By Samuel Hawkins, first Capt. | 214 |
| | By Valentine Hilder, second Capt. | 326 |
| | By William Smart, third Capt. | 463 |
| | By John Hawkins, fourth Capt. | 614 |
| | By William Henn, fifth Capt. | 635 |
| | By Robert Riggs, sixth Capt. | 201 |
| | Number Total | 3696 |

Number Total by the Officers of both Regiments... 9513

The Returns made by the two Regiments of the Tower-Hamlets on the 21st of May, 1722. But the Horses, like those of Westminster, &c. undistinguished in respect of their Use.

FIRST REGIMENT.

| | | Horses. |
|--|--|-------------|
| | By the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, Col. ... | 309 |
| | By Peter Løkeux, Esq., Lieut. Col. | 140 |
| | By —, Hardwick, Major | 610 |
| | By Thomas Taylor, first Capt. | 82 |
| | By Raphell Dubois, second Capt.... .. | 58 |
| | By David Cooper, third Capt. | 116 |
| | By John Lote, fourth Capt.... .. | 234 |
| | By James Guenin, fifth Capt. | 111 |
| | Number Total | 1660 |

SECOND REGIMENT.

| | Horses. |
|---|---------|
| By Sir Isaac Tillard, Knt., Col. | 315 |
| By Deyly Mitchel, Esq., Lieut. Col. | 92 |
| By Thomas Exlebee, Major | 60 |
| By Charles Kipling, first Capt. | 189 |
| By Daniel Whitehurst, second Capt. | 99 |
| By Thomas Jones, third Capt. | 146 |
| By Tobias Hunt, fourth Capt. | 131 |
| By Thomas Stibbs, fifth Capt. | 288 |
| | <hr/> |
| Number Total | 1320 |
| | <hr/> |
| Number Total by the Officers of both Regiments... | 2980 |
| | <hr/> |

It will be seen that each of these regiments consisted of eight Companies, with the exception of the Westminster regiments, which had twelve and nine Companies respectively. J.H.L.

On pp. 352-3 of James's *Military Dictionary*, 1816 ed., the following information is given:—

“ In the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second (1661-3) an act of Parliament passed, by which the Constable of the Tower, or his lieutenant, had authority, from time to time, to appoint his deputy-lieutenants, and to give commissions to a proper number of officers to train and discipline the militia to be raised within and for the said division or hamlets, and to form the same into two regiments of 8 companies each: and in the 26th of his present Majesty [George III. 1785-6] the above act intituled, *An Act for ordering the forces in the several counties of this kingdom*, was revived; and the said constable or lieutenant, in order to defray the necessary charges of trophies and other incidental expenses of the militia of the same division or hamlets, were further authorized to continue to raise, in every year, the proportion of a fourth part of one month's assessment of trophy-money within the said division or hamlets, in such a manner as he hath been used to do, by virtue and in pursuance of the said act of the 13th and 14th years of the reign of Charles the Second.”

“ *Royal Tower Hamlets.* The Militia raised in the district of the Tower is so called, and is divided into two battalions, viz., first and second, officered in the same manner that other corps are belonging to that establishment, and subject to the same rules and regulations.”

“ Trophy Money,” above referred to, is defined in the same work—pp. 30 and 940—as being “ certain money annually raised in the several counties of the kingdom, towards providing harness and maintaining the Militia.” A. C. W.

195. VOLUNTEERS. (Vol. IV. p. 217.) The following extract from *State Papers. Domestic.* Entry book, 164. p. 183, bears date 1685.

“ Com. to Sr. John Fenwick Bart. to be Captain of a Volunteer Troop of Horse raised or to be raised for Our Service; to observe such Orders as you shall receive from Us or your Superior Officer &c. Whitehall the 6th. day of June 1685.”

“ Com. of the same date to James Howard Esqr. to be Lieutenant of above troop.”

“ William Carnaby Esq. to be ‘ Cornett ’ of that Troop—same date.”

The Oxford English Dictionary gives two instances of the use of ‘ Volunteers,’ defined as ‘ Troops, consisting or composed of persons undertaking military service as volunteers ’—both dated 1662.

Extract from a letter from the Duke of Buckingham to Sir Thomas Slingsby, Bart., of Scriven, Knaresborough, Yorks, dated London, 25 July, 1662:—

“I have sent orders to all my Deputy Lieutenants in generall to the same effect, and to get the volontier troopes in as great a redinessso as they can in case there should be occasion for them, but you having the command of the Regiment in Yorke Towne I thought fitt to sende you this letter that you may have a perticular care of that place.” (*Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*. 1836. p. 363.)

From *State Papers. Domestic*. Vol. LXV. 53. Calendar 1661-2. p. 602. In a letter dated Sterry Court, 26 December, 1662, from Colonel Thomas Culpeper to Mr. Secretary Bennet, we find:—

“Has presented the Lord Treasurer wth a Company of 100 Volunteere Horse wch I drew to gether about ye time of ye Quakers Rebellion being most of those men J.H.L.”

196. JOHN HOWELL. (Vol. IV. p. 216.) The presence of this man in the service of the Meers of Sind was known to Sir Charles Napier before the battle of Meeanee, vide Sir William Napier's *Life of Sir Charles Napier*, Vol. II. page 323 (extract from Sir Charles Napier's "Journal," 16th February, 1843):—

“Poor Mr. Howel, the Ameers' master-general of ordnance, refused to fire on his countrymen and they put him to death:”—a false report (Ed.)—“Now if I win to-morrow, and catch Nusseer Khan, as may probably happen, he shall be tried by a military commission and hanged for this murder.”

Whether due to Howell or not, it seems to have been the case that the Meers' artillery fired high: see the account of the battle given by one of the Meers, as described in Sir Richard Burton's *Scinde or the Unhappy Valley*, Vol. II. page 151:—

“We drew up in a heap, eager for the onslaught. Presently some guns of yours appeared; they unlimbered; they began to fire. So did ours; but somehow or other we shot over you, you shot into us.” P.R.C.

197. MEDAL.—40TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. (Vol. IV. pp. 204 and 215.) This is a silver medal which was struck by order of Lieut.-Colonel Musgrave, who was in command of German-Town on 4 October, 1777, when it was attacked by a large force of rebel Americans. The failure of the great measure due to Chew's store-house, by the 40th, and to affair, the medal was struck.

It bears on the obverse, GERMAN-TOWN OCT. 4. 1777, laurel, and on the reverse a somewhat crude representation of Chew's store-house. In the *exergue*—I. Milton.

The medal appears used in the regiment as



OBVERSE.

the 40th regiment at October, 1777, when it force of rebel of the attack was in the stubborn defence of which had been occupied commemorate this struck.

obverse, GERMAN-TOWN within a wreath of reverse a somewhat the attack on Chew's is the engraver's name

later to have been a medal of merit.

W.K.

LETTERS OF CAPTAIN PHILIP BROWNE—1737 TO 1746.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

These letters, 54 in number, are placed at the disposal of the Society through the kindness of their present possessor, Dr. W. K. Pauli. All passages referring to purely family matters and 'compliments' are omitted. The dates in every instance are "old style," except where otherwise indicated.

The following note will explain the matter of dates:—

In the Julian Calendar the centennial years only were leap-years, and for this reason towards the close of the sixteenth century there was a difference of 10 days between the tropical and calendar years. In 1582 Pope Gregory ordained that Oct. 5 should be called Oct. 15, and that every fourth end-century year only should be a leap year. This change was adopted by Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal in 1582; by Prussia, the German Roman Catholic States, Switzerland, Holland, and Flanders in 1583, Poland 1586, Hungary 1587, the German and Netherland Protestant States and Denmark 1700, and by the British Dominions (which included the then North American Colonies) in 1752, by the omission of eleven days (Sept. 3 being reckoned as Sept. 14). The *difference* between the Old and New Styles was 11 days after 1700, 12 days after 1800, and has been 13 days since 1900.

Until 1752, there were two methods of reckoning time—the civil and the historical year. The former began on 25 March, the latter on 1 January. Hence the days between 31 December and 25 March were in two years. Thus 25 February, 1750, in modern style, is 25 February, 1749, according to the ancient civil year, and is thus expressed—25 February, 1749-50, or 17 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Browne's letters are all (No. 28 excepted) addressed to his brother:—Thomas Browne, Merchant, in Grace Church Street, near the Monument, London.

PHILIP BROWNE received a commission as Cornet in the King's Own Regiment of Horse, on 17 July, 1737, of which Henry, 9th Earl of Pembroke, was at that time Colonel. The Regiment is to-day represented by the 1st King's Dragoon Guards.

He purchased a commission as Exempt and Captain in the 3rd Troop of Horse Guards in 1745, and was placed on half pay in the following year, the Troop being then reduced. His name appears in the Army List of 1765 for the last time, as on half-pay. He probably died in 1764.

His mother resided at Reading, and was living in 1743.

He had two brothers, John and Thomas, the latter a London merchant; a sister, whose married name was Clarke; two aunts—one whose married name was Slater; and the other—Martha Browne—who married Charles Chauncy, of New Buckenham, Norfolk, in 1708. She died in 1752.

He was present at the battles of Dettingen (1743) and Fontenoy (1745).

His coat of arms, as used on the seal of the letters, appears to be:—
Gules on a bend between 8 crosses croset, three eagles displayed.
Information concerning him and his family is asked for.

J.H.L.

LETTER No. 1.

Market Harborough. [Leicestershire. 84 miles N.N.W. from London.] Wednesday, 28 Sept. 1737.

I sett out for St. Albans [20 miles from London], last Wednesday [21 September] at Noon, and gott to Northampton [66 miles], a Friday Night, and from thence Arrived here a Monday Evening. I shall make no Excuse, nor Apology, for not taking leave of you and my relations in Form; it being what I did not choose, or Intend, nor ever will do. For as it is Natural to be Concern'd at parting from them we Love and Esteem, especially when the length of Time makes it uncertain of meeting again, I was willing no body shou'd share with me in that Sorrow of mind, that I felt, when I knew it was the last time I shou'd see each one for the present; which disposition of mind, was Occasioned by the thoughts of parting for such a Length of Time. But I was not wanting in good Manners of Visiting each one particularly. (*sic*)

The Scene that now presents it self to me is what I never thought I should like, but as I knew it was to be the Consequence of Entring into His Majesty's Service, I am not at all uneasy at it, being steadily determined to engage with pleasure, in every individual part that my duty may demand of me, and the Country which woud have been intolerable to me, in any other Situation of Life, I come to with Cheerfulness tho' not Choice. Harborough is a very pretty market Town, & more Agreeable then most Towns that I have seen. The only thing that is wanting is Conversation, but it is the same to me everywhere but in London, all Country places in that particular being alike—but I shall endeavour to make up the want of that pleasure, by reflection & reading, it being more profitable to study in the Country, In the dead Languages, then (*sic*) the Living, Books being more Conducive to that end then Men, especially such as is to be meet with here or in such places.

However some people may Imagine that the Life of an Officer is nothing but pleasure; I can account no other way for the Honour that is always paid to that Profession, then that it is attended with much Toil & Fatigue, & may be at the Expence of Limbs & Life; & who ever enters into it with any other Views, then to be Serviceable to His King & Country, when they demand it, will I believe meet with a disappointment.

For ease which is the pursuit of most men, & desirable by all, they are frequently Strangers unto; having no Certain Abode, nor a Certain Continuance any where for any time, nor indeed any thing else so; but Notwithstanding I wish that I had been engag'd in the Service, from my first coming into Life. The reason of my leaving London last week was that I might see Something of duty before I relieve the Officer the 1st of October, when he leaves me, & a Monday Morning I march the troop to Lutterworth about Seven Miles from hence, there being a Horse fair to be kept here, which begins a Tuesday, & holds a fortnight,¹ & we go hence for the conveniency of the Inhabitants, but then shall return here again, & stay about the same time, & then if nothing unforeseen happens go to Northampton for the Winter. I should be glad you would favour me with a Line in a post or two to Lutterworth, for it wod be a great Satisfaction to me at this distance to hear you are all well. I was Sorry that my friend Mr. Slater² was not in town that [I] might have seen him & wish that his affairs may call him within 30 miles of me wch I wod ride over with pleasure.

Please to Direct to Philip Browne Esq.
Cornet in His Majesty's own Regiment of Horse,
it being the proper Direction when at my Post.

LETTER NO. 2.

Market Harbro'.

Saterday 22 Octr. 1737.

I writ you from hence the 28th of Sepr. last—since which have been favour'd with none from you, which would have been a great Satisfaction to me, for I long to hear of all your Wellfares. Distance of Place makes one desirous of hearing from them we Love.

In mine I desir'd you to direct for me at Lutterworth, which is twelve London Miles from hence, on the Left towards Coventry. Afterwards our Rout was Chang'd for Kettering, about the same distance, on the right, it being thought better Quarters. On Tuesday the 11th inst. I sent from Kettering to Lutterworth, expecting by that time a letter there. We came here last Monday [17 October] & I have since sent but there was none, which makes me apprehensive that mine never came to your hands, or that some Incident hath prevented yours from coming to me, which hath given me some uneasyness. I saw Mr. Ward a Thursday Morning, as he was takin horse, otherwise should have writ you by him. He will be at my Bro'r. John Brown's [*sic.* no 'e'] a Sunday, by whom, I desired him to give my Service to all Friends.

Since I left you [I] have been perfectly well in health, & indeed the Life I live hath a natural tendency to promote it. I rise early, Live Temperately, Use Exercise & go to Bed soon. I can now in some Measure form an Idea how far Country Quarters is like to suit my

¹ The horse fair still exists, though but little patronised, and is usually held in October.

² Slater is frequently mentioned in the letter--always as 'Mr.' Possibly he was partner in Thomas Browne's business.

inclinations. I always apprehended I should never like them, & could not Imagine they wou'd ever be agreeable to me, but I am disapointed in the way I wou'd always Chuse, which I Impute to this Cause. When first I saw a prospect of engaging in this way of Life, I looked only on the dark side of the Cloud, representing to my self always the worst, that I was sure wou'd, or could, possibly befall me, so that I left no room to be ever dissatisfied with what ever might happen, & if I should chance to enjoy a fine summer's day, it will be what I never Boiy'd my self up with the hopes & Expectations of.

At Kettering I happen'd to have a private Lodging to my mind, where was a Lady, an Officer's Widow, who having seen a good deal of the world, & resided mostly at London, was very good Company, & we used to pass away part of the Evening at Picquet.¹ Here is a Club of Neighbouring Gentlemen of Distinction & Fashion, but as I did not come into the Country to be a Fox Hunter, or Country Esquire, I am only with them En Passant. Notwithstanding my time don't hang heavy upon my hands, for I always know how to employ my self when alone, which I rather choose, then Converse with them I don't like, for [I] will never allow my self to run into the fashionable pleasure of the Country, viz. Drinking, and wou'd I but be in London Three Evenings in a Week, to enjoy my friends, it is as much as I wou'd wish.

As I never placed my happiness in a Crowd, though a Gay one, I am not in the least Vapoured² although quite retired from the World, for a Time, & so much alone. My Spirits are now always Chearfull & Even, & I can truly say that now I enjoy Life. Wee never relish health with so high a glee, as after a Severe fit of Pain, & Sickness, & that terrible uneasiness of mind, that I suffered, for the first eighteen months, after I left the City³ owing to Disapointments, hath no doubt not a little contributed to my present ease & Satisfaction. Pray lett me have a line by the first post, for next to the pleasure of seeing one friends, is to Converse with them by letter, & I that don't love writing, now sett Pen to Paper, with Pleasure, for that end. . . .

LETTER No. 3.

Northampton. [Tuesday] 1 December, 1737.

Your favours of the 15th & 24th inst.⁴ came not to my hands till last night, owing to their being directed to be left till called for. As I am now fixt here for the winter, please to omit it for the future. Am sorry to hear of the Death of Mrs. Clarke,⁵ which condole with my Brother upon. The Queens Death⁶ is much lamented here, every body speaking well of her. My Lodgings are at your Service, at all times, for you & your friends, whenever you please. The Key I left with Mrs. Quinch:

¹ As is said at Election times—'1926. No change.'

² Low-spirited.

³ He had possibly been engaged in his brother's business.

⁴ Obviously should be 'ult.'

⁵ Possibly his sister's mother-in-law, she having married a Clarke.

⁶ 20 November, 1737. Queen Caroline.

& I hereby desire them to lett you make use of them, the same as if I was there my self. We are told that the funeral will not be till after Christmass, but when it is settled shall write them to deliver the key to you, & lett no body but you & your friends, into my Apartm^{ts}. Mr. Roussy was taking ill last Monday was sennight, at the George¹ of a great Cold, wch there is reason to fear will carry him of. Tho I was so near him, he never sent me word, & it was by accident, that I knew of it last Sunday. I have visited him every day since. He has two Doctors, but they give very little hopes of his recovery. Every time I see him I look upon it to be the last. Mr. Dumourtier since he knew it wch was but last Saturday, Constantly attends him.

LETTER No. 4.

Northampton. [Sunday] 13 December, 1737.

I writ you the 1st Inst. in answer to yours of the 24th of Novr. Since which have had none from you. As under is my draft on Major Sawyer payable to you for Thirty Pounds to reimburse for my Draft on you in November. I apprehend the Queens Funeral² will not pass through Pall Mall but least [lest] it Should have as under sent an order to Mr. Quinch. Mr. Roussy is still in a very weak Condition but there is some little hopes. Pray make my Compliments to my Uncle & Aunt Chauncy³ & all friends.

[3¼" cut out of the page, on which the draft must have been written.]

Northampton. 13 December, 1737.

Mr. Quinch.

Pray deliver up my Apartments to my Brother Browne for him & his Friends Service whenever he pleases. I remaine

Your Humb. Servt. PHIL. BROWNE.

LETTER No. 5.

Newport Pagnell [Buckinghamshire—56 miles from London.
Saturday] 26 August, 1738.

Since my coming down have been pretty much engaged in preparing for our Review by my Lord Pembroke,⁴ which hath made me omit writing you. My Lord Saw us last week, & I can't but say that am well pleased, that I returned in June to Northampton, when was not on Duty. Am in hopes that nothing hath arisen for me to clear up in the Accts. If my proportion should come out less, after you have new

¹ This hotel has disappeared.

² The funeral took place on 17 December.

³ Martha Browne, the writer's aunt, married Charles Chauncy, of Newington, Middlesex, on 28 December, 1708. He died in 1763, and his wife in 1752.

⁴ Henry, 9th Earl of Pembroke. He was Colonel of Browne's regiment—appointed on 22 June, 1735.

worked them, then it was at Decr. 1730, must be content, but if more, when you have done them, should be glad to know. Should be sorry if you are much sufferers by the fire at Wellinbro'. We had a Troop then in the town but lost no Horse. The Damage I hear is about £25,000. All the neighbouring towns have collected from house to house, for the immediate subsistence of the poorer sort. There was about 70 li sent from this town. I believe you are engaged with Mr. W. where I was last Quartered: if so from what I heard publickly, I should advise you to get gradually out, & engage no more.

LETTER No. 6.

Northampton. [Thursday] 24 May, 1739.

I recd. the favour of yours of the 28th of April. I shall leave this place to Morrow Morning, to March the Detachment, that is ordered for the Kings Duty. Shall be at Putney the first of June, that being the day we relieve the Duke of Argyle's Regiment¹ & shall Continue there for Some time, where hope to have the pleasure to see you.

LETTER No. 7.

Uxbridge. Sunday, 8 July, 1739.

. our notice was so short to come here, that had not time to acquaint you of it. I was willing to lett you know, that next Wednesday [11 July], is fixt for our Review, by his Majesty, at Hounslow Heath, where if seeing as fine a body of Men, & Horses, as can be, will give you any pleasure, I believe you will not be disapointed. Please to give My Service to my Uncle Browne, & acquaint him of it, that he may come if it should be agreeable to him. We shall be upon the Ground at Seven in the Morning, & suppose the King will be there by Eight.

.
Possably My Brother John Browne & Couzin Chauncy will take a ride with you.

LETTER No. 8.

High Wicomb. [Sunday] 29 June, 1740.

I should have writ you Sooner, but that I suppose my Sister Clarke, acquainted you I was well. We march hence to Morrow, Halt at Reading a Tuesday (when shall have an Oppurtunity to Pay my Mother, a Visit). Proceed to New-berry a Wednesday, & March into Camp a Thursday morning.

LETTER No. 9.

From the Camp near Newberry. [Tuesday] 5 August, 1740.

In a Letter to my Uncle Browne, I acknowledged yours of the 19th

¹ The Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (The Blues).

past & acquainted him that the Pelican, at Newberry, was the nearest, & most convenient house to Lodge at, & Set up your Horses. Am oblidged to you, for offering to send some body, to attend at the removing my furniture, but have left it entirely to Mr. Quinch. I was with my Uncle Chauncy last night at Newberry, who left my Mother very well at Reading. Have no news to write hence. Suppose Sir John Norris Expedition¹ will determine our Situation next Spring.

LETTER NO. 10.

From the Camp near Newberry. [Sunday] 14 Sept. 1740.

I recd. yours of the 9th Inst. Am very Sorry to hear of the Misfortune, you mentioned which gives me a great concern. Should have been glad to have seen you here, if it had throughly Suted; but as the Weather hath lately been it would have been a very indiffrent Journey. He have had very High Winds, & Hard rains for some time past. The Tents are now never dry, the Men are continually wet, & the Horses stand footlock deep in Water frequently. There is a Talk of Hutting the Mens Tents, if so probably we may be here some months longer. General Whethams regiment,² which was Embarked, is now a marching from Portsmouth, to Encamp again with us. I am very well in Health, but have Sprained my Ancle, that can't get on a Boot, which is unlucky at this time, for some days we can't stir, without being over Shoes in Water, & Dirt. The only way that is possable to endeavour to prevent catching Cold is to drink more Wine then is necessary at other times—for we are frequently wet, under foot & over head at the same time in the best Booths we have.

LETTER NO. 11.

Hereford. [Saturday] 18 October, 1740.

I have Sent the undermentioned things by Bonds Newberry barge, which unloads at Bull Wharf, near St. Pauls—beg the favour you would send for them, & lett the person, who Sees them weighed, pay the Barge Carriage, which is fiveteen pence the great Hundred, & please to give them house room, till I come to London. I hope you will excuse this

¹ "The large concentration of Spanish forces at Ferrol [1740], and the knowledge that Spain cherished plans for aiding the Pretender in a descent upon Great Britain or Ireland, led to the assemblage of a large fleet at Spithead. It was entrusted to Admiral-of-the-Fleet Sir John Norris. who had secret instructions; but what they were is, even now, not certainly known. It is supposed by some that he had orders to attack Ferrol, but this is upon the whole unlikely. It is more probable that his force was designed merely to convoy outward-bound merchantmen until clear of the Channel, and to be ready for any special service that might appear desirable. The Admiral of the Fleet took to sea with him as a volunteer Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II. The fleet sailed from St. Helen's on July 10th, but was three times driven back into port by contrary weather: and on August 28th, Sir John, being then in Torbay, hauled down his flag and departed from London with the young Duke." *The Royal Navy*, by W. L. Clowes. Vol. III. 1898. p. 66.

² Thomas Whetham. His regiment was afterwards designated the 12th Foot.

trouble, which I should not have given you, had Mr. Quinch continued in Pall Mall.

Two Valleis marked Cornet Browne 1 & 2. Have Sealed up the Straps, that might have nothing taken out. In these is my Tent, & bedding, & therefore desire they be put in some dry Place.

One Box marked Cornet Browne, & Two parcells Packt up in Matts. These being the Tent Poles, Chairs &c. may be put any where.

I writ my Uncle the 4th inst. from Cirencester. This is a very fine Country in Summer, but now can plainly see the Welsh Mountains covered with Snow. We march for Worcester, a Monday Morning, where shall be, till come for London in January. We leaving this place upon account of the Scarcity of Forage, & hope to find it more plenty there. Hay here is four pounds a load, & Oats twenty four shillings a Quarter. In the March at Ross, twelve miles short of hence, we paid three pence a Quarter, a price never known before. My Black Horse, lost both his Eyes in Camp, which I parted with here. The other stands me in near as much a week, as both used to do. Ordinary low priced Horses, are now to be bought or rather given away, Oats & Hay being so very dear.

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LETTER NO. 12.

Worcester. [Tuesday] 28 October, 1740.

I writ you the 18th Inst. from Hereford, Since which have been favoured with none from you. In which I desired the favour you would send for my Field-Equipage, which I gave directions, to be put aboard of John Bonds Newberry Barge, which comes to Bull Wharf, near St. Pauls, and to pay 15d. p. cwt. for the Water Carriage thereof. When you shall have recd them, please to deliver to Mr. Andrews, who will send for them. The Box & the Large Vallees, first taken out the Bedstead which is in a Bag in the Vallees. The rest being my Tent, Marque, &c. he will take to Merton, to Air sometimes, to prevent there being milled. This quarter is a very agreeable one.

LETTER NO. 13.

Worcester. [Wednesday] 3 June, 1741.

I recd the favr of yours of the 25 of April & 30 of May. It is Certain The King, did our Regiment the Honour, before he went to Hanover, to Appoint it for one of them, that are to be sent abroad. We are in Dayly Expectation of Orders to March, & towards London, we Imagining The Horse will Embark at the Red House at Depthford—As soon as I know for certain will Inform you. I can't but say I wait for the Order with Chearfull Expectation & pleasure, being ready & willing to risque my Life, when The Kings Service & The Publick Good requires it. And as both now demand it, it is most Agreeable to me to Court Dangers & Hardships abroad, rather than to continue in Safety & Ease at Home.

And my only Wish & desire is, that I may behave Gallantly & die like a Soldier, or return with Honour & in Higher Rank.

LETTER NO. 14.

Newberry. [Tuesday] 29 June, 1742.

We was reviewed by his Majesty, last Saturday [26 June] at Hounslow Heath, when it was said the transports would be ready for us in a fortnight or Sooner. The reason of our being ordered here, is that there is not Quarters sufficient for us nearer London, owing to the Numbers that are all ready thereabouts. I was with my Mother yesterday who is very well, and desires her complements to all friends. Shall be glad of a line from you while am here, and so soon as have an order of march shall acquaint you of it. All the Officers was ordered from the Field to their Posts, but so soon as the Troops are settled, one of a Troop hath leave of absence for a week, so that if the Embarkation should not very soon take place shall have an opportunity of spending the same time with you.

LETTER NO. 15.

Newberry. [Tuesday] 20th July, 1742.

I received your favour of the 1st Inst.—should have writ you since, but have been in dayly expectation of orders to march hence. The Officers were all ordered from the Review to their Posts, & their to continue, so that shall have very little time if any to wait upon my Friends. We are to Embark with the Horse Guards, upon the return of the Transports, which are now taking aboard Hawley¹ & Campbells² Dragoons. As we draw near Town shall give you a line, & acquaint you whether I can call upon you.

LETTER NO. 16.

Newbury. [Sunday] 25 July, 1742.

I writ you the 20th Inst. This moment an Express brought our order of march, on Thursday 29 from Windsor to Kingston. Friday 30 to Croydon, their to halt till Monday 2 Augst. Then to Sevenoaks & Riverhead our Embarking Quarters. I beg you would desire my Brother John Browne to gett me a Letter of Credit for one hundred pounds on a Merchant in Ghent that as may have occasion may make use of it.

¹ Major-General Henry Hawley's, now—1926—1st The Royal Dragoons.
² Colonel James Campbell, commanding the Royal Regiment of North British Dragoons (Scots Greys).

LETTER No. 17.

Croydon. [Friday] 6 Augst. 1742.

Just now we have our orders to march hence to Morrow Morning at three a Clock to Dartford & to morrow night at twelve a clock we march thence to Gravesend & shall Embark a Sunday Morning [8 August] at four a Clock. I desire if it dont suit, that you would not put your self to any illconveniency to come & as I am perswaded no Love or Affection on eiether side is wanting so I can't say I should chuse to take further leave of my friends before I depart.

LETTER No. 18.

From on Board *The Liberty & Property* in Margate Road.
Saturday morning 14 Augst. 1742.

We weighd Anchor a Monday Morning [9 August] at five a Clock from Gravesend & droped Anchor that day at two off the North foreland, & have continued hereabout ever since for want of a fair wind. Yesterday at Seven in the Morning the Man of War gave us the Signal to weigh anchor, which we did, & gott pretty near the Downs, but it being a calm we were obliged to return hither, yesterday at two in the afternoon, & how long we may be detained for want of a wind we know not. We have had extream fine weather, was sick a Monday, since which have continued very well.

LETTER No. 19.

Ostend. [Thursday] 19/30 Augst. 1742.¹

I have only time to acquaint you that yesterday noon at one a Clock we came safe here, after a very bad Voyage from Marget Roads—A Tuesday night we lay at anchor a league from shore in a most violent wind, from which was apprehended some disaster, but yesterday we cutt our Cables & about ten more & we got safe here but the rest to the number of about Twenty are not yet arrived, but they are now in view & we hope to have them all safe this afternoon. I am just a going to march to Bruges this evening.

LETTER No. 20.

Ghent. [Wednesday] 1 O.S. (12 N.S.) September, 1742.

I writ you from Ostend 19 Augst. O.S., [Letter No. 19], where we landed, after a very disagreeable & fatiguing Passage of twelve days. That Morning we disembarked the Horses upon the Sands, the tide being half way up their legs, where we remained till Eight at Night, & then Marched to Bruges [11 miles], where we arrived at One a Clock in the

¹ 19 is Old Style, and 30 New. New Style was adopted on the Continent as early as 1582, but not until 1752 in England.

Morning, Neither Officers, Men, nor Horses, having had any refreshment that whole day. We was obliged to threaten to brake open the doors of my Inn, before could get admittance, after which enquiring for a bed they said we must lay in the Kitchen, but we took the Liberty to take possession of the Landlords. That Day we halted at Bruges, where we were all Severally invited to dine with the Generals. Next morning we marched for Ghent, where we arrived after a March of Sixteen hours; it is twenty four English Miles, the roads very Sandy, We halted about noon when the Officers & Men sett down upon the ground to refresh themselves with what Victuals & Wine they brought with them from Bruges, there being no town between where we could be accommodated. Since our arrival here have wanted for nothing. With regard to living it is much the same as in England, only we fair better for the money. In Ostend is two thousand of the Queen of Hungarys Troop. Bruges is a larger City & Garrison'd only by English Troops about Six thousand. In Lier is one thousand, in Oudenarde one thousand five hundred, & when the next Embarkation is arrived we shall have here Eight Thousand. Our Duty's owing to mounting of Guards is more in Garrison then Country Quarters, but I think this much preferable. As for news there is a story for the day as in England, but this is certain that Lord Stairs, hath sent orders for us to be ready to take the field as soon as possible, & Gen^l. Honeywood hath issued out orders for all the Officers to be provided with baggage Horses by the 7th inst. O.S. I have the satisfaction of being quite ready; would I sell any of my Horses could dispose of them to advantage, they being now as dear again as in England, & them Gentlemen who have not a sufficient number, are at a very great loss to furnish themselves. . . . Please to direct to me of the Earl of Pembrokes regiment of Horse, it being known here better than by the Kings own regiment. The Jew misinformed my Brother John Brown who sold him the pistoles,¹ or else made him pay to much for them, for I gain nine pence upon a Guinea & only six pence upon a pistole. We have had very fine weather here having seen only sun shine since we landed, but the mornings & evenings begin to grow cold, which will be some little seasoning for taking the field. . . .

LETTER NO. 21.

Ghent. [Saturday] 5th February O.S. 1742/43.

I writ Mr. Slater the 20th of January O.S. & have not heard from England since my Brother Clarks of the 14 January O.S. I have by this post desired my sister Clarke to packt up the undermentioned things & send them in the Black Trunk marked P.B.I. which I desire you would forward as soon as possible to your Correspondent at Ostend, & desire him to forward them for me to Mr. Laruelle, Marchant in Ghent. I imagine the Trunk will be opened at your Custom house & possibly again at Ostend, so I have directed it not to be locked, but desire the straps may

¹ A foreign gold coin.

be all buckled & the two larger ones which goes round the Trunk instead of a Cord may have a piece of Tape run through the Holes & sealed on the Top after the Custom house officers have passed it. I desire the Servant that ships would, if he can, prevent there opening of it, or if they do there tumbling the cloaths, & if it will be of any service you may acquaint them of the contents, & that there is nothing but wearing apparel which hath been worn, I should be glad you would give me a line to lett me know when I am like to receive it supposing the wind fair, for would be glad to receive them as soon as possable. Please to receive all Charges of my Brother John Browne, & desire him to make me Debtor for them.

1. A Blew Cloth Coat embroidered with Gold.
2. A Brocaded wastcoat with Green blew & purple & Gold flowers.
3. A Blew Cloth pair of Breeches with gold buttons.
4. A Blew Cloth Coat laced with Gold.
5. A Scarlet Cloth wastcoat laced with gold.
6. A Scarlet Cloth pair of Breeches with gold buttons.
7. A Scarlet Denim¹ pair of Breeches.
8. Another pair of scarlet Denim Breeches.
9. A Cloth Coat with Gold buttons the Cuffs faced with gold & silver brocade the same as the wastcoat No. 2.
10. A Black Velvet pair of Breeches.
11. Another pair of Black Velvet Breeches.
12. A plain Blew Cloth Coat.
13. A plain Blew Cloth pair of Breeches.
14. Nine India Dimity white Wastcoats.

Pray after the Customs house Officers have done with it lett there be a Couple of four penny Padlocks put on which may be easily filed of if it should be opened at Ostend, but don't let the great Locks be locked for it will spoil the Trunk to have them wrenched. I have a key to lock it when I receive it.

My sister Clarke will inform you of the present news here. I desire my friends would address to me at Mr. Laruelle's Merchant in Ghent, till I give them a fresh direction.

LETTER No. 22.

Bruxelles. 18th March. [Friday] O.S. 1742/43.

Your favours of the 18th & 22nd of February came to my hands since I came here. . . . I have not as yet received the Trunk, but Mr. Laruel who was here last week, will forward it to me as soon as it comes to his hands.

Upon our Arrival here, we drew up on the Grand Parade, near the Palace, the Windows & Balcony's of the Houses was filled with Ladies,

¹ A kind of serge material. Denim is a shortened form of *Serge de Nismes*, a manufacturing town in the S. of France.

In London *Gazette* No. 3885/4 of 1703, is mentioned "A pair of Flowered Serge de Nim Breeches."

& Count Harrach¹ came out to review us, & saluted all the Officers, was greatly pleased at our appearance, we being after two days March in as much order, as if to be reviewed by the King in Hyde Park. Bruxelles, next Paris, is much the finest City I have seen abroad. Here is a Court, a Number of Princes & Nobility, who have Card Assembly's, and at whose Houses the Officers that chuse it are all wellcome. I was at the Dutchess Aremberg's Assembly this week, where was ten Tables at Cards. Picquet & Codrille² was there usual play but out of Politeness they have introduced Whisk.³ I live at the Hotell d'Flandres, where the people of the first fashion of all Nations resort to upon their travels. Please to direct to me there, & continue it till I give another & add to be forwarded if Marched. We have very good Company to sett down with, & have two courses & a desart at Dinner, and the same repeated again at Night With Burgundy, Champagne & Claret. After dinner we go to the Course, where the people of Quality resort every afternoon, yesterday there was upwards of threescore Equipages, about seven the assembly's begin which last till near Nine, then Sup & break up at Eleven. Lady Vane⁴ is here, & last night came Lady Godschall,⁵ with Doctor Younger to whom she is lately married. Our stay here is like to be much shorter then was expected, the Grenadiers of the Army which are at Dueren & being to march to morrow, in order to pass the Rhine, & the whole to follow. If this should be, possibly we may go in a fortnight, but am so used to reports that now I give certain credit to nothing till it happens, & the only use I make of orders is to be ready, not knowing the motives from whence they are issued out—to days is as strong as any we have had to be ready to march.

19 March. Am just now informed that we shall certainly march about the sixth of April. Leave Maestrich on the left, pass the Rhine at Coblentz, & shall be twenty Eight days halts included where we are to go.

[On 18 April, 1743, General Sir Philip Honeywood, Colonel of the 3rd Dragoons, was appointed Colonel of the King's Regiment of Horse, in succession to the Earl of Pembroke, who had retired.]

LETTER NO. 23.

Tirlemont 8 Leagues from Brussels.

[Saturday.]. 30 April, O.S., 1743.

I recd Mr. Slaters favours of the 15th & 21st of this Inst. O.S. my Brother John Browne's of the 18th and my cousin Charles Chauncy's of the 22^d. before I left Bruxelles, which City we marched from yesterday

¹ Frederich August Gervais Protais von Harrach, Governor-General of the Low Countries.

² *Quadrille*—a card game for four persons.

³ The earlier form of the word 'whist.'

⁴ Wife of the 2nd Viscount Vane—generally known as 'Lady Fanny.' See 'D.N.B.'

⁵ Widow of Sir Robert Godschall, Kt., Lord Mayor of London, 1742. He died on 26 June, during his year of office. His widow married the Rev. Richard Younger, Rector of St. Nicholas's, Guildford, and Vicar of Godalming. He was the eldest son of Dr. John Younger, Dean of Salisbury and Canon of St. Paul's.

morning to Louvain [15 miles], & to day here [12 miles]. . . . I thank Providence I am perfectly well, & in high Spirits, & the gayest scences of my life never gave me more pleasure and satisfaction then I now enjoy, in marching to pass the Rhine. Louvain is a very neet City but not very large, famous for the education of Youth, there is very good small Beer which is my favourate liquor, & for a bottle of which I would frequently give in exchange a bottle of Burgundy. I beg may receive a line if never so short by the return of the post, directed for me in the Kings own regiment of Horse, Comanded by General Honeywood at Coblantz, or forwarded, if gone, to Frankfort at which City, viz. Coblantz, I shall be about the 20th of May O.S. Pray acquaint Mr. Slater I shall write him so soon as have opportunity, we halt but every fifth day so have not much time to write.

I beg my friends would not have any anxiety for me, & when they may, pray tell them from me, that the Evils we fear are more than the Evils we feel in Life.

LETTER NO. 24.

Coblantz. [Sunday] 15 May, O.S. 1743.

We passed the Maese the 3^d. Inst. O.S. & yesterday morning the Rhine, over a flying bridge of boats, at Newidt—this day I came from a Village five Miles off, & recrossed the Rhine, in a wherry opposite to this City, in hopes to find a letter at the post office for me, but there was none—but I understand it will be forwarded to Frankfort—about two leagues off which city wee shall incamp next friday. The weather during our whole march hath favoured us greatly, but it hath not been a little fatiguing, owing to the force marches we have made; by which means we shall get there the 21st day instead of the 28th day, which was our first route. The Countrys we have passed through are extremely beautifull but we have frequently had nothing but Straw to lye upon, & nothing to Eat but bacon & Eggs. I thank God was never better in my life, & a Clearfullness runs through all the Troop, notwithstanding the bad accommodation we have had; We all long to be in our canvas houses, where we shall lye Sweet & clean, & not be pestered with flees as all of us have been. The palace of the Elector of Triers¹ is opposite to this City in a strong Citadell (as Lambeth palace is to Westminster). The fortifications are strong & the hight stupendious & mountains in the rear; it faces the Moselle which there runs into the Rhine, & from Coblantz to the Electorate of Cologne is a fine stone bridge of 12 Arches over the Mosel. The Elector now resides in that Citadel. The Country [*i.e.*, Duchy] of Juliers² is well worth contending for by Princes who measure right by force—in travelling in this part of the world you have much to feast the Eye but nothing else to give you pleasure. I go from hence in an hour & march tomorrow morning at three a Clock to Montabaur.

¹ Or Treves: on the R. Moselle.

² Lying between the Maese and the Rhine. The City of Juliers is 33 miles E. from Maestricht.

Please to direct for me A Monsieur Browne Lieutenant au Régiment du Corps de sa Majesté Britannique, Cavallerie, a Francfort ou ailleurs.

LETTER NO. 25.

From the Camp at Hanau. [Saturday.] 18 June, O.S. 1743.

Before this reaches your hand, I don't doubt but you will have heard of the battle¹ that was fought, between the french & us, on the 16th inst. [O.S.] between Aschaffenberg & this place; have taken the first opportunity to acquaint you that am perfectly well, not doubting but that you & my friends will be greatly anxious for me. I thank God who hath most wonderfully preserved me, in the uttmost hazard & danger, my life for Eight hours being every minute very precarious, from the constant fire of the Enemy. The publick news will give you an account of the battle; shall therefore only inform you of what befell our regiment. For several hours we stood the cannonading of the enemy, from several batteries they had erected, which commanded the line of march, so as not only to annoy us, but frequently went beyond us. Our men & Horses stood it without the ranks being in the least disordered, & so soon as men or Horses was killed they closed again, & at the same time we could see that as our cannon played upon them, they sett up a gallop in great disorder. They begun by cannonading us upon our march; there first fire was at eight a clock in the morning; they had been marching all night, & had passed the Maine, & drawn their troops up on this side, in order to prevent our joyning six thousand Hessians, & eight thousand Hanoverians, which came to this ground last night, they took possession of a village where they crossed over, which was a pass we must fight through or retire back again—immediately we formed & marched in line of battle, about one a clock, the Brigade of Horse Guards & Horse was ordered in the front; about a mile before we came to the ground, where we engaged, our eyes was presented with numbers of dead bodies, & some that was shot & slain & not expired, which we could not help riding over & passing through; I saw numbers that the foot put an end to by firing their peices in their ears. Before the left of the brigade of Horse was formed, the Gens-Arms, the best troops of france, advanced to attack us, & a battery of their cannon flanked us; upon their advancing to attack Genl. Honywoods & General Ligoniers² regiments we marched forward & meet them sword in hand; at the same time their cannon ceased, & they flanked us on the left with their foot; then we engaged & not only received but returned their fire; the balls flew about like hail, & then we cut into their ranks & they into ours. The Major who you knew at Croydon was on my right; his scull cap turned two musket balls, but he received two deep

¹ The Battle of Dettingen (near Frankfurt) was fought by the English and Hanoverians against the French, under Marshal Noailles. The French were defeated with a loss of 6,000 men. H.M. George II. was present, in command of the British Infantry, but Lord Stair commanded the Allies. This was the last battle in which a King of England took part.

² Now (1926) represented by the 4th/7th Dragoon Guards composite regiment.

cuts by their Sabres; Cornet [George] Allcroft, who was near me, was killed, and the standard which he bore was hacked, but we saved it; my cousin Chauncy knew him. A Captain on the right of the Major was killed, another on my left was shot in both shoulders, three Men & eight Horses of the Majors Troop, to whom I am Lieut., was killed, & eight men shot & cut, but not yet dead. Our Squadron suffered most, we being upon the left. In the right Squadron Lieut. [Edward] Draper who you knew was killed, & his Captain wounded. Capt. [Robert] Watts, my Brother John Brownes acquaintance & Cornet [William] Lightfoot yours, who both charged in the center Squadron are well, but one of their Captains is sadly bruised by being trampled under the Horses feet & his Lieut. was shot through the thigh. I did not receive the least hurt but my left hand & shirt sleeve was covered with blood, which must fly from the wounded upon me. Providence greatly favoured me that as their was an engagement we was in the thickest of it, & was my kind protector, had not the English foot come to our relieve we had been all cut to peices, the Gens. Arms being nine deep & we but three, after which we rallied again & marched up to attack them again, but before we was ordered the french had retired & the English, Hanoverians & Austrians remained masters of the field. We then proceeded on our march & came to our ground at eight a clock, it pouring then with rain & continued so all night, & not an officer had a tent the baggage not being come up, & we had nothing to eat nor drink, & we quenched our thirst by the rain that fell upon our hats, & we had nothing at all for our Horses. We laid upon our Arms that night, as we did on Wednesday Night,¹ & got here last Night at ten a clock, so that besides the engagement we had neither provision for men or Horse, from the first night to Saturday morning. I am perfectly well & have got no cold, but am a little fatigued. I gott a good meal of cold beef to day, & if am not disturbed this nights rest will quite recover me. The King² commanded in the field, & was greatly pleased when Victory turned on our side; they was beat back all the way, till they was forced on the other side of the Maine. At a moderate computation the french have lost three to one, and so long as they could they flung their dead into the Maine, to conceal their numbers slain, & they likewise flung their cannon there after there batteries had done playing. This Victory is of prodigious consequence for had we been beaten we could not have joined the Hessians & eight thousand Hanoverians.

My whole baggage is safe & up with me; some officers have lost all there's; the Hussars in great numbers allways harrassing the rear on purpose for plunder.

The Duke³ was shot in the leg but not dangerous. Lord Crawford⁴ says that in all the service he ever saw this was the Hottest for the time it lasted.

(To be continued.)

¹ The night before the battle.

² George II.

³ H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland.

⁴ John Lindsay, 20th Earl of Crawford, Colonel of the Black Watch.

Dear Brother.

From the Camp at Hanau 18. June O.S. 1743.

Before this reaches your hand, I don't doubt but you will have heard of the battle that was fought, between the French & us, on the 16th. Int^r between Aeschaffenberg & this place, have taken the first opportunity to acquaint you that am perfectly well, not doubting but that you & my friends will be greatly anxious for me - I thank God who hath ^{great} wonderfully preserved me, in the utmost hazard & danger, my life for eight hours being every minute very precarious, from the constant fire of the Enemy. The publick news will give you an account of the battle, ¹⁷ shall therefore only inform you of what befell our regiment, for several hours we stood the cannonading of the enemy, from several batteries they had erected, which commanded the line of march, so as not only to annoy us, but frequently went beyond us - our men & Horse stood it without the ranks being in the least ^{it is soon as if} disorder'd, & at the same time we could see that as our cannon played upon them, they set up a gallop in great disorder.

Facsimile of commencement of Letter No. 25—exact size.

ARMY INSPECTION RETURNS—1753 TO 1804.

BY THE REV: PERCY SUMNER.

[FOR PREVIOUS SECTIONS, SEE VOL. III. 227; IV. 23, 91, 104, 168;
AND V. 25.]

FIFTIETH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

(Continued.)

1758. 22 August. Officers—red, faced and lapelled with black velvet—laced with silver; white waistcoats and breeches. Fifers good. Men have white linen and black leather gaiters. Uniform—lined with white, mixed lace.

1767. 13 July. 18 swords only. Colours, 1756 and 1758.

1768. 27 July. 9 Fifers. Colours, 1763.

Officers—black velvet cape, small round cuff; silver epaulette; white lining; waistcoats and breeches; silver-laced hats.

1769. 6 May. Men's clothing remarkably too short, the pleats entirely taken out.

1777. 2 June. Officers had short gaiters. Drummers, &c., wore hats, the caps not being delivered. Light Infantry had belts over left shoulder and pouches; no cartridge boxes. Grenadiers had waist-belts over right shoulder. Appeared in short gaiters. 10 Music in all, but one was a Sergeant and 5 Drums.

1779. 1 November. Was dispersed on board the Fleet¹ last summer.

1780. 26 September. Officers armed with espositoons. 2 Field-pieces attached to this corps.

1784. 7 June. Officers' uniforms not according to regulation; also accoutrements.

1785. 27 May. [Gibraltar.]² Colours, 1777—so bad that there scarce remains more than the poles. Long gaiters.

1788. 28 May. Colours, 1786.

1789. 27 November. 'West Kent.' Grenadiers' and Drummers' Caps received 1777 all worn out. Light Infantry caps and accoutrements not according to regulation.

¹ Serving as Marines in the Centaur, Vengeance, Defiance, Thunderer, and Vigilant, under Admiral the Hon. Augustus Keppel.

² Arrived on 21 August, 1784.

FIFTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE KING'S OWN YORKSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Deep green.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a green worm stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 9 July. Colours, 1764. 45 swords only. Officers' hats, plain.

1768. 27 July. 6 Fifers. Officers—plain scarlet, lapelled to waist with sea-green—slashed sleeve with a small round cuff—gilt buttons not numbered—gold epaulette—white lining, waistcoat and breeches, gold-laced hats. Men black gaiters.

1769. 6 May. Officers—lapelled to waist with deep green, embroidered button holes, 2 *silver* epaulettes, *silver* laced hats.⁵

1771. 30 April. Officers—cross pockets; falling collar; gilt buttons numbered; laced epaulette with gold fringe; gold-laced hat. Drums and Fifes—handsome young men, very well dressed and play well. Officers, very tall, genteel, handsome young men.

1777. 2 April. (Minorca).⁴ Grenadiers', Drummers' and Pioneers' Caps covered with black goatskin.

1778. 2 April. Officers—gold-embroidered button-holes.

FIFTY-SECOND REGIMENT OF FOOT.⁵[THE OXFORDSHIRE AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY.]⁶

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Buff.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. Buff.

Colour of the Lace. White with a red worm and one orange stripe.

¹ Raised in 1755 as the 53rd Foot. Became '51st' in 1757. Page 105 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² First battalion.

³ Apparently "silver" in error, instead of gold—see 1771 report.

⁴ Arrived in May, 1771.

⁵ Raised in 1755 as the 54th Foot. Became '52nd' in 1757. Page 106 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in North America.

⁶ Second battalion

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1756. (54th Foot). 23/24 September. Iron ramrods. Men have black and white linen spatterdashes. Colours new. The whole have new swords.

1800. 8 March. Sergeants and Drummers had sword knots.

1801. 21 April. 1st battalion. No Grenadier caps received by the regiment for some years.

1801. 15 October. 1st Battalion. 5 Bearskin caps for Sergeants, 4 for Drummers, and 100 for Grenadiers, now in list.

1801. 20 June. 2nd Battalion. No bearskins.

 FIFTY-THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE KING'S OWN SHROPSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY.]²

 1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Red.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a red stripe.

 INSPECTION RETURNS.

1756. 25 September. Iron ramrods. Men have black and white linen spatterdashes. The whole have new swords. Colours new.

1768. 30 May. Officers—scarlet, lapelled to waist with scarlet, edged with a narrow gold lace; a cuff and slashed sleeve; yellow buttons, numbered; gold twisted shoulder-knots; yellow lining; white waistcoat and breeches; gold laced hats; red and gold sword-knots.

1769. 26 June. Officers—gold embroidered button-holes, round cuffs; gold embroidered epaulette; white lining.

1773. 28 May. Officers—fall down cape; hats with red and gold tassels.

1775. 15 May. Colours, 1774. Men's hats not according to regulation.

1804. 31 March. 1st Battalion. No bearskin caps in list.

¹ Raised in 1755 as the 55th Foot. Became '53rd' in 1757. Page 107 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Gibraltar.

² First battalion.

FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE DORSETSHIRE REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Popinjay³ green.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with a green stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1768. 30 May. Officers—scarlet, lapelled to waist with popinjay green, and looped with a small silver lace; slashed pockets and sleeves looped, with a small round green cuff and a silver epaulette; white lining, waistcoat and breeches—with plain white buttons; silver-laced hats; red and gold sword-knots.

1769. 26 June. Colours, 1755.

1772. 16 June. Officers—scarlet frocks, looped with narrow silver lace; 2 and 3 buttons, numbered; cross pockets. Officers of the Light Infantry have their pockets of the same form as the men, and likewise their waistcoats of same form and colour, and both looped with silver lace.

1773. 3 August. 5 Fifers are more than the King's regulation.

1775. 25 May. Officers—lapelled to waist with popinjay green and looped; a green collar and round cuffs; silver epaulette.

1784. 7 July. (Nova Scotia.)⁴ Grenadier swords and match-cases were not brought to America. Sergeants' halberts returned into store in 1777 and firelocks issued in lieu of them. The cartridge-boxes were not brought to America.

1803. 21 March. (Gibraltar.)⁵ Officers' swords not uniform, owing to service in Egypt.

FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.⁶[THE BORDER REGIMENT.]⁷

¹ Raised in 1755 as the 56th Foot. Became '54th' in 1757. Page 108 of the Army list of 1766. Stationed in Gibraltar.

² Second battalion.

³ An early name for a parrot; hence the prevailing colour of the green parrot.

⁴ Arrived 1782.

⁵ Arrived in August, 1800.

⁶ Raised in 1755 as the 57th Foot. Became '55th' in 1757. Page 109 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

⁷ Second battalion.

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Dark green.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with two green stripes.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 19 June. Colours, 1755. 261 swords.

1768. 9 May. 5 Fifers. Colours, 1767.

Officers—plain scarlet, lapelled to waist with deep green; green cape; slashed sleeve with a green cuff; slashed pocket; buttons not numbered; white lining, waistcoat and breeches; gold-laced hats.

Men's hats, laced with yellow.

Band of Music.

1769. 1 June. Officers—falling collar; cross pockets; button-holes looped with narrow gold lace; buttons numbered; gilt sword-hilt.

1786. 2 June. Colours, 1786. Officers saluted with swords. Only arrived from Foreign station last August.

1787. 7 May. Drums and Fifes, clothing showy. The capes made higher than usual; Men have red feathers in their hats. The C.O. has made good foraging-caps out of the old pouches.

1801. 18 September. Artillery attached—1 Bombardier, 4 Privates, 4 Drivers, 10 Horses.

FIFTY-SIXTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE ESSEX REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Purple.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with a Pink-colour stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1756. 28 October. (58th). Some boys among drummers—no Fifers. Iron ramrods. Waistcoats are also provided for this regiment.

1758. 2 June. Grenadier Company has 2 Fifers. Regiment is provided with very good hangers.

¹ Raised in 1755 as the 58th Foot. Became '56th' in 1757. Page 110 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² Second battalion.

1767. 10 July. Colours, **1765**. No swords.

1768. 27 July. 6 Fifers. Officers—plain scarlet, lapelled to waist with purple; purple cape; small round purple sleeve; silver-embroidered button-holes; buttons numbered; silver epaulette; white lining, waistcoat and breeches; plain hats with silver hat-bands.

1769. 6 May. Officers—silver-laced hats. Men's clothing too short.

1771. 22 April. Officers embroidered epaulette.

1777. 7 March. (Gibraltar.)¹ Officers—silver vellum lace button-holes; epaulette, silver lace. In half gaiters.

FIFTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.²

[THE MIDDLESEX REGIMENT (DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE'S OWN).]³

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Yellow.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White with a black stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1768. 2 June. Colours, **1756**. Officers, scarlet with yellow cape and lapelled to waist with yellow; white lining, waistcoat and breeches; buttons numbered; gold epaulette and button-holes. Just landed from Minorca.

1771. 16 May. Band of Music. Colours, **1770**.

1774. 25 July. Officers—falling collar, cross pockets, gold-laced hats, gilt sword.

1791. 6 October. (Halifax, Nova Scotia).⁴ Officers according to regulation, laced hats excepted; armed with swords, but not made according to regulation. N.C.Os. armed with fuzees. Accoutrements not according to new regulation.

1804. 25 July. (1st Battalion.) Grenadiers had no caps.

¹ Arrived in 1770.

² Raised in 1755 as the 59th Foot. Became '57th' in 1757. Page 111 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Minorca.

³ First battalion.

⁴ Arrived in 1783.

FIFTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE NORTHAMPTONSHIRE REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Black.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White with a red stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1756. 30 September. (60th). Iron ramrods. A fine Company of Grenadiers; carry their pouches too high. No swords except what the Grenadiers had. Men, marching gaiters, but have not any white. Uniform—red, faced and lapelled with black, lined with buff—lace yellow.

1767. 15 April. Men dressed in a particular manner, not having skirts to their coats; hats too small and have red and white tufts in them. Skirts ordered for next clothing. Fifers and a Band of Music.

1768. 30 May. Officers—plain scarlet, lapelled to waist with black velvet; slashed sleeve with a round black velvet cuff; gilt buttons, numbered; gold shoulder-knot; buff lining; buff waistcoat and breeches, with a black velvet edging; gold-laced hats and black and gold sword-knots.

1769. 14 June. Colours, 1763.

1771. 24 April. Officers—plain sleeve; gold epaulette; white lining, waistcoat and breeches; crimson and gold sword-knot. 3 Grenadier Sergeants, Fuzils, &c., in 1770.

1777. 8 March. (Gibraltar).³ Corporals' Knots not according to regulation, being a mixture of red and white, instead of all white.

1784. 31 May. Grenadiers no caps, nor men long gaiters. Men's hair all queued, contrary to order.

1788. 16 August. Light Infantry in half gaiters.

1792. 13 June. 12 Drums, 14 Music = 26.

¹ Raised in 1755 as the 60th Foot. Became '58th' in 1757. Page 112 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² Second battalion.

³ Arrived in April, 1771.

FIFTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE EAST LANCASHIRE REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Purple.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a red and yellow stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1756. 27 September. (61st). Iron ramrods—Men have white and marching gaiters. Uniform—red, lapelled and faced with Pompadour, lined with red, yellow lace.

1777. 23 May. Colours, 1776.

1779. 31 August. Light Infantry had whitened the tanned leather, which made them look very ill.

1789. 29 November. 2nd Notts. Colours, 1780; much worn. No fife cases.

1803. 23 December. Sergeants and Drummers swords not regulation.

SIXTIETH (OR ROYAL AMERICAN) REGIMENT OF FOOT.³[THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS.]⁴

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Blue.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with two Blue stripes.

In the Centre of their Colours, the King's Cypher within the Garter, and Crown over it. In the three Corners of the second Colour, the King's Cypher and Crown. The Colours of the Second Battalion to be

¹ Raised as the 61st Foot in 1755. Became '59th' in 1757. Stationed in North America. Page 113 of the Army List of 1766.

² Second battalion.

³ Raised in 1755 as the 62nd (or Royal American) Regiment of Foot—4 battalions. Became '60th' in 1757. The title 'Royal American' was dropped in 1824. Page 114 of the Army List of 1766.

⁴ Two battalions.

distinguished by a Flaming Ray of Gold, descending from the upper Corner of each Colour, towards the Centre.

On the Grenadiers' Caps, the King's Crest; also, the King's Cypher and Crown, as in the Colours. On the Drums, and Bells of Arms, the King's Cypher painted in the same manner, and the Rank of the Regiment underneath.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1783. 19 December. 1st Battalion. 2 black Pioneers borne on strength of each Company—16 Sergeants' Fuzils; 3 Fife cases wanting. Colours have been with the regiment ever since it was raised. Officers armed with swords and fuzils. Band tolerable. Now as much British as any Corps in the service.

1790. 3rd Battalion. (Dominica, etc.) Trousers. The hair's come off the Pioneers' caps.

1792. 2 September. 1st Battalion. (Longueil). Grenadier and Light Infantry Officers appeared with sabres (and the latter with blades also shorter than the King's orders). Plain hats instead of laced ones.

1792. 1 September. 2nd Battalion. (Montreal). 40 Grenadiers' match-cases.

1796. 20 May. 1st Battalion. Colours, 1787.

1804. 20 September. 5th Battalion. Halifax. This Battalion is armed with rifles and swords to fix to them. Pantaloon worn. Battalion consisted of 1 Irishman and 585 Foreigners. 22 Bugles and Buglemen's swords.

(To be continued.)

SCHELLENBERG AND BLENHEIM—1704.

CONTRIBUTED BY LORD COTTESLOE.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

“ An account of yo^e men killed and wounded last Campagne, att Rottenberg June yo^e 22¹ and Houghstad August yo^e 2th 1704 of Lt. Gen^{ll}. Ingolsby Regiment.”

¹ 2 July, new style. Rottenberg is generally known as Donawerth, or Schellenberg.

² 13 August, new style. Houghstad is more often spoken of as Blenheim.

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GENERAL JOSEPH SABINE.

From a print in the British Museum, by J. Faber, 1742.

This 'Account' is taken from a small 4to MS. book, in parchment cover, measuring $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. It covers a period of some 15 years—1702-17—and contains copies of letters, orders, etc.

From internal evidence it may be said almost certainly to have belonged to an Officer in Lieut.-General Richard Ingoldsby's regiment of Foot—in 1926 represented by the Royal Welch Fusiliers—and possibly to General Ingoldsby¹ himself.

The statement was probably compiled in February, 1704-5, *i.e.*, six months after the battle—see p. 79. Christian names have been expanded and their spelling modernised: surnames are spelled exactly as written.

Companies.

| LIEUT.-GENERAL [RICHARD] INGOLDSBY'S. ² | COLONEL [JOSEPH] SABINE'S. ³ |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Killed</i>—11.</p> Serjeant BLAKE Corporal BOHANNON LEWIS THOMAS JOHN JOHNSON „ WILLS CHARLES BOLLAND ARTHUR PRICE BENJAMIN BRYAN CHARLES NEAL FRANCIS FENWICK JOHN DAVIS | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Killed</i>—14.</p> EDWARD ROWLAND DENIS BRAY JOHN CARTNAIL THOMAS McDONALD SAMUEL DAYLEY EDWARD FFLEMMINS THOMAS HOWARD DANIEL ROBISON HENRY SERUBY HUMPHREY SUMKIN WILLIAM QUILLIN THOMAS GARDNER HENRY HATTLY WILLIAM HENNIS |
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Wounded</i>—13.</p> Serjeant BROWN Corporal MATTHEW GEORGE WILLIAMS THOMAS COOPER ALEXANDER ADERE THOMAS ALLEN NICHOLAS BARRETT THOMAS VAUGHEN RICHARD BURCHELL SAMUEL FLUALLEN RICHARD FFORDEN JOHN LOGAN MATTHEW ENNIS | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Wounded</i>—14.</p> Serjeant FOX Corporal HEARY „ WELLS WILLIAM BAGALLYD „ BROUGHTON JOHN CLARKE SAMUEL MANLY JOHN CARRELL „ GRINDELL JAMES MCDOWEL SAMUEL WILSON JOHN DIXON THOMAS WRIGHT WILLIAM DEANE |

¹ Was Colonel of the regiment from 1693 to 1705. See 'D.N.B.'

² Awarded a bounty of £72 0s.

³ Wounded at Schellenberg. Awarded a bounty of £102 0s. Colonel of the regiment from 1705 to 1739. See 'D.N.B.'

Companies.

CAPTAIN [HENRY] INGOLDSBY'S.

Killed—15.

Serjeant JOHNSON
 THOMAS GOODWIN
 WILLIAM FINCLEY
 BENJAMIN LOCKSTON
 RICHARD ADAMS
 WILLIAM WEDGE BURY
 RICHARD BUTTLER
 JOHN DAVIS
 JOSEPH ELLEY
 RICHARD HEWLETT
 JOHN MILLHORSE
 WILLIAM NEWBURY
 PETER PHILIPS
 WILLIAM SINKLER
 RICHARD TAYLOR

Wounded—3.

WILLIAM GORDAN
 „ SLATOR
 FERGUS FOY

CAPTAIN FLEMMIN'S.

Killed—6.

WILLIAM CARSON
 MATTHEW BRIGGS
 SAMUEL CARTER
 JOHN SIRAME
 ARCHIBALD McLANE
 JOHN FREEMAN

Wounded—16.

Serjeant ANDREWS
 „ SHANNON
 Corporal LATTIMORE
 „ BURRIN
 CHRISTOPHER SANKE
 PETER MITCHEL
 HENRY RICHARSON
 JOSEPH MORRIS
 JOHN PEIRSON
 „ HUGHS
 FRANCIS TOMKIN
 WILLIAM COLEMAN
 EDWARD ROGERS
 MEREDITH EVANS
 THOMAS COX
 JOHN FARMER

CAPTAIN

[MATTHEW] PENNEFATHER'S.¹*Killed—7.*

JOHN ADDISON
 MICHAEL ALDRIDG
 WILLIAM BROWN
 JOHN BLACKWOOD
 „ BALLE
 EDWARD BRANSON
 JOHN MANWARRIN

Wounded—14.

Serjeant CAMBELL
 Corporal FELTON
 „ BEARDMAN
 „ VAUGHN
 JOHN BULL
 „ BAYNTON
 „ CROSS
 „ GLENDININ
 THOMAS EDMONDS
 FRANK EVANS
 THOMAS HUGHS
 JOHN SANDERS
 EVAN ROBERTT
 THOMAS TOPOTTS

CAPTAIN [JOSEPH] BENNETT'S.²*Killed—11.*

Serjeant THOMAS
 „ WAIN
 „ CALLICUT
 JOHN ROGERS
 SILVESTER BAYLEY
 JOHN LOYDE
 DUNCAN CAMBELL
 WILLIAM HOLLOWAY
 CHARLES TOWNSEND
 WILLIAM WARNER
 JOHN WILLIAMS

Wounded—6.

Serjeant LOYDE
 Corporal SKELTON
 JOHN JONES
 GEORGE LLEAD
 RICHARD EDGE
 WILLIAM NENLER

¹ A Tipperary family. Had served in the regiment since 1 June, 1695. Awarded a bounty of £30 0s. Became Muster-Master-General in Ireland, 1709. He married in 1697, Catherine, 2nd *d.* of Sir Randal Beresford, 2nd Bart. Was M.P. for Cashel from 1715 to 1733, when he died. ² Captain in the regiment, 15 July, 1690.

Companies.

CAPTAIN [GEORGE] MORGAN'S.¹*Killed*—12.

Corporal ROBINS
 " RISCE
 JOHN DOWN
 ARNOLD DAVIS
 WALTER BACIFIELD
 FRANCIS ARMSTRONG
 WILLIAM POWELL
 THOMAS MORRIS
 LUKE CLIFTON
 JOHN WINTER
 " GEWING
 " MILLER

Wounded—13.

Serjeant BENSON
 WILLIAM HARTLY
 " GEORGE
 JOHN POGGEY
 WILLIAM EDWARDS
 GEORGE BOLTON
 THOMAS RANKINS
 JOHN MANWARRIN
 HENRY HALTSON
 THOMAS WELLS
 EDWARD HUMPHRY
 THOMAS GLENTSON [?]
 ANDREW THOMSON

CAPTAIN [HENRY] COOKMAN'S.¹*Killed*—6.

WILLIAM PIKERING
 EDWARD GRISSENS
 " HARRIS
 JOHN DAVIS
 SAMUEL GREEN
 THOMAS SANDS

Wounded—18.

Serjeant HARRIS
 Corporal POWEL
 " GREEN
 JOHN BURTON
 GEORGE BRYAN
 MEREDITH CONVEN
 SAMUEL FOX
 EVAN LEWIS
 THOMAS MEANS
 FRANCIS NEAL
 JOHN REYNOLD
 JAMES SINKLER
 ROBERT SMALLSHAW
 JOHN UPTON
 EVAN WILLIAMS
 JOHN RYVE
 RICHARD JAMES
 THOMAS MORGAN

LIEUT.-COLONEL [JAMES] JONES'S.²*Killed*—11.

Serjeant LINSEY
 " HUTCHINSON
 Corporal POWELL
 ISAAC GILMORE
 HENRY DUCKETT
 JOHN LEIGH
 RICHARD BALLAM
 " SAMUELL
 WILLIAM SMITH
 RICHARD DAVIS
 HUMPHREY LANGLEY

MAJOR [ISAAC] EYMES'S.²*Killed*—8.

Serjeant LINAGER
 WILLIAM ASHLEY
 " PARKER
 MORGAN JONES
 BRYAN MCLAHEY
 BENJAMIN SANKEY
 JOHN BUSTON
 RICHARD LEGGATT

¹ Wounded at Blenheim and awarded a bounty of £60 0s.² Wounded at Schellenberg, and awarded a bounty of £60 0s.

Companies.

JONES'S (*continued*).*Wounded—12.*

Serjeant HUGHES
 HENRY BAILY
 " ASHWELL,
 LEWIS MEREDITH
 THOMAS ASHFORD
 FRANCIS WHEATLY
 WILLIAM DIAMOND
 NATHANIEL TOLEMAN
 THOMAS RICHARD
 JOHN MORRISON
 WILLIAM BURTON
 Corporal MCKITRICK

EYMES'S (*continued*).*Wounded—13.*

Serjeant FOX
 Corporal CLAYTON
 " DORE
 " ANDERSON
 JOHN ARMITAGE
 " BROAD
 LUKE BAUN
 MICHAEL BRANY
 GEORGE FFLINT
 JOHN MATTHEW
 " MASH
 " SCOTT
 SAMUEL FEATHERSON

CAPTAIN SMITH'S.

Killed—10.

Serjeant ARNOTT
 WILLIAM MURRAY
 THOMAS PRICE
 LANT. WALDON
 HENRY OBERTY
 BARNABY OWENS
 ROWLAND GAIN
 DAVID LEWIS
 WILLIAM BERKLEY
 ALEXANDER MALESTER

Wounded—17.

Serjeant EVANS
 Corporal HANDY
 " DAVIS
 " MILLER
 WILLIAM BON
 THOMAS DAVISON
 JOHN GREEN
 CHRISTOPHER MERRYMAN
 JOHN TAYLOR
 GEORGE WATSON
 WILLIAM NORRIS
 GEORGE PICK
 JOHN WINNALL
 AUGUSTUS MERANNELL
 RICHARD OLIVER
 WILLIAM HOLMES
 HUGH MEAN

CAPTAIN RIVERS'S.¹*Killed—7.*

JOHN MURRAY
 ALEXANDER BRAGGS
 RICHARD BAILEY
 THOMAS HUGHES
 WILLIAM CLARKE
 RICHARD CORBETT
 ANDREW WHITE

Wounded—11.

THOMAS BERRISFORD
 RICHARD BOWEN
 THOMAS CREVAN
 CHRISTOPHER CHALNOR
 ANTHONY HARTT
 JOHN ROBERTS
 RICHARD SHENDALL
 JOHN TINKLER
 WILLIAM WALKER
 THOMAS WELLINS
 JAMES MCCLIN

¹ Probably Reeves, or Ryves. Valentine Reeves was appointed Captain of the Grenadier Company on 24 August, 1704, *i.e.*, after the battle of Blenheim, in which he was wounded, then being an Ensign in the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. Awarded a bounty of £33 0d.

Companies.

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>CAPTAIN [JOHN] PATERSON'S.¹</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Killed</i>—3.</p> <p>Corporal ELL THOMAS LOW MATTHEW ARCH</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Wounded</i>—16.</p> <p>AUGUSTUS BALLAMIN JOHN COLLINS WILLIAM DAVISON RICHARD GARDNER THOMAS MATRAM</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Killed in all 121 Wounded ,, 166</p> | <p><i>Wounded (continued).</i></p> <p>STEPHEN PLACE JIM PADINTON RICHARD POWELL RICHARD ROGERS WILLIAM SHEPEARD THOMAS TREVOR Corporal BENSON " SMITH " PRICE Serjeant PEARSON JOHN WAKEFIELD</p> |
|--|---|

The two next pages of the book contain
 " A Return of the Disabled in Lt. Genl. Ingoldby Regementt
 Feby. the 26, 1705. N.S."

| Company | Mens names | How disabled | Whether married or single. |
|----------------------------|---|---|--|
| Lt. Genll | NICHOLAS BARRETT THOMAS ALLEN GEORGE WILLIAMS | Left hand Right hand Right arm | A wife in England Single Wife and Children in Ireland. |
| Coll. Sabine | WILLIAM BROUGHTON JOHN GRINDALL | Left shoulder Back | Single Wife and two Children |
| Lt Coll Jones | JOHN MORRISON HUGH MCMAN GEORGE RICHARD | Lost his left leg The Left Foot Left side | Single. Wife in England. Single. |
| Captt Bennett | GEORGE LLEAD WILLIAM NAILER EDWARD MILLER | Left foot Left arm Shot in his Loynes | Wife in England. Ditto Single. |
| Captt Morgan. | ELI MORRIS JOHN FEGEN | Lost Left hand Right Leg | Wife and two Children Single |
| Captt Cookman ¹ | EVAN WILLIAMS | Right Arm | Single |
| Captain Ingoldsby | WILLIAM SLATOR FERGUS JOY | Right Leg Right hand | Wife and Children Single |

¹ Had served in the regiment from 1 July, 1695—Ensign. Became Captain, 18 October, 1704. Awarded a bounty of £28 0s.

Return of the Disabled (*continued*).

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Captt Pennefather | FRANK EVANS | Right Leg | Single |
| Captt. Rivers. | RICHARD SHENDELL THOMAS CROKER JOHN TUCKER RICHARD CRAMTON THOMAS BARNSFORD | Right Leg Left foot Left arm Right Hip Shot in ye head | Wife and 2 Children. Single Single Single Wife and 5 Children. |
| Captt fflemmins | JOSEPH NORRIS JOHN PEIRSON HENRY RICHARSON | Lost Left Leg Right hand Right arm | Single Wife in Ireland. Wife and 3 Children. |
| Captt. Paterson | AUGUSTUS BALLAMIN JOHN WAKEFIELD | Left hand Left shoulder | Single Single |
| Captt Jerveraud ⁶ | JOHN TAYLOR THOMAS DAVISON | Right arme Right leg | Single Wife and Child. |
| | RICHARD MORRIS WILLIAM MORGAN | | |

[It will be seen that some of the names in this list are not in agreement with those on the previous pages.

The "Account" concludes with a List of Officers Killed and Wounded.]

Killed.

| | |
|--|---|
| Major [JAMES] INGOLDSBY. ¹ | *Lieutenant [CONSTANTINE] FAGAN. ⁵ |
| *Captain HERMAN. ² | * " [EDWARD] PRICE. |
| *Captain OGLEBY. ³ | † " [HUGH] SMITH. ⁷ |
| *Lieutenant [ALEXANDER] FRAZAR. ⁴ | † " [REGINALD] ROWLANDS. ⁸ |
| * Schellenberg. † Blenheim. | |

¹ Died from the effect of wounds received at Schellenberg.

² Possibly a mistake for 'Harrison,' which Dalton gives. Cannon gives 'Harman.'

³ Or 'Ogilvy.' Had served in the regiment since July, 1691. Bounty money (£28-0) was paid to his Widow and 1 child.

⁴ Had served in the regiment since February, 1694. Bounty money (£28-0) paid to his Widow and 5 children.

⁵ Had served in the regiment since May, 1694. Bounty money (£28-0) paid to his Widow.

⁶ Appears to be Smith's Company—see *ante*. p. 78. Isaac Jevereau had been in the regiment since 20 July, 1696. Wounded at Schellenberg. Awarded £28-0 bounty money.

⁷ Had served in the regiment since May, 1701. Died from the effect of wounds received at Blenheim.

⁸ Bounty money (£24-0) awarded to his Widow and 3 children.

[In 'Treasury Papers,' Vol. CLI., No. 38, is a memorial from Elizabeth Rowlands, widow, dated 5 September, 1712, praying for a pension, her husband having been killed at Blenheim. The Secretary-at-War reported to the Lord High Treasurer that "the pension fund was exhausted, but the Queen had directed that a man per troop should be mustered under a fictitious name, whereby the fund for the Flanders widows would be enlarged, and the pensions paid more regularly." *Dalton*. Vol. V.]

Wounded.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| *Lieut.-Colonel SABINE. | *Captain [STEPHEN] CADROY. ¹ |
| *Lieut.-Colonel JONES. | * " [SOUTHWELL] PIGOTT. ¹ |
| *Captain EYMES. | * " [WILLIAM] ALDY. ¹ |
| † " MORGAN. | † " [FLEETWOOD] DORMER. ² |
| † " COOKMAN. | † " [GRIFFITH] JONES. ¹ |
| † " PATTERSON. | † " [EDMUND] BAYLIE. ² |
| * " [WILLIAM] CARRICK. ¹ | †Adjutant [JOHN] POWEL. ³ |
| * " JERVEREAU. | |

It would be interesting to know whether any descendants of the officers or men whose names appear in this List are now living, and whether they possess any portraits or other memento of their ancestors.

THE LANCESPESSADE AND THE HISTORY OF " LANCE " RANK.

By

J. MURRAY KENDALL, M.B.E., F.S.A.

The term " lance," as a qualifying prefix to non-commissioned rank, is peculiar to the British Army to-day and is an interesting link with that period in which the Military Organization of the Middle Ages was being transformed into that which, in its essentials, is still current; that is to say, with the end of the 15th, and the beginning of the 16th centuries. The word is derived from the Italian *lancia spezzata*, literally a broken or shattered lance, but usually defined as the title of that rank which was granted to a man-at-arms who, having had his horse killed under him, was serving, temporarily, as a foot-soldier.

References to the *Lancespessade*, variously spelt,⁴ began to appear in English books towards the end of the 16th century, but the story of the dismounted men-at-arms does not appear till nearly a century later, after which it becomes fairly current, and seems now to be generally accepted by Military Antiquaries. The earliest quotation given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from Geffray Fenton's translation of Guiciardini of 1578 and is part of a passage describing the exploits of Rodolpho Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, at the Battle of Fornovo, 6 July, 1495. The original describes him as plunging into battle followed by " una valorosa compagna di giovani gentiluomini e di lance spezzata (sono questi soldati altieri tenuti fuora delle compagnie ordinarie a provisione)"⁵ This was written between 1513 and 1540.

¹ Awarded Bounty-money—£28-0.

* Schellenberg.

² Awarded Bounty-money—£22-0.

† Blenheim.

³ Awarded Bounty-money—£24-0.

⁴ Stanford's Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases (London. 1892) gives: lance-spade, lance-pesado, -spezzado, -pesata, -presado, -presata, prisado, lantzprizado, lancespade.

⁵ Guiciardini; *Storia d'Italia*: Ed. Rosini, Paris. 1832. Vol. I, p. 297; Bk. II, chap. 4, an. 1495.

Fenton's translation runs as follows: ". . . . a valient company of young gentlemen and *Lancespessades* (these are braue and proued souldiers entertayned about the ordinary companies)."¹ Goddard's translation of 1763 gives the portion within brackets as "these are soldiers of valour not belonging to any particular company and in separate pay." The *Lancespessade* is here clearly defined as a sort of late mediæval "King's Corporal," and in this case it is evident from the context that he was fighting on horseback. Machiavelli in his *Arte della guerra* does not mention the rank. Florio in his *World of Words*, an Italian-English Dictionary of 1611, has: "Spezzata lancia, a lancespessado, a demi-lance, a light-horseman." Turning to a modern Italian dictionary (Hoare's, 1925) we get: "Lance . . . spezzata, soldier on a forlorn hope, *figuratively*, a devoted adherent." It thus appears that the *Lancespessade's* lance was not so much one already broken, as one likely soon to be shattered. The forlorn hope of the definition above is a parallel case. The expression is derived from the Dutch "*verloren hoop*," a storming party, but literally a "lost troop," that is one likely to be annihilated, or, in modern slang, 'for it.'

By the beginning of the 17th century, in England at least, the *Lancespessade* has become an infantryman and almost exactly the equivalent of the Lance-Corporal of the present day. In *May Day*, a comedy by George Chapman, printed in 1611 but written somewhat earlier, is an amusing passage of considerable interest to the Military Antiquary, in which the military hierarchy of the period is illustrated and explained by means of the homeliest metaphor. Quintiliano, on the strength of the Company which he hopes to obtain, is appointing his subalterns and, incidentally, 'taking care of' their spare cash. On the way to a feast given, of course, by someone else, he improves the occasion to Innocento, his newly appointed (and fleeced) Lieutenant, by likening things culinary to things military. The giver of the feast is, he says, the "General of the Field"; his lady is the "Lieutenant General," the "Steward" is the "Sergeant Major," the "Gentleman Usher" is the "Marshal" and the "Sewer" is the "Master o' th' Ordnance." Continuing he points out that the "cannons, demi-cannons, culverins, sakers and minions and their munitions" are represented by the pots and pans, plates, dishes and table-ware, while for the sounding of the "Alarm" on the drums there is the Cook's loud rapping on the kitchen-dresser to signify that dinner is ready. Then comes the following:—

"Innocento: O how it stirres my stomacke!

Quintiliano: First then sets forth a wing of light horse, as sallads, brothes, sauces, stew'd meats, and they give a charge, then do the battle join Captain Capon in white-brith, Lieutenant Calves head.

Inno.: That's my place.

Quint.: Ancient Surloigne, a man of goodly presence and full of expectation as an ancient ought to bee, then have you Sergeant

¹ Fenton's Guicciardini, 3rd ed. II. p. 78.

Piemeat, Corporal Coney, Lanceprizado Larke, Gentyلمان Panbakes and all the species of a company."¹

From this time forward the Lancespessade is essentially an infantryman. Francis Markham in his *Five Decades or Epistles of War*, printed 1622, devotes the whole of the sixth *Epistle* of the second Decade to the *Lancespessado*, four pages.² He is described as the lowest officer that "hath any commandment," being the equivalent of the Roman *Decario* by others called "Cabo-de-Camerado, Cabo-de-Camaara, or Lanse-spezzata, any or all of which signifie a Deputie Corporal." Markham then explains that under "the auncient discipline" the Lancespessade was the "Commander of ten persons" or the "principall man of eleuen." Elsewhere, in dealing with the duties of the Corporal,³ the constitution of the Company is further elucidated. A Company of one hundred was divided into four Squadrons of twenty five each. Each Squadron consisted of a Corporal and two Camerados or fellowships each of which again was composed of a Lancespessade, ten "Centinels," that is to say, Privates, and one "Rounder" or "Gentleman of the Round." The last were either gentlemen of birth who had volunteered in the ranks "to aduance their fortunes in the warres" or veterans of exceptional merit.⁴ They were excused certain "humble duties as that of centinel" and had instead the duty of constantly visiting the Guards and outposts. They were also entrusted with the "word," the ordinary rank and file having, at most, the generally issued counter-sign. Francis Markham then goes on to say that "in our moderne warres it a little varieth." The regular establishment of two Gentlemen of the Round to each squadron was falling into disuse and the *Lancespessade* was becoming little more than a senior file leader, except when acting as Corporal. The old, presumably mid-16th century, organization given above would allow of eight files twelve deep, that if of ten men with the Lancespessades and Gentlemen Rounders as file leaders and Bringers Up, respectively, and the Corporals forming a supernumerary rank; or the company front could be extended by two files and the depth reduced to ten, Corporals, Lancespessades and Gentlemen providing the twenty Leaders and Bringers Up. The fact is that reduction in depth was 'in the air' and files were not more than ten deep when Markham was writing and Gustavus was soon to show

¹ Chapman's *May Day*, IV. 8. See Bullen's *Old Plays*, Vol. III, p. 305. The General of the Field is, of course, the C. in C., the Lieutenant General is at this period, literally his lieutenant, his representative and acting C. in C. in his absence. The Sergeant Major soon after this adds 'General' to his title, and survives to-day as Major-General and Chief of Staff. The Master of the Ordnance and the Marshal may be described, approximately, in modern terms as the G.S.O.R.A. and the A.G. The Sewer was the domestic functionary who set the table and had the charge of the plate, etc. Ancient is, of course, Ensign; an officer whose physical powers were of considerable importance in these days of hand-to-hand fighting when the Colours might form a rallying point in a melee. This play may have been acted as early as 1601. It is interesting to note that internal evidence in Chapman's "Shadow of Night" suggests that he saw service in Flanders towards the end of the 16th Century. (See Margaret Bryant in Enc. Brit. Vol. V. p. 852, 11th ed.)

² Francis Markham, pp. 61-4. I owe a debt of thanks to the Editor of this Journal, who most kindly, drew my attention to this, one of the most detailed military books of the period.

³ *Ibid.* p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 49-50.

what more a higher standard of Musketry Training could do in this direction. Twenty years later we find George Monk giving files six deep as the normal. Lighter and handier weapons were a contributory cause, for the depth of the file largely depended on the length of time taken to load.

For the rest, the *Lancespessade's* duties included instructing the men in " care of arms," and seeing that their equipment was clean and complete and that they were provided with powder, match and bullets. In selecting candidates, men capable of developing into leaders, suitable aspirants for further promotion, were to be chosen; not " sluggish, Base and deboshed fellows," but " of a carefull, obedient, and active spirit, of a subtile and wise disposition; and they ought to be the best experimented " of the rank and file. Markham notes further, that the *Lancespessades* were peculiarly in touch with the men and likely to be the first sense any unrest or depreciation in moral owing to their " feeding and lodging continually amongst them." Gervase Markham¹ has also much to say on the *Lancespessade* but mainly repeats (one suspects, copies) his brother; he makes it clear, however, that at this time the *Lancespessade* was peculiar to the Infantry by saying that the Corporal of the cavalry unit was " to supply and do all the duties of the Corporals and *Lancespessades* of the Foote." Again in the *Glossographia or a Dictionary*, by T.B. of the Inner Temple, etc., 3rd ed. 1661, we get the definition: " he that commands over ten soldiers, the lowest officer in a foot company."

We now come to *Pallas Armata*, written 1670-1, printed 1683, by Sir James Turner, who appears to be the first to tell the story of the dismounted Man-at-arms. He says " . . . the *lancespessades* or *lancespessados* (as they are commonly called) . . . are not officers, though the corporal is," and explains the derivation from the Italian " which signifies a broken or spent dance," saying that in the wars between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France (1520-30) this rank was granted to a " gentleman in a Troop of Horse " who had " broken his lance on his enemy and lost his horse in the Scuffle " and " was entertain'd by Captain of a Foot Company as his Comerade till he was mounted again." Then, in that vein of mixed pedantry and dry North British humour which inspired Scott's somewhat unsympathetic portrait of Dugald Dalgetty, he goes on to describe the gradual decadence of the *Lancespessade* from the position of Captain's " comerade " to that of Corporal's deputy.²

Now in all this it must be remembered that Turner is writing of a period removed from his own by upwards of a century. Moreover, except for the Parliamentary Wars, his service had been in the Swedish Army, in which, he expressly states, the *Lancespessade* was unknown. He is, therefore, not recounting something in his own experience, but is repeating a tradition, and goes astray in the inference which he draws from the literal meaning of the term ' *Lancia Spezzata*,' which it is fairly

¹ *The Soldiers Accidents*. Gervase Markham: 3rd ed. p. 6.

² Turner, p. 2189.

clear is not its real meaning. Gervase Markham's military service must have been confined to the 16th century for he was born about 1568 and is known as a prolific writer and an industrious literary hack from 1600 onwards, but, though full of information about "the old Warres . . . before Fire was got to that height of excellence to which it is now arrived," has nothing to say on this subject. The conclusion of Francis Markham's 'Epistle' on the *Lancespessade*, however, perhaps shows the tradition in the making. He says: "Some latter writers have given the name a farre different interpretation, calling them Voluntary Lieutenants or Knights of St. George's Squadron, and applying them to the duties of a Gentleman of the Companie or a rounder, but it is only a fancie." Further it is improbable, to say the least, that the Elizabethan Dramatists with their detailed pictures of military life should make no use of so convenient a subject for moralizing and metaphor if it had really existed.

The word, though not the rank, appears to have become obsolescent about the middle of the 18th century. Johnson's Dictionary (1755) has: "*Lancespessade*. The officer under the Corporal; not now in use among us"; and in Smith's Military Dictionary of 1779 is the definition: "in some foreign troops . . . a soldier who does duty as a Corporal." Francis Grose (1786-8) connects the whole story with the Lance Corporal by the following: "The lancepesata, anspesade, or, as the present term is, lance corporal, . . . at present does the duty of that officer [the Corporal] on the pay of a private soldier."¹

The spelling '*ancespessade*' appears to have become the usual one in French as the word became obsolete. In Littré, under *lancespessade*, is a reference to '*ancespessade*,' where is the following: "Dans l'ancienne Armée Française, bas officier d'infanterie subordonné au caporal . . . mot corompu de l'italien *lancia spezzata*," and explains the dropping of the initial "l" as a kind of aphesis caused by mistaking it, when spoken, for the French article "l." The story of the dismounted gen-d'arme also becomes current in France. It is given in the Military Dictionary of La Chesnaye des Bois of 1745 and in a French-English Dictionary of Military terms by Major Charles James, 3rd edition, 1810. As already said it is now generally current, but enough has been shown to suggest that, started by Turner, it was copied by Grose and accepted by all who followed in their footsteps. There seems to be no reason for questioning the definition given by Guiciardini, a soldier of wide experience in the higher branches of war and an historian of meticulous accuracy of detail. *Lancespessades* would seem then, to have been originally, not so much subordinate officers as picked men; and when any desperate enterprise was afoot they could be, as it were, 'brigaded' for special service to form a sort of late mediæval 'stosstrupp.' And at this time individual valour could still turn the scale of Battle. Then, as in the course of the 16th century, the power of armies transferred itself from the armoured horsemen to an organised infantry combining fire and steel, the power of attack and defence, the title of the picked man-at-arms was transferred to those of the rank and

¹ Military Antiquities, 1786. Vol. I. p. 311.

file who distinguished themselves above the ordinary. Finally, organization rapidly improving, the Lancespessade becomes a definite part of the establishment of an infantry unit with a definite job of his own.

So, even if ' Dugald Turner's ' pleasing story be but a myth, an ancestry at least as honourable and slightly more ancient can be traced for the Lance-Corporal of to-day. It is hard, however, to suppress the hypothesis that the armoured cavalryman of the 16th Century, especially when he was a " proued " and well " experimented " soldier, lost no such opportunity as that provided by being " seconded for service " to an infantry unit, of giving himself a step in rank.

TAMPERING WITH THE TARTAN.

BY J. M. BULLOCH.

Considering its unusualness, the picturesque uniform of the Highland regiments has been very lucky in being able to retain its character. Every Highland regiment at one time or other has had some aspect of its uniform tampered with, while wholesale changes have been advocated from time to time; but the main features still remain.

One of the most exciting episodes in this matter arose out of a rumour in the spring of 1881 that Childers, as War Minister, proposed to link the 71st and 73rd, the 72nd and 78th, the 42nd and 79th, and attire them all in a uniform tartan, " probably in what is called the Royal Stuart; and all on the score of saving a few pounds, which it is absolutely impossible can ever in any one year reach even a few hundreds." The rumour seems to have arisen out of a circular of enquiry which Childers sent to the commanding officers of the Scots regiments, for when Fraser Mackintosh asked in the House of Commons, on February 10, 1881 (Hansard, cclviii. 484) whether alterations in the tartans worn by kilted and trews regiments were contemplated, Childers simply pointed out that since 1870 all privates, and since 1873 all officers, had enlisted not for one but for two regiments, and were liable to be transferred from one to another. In particular he cited the 42nd and 79th, the " men and officers of which belong to both. When the 42nd was abroad, it was fed by drafts from the 79th to the extent of 452 men in four years, and, now that the 79th is abroad, vacancies in it have been filled by drafts from the 42nd to the extent of 157 men in one year": all of which involved the expense of two different uniforms.

Notwithstanding this assurance, a meeting of protest was held at Stafford House on Thursday, February 17, 1881. The best accounts of it are given in *The Times* (Feb. 19) and by J.F.R. in the *Illustrated London News* (Feb. 26: lxxviii. 198, with a full-page woodcut, p. 193). The chair was occupied by The Mackintosh, who was supported by the Dukes of Argyll and Sutherland, Lord Elcho, Lord Archibald

and Lord Walter Campbell, Sir Donald Currie, Mr. Peter Stewart Macliver (1820-91), M.P. for Plymouth, and Captain George Cockburn. The Marquis of Huntly tells me he was also present. Altogether 400 people were present.

Eight pipers were also in attendance belonging to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Dukes of Atholl and Sutherland, Lord Middleton, Lord Willoughby and The Mackintosh. The meeting opened with "a grand pibroch performance by eight lusty pipers, who warmed the hearts of the Scots, and, when the fiery cross was brought into the hall, just as the descriptive music of the pibroch was at its wildest, and passed swiftly from hand to hand, those hearts glowed and burned again like the blazing war sign before them."

Extraordinary enthusiasm was evoked when Lord Archibald Campbell took his dirk from his hose and kissing the bared blade declared: "According to the good old Highland fashion I swear to preserve the tartan on my dirk." The dirk was passed round and kissed by the various speakers, who included The Mackintosh, Mr. Macliver, and Sir Donald Currie, who seconded the motion for presenting the following petition to the Queen:—

May it please your Majesty; We, the undersigned, believing that we represent the national feeling of Scotland, humbly petition that the tartan dress hitherto worn by the various Highland Regiments as distinctive of the districts in which they were raised and in which they have fought with honour and glory in every part of the globe, be not changed: believing that such distinctive tartans add to the *esprit de corps*, and that such changes as are contemplated are contrary to the instincts of the true Highlander.

According to *The Times* (Feb. 19), the petition was signed by nine dukes, five marquises, nineteen earls, two viscounts, thirteen other lords, and 2,400 other people, but by February 23, the signatories had mounted to 16,000. There can be little doubt that this meeting stopped Childers, who, replying from the War Office on February 23, 1881, said (*Times*, Feb. 24, p. 9):—

I take this opportunity, the first which has presented itself to me, to state to you and through you to those who take an interest in the subject of your petition, that the main designs apparently attributed to us in connexion with the uniform of the Highland regiments have no foundation whatever in fact.

It has never been my wish or intention either to abolish distinctive tartans or to substitute new fangled patterns for the clan tartans now in vogue, and least of all to diminish the number of regiments wearing the kilt. On the contrary, I know enough of Scotland and especially of the Highlanders to wish to see the number of battalions wearing these picturesque and popular uniforms increased; and, whatever may have been the case in past times when frequent changes in tartan took place, I am anxious to avoid perpetual alterations in the dress of the army, which, for the most part, only result in the benefit of tailors.

But when it became necessary to consider whether larger

regiments should not be substituted for the inconvenient linked battalion system now in force, we consulted the colonels of the Scotch regiments in order to see how, without unnecessary changes, regiments with the same uniforms might be formed out of the existing battalions: and I am happy to say that when your meeting was recently held, we had arrived at satisfactory conclusions with respect to all but two regiments.

When Childers made his famous Army speech on March 3, 1881, linking the battalions in their present form, there was not a single reference to the rumour which had created the Stafford House meeting. Nor is there any reference to it in his son, Spencer Childers's, life of him, 1901. It would be interesting to see the replies of the colonels to whom Childers applied.

Three years after the Stafford House affair, an attempt was made to abolish the Highland bonnet. The opposition was again taken up by Lord Archibald Campbell, and his efforts are contained in a pamphlet, now rare, entitled:—

The Highland Regimental Feather Bonnet, its utility and inexpensiveness: with other arguments for its retention. Addressed to Members of both Houses of Parliament and others interested. With the compliments of Lord Colin Campbell, M.P. [Printed by] Maclure and Macdonald, London, February, 1884. (8vo. pp. 18.)

The pamphlet contains seven separate items, as follows:—

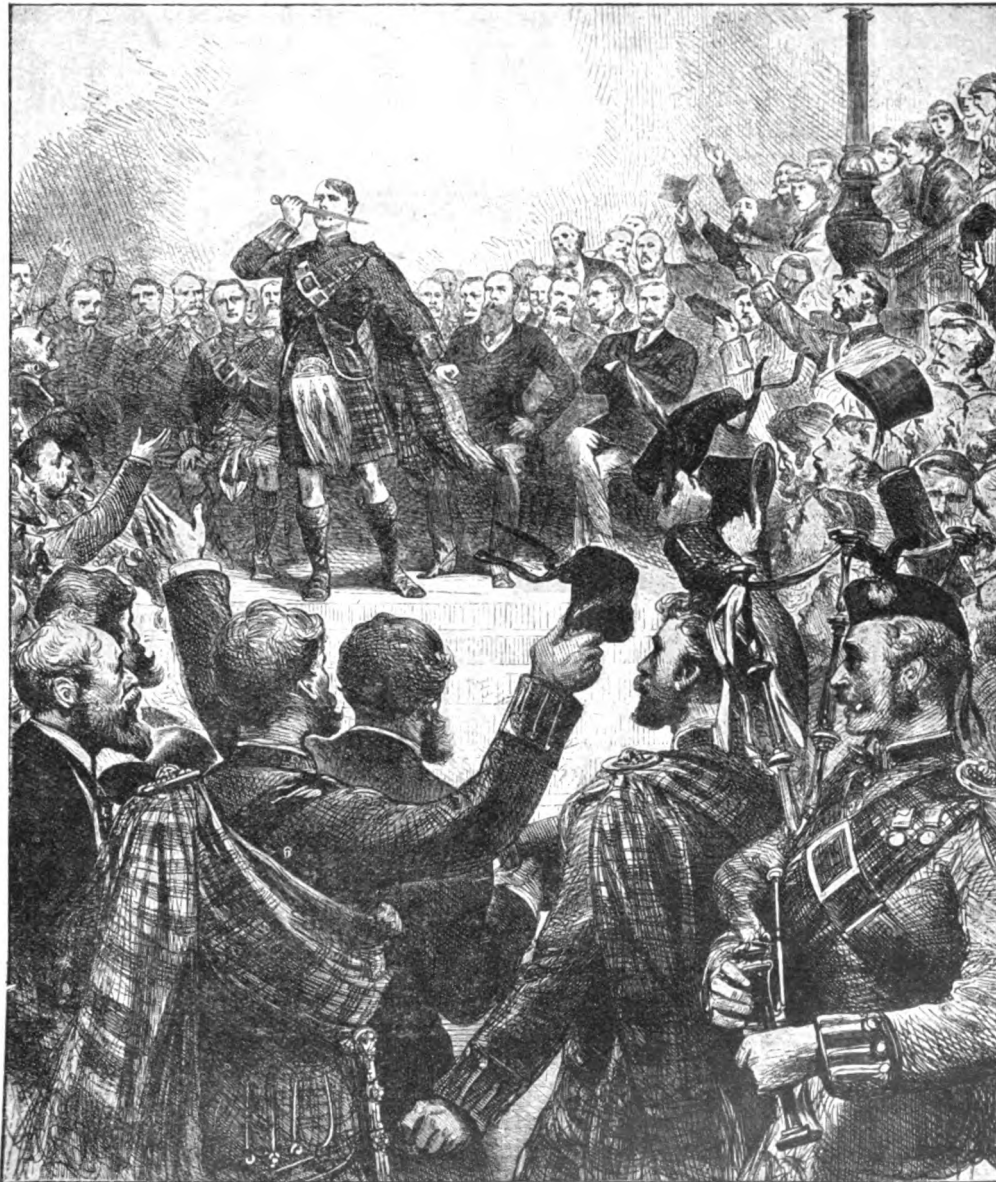
1. *General grounds for the retention of the bonnet.* From an article in the *Standard*, 19 January, 1884.
2. *Ancient use of ostrich feathers by the Highlanders of Scotland.* By Lord Archibald Campbell in a letter to the *Standard*, 21 January, 1884.
3. *Its durability and consequent inexpensiveness.* by "Lieut.-Colonel, late 93rd Highlanders"; from a letter to the Scottish Newspaper Press, dated the Scottish Club, 39 Dover Street, 9 February, 1884; also a letter by "Highlander" to the *Morning Post*, 18 February.
4. *The Use of the bonnet in the Field in the Hottest Climate.* By "Lieut.-Colonel, late 93rd Highlanders," dated 14 February, and sent to the Scottish Newspaper Press.
5. *Some statistics of cost of providing the feather bonnet for the future.*
6. *Some facts regarding the present defective system for supply of Highland regimental clothing from Pimlico.*

One wonders when the next attempt will be made to interfere with the tartan.

REVIEWS.

VAUBAN—BUILDER OF FORTRESSES.

By Daniel Halévy. Translated with Notes by Major C. J. C. Street, O.B.E., M.C.
Geoffrey Bles. London, 1926. 8vo. pp. 256. Price 6s.



Lord Archibald Campbell, at the meeting of protest at Stafford House, 17 February, 1881, swearing on his dirk to defend the tartan. He was the father of the present Duke of Argyll. On his right, seated, is the Chairman of the meeting (The Mackintosh), and on his left, with beard, the (3rd) Duke of Sutherland.

(Reproduced by permission of Captain Bruce Ingram, from *The Illustrated London News*.)

It is curious how little information remains from which to write a biography of France's most famous Engineer. Although he was the King's trusted adviser during a very large number of sieges and carried on an intimate correspondence for many years with the great minister Louvois, yet he was in no sense a courtier, and it was the court and its circle which formed the subject of most of the records, famous and infamous, of the time of Louis XIV.

Sébastien Le Prestre—the name Vauban is territorial—belonged to a family of small gentry—"Fortune decreed that I should be born the poorest gentleman in France"—and was born on 4 May, 1633—five years before his master—in the parish of Bazoches in Morvan. M. Halévy makes out that he received a very moderate education from the parish priest, but another account says that he was left an orphan at a very early age and was rescued by M. de Fontaines, prior of St. John at Semur, who gave him probably the best education at that time available in France, in fact he himself says that, when at seventeen he ran away and joined the regiment of Condé, he had 'a fair smattering of mathematics and fortification and was a passible draughtsman.' Like many another distinguished soldier he made his name early by a combination of brain and extreme gallantry. It was a great age for engineers. The wars were wars of sieges and the short intervals of peace were spent in the fortification of frontier towns and the development of ports and canals. The number of towns he fortified was prodigious—in fact one wonders where the money came from which provided for this and for the fleet and for buildings and canals and court extravagance. Another charge of the engineer was the workshop or arms factory and, like his rival Cohoorn with his mortar, Vauban is credited with the invention of the bayonet. But it is probably more accurate to say that he improved the design of both bayonet and flint-lock to the form which they held in all countries for over a century.

Saint-Simon as a young man described Vauban as "a man of medium height, with the typical look of a soldier, but at the same time extremely boorish and coarse, not to say brutal and fierce," but he did not see the kindly heart within, full of sympathy for the unfortunate and oppressed. His mind was essentially original and practical. Fontenelle wrote of him "un sens droit et étendu qui s'attachoit au vrai par une espèce de sympathie et sentoit le faux sans le discuter, lui épargnoit les longs circuits par où les autres marchent." He sought his information among the workers, in the trenches, on the canals, and among the country folk in the outskirts of the kingdom, whose many troubles he did not fail to bring to the notice of the Minister. At seventy he was made a Maréchal of France, and when he might have tried his strength against Marlborough and Eugene he was put on the shelf. He died on 30th March, 1706, in bad odour with the King in consequence of the publication of a book *La Dixme Royale*, in which he recommended the equal taxation of all classes and the abolition of the *fermiers-généraux*.

The book is beautifully printed and Major Street has done his work well. His Notes show considerable research, but he might have told us more about Vauban's system of *attack*, and explained in more detail his hint about the Man in the Iron Mask.

F.E.G.S.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY TO 1914. By Eric William Sheppard, Captain, Royal Tank Corps. Constable & Co., Ltd. London. 1926. 8vo. pp. xiv. 314. *maps*. 14s.

The task undertaken by Captain Sheppard was formidable, and it is obvious that he was forced either to sacrifice brevity to material, or material to brevity. Faithful to the title of his work he has chosen the latter alternative; and although compelled in consequence to confine himself to a summary of the innumerable campaigns which form his theme, the volume produced is of very considerable value. It should appeal not less to the civilian reader than to the soldier, and to the former it will be a great surprise, for 90 per cent. of our countrymen have heard the name of only one soldier, viz., Wellington, and of one battle, viz., Waterloo.

The author's story of the American War of Independence is an instance of a summary well related. But it is evident that he must have curbed himself severely, for where, as in his description of Cromwell's New Model Army, he 'lets himself go,' he gives a glowing picture and thrilling narrative.

In one respect at all events he seems to have carried his brevity somewhat to excess. To say that a force of 10,000 men under Brown, or 5,000 under Smith, was detailed for a task, hardly tends to clarity. The reader would gladly know at least the rank and title of the Generals mentioned. Even a word as to their past history would not have unduly lengthened the story of their exploits.

In his account of the Boer War in 1881 the author makes a curious slip of the pen which he has no doubt long since discovered. He states that Wolseley arrived to take command after General Colley's death. It was not Sir G. Wolseley, but Sir Frederic Roberts who had been detailed to take command. Roberts, however, on arrival at Capetown, was recalled. Sir Evelyn Wood succeeded to the command in Natal.

At the end of his book Captain Sheppard gives well-merited praise to Lord Haldane for his Army Reforms, and finishes with an Epilogue every word of which should be carefully perused. Captain Sheppard deserves the greatest credit for his most useful and painstaking work.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES.

106. HOW TO MANUFACTURE HISTORY. In *The Times Literary Supplement* of 10 December, 1925, p. 862, is printed a letter from Major H. Hobbs.

4, Esplanade East, Calcutta, headed "Memoirs of William Hickey"—written, apparently, with the intent of throwing doubt upon the credibility of Hickey—from which the following passages are taken:—

"On page 89 of Volume 3, is a reference to Captain Hallam of his Majesty's 102nd Regiment of Foot; page 128, Volume 3, "his Majesty's 101st Regiment of Infantry. . . . "How could William Hickey give the designations of regiments scores of years before they received them? At the time William Hickey saw these battalions they were called the Madras and Bengal Europeans; later they were the Madras and Bengal Fusiliers; after the Crown took over this country (India) in 1859, they became the 101st and 102nd Foot."

"How could William Hickey know what these two regiments were to be called by these numbers? Up to the Peninsular War the highest number was owned by the 95th Foot, now the Rifle Brigade."

"There must be many who can find other errors in William Hickey if they care to look for them."

As a fact, Hickey was perfectly correct in the statements which he made, and Major Hobbs is in error.

The 101st and 102nd Regiments which Hickey mentions were "King's" regiments, raised in 1781. They were both in the East Indies in 1783-5.

The Captain Hallam, whom Major Hobbs mentions, was George Hallam, commissioned as Captain in the 102nd Foot, on 24 October, 1781. (See the War Office Army List of 25 March, 1785.)

Major Hobbs's statement as to the highest number of a Regiment being "owned by the 95th Foot," up to the Peninsular War, is also wrong. At various times from 1761 onwards there had been many regiments with higher numbers—as high as 135—and even in 1808, the year in which the Peninsular War commenced, there were 6 Regiments of Foot with higher numbers than 95. (See War Office Army Lists of 1796 and 1808.)

In the issue of *The Times Literary Supplement* of 17 December, 1925, a letter from Colonel Harold Wylly was published, drawing attention to and correcting Major Hobbs's inaccuracies.

It is unfortunate, however, that such statements achieve publication, because, with large circulation such as that of *The Times Literary Supplement*, it is hopeless to expect that mistakes can be hunted and killed. However many disclaimers may be published afterwards, the "original sin" remains. The disclaimers do not get home.

Q.F.

107. THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY. (Vol. II. 151; IV. 1.) notice here following appears in the latest list of its publications issued by the Oxford University Press, April, 1926:—

¶ *The POCKET OXFORD DICTIONARY and the CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY are of unrivalled authority because they alone among one-volume dictionaries are based on the great OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, edited by Sir James Murray, Dr. Bradley, Dr. Craigie, and Mr. Onions. Of this great work Vol. I was published in 1888 after many years of preparation. Vol. X (the last) is now appearing in sections. The complete work will contain articles on about 425,000 words and will extend to over 15,000 large pages, each of three columns.*

It will, surely, be admitted that the University Press has the right to know the proper title of its own publications, and the sooner the meaningless title 'New English Dictionary' disappears from use, the better it will be for us all, now and in future.

In order to emphasise this view we need only call attention to *Modern English Usage*, by H. W. Fowler, just published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in which

O.E.D., as an abbreviation for *The Oxford English Dictionary*, occurs on almost every page.

This book, by the way, is illuminating and instructive, and is strongly recommended to Sailors, Soldiers, authors and other writers—editors especially—as an indispensable part of their equipment, and very cheap at its published price—7s. 6d.

It is 'the really readable dictionary,' and to show the extent of its range we quote from the article 'Worn-out humour,' p. 735:—

"Such grammatical oddities as *muchly*; such puns as *Bedfordshire and the Land of Nod*; such allusions as the Chapter on Snakes in Iceland; such parodies as *To — or not to —*; such quotations as *On — intent, or single blessedness, or suffer a sea change*; such oxymorons as *The gentle art of doing something ungentle*; such polysyllabic uncouthness as calling a person an *individual* or an old maid an *unappropriated blessing*; such needless euphemisms as *unmentionables* or a table's *limbs*; such meiosis as *the herringpond*, or *Epithets the reverse of complimentary*, or 'some' as a superlative; such playful archaisms as *hight* or *yclept*; such legalisms as *(the) said —, and the same, and this deponent*; such shiftings of application as *innocent or guiltless of h's, or of the military persuasion, or to spell ruin or discuss a roast fowl or be too previous*; such metonymies as *the leather and the ribbons for ball and reins*; such metaphors as *timberyard* and *sky-pilot* and *priceless*; such zeugmas as in *top-boots and a temper*; such happy thoughts as *taking in each other's washing*—with all these, we, i.e., the average adult, not only are not amused; we feel a bitterness, possibly because they remind us of the lost youth in which we could be tickled with a straw, against the scribbler who has reckoned on our having tastes so primitive."

THE EDITOR.

QUESTIONS.

229. FORTS. In accounts of campaigns, the names of forts—called after persons or places—are frequently met with.

It is intended to compile a list of such British forts, all the world over, and information on the following lines is asked for:—

| NAME OF FORT. | WHERE SITUATED. | WHEN CONSTRUCTED. | ORIGIN OF NAME. |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Pitt | Chatham | ? | ? |
| Miller } George } | N. America or Canada | Circa 1776-7. | ? |

J.H.L.

230. JAEGER CORPS IN INDIA—1859. I have in my possession a "Muster Roll of No. 6 Company, as taken at Poona, on the 1st day of August, 1859," of the "Jaeger Corps."

It is signed by Captain T. C. Crowe, Bombay Artillery, as "Mustering Officer," by A. Wiederkehr, Ensign, and by J[ames] W[arwick] Wooldridge, "Colonel, Commanding Jaeger Corps."

The strength of the Company is given as follows:—

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-----|---|-----------|-----|-----|-----|
| Ensign | ... | ... | 1 | Corporals | ... | ... | 5 |
| Colour Sergeant | ... | ... | 1 | Buglers | ... | ... | 2 |
| Sergeants | ... | ... | 4 | Privates | ... | ... | 104 |

The names in the Muster Roll are all German.

Information regarding this Corps is desired.

M.A.C.C.

231. THE STAFF CORPS OF CAVALRY. When was this Corps raised?

When was it disbanded?
 What were its special functions?

H. B.

232. GENERAL SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, G.C.B. Are any pictures or prints of Sir Peregrine Maitland, other than the group of Waterloo heroes, known to exist, and, if so, where are they to be found?

W. B.

REPLIES.

198. MILITARY FUNERALS. (Vol. I, pp. 123, 138-9, 184, and 232; III, pp. 7 and 66; IV, pp. 19 and 219.)

(From a 4to MS. book, the contents of which cover a period of some 15 years—1702-17. It probably belonged to an Officer in Lieut.-General Richard Ingoldsby's regiment of Foot—in 1926 represented by the Royal Welch Fusiliers—and possibly to General Ingoldsby himself.)

The new fact to be noted in this version of the Funeral Ceremonial is that if the funeral was that of a Colonel of a regiment the Colours were to remain 'in mourning' until a successor to the Colonelcy was appointed.

J. H. LESLIE.

THE CEREMONY TO BE OBSERVED AT FUNERALS.

1. The Detachment must be Drawn up 3 Deep Fronting the house where the Corps is. The Eldest Offr. (Colours if any) and The Drummer of the Detachment on the right. The Offrs. & Serjts. with their spontoons and halbards orderd and the Soldiers with their armes shoulderd.
2. When they are ready to march with the Corps, The commanding offr. moves towards the center of the Detachment and thus commands them

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1st. Rest your Firelocks | } | words of command. |
| 2d. Reverse your armes | | |

N.B.—The Offrs & Serjts. must reverse theirs at the same time.
3. They are to march off by the Left. The 2nd offr. to Lead the 1st Division, The rest of the Offrs. being Divided equally, The Serjts. on the flanks, The Ensigns with the Colours, If any, in the rear of the Last Division, The commanding Offr. following him. The Drum Majr. at the head of the Drummers is to follow the commanding Offr.. The hautbois after the Drummers, Then the Chaplan alone before the Corps. The chief mourners to follow the Corps and after them The Offrs. attending march 2 & 2.
4. When the Front is come to the Church porch or near the grave, The Offr. that leads the Detachment is to give the word of command:

| |
|---|
| 1st. Ranks open backward from the Center. |
| 2d. March. |

N.B.—The rest of the Offrs. & Serjts. are to divide themselves, The half on one side, and half on the other in the same rank with the men.

| |
|----------------------------------|
| 3d. Rest on your armes reversed. |
|----------------------------------|

N.B. This is performd in 3 motions. The muzzles on the ground. The left hand on the Cock. The right hand on the butt and their heads Leaning on them. The Offrs. & Serjts. are to order their armes with the spears downwards at the same time.
5. The Drummers and Hoboys continue their march as far as the porch or grave, beating and playing the funeral march. The Commanding Offr. as soon as the Offrs. attending the Corps are past him, is to march the rear rank and close the Lane and when all are past him The Offr. that Leads The Detachment is to order his men as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1st. Reverse yr. armes. | } | (N.B. The Offrs. and Serjts. are to reverse theirs on Left armes at the same time. |
| 2d. To the right and Left from yr. ranks. | | |
| 3d. March. | | |

Observing then [that they] are to march silently and to Draw up in the most convenient place Fronting the church or grave.

6. Then the Commanding Offr. to order his men

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1st. Rest your Firelocks. | } Here the Offrs. & Serjts. are to order their Spontoons and halbards with their spears upwards. |
| 2d. Shoulder your Firelocks. | |

NOTE. A Serjt. is to give notice when the Chaplan. pronounces, Dust to Dust.

Then the Commanding Offr. is to command his men as follows :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1st. Ranks close to the Front. | } Note that they are to fire 3 times, keeping an exact time between each volley. Then he proceeds to order them as follows. |
| 2d. March. | |
| 3d. Make ready. | |
| 4h. Present. | |
| 5h. Fire. | |
| 1st. Ranks open backward to yr. former distance. | |
| 2d. March. | |

7. Then the mourning is to be taken of the Colours & Drums, and the Commanding Offr. orders the men.

- 1st. Rest your Firelocks.
2d. Club your Firelocks.

Then he is to troop his men to the Commandant's Quarters, There to Lodge the Colours, and then Dismiss the men.

NOTE. If it be a Colonel's Funeral, The mourning is to remain on the Colours, Till a new Colol. be Declared.

8. Note that also it will be more convenient That the Majr. or adjutant should give the forgoing words of command, Because by posting himself in the Center he can see and be heard better than any of the Offrs. of the Detachment at their posts.

199. CHURCH BELLS AS PERQUISITES OF MASTER OF ORDNANCE. (Vol. III, p. 103; IV, p. 58; V, p. 43.) In State Papers Domestic, Military, Vol. 38, the following letter, dated 31 May, 1759, from the Office of Ordnance, is found. It is addressed to the " Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury."

" My Lords,

Mr. West having by Letter 4th instant signified to us your Lordships desire that we " cause to be Examined the Weight of the Bells now in the " Tower that were taken at Cherbourg and Claimed by Colonel Desaguliers " and to make the Report thereon to your Lordships " We beg leave to lay the same before your Lordships.

CHARLES FREDERICK.
A. WILKINSON.

W. R. EARLE.
CHAS. COCKS.

Report of the Weight of the bells taken at Cherbourg and Claimed by Colonel Desaguliers.

| | | |
|--|--------------|---------|
| Six Bells, four of which are broke either in the Cannon, or Sounding part or both; Weight with their Clappers, one of which is wanting | } c. Q. LBS. | |
| | | 60 1 10 |

This refers to the second expedition to Cherbourg in August and September, 1758. Lieut.-General Bligh was in command of the Troops, and Colonel Thomas Desaguliers, mentioned above, was in command of the Royal Artillery. Forts, Magazines and the Harbour were destroyed.

" 24 Brass guns and the Colours taken on landing were sent home." (*British Minor Expeditions. 1746 to 1814.*) J.H.L.

200. THE GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY FENCIBLES. (Vol. V. p. 43.) A great deal of information about the services of this Regiment will be found in the *Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara frontier—1812 to 1814*, published by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Niagara Falls South, Ontario, in 9 "Parts" (i.e., volumes).

From the *History of the War of 1812 between Great Britain and The United States of America*, by James Hannay, published at Toronto (Morang & Co. Limited) in 1905, the following paragraph (pp. 35-6) is taken :—

"The very small force of regulars in Canada would have been still smaller at the commencement of the year had it not been for the steps taken by Sir George Prevost on the advice of Major-General Brock, early in the year, to increase the number of Canadian regiments. In February, 1812, the establishment of the existing provincial regiment, the Canadian Fencibles, was increased to eight hundred men, and a project which had been proposed several years before for raising a regiment of infantry from the Glengarry settlers was carried into effect. Brock took an active part in promoting this work, but due credit should also be given to Sir George Prevost for his share in it. His correspondence with the British Government shows that while this project of enlisting a regiment of four hundred men was at first approved, it was afterwards discountenanced, and on March 30th, 1812, Lord Liverpool wrote Sir George Prevost ordering him to abandon the work of raising the Glengarry Regiment, the British Government evidently then believing, and continuing to believe during most of the summer of 1812, that there would be no war. Fortunately for Canada the work of enlisting this regiment had advanced so far before Sir George Prevost received Lord Liverpool's letter that his orders could not be carried out, and on the twenty-sixth of May Sir George was able to report to Lord Liverpool that the Glengarry Regiment, completed to the number of four hundred men, was stationed at Three Rivers. The strength of this regiment was afterwards increased to six hundred and finally to eight hundred men, and it performed very efficient service during the war. It appears from a despatch written by Sir George Prevost to Lord Liverpool, dated July 15th, 1812, that Glengarry did not supply all the men necessary to complete the regiment which bore that name, but that all the provinces had to be resorted to for recruits for it.

Y.Z.

201. ARMOURERS. (Vol. IV, p. 136.) The following reply appeared in *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 148, p. 465.

"In the Crimean War ordnance repairs were carried out by artificers from Woolwich Arsenal. The Corps of Armourers was incorporated in the Army Ordnance Corps in 1895 as the Armourer Section, A.O.C.; in 1896 the Artificers' Section was added by the transfer of the Armament Artificers from the Royal Artillery. No connexion can be traced between the Army and the City Guild which, as the 'Fraternity or Guild of St. George of the Men of the Mystery of Armourers of our City of London,' was granted a charter of incorporation by Henry VI in 1453 and amalgamated with the Braziers in 1708 into the present Armourers and Braziers Company."

A. C. W.

202. PRECEDENCE OF REGIMENTS. (Vol. V. p. 17.) In the Register House, Edinburgh, amongst the Abstracts of Records of Secretary's Office, 1685-1686, p. 171, No. 478, the following note is found :—

"James R." "The King's Letter to the privy Councill ordering seven Companys of the Regiment of Guard to be sent up in the Frigots and Yatch wherein ten Companys of the Earl of Dunbarton's Regiment [The Royal Scots] are now sent to Scotland—And also that the said ten Companys during their stay in Scotland have Precedency next to the Regimt. of Guard."

Dated at Whitehall. 20th March, 1685/6.

Countersigned "Melfort."

H. M. McC.

LETTERS OF CAPTAIN PHILIP BROWNE—1737 to 1746.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

(Continued from page 64.)

LETTER No. 26.

From the Camp at Hanau, 2 leagues off Francfort.
[Wednesday.] 29 June, O.S. 1743.

. I wrote my Brother the 18th, O.S., acquainting him how wonderfully a kind Providence was my Protector & Preserver in the Day of Battle, in the midst of Cannonading small arms & Sabres, when Numbers that were near me were killed & wounded. Since which Time we have recovered our great Fatigue in our present Camp, & are ready when a proper Occasion offers to return the Compliment the French paid us by first Firing their Cannon at Us, which we have Reason to think was levelled at the Kings Person, the first Ball crossing within about Twenty Paces of him. Some upwards of Fourscore of the greatest Families in France are now in Mourning for our Success that Day. They passed about Twenty Five Thousand on this Side, Seven Thousand of which never repassed, all which were their choicest Troops & the Flower of their Army. Our Loss killed & wounded is actually but Two Thousand Two Hundred & odd. About a Third of the Army of the Allies was in Action that Day, the Ground not admitting more to come up then did. It is said that Marshal Nouailles scheme if it had been well executed, would have been our total Defeat. Our Situation then was, Our Left extended about a League off the left of Aschaffenberg, we in possession of the Town & Bridge, & our Right about four Miles on the right of it. The Scheme it is now said when we marched there, was to have joyned Prince Charles, since which it was thought proper to return towards our old Camp at Hochst, or nearer towards Mentz. We had scarcity of Provision & no Forage, but green Corn & Grass that we Cut which was all consumed near Us.

On Wednesday the 15th Inst. [June] we lay upon our Arms all night, & at Two in the Morning begun our March; wee could plainly perceive the French a Marching likewise; on Our Left was the River, on our Right Mountains, & the Pass for some Miles so Narrow that the Enemys Cannon did not only command Us but frequently went beyond us. At Dettingen, a Village about Two Leagues on this Side of Aschaffenberg, the Enemy laid two Bridges, & got that Pass before us; the Breadth from the River & Town to our Wood was about a Quarter of a Mile. It is said the French General ordered them when over to draw up on their Left, & form upon the Ground where we lay upon our Arms all the night after the Battle; but by some Mistake they advanced to meet Us Where we had Ground sufficient to engage their Numbers, &

they retreated all the Way from the first Fire. Had they formed where We lay on this Side the Town, & planted Cannon in their Front, we could not have brought up Numbers to have acted at once, besides which it was a Morass, [so] that our Troops could not have gone to the Attack regular, but must have been broken, owing to the Boggyness of the Ground; and then they could by their Foot have flanked our Right from the Wood; at the same Time they did detach Fifteen Thousand over the Bridge at Aschaffenberg after our Rear: So that then we should have been hemmed in by four Fires, & not have had Ground to have acted in Numbers. Their Cannon on our Left, Their Cannon & Cavalry in our Front, their Infantry on our right Flank, & Fifteen Thousand in our Rear, & they superior to Us in Numbers without any Incumbrance, whereas the Baggage of the whole Army was with Us, & we must have been routed intirely had we been forced to retreat to it. With regard to the Ground, after they had passed over, everything was in their Favour if they had made a proper Use of it: And as They lost Three to One and the Battle, We must have Lost Ten to One and the Victory. They are on the other Side of the Maine just opposite to Us, & Messengers daily go from & to Lord Stairs & Marshal Nouailles. Our Left now extends to Hanau the King's Quarters, & our Right Five Miles short of Francfort, encamped in two Lines. It is said that Prince Charles is but Eight Days March off of Us, & that the Emperor hath declared himself Neuter, & desired the Protection of the King & States of Holland, how true I know not, but if so, the French must soon retire out of Germany, but whether we are to follow them into their own Dominions we cannot yet say. I believe it will be in the Power of the Allies, when Prince Charles comes up, to give them a total Defeat.

It is said Monsieur [Theodore] Chavigny, the French Minister, who formerly resided in England is now at Hanau making Overtures for an Accommodation.

I thank God I never was better in Health, having suffered nothing by Fatigue or Hardships, though I have many Nights slept upon the wet Ground & in the open Air. . . .

On Sunday Te Deum was Sung, & Three Vollies from the whole Army were fired, and the King created several Knights Bannerets in the Field with the Standard of England.¹

LETTER NO. 27.

Chartreuse Camp near Mentz.

[Monday] 15 August, O.S. 1743.

I can write you no news of consequence we having remained quite inactive since the battle of Dettinghen [16 June]. On the 30th of July

¹ At the close of the day the King was so much elated by his success as to revive the creation of Knights Banneret in the field, a proceeding which ceases to seem ridiculous when we learn that Lord Stair was the first and Dragoon Thomas Brown [3rd King's Own Light Dragoons] the last of the new knights." Fortescue. *History of the British Army*. 1899. Vol. II. p. 101.

Who were the other Knights thus created?

we removed from our Camp at Hanau where we had been six weekes, & the 2^d. Inst. we encamped at Bebrick opposite to the City of Mentz, from whence there was as delightfull a view as can be imagined, the front commanding that City the Rhine & the Main, & the rear a charming rural prospect. Mentz is a City neat but not large; strongly fortified & hath a Garrison of six thousand men. The Electoral Palace is upon the Rhine & adjoining to it is a fine Arsenal. The streets are but narrow but there is several magnificent palaces, a Cathedrall, & large & handsome churches, & a convent belonging to the Chartreuse's, which is now the Kings Quarters where there is a most compleat Chapple fitted up in the most elegant manner—the City rises gradually from the Rhine to the Top of a high hill, which is all planted with Vines—About a quarter of a league from the City upon the Banks of the Rhine is the Favorita, a most delightfull summer palace of his Electoral Highness, extremely neat & elegant, the Gardens not large, in wilderness taste, a very fine Cascade, beautifull Orangerie, & six seperate pavillions, three of each side all handsomely adorned & painted like them in the Gardens of Marly. The Elector goes frequently there of an afternoon & on Saterdag the King paid him a visit there, it is said the Emperor was with them, but whether truth I know not. The Maine runs into the Rhine opposite this palace, as the Moselle does at Coblentz opposite that Electors palace. At Bebrick Camp the King took up his Quarters at a magnificent palace of a Prince of the House of Orange, built upon the river a league lower then Mentz, but on the other side of the Rhine at which Camp we continued about ten Days. On the 10th, 11th, 12th & 13th the whole Army repassed the Rhine not at the bridge at Mentz, but over a flying bridge fung over near Bebrick, which consisted of about one hundred & twenty large Hoys or Hulks, divided into three parts, there being two Eights, or Islands, in the River, which seperated each division. This is where Prince Eugene did formerly pass. It is talked we shall move towards the Moselle, & that Prince Charles is a marching towards us, on the other side the Rhine, & if occasion be will make use of our flying bridge, which is then to be moved lower down towards Coblentz. This is Certain that our pontoons after they had repassed, are ordered & gone over again, & it said to lay bridges over the Maine to facilitate his nearer & more expeditious approach towards us.

I thank God I continue very well notwithstanding numbers of the Men & many of the Officers have the flux which don't carry of in proportion to the number taken ill. I continue to make it a rule to go to bed without a Candle, for am sure, & that in a Camp more especially, early hours of rest at night greatly contributes to health, & recovers nature immediately of those fatigues which sometimes [one] must unavoidably go through having been twice within a Week out all Night upon Guard without Shelter or Cover.

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LETTER No. 28.

Spire. [Sunday] 18 September, 1743. O.S.

To Dr. C[harles Chauncy.]

The Army march'd from Mentz the 15th Augst. & arived at Worms 19th from whence they marched the 14th Sept. for Franckenthal & arrived here the 16th.

It was said the reason of their march was to induce Marshall Nouailles to recall the 25 Battallions he had sent to reinforce Marshal Coigny to enable him to oppose Prince Charles Passage over the Rhine & it was reported it had had the desired effect.

The Army had suffered very much in their march, having had no Forage at all & provisions very scarce tho' the orders were very strict & the Officers very careful yet in spite of all their Diligence the Soldiers had rifled & plundered some Villages as they passed along & that several of them had been hanged for Maroding.¹

They had suffered extremely in their March from the Shortness of the Days, the Severe Cold, & the narrow Defiles they were obliged to pass through, they being sometimes obliged to file off & march Man by Man so that they underwent more than they did in the forced Marches they made to Aschaffenburgh.

The Army was near Landau on the same side of the River as the French, which made them continually sending out Parties to prevent any Surprizes whereby the Troops were exceedingly harrassed.

He had been to see the Dutch Troops who were incamped on the other side of the River over against *Worms*, whether they had marched since he left the place he could not tell, but they had not yet Joyned us.

The Earl of Stair had declared to his Friends the reasons of his Resignation, he supposed Said Earl was in England by this time & had made them publicke, so take no further notice of this affair.

He did not know whether or not they should make a Winter Campaign, there being no more Talk of going into Quarters then on the first day they set Out.

He is in high Spirits, not fearful of the Dangers of the Service, & desires his Friends not to be uneasy about what may never happen to him.

They should follow the French to the utmost Limits of the Empire, desires his Friends to direct to him in Germany & wishes his next may order them to Direct to him in France.

LETTER No. 29.

From the Camp at Beberick opposite to Mentz.

[Friday] 14th Octr. 1743.

I recd. your favrs. of the 23^d of Augst. & 27th of Sepr. in due time. I writ my Brother Clarke from the Camp at Speir [or Spire] the 18th of Augst. which we moved from the 30th of said month & incamped upon

¹ Marauding.

the same ground each day as when we went & came to Worms the 2^d Inst. The King left the army the 5th & the 6th we marched to our old camp at Mentz. On the 9th Inst. the Dutch passed the Rhine over our old bridge & the 10th the English & since then the other Allies. On the 13th the first Brigade of Dragoons marched hence for Liege—this morning the 2^d Brigade marched for said City, & to Morrow morning the Brigade of Horse for Bruxelles which is to be the winter Quarters of us & the foot & horse Guards—which are to follow a monday & afterwards the English Infantry & the Hanoverians & Hessians—which are likewise to winter in flanders. We are to repass the Rhine at Neweit & shall reach our quarters but a few days before the first of Decr. owing to the length of the way the shortness of the days & badness of the Roads. The sick of which there is great numbers are left in Hospitals; they that can be moved are sent by water so that nothing may impede the march of them that are in health. And many Officers are forced to go down by water they being not able to march with the Troops. I thank God I still preserve my health though we now live in Water, the rains being begun, & every thing wet & damp about us, & if my letter is not so long as usual it is owing to the Cold which makes it very uncomfortable to sett to write. Pray direct to me at Bruxelles *ou ailleurs*.

I hope to see you in England some time this winter I having obtained the Majors consent who will apply to the General for leave, but till the Troops are settled well in Quarters I shall not think of applying for that leave there being many things that require an Officers presence with his Troop after a Campaign for some little time. And none but the Sick & some members of Parliament have leave of Absence till the Army hath gott into quarters. And had I now leave would not make use of it till then though I should save a very fatiguing if not hazardous march owing to the inclemency of the weather.

LETTER No. 30.

Bruxelles. [Wednesday] 30 Novr., O.S. 1743.

. I intend to sett out for England about the 10th of Decr. You was so kind to say you would meet me upon my landing in England, but it is impossible for me to inform you when I shall come or which way, whether by Callais, Ostend, or Holland. Am told Holland is the most likely way to be sonnest with you, which if so shall prefer it, that being what I am greatly desirous off. Some Officers have been detained at Ostend about ten days for a wind & when that served the packets could not contain near the numbers of them who was there, so that they are delayed longer for want of room which would vex me was it my case. I only wish for a fair wind & if it blows a storm I shall the more readily embark as it will the sooner bring me to the english shore.

LETTER No. 31.

Dover. Thursday Morning. 8 Decr. 1743.

I left Bruxelles a Monday [5 December] at noon, embarked at Ostend

yesterday afternoon at four a Clock, & landed here this morning early—shall lay at Sittenborne¹ to night & be with you to morrow about six in the evening. I believe shall not reach your house before, being obliged to stop at the Lady Honywoods² at Blackheath.

[Browne remained in England until 11 March, 1743/4.]

LETTER No. 32.

[Dover] Sunday morning, 3 a Clock. 11 March, 1743/4.

I have been here ever Since Tuesday evening, waiting for a packet—the wind is now fair, & the weather good, am just now agoing, & hope to reach Ostend this day. I was to see Sr. John Norris Fleet [see *ante*, p. 55], which is in the downs, it is said that he hath orders to sail into Dunkirk road, & destroy what french shiping may be there—a Captain of the packet that came yesterday from Calais, says that the french are not only disembarked, but are a marching there troops back again into the country & that the Count de Saxe is gone for Paris. Peoples fears are quite gone & all the seafaring men declare that Admiral Norris, did as much as man could perform, to come up to the french fleet off Dungenness before they went, but that as the wind then was it was impossible, although he was within half an hours sail of them.

LETTER No. 33.

Ostend. Monday Morning, 12 March, 1743/4.

I writ you from Dover yesterday morning at three a clock, we embarked at four a Clock, & landed here at two in the afternoon, the wind was fair all the way, & the Sea tolerably calm, which was very lucky, as it hath been very tempestuous weather lately, & last night it blew a Storm—& doth at present—shall sett out for Bruges presently, & when am settled at Bruxelles will give you a line, & hope in the Interim to hear that you are all well. Pray my Complement to all friends as if particularly mentioned.

LETTER No. 34.

From the Camp at Beirlegem, two Leagues [N.E.]
from Oudenard. [Wednesday] 23 May, O.S., 1744.

. I could be glad to hear oftner from England, for good news of my relations wellfare is to me a cordial at all times. I, thank God, continue in perfect health & Spirits my self, notwithstanding we have had a great deal of rain, since our first Incampment, & very cold winds, & the weather still continues bad.

On the 8th inst. we marched from Bruxelles & incamped at Assche,

¹ Sittingbourne.

² Wife of Lieut.-General Sir Philip Honywood, K.B. He was knighted on 12 July, 1743.

having the Convent of Affgem on our right, which was the head quarters where the Duke of Marlborough lay the night before [10 July, 1708] the battle of Oudenard, & Alost & the river Dendre a league in our front. On the 20th Inst. a Detachment of six thousand Dragoons & foot, with six field pieces, decamped to secure the pass of Gaveren on the Schelt [Escaut]. On the 21st the English & Hanoverians followed & incamped at Borstberke [Boschbeek], which was on our right, & Alost on our left about two leagues. On the 22^d we came to our present camp & upon our coming to our ground, we could distinctly hear the cannon from Menin,¹ & we are told the french begun the Seige of that place on the 19th Inst. at night. We continued to hear it till went to rest, & the first thing that I heard at five a clock this morning [22 May] was Cannon, but the wind is now so high that at present we cannot hear it. Part of there Army hath invested it, & the other part covers the Besiegers. And I am afraid for want of numbers it is not in our power to raise the siege, but I suppose the Dutch will now begin to look about them, & reinforce us with a sufficient number, so as to enable us to go & force them to a Battle & raise the Siege. There was about eight thousand Dutch joined us at Assche, but at present we have only English & Hanoverians here. Our Right is to Oudenard on the Schelt & with our present Numbers, I think the most we can do is to secure a retreat & prevent our communication being cut off from Ostend. Yesterday we heard that our augmentation of ten Men a Troop for the Horse was gott into Ghent, but that a Detachment of French with two field peices had prevented several of the General Officers, & others with the recruits that lately arrived from England, to get there, they retireing upon the french appearing back to Bruges but a detachment is marched from Ghent to open the Communication sufficient, I doubt not, to oblige the french to retire. We want nothing but numbers; the army is greatly taken care of, having plenty of provisions & the forage & wood brought in carts to the head of the line, so that the men are not harrassed after a fatiguing march to go several miles for it, & no heart burnings or quarrels subsides² the men in health & I doubt not if occasions should necessarily cause it, you will hear as good an account as formerly of their behaviour, there appearing in the men an implacable hatred against the french, who are the enemies of all mankind. As occasion offers shall write to one friend or another & in return only beg a line to hear that they are well. My best & hearty wishes attends you, my Uncle Browne, Mr. Slater & all relations & friends & will continue so to do till Death. I remaine your most Affectionate Brother & Friend Whilst

PHIL: BROWNE.

It is said the Dutch have but three Battallions (about two thousand men) in Menin, so that no doubt it must surrender; ³ the Duke of Marlborough took it in nineteen days,⁴ when there was six thousand men in Garrison.

¹ About 50 miles off, due West.

² He probably meant to write 'subsists,' *i.e.*, remains.

³ It was taken by the French on 4 June, after a siege of 17 days.

⁴ It surrendered on 22 August, 1706.

LETTER NO. 35.

From the Camp at Ascque, a League from Lille.
[Friday] 3 August, O.S., 1744.

For a week past have undergone great fatigues. On saterday Nt. [28 July] at eight a clock we marched into the Chatelet of Lisle & it is sure a mortification to the French that we are living in there country at free quarter; we marched from four a clock a friday afternoon last to ten a saterday night, & expected that a saterday morning they would have been drawn out & given us battel in order to have disputed the passage into the French territories. Adieu in hast. I was never better in my life.

LETTER NO. 36.

From the Camp at Ascque near Lille.
[Saturday] 1 September, O.S., 1744.

. I have nothing worth your regard to communicate, as we have had no movements lately, nothing material hath occurred. On Wednesday last [29 August] there was eight thousand men detached towards Bruges & Ghent, it is said that the inhabitants of those two Citys are intirely in the French interest, & that the Governours thereof was fearful of the revolt of the populace. We continue to forage upon the country which is a most fruitfull & beautifull one, but as we have consumed that near at hand we have further to go to fetch it, & as the covering partys are obliged to be very strong to protect the forragers from the enemys party, this part of the campaign cuts us out rather more employment then the last. We have had no skirmishes of consequence as yet, but have frequently a few men & horses both killed and taken owing to the imprudence of those that venture beyond the Guard. I yesterday commanded one of our regiment to protect the forragers thereof, upon a noblemans Estate near Valenciennes but met with no accident. I can form no judgement what step is next to be taken, but as we have no heavy artillery it is very evident no Siege is intended. I am apt to think we shall remaine in the enemys country till it is time to go into winter quarters.

LETTER NO. 37.

Bruxelles. [Saturday] 27 October, O.S., 1744.

. We came into garrison here the 7th inst. [Sunday] after a week of the greatest hardship we have undergone during the campaign owing to the excessive stormy winds & great rains, & our being destitute of tents the two last nights; the wind was so high that the soldiers tents tore like paper, & the officers had none at all, we crossing the Lys, & the baggage of the army marching on this side and our great coats & cloaks was so wet that they continued so till after we came here; some regiments lost half there tents, & the whole must have

been gone in a few days longer which we imagine was the occasion of our leaving the field so soon.

I have been & am very well in health, but have had a pain of my right side, not violent, which has not confined me nor been troublesome, but hath not intirely left me. I have taken a gentle purging physick five days, would willingly have been blooded, but the Physician advized me against it, as possibly it might have a tendency to bring on an aguish disorder. I am otherwise perfectly well, & have not kept house an hour for it. . . . We have had a talk here for some time that the Foot & Dragoons are to march for Westphalia & the Horse & Foot Guards & regiments of Horse are to return to England in the Spring, but I am apt to think that as we all came together, we shall all stay or return together, & till the Parliament meets none can know any thing for certain.

LETTER NO. 38.

Bruxelles. Saterday, 22 December, O.S., 1744.

. Am very much obliged to you for your thoughts concerning me, & what might propably be the most likely way to push for further advancement—and likewise for your kind & friendly offer of your Services and Assistance.

As under is what I writ to Mr. Andrews the 24th of last month, by which you may form a judgement of what would be agreeable to me.

With regard to my self I shall write you very plain & don't care who may know or read it. I want the Rank of Capt^t of Horse in the Horse Grenadier Guards, or Horse Guards, or a Troop in any one of the regiments of Horse, either abroad or at Home, that is upon the English Establishment, and in full pay. As for Dragoons I wont buy it, but if offered will accept of it. That Rank in the Foot was offered me this Campaign if I would accept it, which I refused. By being a Soldier, I have learnt to be free, Easy & Bold, and if they won't let me have what I like, I defy them to make me dislike what I have. I won't change to any disadvantage; if I would, I have been offered six months agoe the thing I both want & like. I am ready & willing to lay out a thousand or fiveteen hundred pounds more for advancement, but I won't pay a Doit¹ more then it is worth, if I never arrive to what I want.

I should be glad that you or any one of my friends that you will be pleased to communicate this to, would seriously think of a proper person to offer privately a Thousand Pounds to, upon there proëcuring me any of them that is in full pay. It must be one of Interest, & who hath a right to recommend, which gratuity he receives unknown to any one but the party concerned. I am sensible there is enough that would be glad to ask in order to receive, and to whom it would not be denyd. I shall never desire to know by what channel such an affair may be attained, but will impower you to pay that sum upon the delivery of such a

¹ A Dutch coin of the value of half a farthing.

Commission. If you should meet with such a one he will ask for the first that may be Vacant, for it is often to late at the time. I should be very glad to give up my present pay to obtain that rank & serve for nothing, till I might happen to come into full pay in that rank, but then I can't afford to make a present of any thing to any one for procuring it of me. A Vote or a Present is often the only way to advancement, and it is in some Ignorance to Imagine or Hope for any thing from seeking danger, or facing the Enemy with intrepidity. But they that have done both from the result of there reason, have pleasure & satisfaction in there own breast, which no other can be sensible of, which the highest rank without it cann't give, nor Envy nor Malice taken from them—which disposition will push them on to endeavour to imitate those who are deservedly preferred, owing to there personal Merit, and to Esteem all others in their own breast in no other light then they deserve, and to be easy & satisfied in there own situation. As the Season is near at hand, I heartily wish you, my Uncle Browne, all the family at Fish Street Hill & every one at other places, as if particularly mentioned—Many Happy Years—And if I should be so happy as to enjoy my friends in health upon my return to my native country, when ever it may be, I shall be abundantly over-paid for my absence, which is the only trouble which takes of from making my satisfaction otherwise compleat.

I Pray God Preserve you all & rest

Your most Affectionate Brother,

PHIL. BROWNE.

The Austrians march on Monday [24 December].

LETTER NO. 39.

Bruxelles. [Wednesday] 10 April, O.S., 1745.

This is to inform you that Gen^l. Honywood hath, unknown to me, been so kind as to give me leave to sell out of his regiment—& Lord Albemarle,¹ without my knowledge, was so kind as to pitch upon me to be a Captain in the third Troop of Horse Guards,² commanded by his Lordship, now in service abroad. I am to pay to Capt^r. Barton, who goes out, Three Thousand one hundred pounds for it, & for my Lieutenancy I may get from sixteen to eighteen hundred pounds for it. I beg the favour you would negociate this affair for me with W^m. Adair, Esq., our agent, who lives in Pall Mall. I have writ him that you would wait upon him & give him a note, undeniable, endorsed to his satisfaction to pay the said sum upon my obtaining an Exempts commission (which is Capt^r.) in that Troop in full pay. If he should have a Gentleman ready to purchase the Cornecy³ at sixteen hundred pounds, which with two hundred pounds to be paid by a Cornet in our regiment for the Lieutenancy, then the note will be but for thirteen hundred pounds. I have writ him word that I am very willing to make an absolute resignation of my Cornecy & to give security to his satisfaction to pay sixteen hundred pounds in case of my decease before the cornecy may

¹ William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle. See 'D.N.B.'

² Disbanded in 1746.

³ *i.e.*, his commission as Cornet in his present regiment.

be disposed of to my mind. I am for deferring, if I can, the disposal of the cornecy, knowing that it will fetch me more at the end of the campaign than at present. If you know of any Gentlemen that will give a good price, more if you can, please to recommend him. With regard to money affairs I must beg my Brother John Browne to pay what sum or sums may be wanting to compleat the affair by advancing about fiveteen or sixteen hundred pounds out of my capital in his hands & if I should be obliged to pay the whole three thousand one hundred pounds down to lett the remainder be discounted till I shall reimburse him with the produce of my Lieutenancy. Least you should be disapointed in meeting with Mr. Adair, who did lodge opposite the Cocoa tree, in Pall Mall, please to send to him to fixt a time that may suit you both. Your punctuality & exactness of this affair for my honour will greatly oblige.

I might have had the same rank last year in one of the Troops, if I would have given Three Thousand five hundred pounds, but this is the current price & what I can have at any time, was I to sell out. The Duke¹ has just made his entry into Bruxelles.

LETTER NO. 40.

Bruxelles. Saterdag, 13 April, O.S., 1745.

I writ you the 10th inst. [letter No. 39] to desire you to negotiate an affair for me with Mr. Adair, our agent. I have writ this post fully to my Brother John Browne upon it, and desired that he would deposite a note for three thousand one hundred pounds, endorsed to Mr. Adair's satisfaction & payable to him at sight upon my giving him notice that I have my commission signed, appointing me a Captain in the third Troop of Horse Guards, commanded by Lord Albemarle, which cann't be done till Captain Barton hath advice from Mr. Adair that he hath such a deposite in a note, or notes, entirely to his mind & then it will be immediately done here, & upon my writing that it is done, the money for the note or notes must be paid. Your immediate care and exactness in this affair will greatly oblige me.

As I advance the whole sum, I shall have the pay of both commissions till I have disposed of my Lieutenancy. Two hundred pounds will be laid down by a Cornet in the regiment & the first Gentleman that will lay down fiveteen hundred pounds, if I can get no more, shall have the Cornecy. The Commission which I had sett my heart upon, to be given me in the manner it is, without my asking, seeking, or knowing of it,

¹ H.R.H., William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of King George II. Although only 24 years old, he had just been appointed (*London Gazette* of 12 March, 1745) to be "Captain-General of all and singular his Majesty's land-forces, raised and employed in his Majesty's service, within the kingdom of Great Britain, and also of all and singular his Majesty's land-forces, which are or shall be employed abroad in conjunction with the troops of his Majesty's Allies."

He left England, embarking at Harwich, on 5 April, 1745, landed at Helvoetsluis the next day, and reached Brussels on the 10th.

makes me ample amends for all the Hazard & Danger that I have & may continue to run.

I make no doubt to hear by the first post that can possibly know it by, that you have done it to my satisfaction. And the trouble will, I hope, not be very much, as it is only waiting upon Mr. Adair once, providing he shall be satisfied in the validity of the notes being paid. Upon my informing my Brother John Browne & him that my Commission is signed, I will not trouble you with any thing about the Disposal of my Lieutenancy, but only beg that you would if possible not lose a moment in transacting this affair for me. It is usual upon all these occasions to have the money deposited, and I believe the only instance, at least I never heard of any where it was not; & it is owing to my unspotted character that it is not insisted upon, & I would not, for never so much, that in the conducting this affair there should be the least occasion to even so much as to glance a slur upon it.

With regard to the disposal of my own commission I have refused security for the two hundred pounds to be paid for the Lieutenancy & will, I assure you, have the whole deposited in money. And such a sum of money advanced at so short a notice will greatly add to the reputation of the family as well as to my personal character and had I a Gentleman now ready to pay down fiveteen or sixteen hundred pounds for the Cornecy I would put him off for a month or two, for I think the reputation of holding two commissions at the same time is worth some money. I hope you will excuse this trouble and that I shall hear from you as soon as possible.

[The battle of Fontenoy was fought on 30 April, 1745.

The allied army—British, Austrian, and Dutch—leaving Brussels on 19 April, marched to Hal, and to Soignies on the 21st.

Extracts from the orders to the Army are here inserted in order to make the course of events, preceding the battle, more clear. See map, facing p. 144.]

ORDERS BY H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

April 18.

Anderlecht [a S.W. suburb of Brussels.]

The Or. Masters that go on before to take care that their men commit no disorder, for which they are to be answerable.

No officer below the Rank of a Brigadier to lay in Quarters.

The Commanding Officers of Corps are to be answerable that no woman, nor children, nor Baggage, be suffered to go in the Waggon, and any commanding officer who permits it shall certainly be put in arrest.

The 'General' to beat to morrow morning in Camp at 5, the 'Assembly' at 6, and to be ready to march $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after.

[In George Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary*, published in 1770, the following definitions of various drum-beats are given, under the word "Drum."]

The general, is to give notice to the troops that they are to march.

The assembly) is to order the troops to repair to the place of rendezvous, or
The troop,) to their colours.

The march, is to command them to move, always with the left foot first.

Tal-too, is to order all to retire to their quarters.

The reveille, is always beat at break of day, and is to warn the soldiers to rise, and the centinels to forbear challenging, and to give leave to come out of quarters.

To arms, is for soldiers who are dispersed, to repair to them.

The retreat, is a signal to draw off from the enemy.

Retraite, is always beat in both camp and garrison a little before sun-set, at which time the gates are shut, and the soldiers repair to their barracks.

The alarm, is to give notice of sudden danger, that all may be in readiness for immediate duty.

The parley,
The chamade, } is a signal to demand some conference with the enemy. ✓

ORDERS OF 18 APRIL, CONTINUED.

His Royal Highness's Baggage to follow the Cavalry. The Marshal's¹ next, then the Generals' and Regiments' according to seniority, allowing but 1 man a Troop of each Regiment for the Baggage guard. A Subaltern and 30 men of the Foot guards to come to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock to Anderlecht Port, to receive and escort H.R.H. baggage and the Dutch² are to take care of the Marshal's.

The Royal Regiment of Foot³ to give 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant and Ensign and Colours with 50 men for the Marshal's Guard to-morrow as soon as they come to camp. A Cornet, and an Orderly Trooper or Dragoon to attend the Marshal.

The Surgeons of the several Regiments are to carry their Medicine Chests and Instruments upon their Batt⁴ horses, which are to march at the head of each Corps with their men's tents. His R.H. allows 1 Waggon for the Sick of each Regiment in Camp, which waggon goes in the rear of the Regiment.

Every Regiment of Foot to be completed with 24 rounds each man, and the Dragoons to 12, and to receive it from the Magazine in Town.

The Regiments of Foot and Dragoons to go on with fitting their clothes as fast as possible, and making their recruits perfect in the Exercise.

All out-guards to come off, and join their Corps at the beating of the 'General.'

April 19.

Hal Camp.

[The army marched this day from Anderlecht to Hal—8 miles.]

No body to stir out of Camp.

The British Cavalry to take 1 day's Forage at the Magazine here, and those Corps which have not printed receipts to apply for them immediately at Mr. Carpenter's at the Mill in Hal, without which they will be refused Forage.

Return of the strength of each Regiment of Cavalry as they marched out of garrison, and from Camp yesterday, to be given this day to General Campbell.⁵

A Field officer, 2 Captains, 4 Subalterns, with 200 men of the Cavalry for the Grand Guard of each Wing.

['*Grand Guard*—three or four squadrons of horse, commanded by a field-officer, posted at about a mile, or a mile and a half from the camp, on the right and left wings, towards the enemy, for the better security of the camp.'—George Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary*, published in 1779.]

¹ Marshal Lothar Josef Georg Koenigseck, in command of the Austrian contingent.

² The Dutch contingent was commanded by the Prince of Waldeck.

³ In 1926. The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).

⁴ 'Bat' literally means a pack-saddle, and is generally used in combination with other words, as bat money, which means an allowance for carrying baggage in the field. Bat-horse, bat-mule, and bat-man are other examples of its use, the latter meaning a man in charge of a horse and its load. The word has nothing to do with *batta*.

⁵ The *Hon.* James Campbell, 3rd son of the Earl of Loudoun. He was Colonel of the Royal Regiment of North British Dragoons—in 1926 The Royal Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons)—and in command of the whole of the British Cavalry at Fontenoy, where he was severely wounded, dying the same day. He was buried in Brussels. See 'D.N.B.'

The British gives one Field Officer, 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, and 120 men. The Hanoverians 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, and 80 men.

The General Officers and Majors of Brigade, who come in [*i.e.*, on duty] for the day, to attend H.R.H. at the head of the line on a march.

The Grand Guard to patrol in the front during the night. The Head Quarters is at Hal. Orderly time 11 o'clock.

April 20.

Hal Camp.

Whenever de Stadt has marked Quarters for the General Officers, no body to presume to rub out the names, on pain of being sent to the Provost's.

The Train guard and the Marshal's, and the General Officers' guards to be relieved every 48 hours.

Lieut.-General [Thomas] Howard's² gives the Marshal's guard to-morrow. Whenever the Marshal's Baggage comes into the Causeway, they must be let in to the Line of Baggage.

The Officers' Batt Horses to go along with the Horses that carry the men's Tents.

An Officer of each Regiment of Dragoons to take a Farrier along with him, and visit the Horses of the Brigade of Foot Guards, and the other 4 Brigades of Foot, and if any are found glandered to have him shot. The Officer who visits the Foot Guards, must inspect the Horses of the Sutlers at the head Quarters.

Communication to be made between the Lines and Intervals of the Regiments.

The Commissarys for Wood and Straw, to attend the delivery, 75 Faggots to each Squadron and 200 to a Battalion.

Straw for Tents, 150 Botts³ per Squadron and 400 per Battalion, including the Officers' servants; each Bott to weigh 12 pounds and half that quantity to be delivered every 8 days.

The Quarter Masters of every Regiment shall go with the men for wood and straw, and shall be answerable that no more is taken than what is delivered by the Commissary, and shall not let the men be out of their sight.

The Quarter Masters and Camp Colour-men, and the new grand guard shall assemble to-morrow morning at 2 o'clock at the head of the Dutch guard Dragoons, on the left of the army. The Highland Regiment⁴ to march along with the Quarter Masters, and to detach 1 Captain, 2 officers, and 60 men to secure the General Officers' Quarters, till the General Officers' guards come up.

The 'General' beats at 5, the 'Assembly' at 6, and 'March' be half an hour after. The 1st Line by the right of the Causeway, and the 2nd on the left.

English and Dutch Train of Artillery are to march abreast on the Causeway, the English on the right, and the Dutch on the left.

The Baggage to follow their respective Artillerys, as they are incamp'd. The Hanoverian Artillery and Baggage to follow the English.

For the future Sir John Ligonier⁵ to march at the head of the Foot Guards, and Major General Ponsonby⁶ at the head of the Infantry of the 1st Line.

The Commanding officers of the Royals, Lord Rothes's,⁷ and Skelton's⁸ to attend Sir John Ligonier to-morrow upon the march.

² In 1926, The Buffs (East Kent Regiment).

³ *Fr.* botte—a bundle or truss.

⁴ In 1926 The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders). ⁵ Lieut.-General Sir John Ligonier, in command of the British Infantry at Fontenoy. See 'D.N.B.' ⁶ The *Hon.* Henry Ponsonby, 2nd son of the first Viscount Duncannon, in the peerage of Ireland, and Colonel of a regiment of Foot which later became the 57th, and is in 1926 the 1st Battalion of The Hampshire Regiment. He was a Brigadier at Fontenoy and was there killed—struck by a cannon-ball. ⁷ John Leslie, 9th Earl of Rothes. See 'D.N.B.' In 1926 The King's Own Scottish Borderers. ⁸ In 1926, the 1st Battalion of The Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

April 21.

Soignies Camp.

[The army marched this day from Hal to Soignies—13 miles.]

No body to stir out of Camp.

All Colonels are expected to lay in camp.

Complaint being made that a Country Carriage has been taken, all such are to be instantly dismissed, and if any are found hereafter with any Corps, the Commanding officer of it will incur H.R.H.'s highest displeasure.

An officer with a Detachment of the Picquet of every Regiment to patrol in the front and rear of each line, to take up all Marauders, and send them to the Provost.

As H.R.H. intends to shew all reasonable indulgence imaginable to his Army, and as the pay of the British Forces exceeds that of any other Troops, he expects they should observe very strict discipline, being determined to shew no mercy in case of Misbehaviour.

All orders relating to the men to be constantly read to them by an officer of each Troop and Company.

That each Regiment, as soon as they come to camp, make communications between their intervals, that their baggage may come up to them.

The whole Army to Forage to-morrow for two days. The Guards and Cavalry first. The Dragoons next, and then the Foot and Artillery.

Wood and Straw will be delivered at the head of the Camp.

April 22.

Soignies Camp.

Whatever orders come as sent by the Marshal must be obeyed as if they came from the Duke himself.

The Marshal's guard to be continued by the Regiments of the right wing and then from those of the left, and relieved every 48 hours.

(To be continued.)

ARTICLES OF WAR—1627.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY CAPTAIN H. BULLOCK, INDIAN ARMY.

It is believed that these Articles of War have never before been printed. They are taken from a manuscript found in a volume of Admiralty papers (nominally of Queen Elizabeth's reign, though most are of a later date) in the Public Record Office (*State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 237, folio 36*). The writer can trace no previous record of them; they are not mentioned in Mr. Baldry's article in the *Journal* (Vol. IV. p. 167).

The date, tentatively ascribed to them at the Public Record Office, is June, 1627; and they may therefore possibly have been made in connection with the Rochelle expedition.

Grose in his *Military Antiquities* (3rd edition, 1812) makes no mention of any military code of about this date, for he says (vol. ii, p. 69) "The military code of Henry VIII is preserved in manuscript in the college of arms; it is said in the title page to have been printed A.D. 1524¹ by Thomas Bertelet. The laws and ordinances of war established by the Earl of Northumberland, for the army of King Charles I, A.D. 1640, is

¹ Grose is in error. The date on the title page is MDXLIII [1544].

the next authentic military code that occurs." It therefore appears that the Articles of 1627 cannot have been known to Grose, for there is no reason to suppose that he found them but rejected them as not being authentic. It is far more likely that, however exhaustive his search may have been when compiling his book a hundred and fifty years ago, he overlooked these Articles, which lie amongst naval (not military) papers of the reign of Elizabeth (not Charles I), a far from obvious resting-place.

The size of the pages of the MSS. is $13\frac{7}{8}$ " by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The spelling has been modernised throughout.

Instructions for the execution of Martial Law in his Majesty's Army.

1. He that shall take God's name in vain or blaspheme God shall, for the First offence in that kind, be kept three days in Prison with bread and water, And for the second time of offending so, shall have a hot Iron thrust through his tongue and be stripped to his shirt & so Banished the Army.

2. The like penalty shall be inflicted upon those who shall either say or do aught in despite or derision of God's word or the ministers of God.

3. All wilful murders, rapes, firing of houses, robberies, outrages, unnatural abuses, and such like, shall be punished with death.

4. No man shall beat, threaten, or dishonestly touch any woman, or children, on pain of punishment according to the quality of their offence.

5. Whosoever shall Conspire to do any thing against the Fleet or Army shall be put to death without mercy.

6. Whosoever shall come to the knowledge of any such fact and conspiracy, and not acquaint their chief officer thereof, shall be punished with death without mercy.

7. Whosoever shall raise a mutiny shall be punished to death without mercy.

8. Whosoever shall make any unlawful assembly shall be punished according to discretion: And if it shall be Judged of that quality & of such danger to the service as it shall deserve it, to be punished with death.

9. Whosoever shall be present at such an assembly and call and stir up, or entice any to increase it, shall be subject to the same punishment, And officers more than any other.

10. He that shall speak any words tending to sedition, mutiny, or disobedience, or that having heard any such words and shall not acquaint his superior officer with it, shall be punished with death.

11. In like manner they shall be punished who shall rehearse any such words in the presence of private Soldiers without order.

12. Whosoever shall entertain conference, or hold correspondence, with the Enemy, or send any message or letter to the Enemy, or receive any from him without the Consent of the Commander in Chief shall be

punished without mercy.

13. Whosoever shall converse with any trumpet, or drum, of the Enemy, or any sent in message from them, without leave of the Chief officer shall be punished with death.

14. Whosoever shall go out of his quarter from his Colours, or Garrison, further than a Cannon shot, without his Captain's leave, shall be punished with death.

15. Whosoever shall forsake his Colours shall without mercy be punished with death.

16. Whosoever shall neglect his watch or any other service commanded him shall be punished with death.

17. Whosoever shall be found sleeping upon his watch, either of sentinel or perdu,¹ shall without mercy be punished with death.

18. Whosoever shall depart from such his watch when he hath been placed by his officer, unless he be called thence or relieved by his officer, shall receive punishment of death without mercy.

19. No man shall make known the watchword to the Enemy, or any other, but by order, nor give any other word than is given him by the officer, on pain of death.

20. Whosoever shall absent himself out of the Corps de Garde² without his officer's leave shall be punished with death.

21. No man shall make an Alarm, or discharge his piece by night, nor make any noise without lawful cause, on pain of death.

22. Whosoever shall presume to draw his sword without order after the watch is set shall be punished with death.

23. Whosoever shall strike his fellow-soldier shall be punished according to discretion.

24. No man shall command money by any unlawful assembly.

25. No Captain, Lieutenant, or Ensign, shall depart from his Garrison or quarter without sufficient leave, on pain of death.

26. No man shall quarrel, or fight in any private quarrel, or call any to his help in such a quarrel, on pain of death.

27. What soldier soever shall go on free booting, or commit any spoil without order, shall suffer death.

28. What soldier soever shall Challenge another into the Field shall be punished with death.

29. If any Corporal, or other Commanding the watch, shall suffer

¹ A sentinel posted in a very advanced position where he can hardly hope to escape death.

² The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines this as meaning "The small body of soldiers stationed on guard or as sentinels," with an example of 1590—"The bodie of the watch also standing watch (as we were wont to terme it), they now call after the French, or Wallons, *Corps du Gard.*"

Shakespeare uses it as 'court of guard' (1 Henry vi, II. i). It is in present use as 'quarter-guard.'

A *Military Dictionary*, published in 1704, gives the following definition of the word:—

A Post sometimes under covert, and sometimes in the open air, to receive a number of men who are relieved from time to time, to watch in their turns for the security of some considerable Post. This word, *Corps de Garde*, does not only signify the Post, but the Men in it.

a soldier to go forth to private fight, he shall without mercy be punished with death.

30. The soldier wronged either by word or deed shall repair to his officer for satisfaction, wherein there shall be order taken, or, if he take his own course, he shall be punished according to discretion.

31. Whosoever shall go out of his Garrison or quarter, or come in any other way than at the ports and ordinary allowed passages, shall be punished with death.

32. Whosoever shall refuse to perform the commands of his officer according to the discipline of war shall be punished with death.

33. Whosoever shall not repair unto his Colours (unless it be upon evident necessity) when an alarm is given, or shall go to another place, without special order, or shall neglect his time in coming to his Colours, shall be punished with death.

34. Whosoever shall go out of his order or rank, where he is placed by his officer, without leave, shall be punished with death.

35. Whosoever shall run away at a Battle, assault, or encounter, may be killed by any man that meeteth him, And if he shall escape he shall be declared a villain.

36. No man that shall be appointed to the defence of any place, be he officer or soldier, shall quit that place without order from the Chief, on pain of death without mercy.

37. Whosoever shall deliver any place to the Enemy by betraying it, shall suffer death without mercy.

38. Whosoever shall persuade the leaving of the defence of a place without sufficient order, shall suffer death without mercy.

39. Whosoever shall run to the Enemy, being taken again, shall be punished with death.

40. No Captain shall entice away the soldier of another Captain upon pain of being punished according to discretion.

41. No soldier shall go away from the service of his Captain to the service of another, on pain of being severely punished, unless he have lawful order.

42. Whosoever shall, by word or deed, interrupt an officer in the execution of his office without order, shall without mercy be punished with death.

43. Whosoever shall not come fully armed to his Colours, being of the watch, or being to watch or exercise, shall be punished according to discretion.

44. Whosoever takes any prisoner of the Enemy shall instantly bring the prisoner to the Chief Commander in that quarter, from him to be brought to the Chief of the Army, upon pain of death.

45. Whosoever shall take a prisoner & suffer him to depart without the order of the Chief of the Army shall be punished with death.

46. Whosoever shall take any prize shall presently [*i.e.* immediately] acquaint the Chief of the Army with it, on pain of death.

47. All Captains and officers shall observe to acquaint the Chief Commanding in their quarter and the Chief of the Army with all offenders under their Charge, on pain of being punished according to

discretion.

48. Whosoever shall be drunk during the term of his watch shall be severely punished.

49. Whosoever shall diminish¹ or pawn his Arms, shall be punished according to discretion.

50. Whosoever shall take to pawn any soldier's Arms shall be punished according to discretion.

51. Whosoever shall be found with his Arms foul or unserviceable shall be punished according to discretion.

52. Whosoever shall take away other soldiers' provisions or Arms shall be punished according to the quality of the offence.

53. Whosoever shall draw his weapon against his officer shall be punished with death.

54. Whosoever shall resist or offend any Provost, or his officers, in the execution of his office by way of attempting to rescue any offender, or otherwise, shall suffer death.

55. Whosoever shall break prison shall suffer death.

56. Whosoever shall make, or help to make, a false muster, shall suffer death.

57. Whosoever shall spoil, sell, or convey away any Muniton shall suffer death.

58. No soldier shall be a victualler without the Consent of the Chief of the Army, upon pain of being punished according to discretion.

59. No victualler shall entertain soldiers at unlawful or unseasonable hours upon pain of being punished by discretion.

60. All other abuses and offences, not specified in these Orders, shall be punished according to the discipline of war and opinions of such officers and others as shall be called to make a Council of war.

Tho. Coventry, C.S.

Kelly.

H. Mandeville.

Conwey.

Pembroke.

Duresme.²

Mountgomery.

R. Naunton.

Theo. Suffolke.

Jo. Coke.

REVIEW.

A HISTORY OF FIREARMS. By Major H. B. C. Pollard. Geoffrey Bles. London. 1926. Crown 4to. With three colotype plates and thirty-eight half-tone and line plates. pp. xii. 320. Two guineas.

This is an important book covering a very wide field. To give in a single volume a complete account of the development and history of

¹ Obs. To break in pieces (*O.E.D.*).

² *i.e.*, Durham.

portable fire-arms of all kinds is a task which few men would be in any degree capable of undertaking. Major Pollard brings to it a quite exceptional knowledge of firearms generally, and especially of mechanisms, in which he has long been interested as a collector. In the many attempts to solve the problems of ignition and of breech loading, the pistol, which the wheel lock first made possible, has an importance not usually brought out by those who have treated of the subject. Major Pollard deals fully with this, for pistols and revolvers are his "real flame," as will well be understood by those who are familiar with his excellent "Book of the Pistol."

The whole subject is full of interest, and does not lack romance. Treating of firearms from their earliest appearance, Major Pollard follows the development of the arquebus, the musket and carbine, the rifle and shot gun and machine gun as well as the pistol; he deals with breechloading from its earliest form, in which a separate chamber of a length to hold the charge was inserted into the breech of the cannon, through centuries of endeavour to close the breech effectively on the gases of a charge exploded within it by fitting metal to metal, to the final compromise by which an expansible and expendible chamber in the form of a metallic cartridge case is interposed between the charge and the joints of the breech, thereby solving all difficulties. He treats exhaustively of the varieties of pattern of British and foreign military arms, and by careful attention to detail has cleared up many obscure points which puzzle the collector. He gives, for instance, lists of a vast number of different weapons used in the American civil war, and particulars of the rifle armament of all countries at the outbreak of war in 1914. The .303 Service rifle was first adopted in 1888; old as were the Lee action and magazine, it proved itself the most practical rifle of all those used in the great war. It appeared in six different marks before the Boer War and, as the short rifle, in five more marks before 1917. There was also the 1914 pattern .303 rifle, a war product, designed originally for a calibre of .276, and not, as the book under notice tells us, of .256. This was made in America, and Major Pollard gives us the precedent, now almost forgotten, of the manufacture of Enfield rifles at Hartford for use in the Crimean war.

He has some hard things to say about the way in which improvements in arms have had to be forced on a reluctant War Office, and in a great measure these are justified. The percussion cap, for instance, was universally used in sporting weapons by 1825, but it was only tested at Woolwich nine years later, and was not adopted for the Army till 1842; even so there were still some flint locks in the service when the Enfield rifle superseded smoothbores in the fifties.

Officialism always tends to be out of touch with commercial progress, and is always hampered by annual estimates, but the war has gone far towards remedying the condition complained of. It is not, however, commonly understood how completely beyond doubt an improvement has to be before the complication and expense of making a change of pattern on a large scale, of scrapping former issues, and of

producing stocks of new or modified accessories and spare parts, can be justified. Especially is this the case where complicated mechanism is concerned and yet infallible functioning is aimed at. There have been self-loading pistols on the market for thirty years, and scores of mechanisms and thousands of pistols have been produced, yet Major Pollard tells us that "the entirely reliable automatic pistol has yet to be made," and recommends the revolver in preference. The self-loading rifle presents a much more difficult problem, and he holds that "nearly fifty years of progress have not yet given us an automatic rifle which can be substituted for the ordinary bolt action magazine rifle." Major Pollard has completely surveyed the firearms of the past and the present; of the future, who shall dare prophesy?

The early history of firearms is obscured by the century and a half which elapsed between their first invention and the invention of printing, so that it has to be pieced together as well as may be from casual allusions. It is, perhaps, this part of Major Pollard's book that is most open to criticism. He would hardly accept so easily the idea that the Chinese were the first to use firearms, or that the writings attributed to Marcus Græcus have any authority, if he were familiar with Lt.-Colonel Hime's elucidation of the subject. Asiatics had a good knowledge of fireworks in very early times, but there is really no evidence that their knowledge of firearms antedates their contact with Western powers. Portuguese vessels took cannon to the East early in the 16th century, and thirty years ago breechloading guns of the European fashion of that period were to be seen on the fortifications of Canton, but no specimens of original Chinese firearms are forthcoming.

To what would seem to be the most primitive of all guns, the pot-shaped vessel such as is shown in the MS. at Christ Church, Oxford, 1325, which lies on a trestle table and is loaded with a quarrel padded to fit the mouth of the pot, there is no allusion in the book under notice. The addition of a wooden stock as a means of handling the primitive handgun was natural enough, but for a long time it remained not much more than a handle. The butt portion did not rest against the body, and its shape seems even to have been influenced by exaggerated fashions of padded clothing of the chest and shoulders. The butt as we know it seems to date from the middle of the 16th century, when the straight butt favoured by the Spaniards and held against the shoulder was superseding the short French butt which was held against the breast; with the latter the alignment of sights must have been almost impossible.

The ascription of the date 1498 to the invention of rifling can hardly be justified. It was certainly invented within a few years of 1500, but no precise evidence is forthcoming as to the year, the place, or the name of the inventor. There is much obscurity about the derivation of some of the early terms connected with arms, which, like almost all English military terms, were of Continental origin. Thus, petronel and harquebus, snaphance and currier, have given rise to discussion. Major Pollard points out that the second word of "Brown Bess," the soldier's term of endearment for the musket, represents the "buss" of harquebus

and blunderbuss, the German büchse. The origins of bayonet and pistol are unproved; the latter Major Pollard thinks to be from the coin *pistole*, which probably corresponded in size with the bore.

The explanation (p. 69) of "skewed guns" in 1666, as meaning that they had barrels made in two pieces, can hardly be correct; at this period skewed meant rifled, as distinct from smooth bored; this indeed is made clear by the quotation in the note on the same page, in which the great accuracy of these guns is stressed. De Gaya (1678), in writing of the armament of the French troops, says "The King commands at present that in every troop of his guards be carried eight rifled or screwed carbines"; the wording is that of his contemporary English translator. John Evelyn, too, uses "screwed guns" in the same sense in 1646. The "fine carbine" that he bought from "old Lazarino Cominazzo" at Brescia in that year was presumably rifled, for he records how, in passing through Switzerland that autumn, he took part with it in what were certainly rifle contests at Geneva. The term "carbine" is ambiguous; it often meant "rifle," as normally in France to-day, but it is not easy to separate the special meaning from the general one.

A few inaccuracies and misprints such as are inevitable in so large a volume may be pointed out. The American rifle, often called, as it is by Major Pollard, the Sharp, is properly the Sharps; Christian Sharps patented it in 1852. This date disposes of the idea, in which Major Pollard follows Sawyer's excellent book, that the word "sharpshooter" first meant a man using a Sharps rifle; it is paralleled by (perhaps actually translated from) the German "Scharfschütze," and, as the Oxford Dictionary proves, was in current use in England as far back as the year 1802. The officer whose rifle was adopted for the French army in 1846 was Thouvenin, not Thonvenin; the translator of Macchiavelli's Art of War into English was Whitehorne, not Whitham. The "Military Treatise, 1619," quoted on p. 50, is apparently E. Davies's "Military Directions," an admirable book first published in 1618; Grose quotes largely from it. The year of Colonel Ferguson's death at Black Mountain, 1780, is not given, though the day of the month is mentioned; the account of his demonstration of his remarkable breech-loader at Woolwich, quoted from Blanch's "Century of Guns," is taken by Blanch from the Annual Register of 1776.

The illustrations deserve more than a word of praise. There are photographic plates of pistols and other weapons and accessories, and outline drawings of harquebuses, muskets, carbines and rifles, all admirably clear. There are also plates of proof marks and gunmakers' marks, and long lists of gunmakers, both British and foreign. These lists appear to be much fuller than any hitherto published, and form a particularly valuable feature of the book. There still remains, however, room for a really exhaustive treatise on armourers and gunmakers of all countries and their special marks, a laborious work needing the leisure of an enthusiast who can roam over Europe. Those who consult the book will regret that the index is not much more complete and worthier of a work the contents of which are almost encyclopædic in their survey of their subject.

A SHORT MEMORIAL OF NORTHERN ACTIONS DURING THE WAR THERE, FROM THE YEAR 1642 TILL 1644.

[The writer of this 'short memorial' was Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of Ferdinando, 2nd Baron Fairfax, who died in March, 1647/8. Thomas succeeded his father as 3rd Baron Fairfax.

The MSS. is the property of Captain J. A. Collins, of Ashdon Hall, Essex, and has been in possession of his family for many years.

It is contained in a small book the pages of which measure 6" by 4". The writing is clear, with frequent contractions.

Inside the cover is written:—

'A short account of some passages in the Civil Warr in England by the Rt. Honble. Thomas Lord Fairfax, transcribed from his own manuscript by his nephew Thomas Hutton¹ of Poppleton, Esq., and given by Mr. Hutton to T. Rokeby.'

The spelling has been modernized throughout. A sketch map of the country faces p. 144.]

I shall set down (as they come in to my mind) such things wherein I have found the wonderful assistance of God to me, in the time of the war I was in, in the North. Though not in that methodical & polished manner as might have been done; being intended only for my own satisfaction & the help of my memory.

JANUARY, 1642/3.

[FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AND HIS SON, SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THE WRITER OF THIS 'MEMORIAL,' ON THE SIDE OF THE PARLIAMENT, REPULSE A BODY OF ROYALISTS AT BRADFORD.]

My Father was called forth, by the Importunity of the Country, to Join with them in defence of themselves, & confirmed by a commission from the parliament. The First Action was at Bradford, where we had about 300 men. The enemy, having about 7 or 800 & 2 pieces of Ordnance, came thither to assault us. We drew out close to the Town to receive them. They had advantage of the Ground, the Town being compassed with Hills, which made us more exposed to their cannon shot, from which we received some hurt, yet, notwithstanding, our men defended those passages where they were to descend, so well, that they got no ground of us. And now, the Day being spent, they drew off, & returned back again to Leeds.

A few days after Capt. Hotham,² with 3 Troops of Horse, & some

¹ Son of Richard Hutton, who married Dorothy, sister of Thomas Fairfax.

² Sir John Hotham, 1st Bart., was Governor of Hull at the breaking out of the Civil War, and refused the King admittance to the town, in March, 1642, for which he was proclaimed traitor by the King.

Dragoons, came to us, & then we marched to Leeds. But the enemy having notice of it, quit the Town, & in haste fled to York. And that we might have more room, & be less burthensome to our friends, we presently advanced to Tadcaster, 8 miles from York. Now, we being increased to 1000 men, it was thought fit, for securing of the West Riding (at least, the greatest part of it) from whence our chiefest supplies came, to keep the pass at Wetherby, whither my Father sent me with about 300 Foot & 40 Horse.

The enemy's next design was from York to fall on my Quarters there; which was a place very open, and easy for them to do, there being so many backways to enter, and friends enough to direct and acquaint them with all that we did.

[ROYALIST ATTACK AT WETHERBY REPULSED.]

About 6 o'clock in the morning, they set upon us, with 800 Horse and Foot. The woods thereabout saving them so much, that our scouts could get no notice of them, so as no Alarm was given till they were ready to enter the Town; which they might soon do, for the Guards were all asleep in houses (For in the beginning of the war, men were as Impatient of Duty as Ignorant of it). I myself only was on Horseback, going out at the other end of the Town, to Tadcaster, where my Father laid. One came running to me, & told me the enemy was entering the Town. I presently galloped to the Court of Guard, where I found not above 4 men at their Arms (as I remember 2 Serjeants, & 2 Pikemen) which stood with me when Sir Thomas Glenham with about 6 or 7 commanders more charged us; where, after a short but sharp encounter (wherein Major Carr was slain) they retired. And in this time more of the Guard were gotten to their Arms. But I must confess, I know no strength, but the powerful hand of God, that gave them this repulse. After this, they made another attempt in which Captain Atkinson was slain.

And here again there fell out another remarkable providence, During this conflict our magazine was blown up, which struck such a terror in the enemy (thinking we had cannon, which they were informed we had not) that they instantly retreated, & though I had but a few Horse, they pursued the enemy some miles, & took many prisoners. We lost about 8 or 10 men (whereof 7 were blown up with powder), the enemy many more. At this time the Earl of Cumberland¹ commanded the forces in Yorkshire for the King. But being of a peaceable nature, & by his Amiable disposition had but few enemys, or rather, because he was an enemy to few, he did not suit their present condition, & apprehensions & Fears. Therefore they sent to the Earl of Newcastle, who had an Army of 6,000 men, to desire his assistance, which he answered by a speedy march to York. Being now encouraged by this increase of force, they resolve to fall on Tadcaster. My father drew all his force thither; But by a Council of war, the Town was judged untenable, &

¹ Henry Clifford, 5th Earl. He died in 1643, when the earldom became extinct.

that we should draw out to an advantageous piece of ground by the Town. But before we could all march out the enemy advanced so fast that we were necessitated to leave some Foot in a slight work above the bridge, to secure our retreat. But the enemy pressing still on us, forced us to draw back and maintain that Ground. We had about 900 men, the enemy above 4000, who, in Brigades, drew up close to the works & stormed us.

[THE ROYALISTS ARE AGAIN REPULSED.]

The men reserved their shot till they were very near, which then they disposed to so good purpose as forced them to retreat & shelter themselves behind the ridges that were hard by. And here did the fight continue from 11 at noon till 5 at night, with cannon & musket without intermission. They had, once, possessed a house by the Bridge, which would have cut off our reserves that were in the Town; but Major Gen. Gyffard with a commanded party beat them out again, where many of the enemy were slain, and taken prisoners. They attempted at another place, but were also repulsed by Capt. Lyster, who was there slain; which was a great loss, being a Discreet gentleman. And now, it growing dark, the enemy drew off in to the Fields hard by, with intention to assault us again the next day.

[FAIRFAX'S FORCE MARCHES TO SELBY.]

They left that night, about 200 dead & wounded upon the place. But our ammunition being all spent in this day's fight we drew off that night, & marched to Selby, & the enemy entered the next day, into the Town. And thus, by the mercy of God, were a few delivered from an Army, who, in their thoughts, had swallowed us up. Now the Earl of Newcastle lay between us & our friends in the West Riding, & so, equally destructive to us both. But to give them encouragement & help, I was sent with about 200 Foot & 3 Troops of Horse, & some Arms, to Bradford. I was to go by Ferry Bridge & intelligence being that the enemy was yet advanced no further than Sherborne [in Elmet]. But when I was within a mile of the Town, we took some prisoners, who told us that the Earl of Newcastle laid at Pontefract, 800 men in Ferry Bridge, & the rest of the Army in all the towns thereabout.

[MARCHES TO BRADFORD.]

So as now, the advance or retreat seemed alike difficult; but there being not much to me to demur in, a retreat was resolved on, back again to Selby; 3 or 400 of the enemy's Horse shewed themselves in our rear without any attempt upon us, & so, through the Goodness of God, we got safe thither, & in 3 days after (having better Intelligence how they lay) with the same number as before, I marched in the night, by several Towns where they lay, & arrived the next day at Bradford, a Town very untenable, but for their good affections, deserving all we could hazard for them. Our first work there was to fortify ourselves, for we could not but expect strong opposition in it, seeing there laid at Leeds, 1500 of the enemy, & 1200 at Wakefield, neither above 6 or 7

miles from us. They visited us every day with their Horse (for we went not far from the Town, being so unequal in number), yet they seldom returned without loss, till at length our few men grew so bold & theirs so disheartened, as they durst not stir a mile out of their Garrison. But while these daily skirmishes were among the Horse I thought it necessary to strengthen ourselves with more Foot. So, summoning the country (which now our Horse had given some liberty to come in to us) I presently armed [them] with the arms which we brought along with us, so that, in all, we were now about 800 Foot. But being too many to lie idle, & yet too few to be in continual duty, we resolved rather, through the assistance of God, to attempt them in their Garrison, than to endure longer this Trouble.

[FAIRFAX MARCHES TO LEEDS AND TAKES IT BY STORM.]

So, summoning the Country in again we made a Body of about 12 or 1300 men, with which we marched to Leeds, & drew them up, within half cannon shot of their works, in Battalia, & then sent in a Trumpet with a summons to deliver up the Town to me, for the use of King & Parliament. They presently returned this Answer, that it was not civilly done to come so near before I sent the summons, & that they would defend the Town the best they could, with their lives. So presently, ordering the manner of the storm, we all fell on at one time. The business was hotly disputed for almost 2 hours. But after the enemy was beaten from their works, the Barricados were soon forced open to the streets, where Horse & Foot resolutely entering, the soldiers cast down their Arms, and rendered themselves prisoners. The Governor & some chief officers swam the River, & escaped, only Major Beaumont was drowned (as was thought). In all, there were about 40 or 50 slain, & good store of Ammunition taken, which we had much want of.

[THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE WITHDRAWS THE ROYALIST ARMY FROM PONTEFRACT TO YORK.]

But the consequence of this Action was, yet, of more Importance, for those that fled from Leeds and Wakefield (for they also quitted that Garrison) gave my Lord Newcastle such an alarm where he lay at Pontefract, as he drew all his Army back again to York, leaving, once more, a free intercourse between my Father & us, which he had so long time [been] cut off.

But after a short time, the Earl of Newcastle returned again to the same quarters, & we to our stricter Duties. But after some time, we found that our men must either have more room, or more action.

[FAIRFAX AND HOTHAM DEFEAT A PARTY OF ROYALIST HORSE, NEAR SHERBURN-IN-ELMET.]

Therefore Captain Hotham and I took a resolution early in the morning to beat up a Quarter of the enemy that lay at [Church] Fenton. But they being gone, we marched toward Sherborne [in Elmet],

intending only to give an Alarm there. But they might see us, a mile or 2, march over a plain Common which lay by the Town, & therefore had sent about 20 or 30 Horse to guard a passage near the Town. I having the van, (for at this time we commanded our troops distinct one from another, both making 5 troops of Horse, & 2 of Dragoons). I told him if he would second me, I would charge those Horse & if they did flee, I would pursue them so close as to get in the Town with them. He promised to second me. I went to the head of my Troop & presently charged them, who fled, & we pursued close to the Barricado, but they got in & shut it upon us, where my horse was shot in at the breast. We so filled the lane, being strait,¹ that we could not retreat without confusion & danger of their falling in our rear, so we stood to it, & stormed the work with pistol & sword. At the end of the Barricado there was a strait passage for one single horse to go in. I entered there & others followed, one by one. Close at one side of the entrance stood a Troop of Horse, but so soon as 8 or 10 of us got in, they fled; & by this time the rest of our men had beaten them off from their Barricado & entered the Town which soon cleared the Streets, and pursued those that fled. And now my horse was shot in the lane, fell down dead under me, but I was presently mounted again.

[FAIRFAX RETURNS TO SELBY.]

They in the Towns about, having taken the Alarm, now made us think of securing our retreat with our prisoners we had gotten (& some of them considerable ones) among whom was Major-General Windham. But we had scarce got into good order before Gen. Goring² came with a Good Body of Horse upon us, & as we marched on, he followed us close in the rear, without receiving any hurt, only my Trumpet had his horse shot close by me; so we returned again to Selby. But though this could not free us wholly from a potent enemy, yet We lay more quietly by them a good while after. In this Recess of Action we had several Treaties about prisoners. And this I mention, the rather, for that Captain Hotham, here, first begun to discover his Intentions of leaving the Parliaments service, by making conditions for himself with the Earl of Newcastle (though not discovered till a good while after)³ which had almost ruined my Father & the forces that were with him.

[LORD FAIRFAX MOVES HIS FORCE FROM SELBY TO LEEDS.]

For being now denied help & succour from Hull, & the East Riding, He was forced to forsake Selby & retire to Leeds, & those western parts where myself was. But to make good this retreat, I was sent to, to bring what men I could to join with him at Sherborne. For Newcastle's Force lay so as he might easily intercept us in our way to Leeds, which he had determined, & to that end lay with his army on Clifford Moor, having perfect intelligence of the march.

¹ Narrow.

² George Goring. See 'D.N.B.'

³ This eventually led to his arrest, trial, and execution in 1645. See 'D.N.B.'

[SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX OCCUPIES TADCASTER, AND THEN MARCHES TO LEEDS, WHERE HE AGAIN JOINS HIS FATHER, LORD FAIRFAX.]

But while my Father (with 1500 men and Ordnance & ammunition) continued his way from Selby to Leeds, I with those I brought to Sherborne marched a little aside between my Lord Newcastle's army, & ours, & (to amuse them the more) made an attempt upon Tadcaster, where they had 3 or 400 men, who presently quitted the Town and fled to York. Here we stayed 3 or 4 hours, slighting¹ the works. This put Newcastle's army to a stand (which was in their march to meet us), thinking he was deceived in his Intelligence & that we had some other Design upon York. He presently sent back Lord Goring with 20 Troops of Horse & Dragoons to release Tadcaster. We were newly drawn off when he came. Goring passed over the river to follow us. But seeing we were so unequal to him in Horse (for I had not above 3 Troops, & [had] to go over Bramham Moor, a large plain) I gave directions to the Foot to march away, while I stayed with the Horse to Interrupt the enemy's passage in those narrow lanes that led up to the Moor. Here was much firing one at another; but in regard of their Great Number, as they advanced we were forced to give way, yet had gained by it sufficient time for the Foot to be out of Danger. But when we came up to the Moor again I found them where I left them, which troubled me much, the enemy being close upon us, & a great plain that to go over. So marching the Foot in 2 Divisions & the Horse in the rear, the enemy followed about a musket shot from us, in 3 Good bodies, but yet made no attempt upon us; & thus we got well over this open champaign. But having again gotten to some little enclosure, beyond which was another moor, called Sea Croft Moor (much less than the first), here our men, thinking themselves more secure, were more careless in keeping order, & while their officers were getting them out of houses where they sought for drink (being an exceeding hot day) the enemy got another way, as soon as we, upon the moor. But when we had almost passed this plain also, they seeing us in some disorder, charged us both in flank & rear. The countrymen presently cast down their arms & fled; & the Foot soon after, which for want of pikes were not able to stand their horse. Some were slain & many taken prisoners. Few of our Horse stood the charge. Some officers with me made retreat with much difficulty, in which Sir Henry Foulis had a slight hurt. My Cornet was taken prisoner, yet [we] got to Leeds about 2 hours after my Father & the forces with him were arrived thither safe.

This was one of the greatest losses we ever received, yet was it a great providence that it was a part, & not the whole Force which received this loss, it being the enemy's intention to have fought us that day, with their whole Army (which was at least 10000 men) had not our attempt at Tadcaster put a stand to them. And so concluded that day, with this storm that fell upon us.

But now, being at Leeds, it was thought fit to possess some other place also. Wherefore I was sent to Bradford with 7 or 800 Foot, & 3

¹ Destroying.

Troops of Horse, these 2 Towns being all the Garrisons we had. At Wakefield, 6 miles off, lay 3000 of the enemy, but yet had not much disturbance from them, being most busied about releasing of prisoners that were taken at Sea Croft Moor, most of them being countrymen, whose wives & children were still importunate for their release (& which was earnestly endeavoured by us; but no conditions would be accepted) so as their continual cries, fears & Importunities compelled us to think of some way to redeem these men, so as we thought of attempting Wakefield (our intelligence being that the enemy had not above 8 or 900 men in the Town). I acquainted my Father with our Design, who approved of it, & sent some men from Leeds which enabled us to draw out 1100 Horse & Foot.

[THOMAS FAIRFAX TAKES WAKEFIELD BY STORM, ON 20 MAY, 1643.]

So upon Whit Sunday, early in the morning, we came before the Town; but they had notice of our coming, & had manned all their Works, & set about 500 musketeers to line the hedges about the Town, which made us, now, doubt our intelligence (which was too late). Notwithstanding, after a little consultation, we advanced, & soon beat them back into the Town, which we stormed in 3 places. After 2 hours dispute, the Foot forced open a Barricado where I entered with my own Troop. Coll. Alured & Capt. Brighte followed with theirs. The street which we entered was full of their Foot, which we charged through & routed, leaving them to the Foot which followed close behind us. And presently we were charged again with Horse led by General Goring, where, after a hot encounter, some were slain, & himself taken prisoner by Captain Alured.

And here I cannot but acknowledge God's goodness to me this day, who being advanced a good way single, before my men, having a Colonel & Lieut.-Colonel (who had engaged themselves to me my prisoners) only with me & many of the enemy, now, between me & my [men] I light on a Regiment of Foot, standing in the market place. Thus encompassed & thinking what to do, I espied a lane which I thought would lead me back to my men again. At the end of this lane there was a Corps du guard of the enemy, with 15 or 16 soldiers which was then just quitting of it, with a sergeant leading them off, whom we met; who seeing their officers came up to us. Taking no notice of me, they asked them what they would have them to do, for they could keep the work no longer, because the Roundheads (as they called them) came so fast upon them. But the Gentlemen who had passed their words to be my true prisoners, said nothing. So looking upon one another, I thought it not fit now to own them as so, much less to bid the rest to render themselves prisoners to me; so, being well mounted, & seeing a place in the work where men used to go over, I rushed from them, seeing no other remedy, & made my horse leap over the work & so by a good providence got to my men again, who, before I came, had by the direction of Major-General Gyfford brought up a piece of ordnance, and planted it in the church-yard against the body that stood in the market-place, who presently rendered themselves.

(To be continued.)

ARMY INSPECTION RETURNS—1753 to 1804.

BY THE REV. PERCY SUMNER.

[FOR PREVIOUS SECTIONS, SEE VOL. III. 227; IV. 23, 91, 104, 168; AND
V. 25, 66.]

SIXTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Buff.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. Buff.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a blue stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1758. 7 September. Officers—red, faced and lapelled with buff, laced with silver—buff waistcoats and breeches. Fifers good.

1768. 1 June. 8 Fifers. Officers lapelled to waist with pale buff, slashed sleeves turned up with a buff cuff, silver laced hats.

1769. 3 June. Officers—cross pockets—laced epaulette with silver fringe. Colours, 1760.

1777. 4 April. (Minorca).³ Grenadiers, &c., caps covered with goatskin.

1798. 27 July. No Music.

SIXTY-SECOND REGIMENT OF FOOT.⁴

[THE WILTSHIRE REGIMENT (DUKE OF EDINBURGH'S).]⁵

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Yellowish Buff.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

¹ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Foot. Became the 61st Foot in June, 1758. Page 116 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland. See Note 111 on page 133.

² 2nd Battalion. ³ Arrived in 1771.

⁴ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 4th Foot. Became the 62nd Foot in June, 1758. Page 117 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in the Charibbee Islands.

⁵ 1st Battalion.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. Yellowish Buff.

Colour of the Lace. White, with two Blue, and one Straw-coloured Stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1769. 5 June. Colours, 1757.

1771. 1 August. Officers' coats too short and hats too small. Colours, 1770/1.

1773. 3 August. Officers' uniforms much too short and tight. Men's hats cocked with a foreign pinch—their hair queued with art. Clothing remarkably short and tight.

1775. 25 May. Officers—lapels, cuffs and collar, pale buff; silver epaulette; pale buff waistcoat and breeches; silver-laced hat. Uniforms very short and hats very small. Clothing—coats cut so short that I must call them jackets. Hats too small.

1785. 8 June. Officers' hats plain.

1787. 9 May. Smart, pretty regiment.

1788. 25 June Light Infantry in short gaiters.

SIXTY-THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE MANCHESTER REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Very deep green.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.

Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a very small Green Stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 15 July. Colours, 1765. Men's hats too much on the French taste. Fifes.

1768. 27 July. 8 Fifers.

Officers—scarlet with a silver embroidered button-hole, lapelled to waist with deep green; green cape; small round green cuff; silver buttons

¹ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 8th Foot. Became the 63rd Foot in June, 1758. Page 118 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² 1st Battalion.

numbered; green epaulette embroidered; white lining, waistcoat and breeches; silver-laced hats.

1771. 30 May. Officers—laced button-holes; turned down cape; scarlet epaulette, silver-laced.

1773. 3 August. Good Band of Music.

1774. 14 May. Colours, 1774. Officers—green epaulette, silver-laced.

1784. 3 May. Just arrived from America, where the officers never made use of espartoos; saluted with swords. Officers—silver laced button-holes.

1799. 6 May. Lately returned from West Indies—clothing not uniform, as men from West Indies are differently dressed.

SIXTY-FOURTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT (THE PRINCE OF WALES'S).]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Black.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White

Colour of the Lace. White with a Red and a Black Stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 6 July. 64 swords only—No great uniformity in the hats the men having white-laced hats, the sergeants yellow and the officers no lace.

1768. 23 May. Colours, 1766. Officers, scarlet, lapelled to waist with black velvet; slashed sleeve with a narrow black cuff; square pockets; gold embroidery on the coats only, with a rich gold and black shoulder knot; buttons numbered; white waistcoat and breeches; the whole suit edged with black velvet; plain hat with a gold loop and hat-band.

1786. 26 June. Arms lost on duty at night after smugglers.

1789. 22 August. Lieut. Col. and Adjutant mounted properly. Men's hat-lace too narrow.

¹ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 11th Foot. Became the 64th Foot in June, 1758. Page 119 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² 1st Battalion.

SIXTY-FIFTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE YORK AND LANCASTER REGIMENT.]²

 1768.

Facings of the rank and file. White.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White with a Red and Black worm, and a Black
 Stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 6 July. 18 swords. Colours, 1765.

1768. 28 May. 6 Fifers.

Officers—plain coat lapelled to waist with white; cross pockets; slash sleeve with rolling cuff; silver buttons not numbered; silver shoulder-knot; white waistcoat and breeches.

1777. 21 June. Colours, 1776.

1784. 2 August. Officers' hats cocked in a foreign manner; men's hats the same.

1790. 10 August. (St. John's.) Colours, 1790.

SIXTY-SIXTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.³[THE ROYAL BERKSHIRE REGIMENT (PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES'S).]⁴

 1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Yellowish green.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with One Crimson and Green, and One
 Green Stripe.

¹ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 12th Foot. Became the 65th Foot in June, 1758. Page 120 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² 1st Battalion.

³ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 19th Foot. Became the 66th Foot in June, 1758. Page 121 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Jamaica.

⁴ 2nd Battalion.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

- 1758.** 5 July. 2 Fifers. White and marching gaiters.
1759. 20 August. Officers, red, lapelled with green, laced and looped with gold; buff waistcoats and breeches.
 Men—black and white gaiters. Uniform—red, lapelled, faced and lined with green, well laced; red breeches.
1777. 29 May. Noble and fine regiment.
1778. 16 October. Colours, 1774 or 1775.
1790. 6 May. (St. Vincent). Trousers.
 Officers' uniform—yellowish-green with silver lace.

SIXTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹[THE HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Pale Yellow.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with Yellow, Purple, and Green Stripes.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

- 1772.** 8 June. Band of Music.
1773. 1 June. Colours, 1773.
1784. 22 May. Very good Band.
1790. 12 March. (Grenada).³ Light Infantry with black belts.
 Trousers.

SIXTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.⁴[THE DURHAM LIGHT INFANTRY.]⁵

¹ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Foot. (See Vol. IV. 107.) Became the 67th Foot in June, 1758. Page 122 of the Army List of 1766 (misprinted 'Seventy-seventh'). Stationed in Minorca.

² Second Battalion

³ Arrived in 1788.

⁴ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 23rd Foot, Royal Welch Fusiliers (see Vol. IV. 110). Became 68th Foot in June, 1758. Page 123 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Antigua.

⁵ First Battalion.

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Deep Green.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Silver.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with Yellow and Black Stripes.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1773. 2 June. Colours, 1773.
1774. 16 May. No Grenadier swords or match-cases.
1789. 1 December. Colours, 1785. Belts, 1775, not according to regulation.

SIXTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT.¹

[THE WELCH REGIMENT.]²

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Willow Green.
 Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.
 Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.
 Colour of the Lace. White, with One Red, and Two Green Stripes.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1767. 14 July. 18 swords (sergeants' swords only in list). Colours, 1766.
1785. 7 June. Colours, 1779. Regiment had served on board the Fleet.
1786. 13 June. Officers according to regulation, except having no laced hats or long gaiters. Men, no long gaiters.
1787. 25 July. Light Infantry gaiters not according to regulation.
1788. 7 May. Colours, 1788. Men's hats not cocked nor laced according to regulation. Light Infantry caps not according to order.
1789. 20 June. Major and Adjutant mounted properly. No Band. Light Infantry caps are made of felt instead of leather.

(To be continued.)

¹ Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 24th Foot. (See Vol. IV. 111.) Became the 69th Foot in June, 1758. Page 124 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in Ireland.

² Second Battalion.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

Notes, Questions, and Replies to Questions, will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE—8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

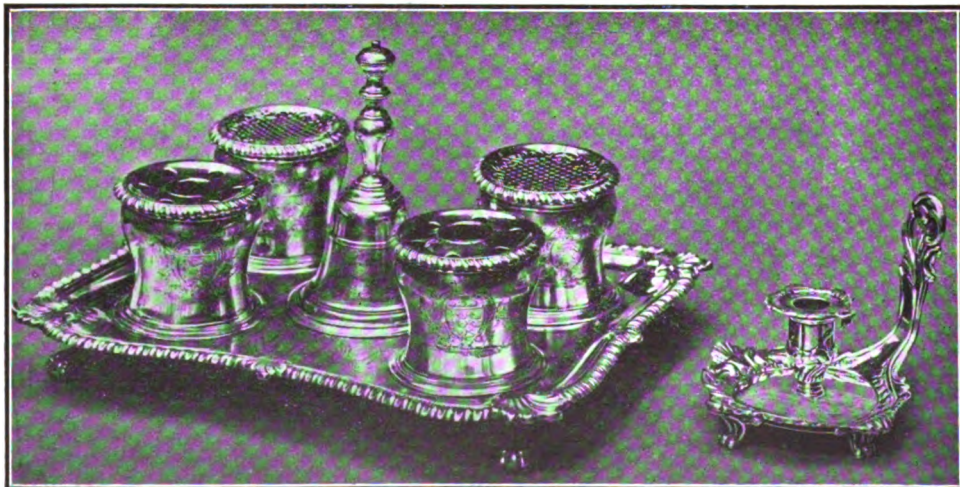
NOTES.

108. ARMY LISTS. On 16 April, 1740, the House of Commons
“Ordered, That the List of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, of his Majesty's Forces on the *British* Establishment, with the Dates of their several Commissions as such; and also the Dates of the first Commissions which such Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, had in the Army; and also the List of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns, of his Majesty's Forces on the *Irish* Establishment, with the Dates of their several Commissions as such; and also the Dates of the first Commissions which such Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants, had in the Army (which Lists were severally presented to the House, upon the 11th Day of this Instant *April*) be printed: And that no Person but such as we shall appoint, do presume to print the same.” (*Journals of the House of Commons*. 1740. Vol. XXIII. p. 521.)

Fortescue, in his *History of the British Army*, Vol. II. p. 583 (1899), says that this List “was continued yearly and ripened into the annual Army List.”

The List of 1740 is well known (see Vol. III. p. 89). Millan's Lists appeared from 1742 to 1750, but annual Lists did not commence until 1754. J.H.L.

109. SILVER PLATE IN THE WAR OFFICE. The illustration here given is of a silver ink-stand and candlestick which, after a certain amount of wandering, have now returned to their proper home—the office of the Master-General of the Ordnance.



The description of the two pieces is:—

The ink-pots, tray, sand-boxes and bell.
 Temp. George II. London hall mark—1754.

The marks (lion *passant*) denote that the piece is silver.

The letter 'T,' in a shaped shield, denotes the year of the hall mark.

The leopard's head, crowned, denotes that the piece was marked in London, before the year 1820.

W

The maker's mark is W.S., *i.e.*, William Shaw and William Priest.

P

The Ink-pots and sand-boxes measure 3" in height by 3½" in diameter; the tray measures 12" by 10"; and the bell is 6" in height.

The sand-boxes, with perforated top, contained fine sand for sprinkling on wet ink, the usual method of absorption before the invention of blotting paper. The *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes an extract from a will (1740) in which the testator bequeathes "an Ink-pot, a Sand Box, and Bell."

The Chamber Candlestick.

Temp. George III. London hall mark—1806.

The marks (lion *passant*) denote that the piece is silver.

The letter 'L,' in a shield, denotes the year of the hall mark.

The leopard's head, crowned, denotes that the piece was marked in London, before the year 1820.

The maker's mark is R.H. *i.e.*, Robert and Samuel Hennell.
S.H.

The candlestick measures 3" in height, and its tray is 5" in diameter.

The several pieces are all engraved, as will be clearly seen in the illustration, with the Arms of the Honorable the Board of Ordnance (See Vol. I. pp. 210-3).

J.H.L.

110. BELLEISLE—1761. (Vol. III. p. 99.) There is a mistake in the Note here referred to, which ought to be corrected.

The words "and which became the 2nd Battalions of the 5 regiments above-named, in 1881," at the end of para. 3, should be deleted, and in the next para., line 1, the 75th should be shewn as the 1st, *not* the 2nd, Battalion of The Gordon Highlanders.

In accounts, Order Books, etc., of the Belleisle Expedition, the five Regiments are, more often than not, referred to by the names of their Colonels, who were:—

75th—Major General the *Hon.* John Boscawen.

85th, or Royal Volunteers—Colonel John Craufurd.

90th—Lieut.-Colonel Hugh Morgan.

97th—Lieut.-Colonel James Stuart.

98th—Lieut.-Colonel Charles Grey.

J.H.L.

111. THE 61ST REGIMENT OF FOOT—1756 TO 1758. A "Sixty-First Regiment of Foot" was raised in Ireland in 1756 (*Army List* of March, 1757—pp. 142-3), George, Lord Forbes, being its Colonel. The commissions of the officers were dated 22 November, 1756.

It had an establishment of Lieutenants, 2nd Lieutenants, and Ensigns, as had the 68th Foot. No other Regiments had 2nd Lieutenants and Ensigns.

In 1758 a second battalion was added to it.

In the *Army List* of 20 June, 1759 (pp. 128-9), its designation is changed to "Seventy-sixth Regiment of Foot," one battalion being in Ireland, and one in Africa.

This change in number from 61 to 76 must have taken place in June, 1758, when the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Foot became the 61st Foot.

Three other Regiments, numbered 62 (Montgomery), 63 (Fraser) and 64 (Draper), were raised in 1757, which became in June, 1758, the 77th, 78th and 79th respectively. See *Army Lists* of 1758, pp. 128-32, and of 1759, pp. 130-4.

These regiments are not mentioned in Chichester and Burges-Short's *Records and Badges*, 2nd edition, except the 62nd, which became the 77th (p. 680).

The 76th, 77th and 78th were disbanded in 1763, and the 79th in 1764-6, as its several detachments returned to England from the East Indies. (See *Army List* of 1766, pp. 196-7, and of 1769, pp. 195.) Q.F.

112. THE LANCESPESSADE AND THE HISTORY OF LANCE RANK. (Vol. V. p. 81.) A definition of this rank, or appointment, c. 1689, is given in *A Military Dictionary, explaining all difficult Terms in Martial Discipline, Fortification, and Gunnery* by 'An Officer who served several Years Abroad,' 2nd Edition, 1704. It gives an idea of the duties at the time of Marlborough's campaigns.

"An Inferior Officer subordinate to the Corporal, to assist him in his Duty, and supply his place in absence. In *France* he has some allowance extraordinary, but not in *England*. He is generally exempt from common Duty, except Rounds, and Sentinels *Perdus*." A.C.W.

In an establishment of *Le Régiment Douglas* (now the Royal Scots), c. 1637, given in *Famous Regiments of the British Army*, by W. H. Davenport Adams, n.d., p. 36, 288 Corporals and 288 "Lance-parades," i.e., 6 per company, are shown. It would be interesting to know if this title is due to a slip of the pen, or if it is another evolution from the Italian words.

The complete Establishment of this Regiment at the time, was:—

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| Colonel (Lord James Douglas)... | 1 | Drum-major | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel (Monro) ... | 1 | Piper | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Major (Sir Patrick Monteith) ... | 1 | Sergeants | ... | ... | ... | 88 |
| Captains | 45 | Corporals | ... | ... | ... | 288 |
| Captain-Lieutenant | 1 | Lance-parades | ... | ... | ... | 288 |
| Lieutenants | 45 | Drummers | ... | ... | ... | 96 |
| Ensigns | 48 | Privates (48 companies of | 150 | | | |
| Surgeons | 4 | each) | ... | ... | ... | 7200 |
| Adjutants | 6 | | | | | |
| Chaplains | 2 | Total | ... | ... | ... | 8116 |

H. M. McC.

113. THE ARMY LIST OF 1740. (See Vol. III, p. 89). The Regiments of 1740, which are represented in the Army of to-day, are:—

The Life Guards.

Royal Horse Guards (The Blues).

7 Regiments of Dragoon Guards (1st to 7th).

14 other Cavalry Regiments (1st Royal Dragoons to 14th Hussars).

Grenadier Guards.

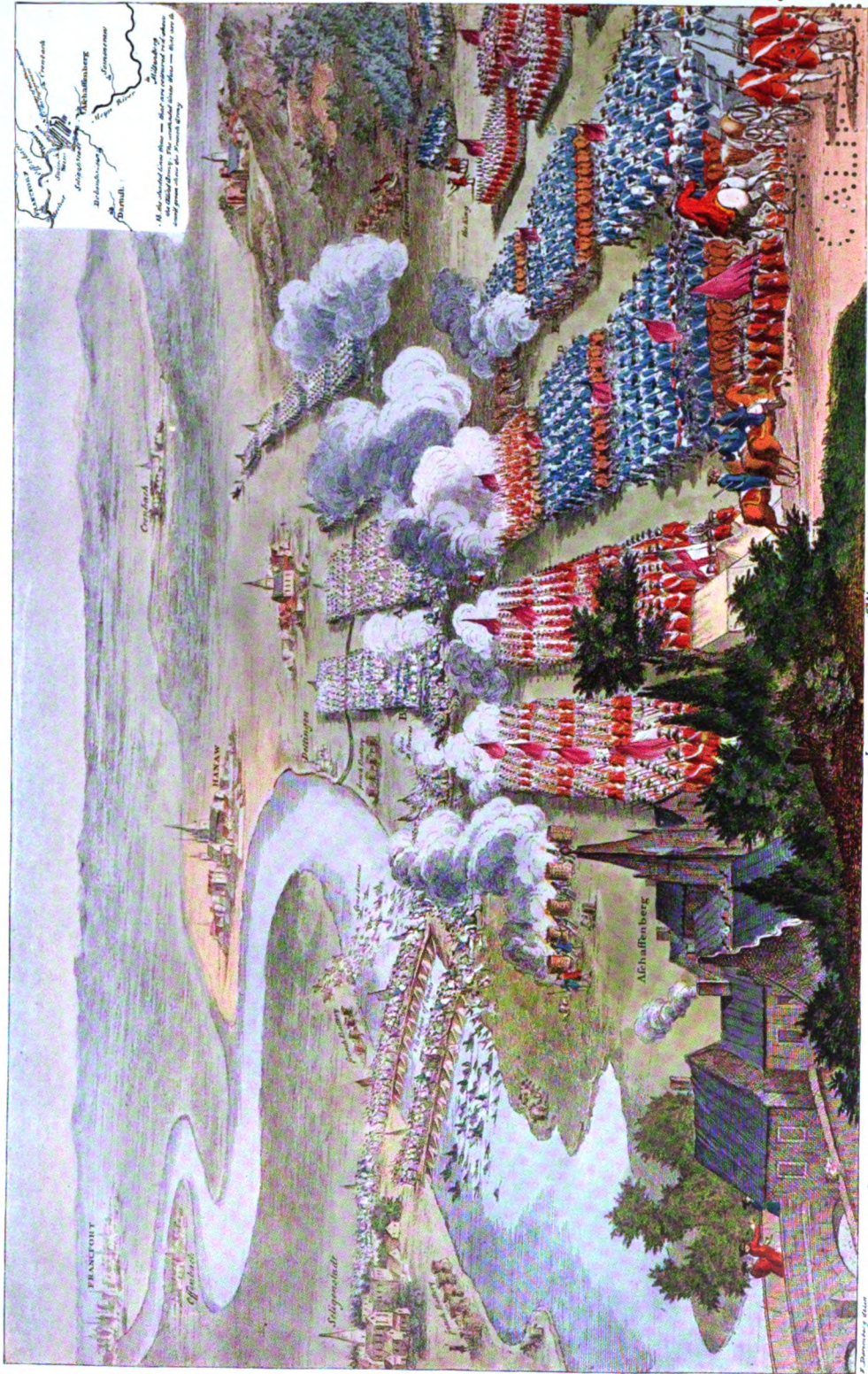
Coldstream Guards.

Scots Guards, and

42 Regiments of Foot (1st to 42nd).

If any Regiment would care to have a photostat copy of its own list, from this book, the Editor will be glad to send one—an exact reproduction of the original—without charge. EDITOR.

114. THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN, 16 June (old style), 1743. The print of the battle of Dettingen, facing this page, is a contemporary line engraving coloured by hand, size 11" by 17½", by L. Pano after F. Durenberg, and was printed in London, 58, Cornhill, for Robert Wilkinson. There is a small key plan in the top right-hand corner showing the respective positions of the troops which are not very clear owing to the small size consequent on the reduction of the plate as reproduced, but the French formations are those nearest to Dettingen; the Allied troops appear on the print as advancing from Aschaffenberg. H.M. George II is seen on the right of the picture in front of the infantry, sword in hand, in personal command of the Infantry on that occasion, celebrated as the last one on which a British Sovereign has held that position in war-time; though, I think, the frequent visits of our present King to the front during the Great War would qualify him for that distinction.



At the Battle of Dettingen on June 27, 1746, the British and French armies fought a tactical draw. The British, commanded by King George II, and the French, led by Marshal Noailles, were engaged in a battle that resulted in a tactical draw.

A View of the Glorious Action of Dettingen June 27, 1746, between the Forces of the Allies Commanded by the KING of GREAT BRITAIN and the French Army under the Marshal Noailles.

1980
1981
1982
1983
1984
1985

In the print the French forces are shown retreating across the two bridges to Selingenstadt covered by their batteries, and it represents the period of the general advance of the Allied forces.

The only other print of the actual battle that I know of is a contemporary German print by Elias Boeck, though a line engraving of "George II King of Great Britain," by S. F. Ravenet after the picture by D. Morier (which is in St. James's Palace), shows the King mounted with the battle in progress as a background. There is another interesting coloured line engraving 11" by 19½" in the possession of the Officers' Mess of the Depot of the East Surrey Regiment at Kingston-on-Thames, entitled "An Exact Prospect of the Forces of His Most Sacred Majesty King George as They appeared when Drawn up before the Battle on the Plain of Dettingen."
C. de W. C.

115. INSCRIPTION ON A GRAVESTONE. (Vol. I. p. 129.) The gravestone of Thomas Thetcher, a grenadier in the North Regiment of Hants Militia, of which an illustration is here given, is in the graveyard of Winchester Cathedral.
Y.Z.



116. THE KING'S SHROPSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY. On p. 68 of No. 20 of the *Journal*, the present-day designation of the old 53rd Foot is incorrectly given. It should be *The King's Shropshire Light Infantry*.

The mistake of using the word 'Own' is entirely the fault of the Editor, who desires to express his regret.
EDITOR.

117. INFANTRY GRENADIERS. (Vol. IV. p. 209.) The following passage is extracted from *The Trade Signs of Essex*, by Miller Christy. 1887.

"Mr. J. A. Repton, F.S.A., writing to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in December, 1845, says 'It was formerly the custom in ancient family mansions to introduce a painting which represents a housemaid holding a broom in her hands, which was cut out of a board, and generally placed in a passage or at the top of the stairs. The earliest specimens I have seen are of the date of Charles I, or the early part of Charles II Sometimes the figure of a soldier, like a sentry, was exhibited in like manner Such a figure is on the staircase of the *Bull* at Dartford. Another is at the *Black Boy* in Chelmsford.' " (p. 134.)

The *Black Boy* has been closed for nearly a century and the painting has disappeared, but an illustration which appears in the book shows a grenadier: the figure, however, is not nearly so well executed as the one at the *County Hotel*, Carlisle. Is the hotel a new hostelry, or does it represent one of the historic inns of Carlisle, as the *Bush*, the *Blue Bell*, or the *Coffee House*?

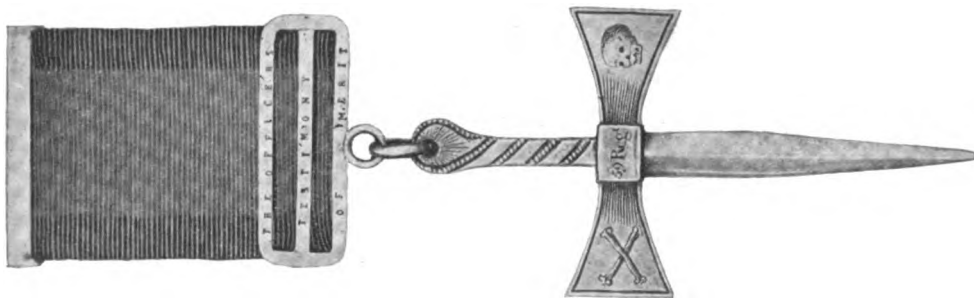
G. O. RICKWORD.

QUESTIONS.

233. REGIMENTAL (59TH FOOT) DECORATION. The illustration (full size) here given is of an emblem made of white metal. The Reverse is the same as the obverse, with the initials W ❖ W in place of '59 Regt.' The ribbon is of dark blue with red edges. It was formerly in the collection of Colonel Murray.

Information is desired regarding this "Officer's Testimony of Merit."

W. J. W.



234. CAPTAIN HENRY SHRAPNEL. In July, 1798, Captain Shrapnel was commanding a Company in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, and in the Muster Roll for that month and onwards, until 1803, he is shown as being "Aide-de-Camp." To whom was he A.D.C.? The 'D.N.B.' does not mention it.
Q.F.

235. ARMY UNIFORM.—COLOURED ENGRAVINGS. From *The Book of Days*, published by W. & R. Chambers in 1864, the following paragraph is extracted—Vol. I., p. 794:—

"On the 18th of June, 1823, the British Infantry soldier first appeared in trousers, in lieu of other nether garments.

"The changes in military costume had been very gradual, marking the slowness with which novelties are sanctioned at head quarters. When the regiments of the line first began to be formed, about two centuries ago, the dress of the officers and men partook somewhat of the general character of civil costume in the reign of Charles II.

“ We have now before us a series of coloured engravings, showing the chief changes of uniform from that time to the beginning of the present century. Under the year 1685, the 11th foot are represented in full breeches, coloured stockings, and high shoes. Under date 1688, the 7th and 5th foot appear in green breeches of somewhat less amplitude, white stockings, and high shoes. Under 1692, the 1st Royals and the 10th foot are shewn in red breeches and stockings; while another regiment appears in high boots coming up over blue breeches. In 1742, various regiments appear in purple, blue, and red breeches, white leggings or Gaiters up to the thigh, and a purple garter under the knee. In 1793, the 87th foot are represented in tight green pantaloons and Hessian boots.”

What “ series of coloured engravings ” is referred to in the above paragraph?
C.F.

236. ST. GEORGE'S CROSS ON SOLDIERS' COATS. In the engravings of the Cowdray Castle paintings (Vol. I. p. 188) English soldiers are depicted with what is apparently meant to be a St. George's Cross on the breast and back of their coats. What does this denote, and why is it used front and back? Q.F.

237. DEAD MARCH. Act II, Scene i, of Shakespeare's King Henry VI, Part I, opens thus:—

[*Before Orleans.*]

Enter a [French] Sergeant of a Band, with two Sentinels.

Serg. Sirs, take your places and be vigilant.

If any noise or soldier you perceive

Near to the walls, by some apparent sign

Let us have knowledge at the court of guard.

Sent. Sergeant, you shall. [*Exit Sergeant.*]

Thus are poor servitors—

When others sleep upon their quiet beds—

Constrain'd to watch in darkness, rain and cold.

Enter Talbot, Bedford and Burgundy, with [soldiers bearing] scaling-ladders; their drums beating a dead march.

What was ‘ a Dead March,’ as beaten on drums?

It is not clear why drums were beaten at all, for an attack of this kind should obviously have been made without noise.
Y.Z.

238. BATTALION GUNS. In the middle of the eighteenth century it was the custom for two Light field guns, usually 6 Prs., with complete equipment, to be attached to Battalions of Infantry, for service in the field.

The two documents here following—the property of the R.A. Institution, Woolwich—show the conditions of service.

The first, endorsed “ Instructions to Officers detached with Battalion Guns. Nistelroy. 1748.” is as here follows:—

Nistelroy Camp.¹ 17 May, O.S., 1748.

Instructions to Lieut. McBean² with two guns attending Lord George Sackville's Regiment.³

Sir, You are to see the men from the Battalion as well as those belonging to the Royal Artillery, constantly exercised both morning and afternoon at the quick firing exercise as often as the weather will permit; you are not to allow any of those men to be absent from their lines without leave, and to see the Roll called four times a day; you are to go with your men to market and for wood and straw, and punctually to obey all such general orders as you have already, or may hereafter receive. You are likewise to take great care of the artillery horses and DRIVERS, and give orders to their being duly foraged and fed: and in case any

¹ Nistelrode, in North Brabant—11½ miles due E. from Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc).

² Forbes McBean, R.A.

³ Later known as the 20th Foot.

neglect is on the side of the drivers, you are to send them prisoners to me and I will send you others in their place. You are to take great care that your ammunition receives no damage and to inspect into it as often as the weather permits.

(sd.) W[ILLIAM] BELFORD.¹

The second document is dated 13 November, 1755, and is endorsed—
“Instructions for the Officers appointed to march with the Battalion Guns.”

Instructions for the Officers appointed to the Battalion Guns.

1st. That when they arrive at their several destinations they are to wait on their respective Commanding Officers [of the regiments to which the guns are attached] and acquaint them they are ordered to attend their Corps, and to be under their command.

2d. They are to apply to the Commanding Officer for a proper place to house the ammunition, and in case no such place is to be had a centry is to be on it and air'd every fair day.

3d. A Non Commis: Officer is to be sent every day to receive the Regimental Orders, which orders are to be strictly obey'd.

4th. There Detachments are to be instructed twice every day in every part of the Quick Firing Exercise.

5th. That the men are in all occasions to appear extremely clean and sober and those who may do otherwise are to be reported to Col: Belford not only as they may be exchange'd but Punished allso.

6th. As it has been allways a custom for the Artillery to take The Right of all Corps, and on all occasions every Officer is to insist on it in case any dispute should arise.

7th. They are to see that the Drivers keep sober and behave well in quarters and give constant attendance to their Horses that they may be kept in good order as His Majesty's servis may not in the least be neglected.

8th. The men's necessaries are frequently to be examined and their Buff on all occasions to be very clean.

9th. They are likewise not to issue any ammunition or stores under their care, but by order of the Commanding Officer of the Regiment they are appointed to and that in writing.

10th. When the Officers find their men quite perfect in the quick firing motions they are to burn powder [blank ammunition], firing at first very slow and spunging every time, and the Officers are to take grate care that their men are clear of the Gun before they give the word fier; as the men become more perfect they are gradually to fire faster. The Cartridges for this exercise are not to exceed eight ounces.

11th. The Officers are likewise to be answerable that their Horses are not to employ'd on any other service than that of the King's.

12th. The Ammunition boxes are both on service and exercise to be taken off the guns and placed in the rear so far as [that] there may be no danger of their taking fier.

These Instructions are followed by a

“Deposition of the Stores, &c., under the command of Lieut. Macbean ordered to join the First Battalion of the First Regiment of Guards.” [This Battalion, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Dury, was then being organized for foreign service.—Ed.]

Some of the items in this 'deposition' are here given.

| | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| Light brass ordnance, mounted on travelling carriages, | | | | | |
| with limbers, ammunition boxes and elevating | | | | | |
| screws. 6 Prs. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Cover'd waggons ² compleat | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |

¹ Captain, R.A., and Lt. Colonel, commanding the R.A. then in the Netherlands.

² Ammunition waggons.

| | |
|--|---|
| Aprons of lead ¹ | 2 |
| Ladles with staves ² | 2 |
| Horse harness. Thill ³ with cartsadls. | 4 |
| Wantys ⁴ | 4 |
| Tents—Officers | 1 |
| Horsmans | 3 |
| Camp kettles with frying pan covers | 3 |
| For exercise of the guns (i.e. for drill purposes). | |
| Triumphant ⁵ Powder hazeld hooped half barrels | 2 |

When were Battalion Guns first introduced, and when was their employment, as such, discontinued?

References as to their use in the field are asked for.

J.H.L.

239. CEYLON—REBELLION OF 1818. In Hart's Army Lists the services of Isaac Foster, of the 3rd West India Regiment, are shown thus:—

"In the Kandian campaign of 1818 he was taken prisoner, and was rescued just at the period when the rebels were in the act of suspending him to a tree."

Does any published account of this rebellion exist? and are any details known referring to the incident above-mentioned?

In 1818 Foster was a Second Lieutenant in the 2nd Ceylon Regiment.

R.F.

240. THE CEYLON RIFLES. Under what circumstances and at what date were The Ceylon Rifles raised?

Were the rank and file Europeans, or Cingalese?

When were they disbanded?

R.F.

REPLIES.

203. AN OLD INFANTRY SWORD. (Vol. V. p. 39.) This weapon is a Danish infantry sword and not of English make.

The first pattern of this Danish sword dates from 1758; it was of different shape, but was later transformed to that which is shown on page 40 of the *Journal*. At first it was only used by grenadiers, but from 1830, by grenadiers and musqueteers.

The sword in question was made at the old Danish Arms Factory at Frederiksværk—45 km. N.W. from Copenhagen—and the factory mark is the half-obliterated mark on the inner side of the blade [fig. F].

It seems to have been made in 1816, at least it has been verified by the "B.G.C." in 1816 [B.G.C.: Bestandig Gevær Commission, id est: permanent gun inspecting committee].

The sword belonged to "Fynske Regiment, 6 Compagni" as number 116 [fig. D], probably until 1842, when this regiment was disbanded. From that year it was probably used by the Royal Field Artillery, because the inner portion of the guard has been cut away [fig. D]. This modification was always made, when the infantry sword was issued to the field artillery. Later, it was returned to the infantry—the "4 Krigs-Reserve-Bataillon, 2 Compagni" as number 34 [fig. G.] Krigs-Reserve-Bataillon were infantry reserve units, which were raised in 1848—during the insurrection in Slesvig-Holsten—and existed only till 1851. During the war in 1864—is was transferred to the "7 Regiment 4 Compagni" as number 46

¹ To place over the vent of a gun as protection from wet or dirt.

² To hold the powder-charge when loading. ³ Shaft or pole draft. ⁴ Surcingles.

⁵ 'Triumphant' in this connection is presumed to be some special powder for drill purposes.

[fig. H]. (The 7th regiment was formerly the 7th infantry battalion of the same number, which during the war became the 7th Regiment—December, 1863, to February, 1865).

In 1867 the infantry sword was abolished and replaced by a sword-bayonet.

JOHAN NÖRDENTOFI,

Lieutenant in Royal Danish General-Staff.

204. BLACK DRUMMERS IN THE ARMY. (Vol. IV. p. 136.) In a letter dated 2 July, 1793, a description of the Band of the West Middlesex Militia is given; it describes the instruments played, and amongst them "two Tamborines (the performers Mulattos) and the Clashpans by a real black-a-moor, a very active man, who marched between the two Mulattos, which had a very grand appearance indeed." (*Records of The Royal Scots*. Dublin, 1915, page 709.)

In a letter to the *Sunday Times*, 2 November, 1924, *re* Drummers and the Leopard-skin, Major J. T. Gorman states—"at this time (late 17th and early 18th centuries) bandsmen were almost invariably negroes, acquired by the regiments during their terms of service in the West Indies and elsewhere. There are frequent records of the colonel presenting a slave to the regiment to act as a drummer the black bandsmen were invariably dressed after a barbaric fashion in brilliant colours, tinselled turbans and the skins of wild beasts. The leopard-skin is the last survival of these negro minstrels."

In *British Military Prints* (Ralph Nevill) we find on p. xliii :—

"A curious circumstance is that at the time when it [The 7th Royal Fusiliers] was commanded by the Duke of Kent (1791—1800) its drummers were all negroes," and on p. 44 is a picture of a Drummer of the Grenadier Guards (1829), from an engraving by E. Hull—a very evident "black-a-moor," turban and all.

H. M. McC.

A local newspaper, dated April, 1796, contains a report that William Russell, a black drummer in the 63rd Foot,¹ was committed to the New Gaol, Ipswich, on a charge of burglary at Capel St. Mary, Suffolk.

In 1846, Fores published a coloured print by H. Martens, engraved by J. Harris, of the West Essex Yeomanry Cavalry, a regiment raised in 1830 and disbanded in 1877, which includes, amongst other figures, a black kettle-drummer. This plate was reproduced (uncoloured) in Neville's *British Military Prints*, p. 25, published in 1909, and coloured in J. W. Burrow's *Essex Yeomanry*, published 1926.

G.O.R.

From the illustration facing this page, it will be seen that a black musician is included in the band.

Can any of the eleven bandsmen be identified to-day? Seventy years have passed since the photograph was taken, and it is just possible that some of the boys may still be living. If any of them are recognized by their descendants, the Editor will gladly publish any names which are sent to him. J.H.L.

205. A REGIMENT OF ORDNANCE FOOT. (Vol. IV. p. 57.) In the Army List of 1755, p. 87, "The Duke of Montagu's Ordnance Regiment" is shown as having been raised on 22 October, 1743, and 'broke' on 2 August, 1746, with the following Officers on half-pay :—

Major Charles Otway, as Captain of Marines.

Lieut. William Hull, as 1st Lieut. of Marines.

John Gibson, as 2nd Lieut. of Marines.

From this it would appear that the so-called "Ordnance Regiment of Foot" was actually a Marine Regiment, and was possibly called 'Ordnance' Regiment because the Duke of Montagu was at that time Master-General of the Ordnance.

J.H.L.

206. THE GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY FENCIBLES. (Vol. V. 43, 96.) This regiment was raised principally from emigrants who were formerly in

¹ 63rd (West Suffolk) Regiment, now (1926) The Manchester Regiment, 1st Battalion.



BAND OF THE QUEEN'S REGIMENT OF EDINBURGH COUNTY LIGHT INFANTRY—MILITIA.

Circa 1856. See Reply No. 204.

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the Glengarry (or British Highland) Fencible Infantry, which was disbanded in 1802. The enlistment of the corps was begun in the autumn of 1811, and on 25 August, 1812, the regiment was taken on the Army establishment. The regiment was principally engaged in outpost duty and its services included Salmon River, Ogdensburg, York, Fort George, Sackett's Harbour, Oswego (light company), Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie (assault and sortie), Lyon's Creek and Mackinac (August, 1814). The regiment was disbanded at Kingston on 24 June, 1816. For its services in the war it received permission, on 19 May, 1815, to bear the honour "Niagara" on its colours. A detailed account of the services of the regiment will be found in an article by Cruickshank on the 'Glengarry Light Infantry' in *Selected Papers* (No. 6) of the Canadian Military Institute, published at Welland, Ontario, in 1895.

W. Y. B.

207. **BADGES OR COLOURS TO DISTINGUISH OPPOSING FORCES.** (Vol. III. p. 102 : IV. pp. 10, 60, 222.) In Fairfax's *Memorials*—MSS.— of the Civil War, the following passage occurs in a description of the battle of Marston Moor, July, 1644 :—

For having charged through the enemy returning back I was gotten in among the enemy, which stood up and down the field in several bodies of horse; so, taking the signal out of my hat, I passed through them for one of their own commanders.

Q.F.

1707. "About eight Leagues from *Cuenca*, at a pretty town call'd *Huelte*, a Party from the Duke of *Berwick's* Army, with Boughs in their Hats, the better to appear what they were not (for the Bough in the Hat is the Badge of the *English*, as white Paper is the Badge of the *French*) came into the Town, crying all the way, *Viva Carlos Tercero, Viva*. With these Acclamations in their Mouths, they advanc'd up to the very Waggons; when attacking the Guards, who had too much deluded themselves with Appearances, they routed 'em, and immediatly plunder'd the Waggons of all that was valuable, and then march'd off. (*Wars against France and Spain*. Captain George Carleton. 1740. pp. 167/8.)

"CHEMISE DE COUP DE MAIN DE SURPRISE" is defined in C. James's *Universal Military Dictionary*, 4th Edition, 1816, p. 106, thus :—

"A shirt made of cloth highly bleached, and of which a general provides a number when he premeditates a coup de main. This chemise must not come below the waist, in order that it may be got over the coat and cartouch box. The general directs these shirts to be made either with two sleeves, with one, or without any at all. . . . This stratagem is practised to prevent a soldier from attacking his brother soldier."

From James Grant's *British Battles by Land and Sea*. 1891. Vol. I. Section II. pp. 459 and 521.

"On the 20th August [1695] the grand assault of Namur ensued.

"Though much indisposed, the Prince de Vaudemont descended from his gilded coach at three in the morning, and with cuirass and wig, and long white ruffles flowing oer his leather gauntlets, put himself at the head of the English Guards. The King also arrived to see that all was in readiness, and held conference with him. In the morning the Brigade of Guards—English, Scots, and Dutch—under Major-General Churchill, marched to the right to form a reserve at St. Denis, and support battalions already posted there under Brigadier Fitzpatrick. All these last were fresh troops, that had not yet been engaged. The Guards occupied the enclosure from the village, and communicated with the Hessians, who had erected batteries to command the plain.

"The weather, which had been wet and foggy, began to clear about noon; the sun came forth, and his rays were reflected by the bayonets and musket barrels, which were then polished bright, in the lines of trenches and on the ramparts of Namur. From Puffendorf we learn that green boughs worn in the hat were the distinctive badge of the Allies."

"The author of 'The Life of Queen Anne' relates that Marshal Boufflers contrived to inform the Duke de Vendôme that his ammunition was becoming scarce. On this the Chevalier de Luxembourg was dispatched by Vendôme, at the

head of 2,000 horse and dragoons, each of whom carried sixty pounds' weight of gunpowder; these men were to cut a passage through the lines of circumvallation, and throw themselves at all hazards into Lisle [1708].

"Accordingly, after placing green boughs in their hats, such being the badge or cognisance which the Allies wore in battle, they advanced along the causeway that leads from Douay to Lisle. Meeting there with some of the outposts, they had the hardihood to affect being Germans belonging to the army of Marlborough, who were conveying prisoners to his camp; but on an officer approaching to examine them more closely, they put spur to their horses, pushed along the causeway at full gallop, and broke through the lines of circumvallation.

"They were now fired on by the trench guards, and pursued to the barrier gate of the town, when by some accident several bags of their powder took fire, and sixty men, with their horses, were blown up and miserably scorched. 1,200 succeeded in cutting a passage into Lisle; the rest, in the confusion, and under cover of the night, all escaped to Douay, save thirty men who were scorched to death by the explosion of their own powder, which was scattered on the causeway, from which the shoes of the galloping horses struck sparks of fire, and thus ignited it."

A.C.W.

208. DISBANDED REGIMENTS. (Vol. I. 90, 205; III. 201; IV. 12, 21, 138, 224.) The following may be useful:—

1. *Histoire des Régiments Suisses au Service d'Angleterre, de Naples et de Rome*, par H. Ganter, Genève, Ch. Eggimann & Cie, Editeurs.
2. *Swiss Regiments à l'Etranger*, by Lt.-General F. H. Tyrrell, late Indian Army. *Journal R.U.S.I.*, Vol. 41 I (1897), p. 450.
3. *Royal Newfoundland Fencibles*, Proceedings Canadian Military Institute No. 5 (1893-94), p. 5, by Capt. E. Cruikshank.
4. *Canadian Fencibles*. Proceedings C.M.I., No. 11 (1901), by same.
5. *Glengarry Light Infantry*, Proceedings C.M.I., No. 6 (1894-95), by same.
6. *Histoire des Troupes étrangères au service de France*, Tieffe, 2 vols.

L.H.I.

209. HANOVERIAN TROOPS IN SCOTLAND, 1746-1756. (Vol. III, p. 200.)

Edinburgh, 8 Feb., 1746. 5 in the afternoon. Prince Frederick of Hesse and Earl of Crawford, with the Hessians arrived in road of Leith from Williamstadt, and landed.

15 Feb. Part of Hessians marched to Lithgow.

4 March. Re-embarkation of Hessians counter-manded. 4 Battalions ordered to Perth, 2 to Stirling. Headquarters at Perth.

19-24 March. Hessians concentrating at Blair.

10 June. Hessian transports sailed for Holland.

18 June. Landed at Williamstadt.

See *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 16; also 'D.N.B.'—Lindsay, John, 20th Earl of Crawford.

L.H.I.

210. SOLDIERS IN NAVAL ACTIONS. (Vol. I. 78, 139-40; II. 109, 158; IV. 14-5.) The Naval General Service (silver) Medal, the issue of which was authorised in June, 1847, was awarded to many Officers and Men in the Army, with clasps for various actions, which proves, without doubt, that detachments from the several regiments to which they belonged, were serving in the Fleet.

[The names of the ships in which the recipients served are printed in italics.]

With clasp '1 June, 1794.'

(Admiral Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet, when six sail of the line were captured (*Juste*, *Sans Pareil*, *Amerique*, *Achille*, *Northumberland*, and *Impétueux*) and one (*Vengeur*) sunk.)

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|----------------------|
| 2nd (or the Queen's Royal) Regiment of Foot. | | | |
| Lieutenant Andrew Pilkington | ... | ... | <i>Royal George.</i> |
| Serjeant D. Wainwright | ... | ... | <i>Russell.</i> |
| Private William Shaw | ... | ... | <i>Royal George.</i> |
| 25th (or the Sussex) Regiment of Foot. | | | |
| Private Thomas Burchley | ... | ... | <i>Gibraltar.</i> |
| „ Luke Thayers | ... | ... | „ |
| 29th (or the Worcestershire) Regiment of Foot. | | | |
| Lieutenant Charles Buckley Egerton... | ... | ... | <i>Thunderer.</i> |
| Ensign Lewis Augustus Northey | ... | ... | <i>Alfred.</i> |
| Private James Kilgrove | ... | ... | <i>Glory.</i> |
| „ William Robinson | ... | ... | <i>Thunderer.</i> |
| „ Thomas Robson | ... | ... | <i>Brunswick.</i> |
| „ Thomas Smith | ... | ... | <i>Alfred.</i> |
| „ Richard S. Bamford | ... | ... | <i>Glory.</i> |

The 2nd (now The Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey) and the 29th (now the 1st Battalion of the Worcestershire Regiment) are allowed to bear a Naval Crown upon their Colours, for services rendered in this action (see Vol. IV. p. 15), but *not* the 25th, although 3 of its Companies were in the fleet, one in the *Marlborough*, one in the *Gibraltar*, and one in the *Intrepid*. Their casualties were 1 serjeant and 21 rank and file. The distinction with the Naval Crown given for this battle was refused because it only had three Companies present, the number requisite to earn it having been fixed at half a Battalion. (See *The King's Own Scottish Borderers*, pp. 17-8. James Maclehouse and Sons. Glasgow. 1919.)

Q.F.

With clasp '14 March, 1795.'

[Vice-Admiral William Hotham's action with the French Fleet, off Genoa. Capture of two sail of the line—*Ca Ira* and *Censeur*.]

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|------------------------|
| 25th Foot. | | | |
| Serjeant J. Ward | ... | ... | <i>St. George.</i> |
| 30th (or Cambridgeshire) Regiment of Foot. ¹ | | | |
| Lieutenant David Maxwell | ... | ... | <i>Princess Royal.</i> |
| 69th (or the South Lincolnshire) Regiment of Foot. ² | | | |
| Captain Caleb Chute | ... | ... | <i>Britannia.</i> |

With clasp 'St. Vincent. 14 February, 1797.'

[Battle of Cape St. Vincent, Admiral Sir John Jervis in command. Defeat of the Spanish Fleet. Capture of four sail of the line—*Salvador del Mundo*, *San Nicolas*, *San Josef*, and *San Ysidro*.]

| | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-------------------|
| 11th (or the North Devonshire) Regiment of Foot. ³ | | | |
| Private Samuel Hutson | ... | ... | <i>Diadem.</i> |
| „ James Moorfield | ... | ... | <i>Captain.</i> |
| 49th (or the Hertfordshire) Regiment of Foot. ⁴ | | | |
| Private John Smith | ... | ... | <i>Blenheim.</i> |
| 50th (or the West Kent) Regiment of Foot. ⁵ | | | |
| Private J. Milgrove | ... | ... | <i>Diadem.</i> |
| 69th Foot—see <i>ante</i> . | | | |
| Captain Caleb Chute | ... | ... | <i>Britannia.</i> |
| Private Samuel Chadwick (or Chaddock) | ... | ... | „ |

¹ Now the 1st Battalion of the East Lancashire Regiment.

² Now the 2nd Battalion of the Welch Regiment.

³ Now The Devonshire Regiment.

⁴ Now the 1st Battalion The Royal Berkshire Regiment (Princess Charlotte of Wales's).

⁵ Now the 1st Battalion of The Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment.

211. KNIGHTS BANNERET. (Vol. IV. p. 217.) In *Fontenoy*, by F. H. Skrine, published by Blackwood in 1906, the following passage, describing the conclusion of the battle of Dettingen, occurs on pp. 80-1:—

“After four hours’ fighting Noailles recalled his wearied and disheartened troops. The allies were permitted to continue their retreat on Hanau, not before King George II. had dined, by way of bravado, on the battle-field, and created Campbell and Ligonier Knights Banneret under the royal standard.”

Lieut.-General the Hon. James Campbell, 3rd son of the 2nd Earl of Loudoun, was Colonel of the Royal North British Dragoons (now the Scots Greys). He was created a Knight of the Order of the Bath—K.B.—on 12 July, 1743.

Lieut.-General John Louis Ligonier, afterwards Earl Ligonier, was Colonel of the 4th regiment of Horse, now the 7th Dragoon Guards. He also was created a K.B. on the same day as Campbell.

The following passage occurs on page 135 of *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland*, etc., by A. N. Campbell-Maclachlan, published by H. S. King & Co., in 1876.

‘For his distinguished conduct at the Battle of Dettingen, when the Greys under his command captured a standard . . . belonging to the French household troops, he [James Campbell] was constituted a Knight Banneret under the Royal Standard upon the field of battle, in company with General Ligonier. Hence some verses of the period upon ‘The Red Ribband’—

“It honoured Campbell when he fell,

“And Ligonier now wears it well.”

Campbell was wounded at Fontenoy, and died the same day.

No authority is quoted for either of the statements given above as to the ‘dubbing’ of Knights Banneret. Q.F.

212. STANDING ORDERS. (Vol. IV. pp. 6, 137 and 224.)

a. In May, 1891, Colonel H. B. Hamilton, commanding the 14th (The King’s) Hussars, compiled a book of regimental Standing Orders, which was published by Messrs. W. Mitchell & Co., of 10 Craig’s Court, London. An earlier code of Standing Orders appears to have been in use in the regiment from 1784 until the close of that century, which was always highly spoken of by inspecting officers.

b. The Standing Orders of the 15th (The King’s) Hussars, printed in 1910, contain a short history of the regiment, and refer to an earlier edition dated 1800, from which the following advice to privates was reprinted for the benefit of the modern soldier.

“A good soldier is obedient to his officers, regular in his quarters, attentive to the care and cleanliness of horse, arms and appointments, and alert and exact in the discharge of every duty. It is honour and principle, and not compulsion, that should prompt him to an observance of all these articles.”

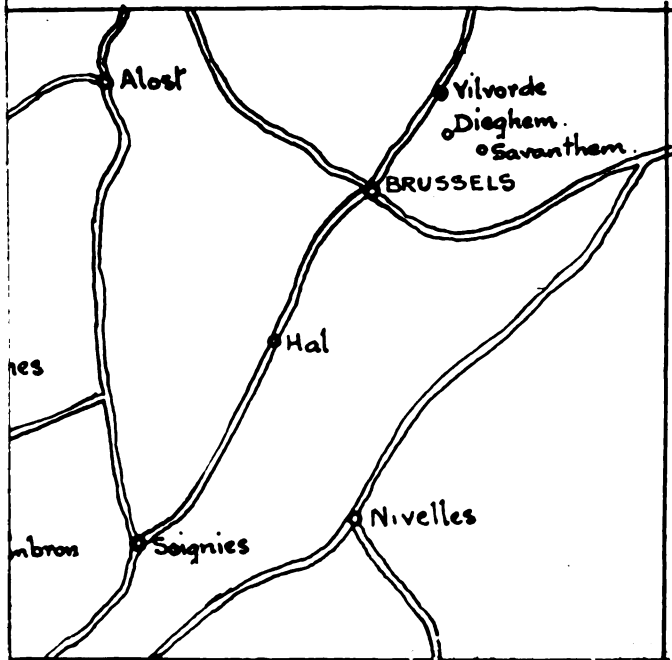
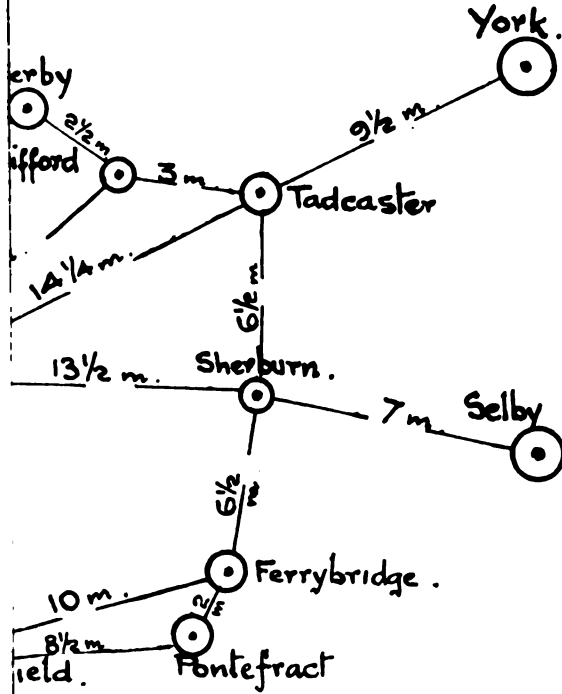
c. The Standing Orders / of the / 72nd Regiment, / or / Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders [in 1926 the 1st Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders] / Richmond Barracks, August, 1827 / London: / Printed by William Clowes, / 14 Charing-Cross. / MDCCCXXVII. /

This, a book of 81 pages, refers to the fact that “Many of the Standing Orders of the 72nd Highlanders having, from various circumstances, become obsolete and unfit for the service of the present day, Lieutenant-Colonel Arbuthnot has revised them.” G. O. RICKWORD.

213. RED-HOT SHOT. (Vol. I. p. 179; II. p. 147; III. pp. 99, 105.) In *The Theatre of the Present War in the Netherlands*, etc., by J. Brindley, published in 1745, there is, on page 61, a passage referring to the bombardment of Brussels by the French in 1695, as here follows:—

In short, what with the bombs and red hot bullets, the city lying exposed on the side of the hill, in forty-eight hours it was reduced almost to a heap of rubbish.

Y.Z.



LETTERS OF CAPTAIN PHILIP BROWNE—1737 TO 1746.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT. COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

(Continued from page 111.)

[April 22, 1745.

Soignies Camp.

ARMY ORDERS, *continued.*

All the Fourriers¹ appointed to mark all the Quarters of General officers of the Army, together with the Fourrier of H.R.H. shall set out together, and agree amongst themselves for the distribution of Quarters and will give in a List where the Quarters are, to the Duke and the Marshal.

The sick not fit to be carried forward to be sent to the Hospital at Brussels by the Waggon that return for bread. A Serjeant of a Brigade to be sent with them, and proper Certificates to be signed by an officer and Surgeon, to be sent with them.

April 23, 1745.

Soignies Camp.

A reserve guard of a Subaltern and 40 men of the Foot to mount constantly at the head quarters, to send sentries at the Houses where provisions and liquors are sold to prevent disorders, and to send sentries to the Magazines, and parties into the neighbourhood, where necessary, upon application from the Country people that any Soldiers are marauding. This guard to mount to-morrow morning.

The old Grand Guard shall not suffer any baggage to go before, and if Baggage marches out of its place, it will certainly be pillaged.

No officers nor men to go to Brussels without a pass from the commanding officers of Regiments.

The grand guard is to patrol, and to take up all men they find strolling beyond the grand guard, and carry them prisoners to the Regiments they belong to, where a Court Martial is immediately to be held, at the head of the Standard or Colours, and the punishment adjudged to be instantly put in execution.

All the men of the several Regiments who are come back from the French Service are to be with Lieut.-General Hawley² at 7 to-morrow morning, if the Army does not march; if the Army marches they are to be with General Hawley at 7 o'clock on the first halting day. If any of the above said men should meet any people, whom they have known among the French Troops, they are to make them prisoners, and if, upon examination, they prove to be Spies or Seducers, such men as take them shall be well rewarded.

The Lines to turn out to the Marshal, and all Guards to pay him the same respect as to the Duke.

Ten more men to be added to the Marshal's Guard.

Until an Order of Battle is settled for the whole Army each Nation to send an Order of Battle of their own Troops to the Marshal.

The Corps de Reserve is to be formed to-morrow, and to make the Van Guard. It is to be composed of the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons,³ 2 Squadrons of Stirums,⁴ 5 Squadrons from the Hollanders, all the Hussars, the Highland Regiment, and the Compagnies Franches under the Command of Lieutenant-General Molcke.

¹ One who goes in advance of an army, to secure and arrange accommodation. The *Oxford English Dictionary*.

² Lieut.-General Henry Hawley, Colonel of a regiment of Dragoons, which is in 1926 the 1st The Royal Dragoons. He commanded the 2nd line of Cavalry at Fontenoy. See 'D.N.B.'

³ In 1926, the 7th Queen's Own Hussars.

The Communications between the Intervals of Regiments are to be made sufficient for carriages to pass safely over ditches and boggy ground, in order to facilitate the moving off the ground for the Troops and Baggage, whether marching by the right or left.

The Army to hold themselves in readiness to march.

When the Army marches, the Lieut.-General who is actually [on duty] for the day, with the Majors of Brigade for the day, are to attend H.R.H. during the march, and the other General Officers of the day are to keep with the Columns.

Every Regiment of Foot is to compleat the Tools they have from the Train to 10 Pickaxes, 10 Spades, and 10 Shovels.

4 o'clock.

The Army shall march in 4 columns by the right as they are encamped. Right and Left Wings in a column each. The English Train shall follow the Column of the Front Line. Then the Hanoverian Artillery—after them the Baggage of the General Officers belonging to that Line, beginning with the English, according to their rank. Then the Hanoverians, and then the Baggage of the Troops as they are encamped. The Baggage of H.R.H. shall follow the column of the 2nd Line, then those of the Generals of that Line, and then the Baggage of the Troops as they are encamped.

The Reserve shall march at 5. The 'General' to beat at 5; the 'Assembly' at 6, and 'March' at 7.

The Qr. Masters and Camp Colour-men with the new grand guard shall assemble at the head of the Highlanders at 4.

The old grand guard of the right wing shall make the rear guard, and bring up the 2 Columns in 2 Squadrons.

The Brigade of Guards to march $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 6, and take their post in the Front Line.

The Platoons on a march are to keep up to half-distance.]

LETTER NO. 41.

From the Camp at Soignies.

Tuesday, 23 April, O.S., 1745.

. We are to march to morrow & if possible will writ you fully next post. . . Am extremely much obliged to you & to my Brother John Browne for your great care, exactness & punctuality in depositing the sum of Three thousand & one hundred pounds to the satisfaction of Mr. Adair. I was in hopes there would have been no occasion to have paid the money into any bodys hands, but as you have actually done it into Messrs. Honynood & Fuller, I imagine them very safe & therefore it will be only the loss of the interest on that sum till my commission is signed. I expect the Commission to be signed here by His Royal Highness the Duke, & not by His Majesty in England, & possibly next post I may write you it is done, & when you may have any such notice from me the money must be immediately paid. My point being now carryed, which was the reputation of the Three Thousand & one hundred pounds being deposited before I could possibly have a purchaser for my Lieutenantancy, I shall now dispose of it as soon as possible, & if you should meet with a proper Gentleman that will give sixteen hundred pounds or fiveteen hundred pounds, but not less, to be a Cornet in our regiment in my room, pray recommend him to Mr. Adair. Two hundred pounds will be deposited in Mr. Adair's hands by the Eldest Cornet who is to be made a Lieutenant in my room. The Form of the note given is

very right & every thing is done entirely to my satisfaction. Capt. Barton, whom I am to succeed, is now with me & I shall know to Morrow by Lord Albemarle whether the Commission is to be signed by His Majesty or His Royal Highness. I hope the latter, as I have the honour to be personally known to his Highness, who hath been pleased to make a particular enquiry into my character & two Officers who are allways about his person was pleased to say a great many kind things in my favour, at the same time, acquainting his Highness of my extraordinary character as they were pleased to term it, which they told his Highness was truth from there own personall knowledge of me.

Pray don't let this be known only to proper people as it comes to you from myself, as I should not have mentioned it now, only as I thought it would give you & the rest of my friends great satisfaction & pleasure, but I have been told of it here my self by numbers & one of the Gentlemen who told the Duke sayd to me this morning that he thought it was a piece of justness due to me for my behaviour & conduct, to mention what they did, and that they were glad of the opportunity so to do, which they was glad to lay hold of upon the Dukes enquiring about me. One of the Gentlemen who is an old officer & hath been about His Highness person from his Birth, was pleased to answer that was His Highness to know my extraordinary character, as he was pleased to term it, he was sure he would be greatly pleased, which was true from his own knowledge, which raised his Highness curiosity to know more about me and who as we marched to incamp at Halle asked me several questions & I am told he is greatly pleased with me. As my strong attachment to the Duty of an Officer hath occasioned such long absence from my friends, I am perswaded they will think that my Judgment & not my passions hath been the determiner of my conduct, for private Gentlemen without the advantage of Birth and friends must move out of the common road, & it is only by there own personal virtue that they can attract great folks, more especially Princes, to take notice of them, & both fortunate & happy even then, if they have any regard paid them. This dont make me in the least vain, but more assiduous & carefull to preserve & continue the character I have gained, as it would be doing injury to them who have spoken well of me, not to keep up to it in every respect.

ARMY ORDERS.

April 24, 1745. Sunday.

Cambron.

[The army marched this day from Soignies to Cambron—8 miles.]

The Army does not march to-morrow.

A Trumpet of the English is to go to the Marshal's Quarters at Braffoel at 8 to-morrow morning to be sent to the French Camp.

The bread Wagons that carried the sick to camp are to be immediately dismiss'd in order to fetch bread.

The right wing is to forage to-morrow at Ath for 3 days beginning with the General officers of the Cavalry.

The General Court Martial to sit at the Duke's Quarters to-morrow morning at 7 o'clock, to try a Deserter and a Marauder,

April 25, 1745. Monday.

Cambron.

It is strictly ordered by H.R.H., that none presume to shoot or hunt, whether officers, private men, or officers' Servants or Huntsmen—this to be a standing order.

A Captain, 3 Subalterns, and 130 men of the Foot to support the grand guard of the right wing as ordered before.

All outposts of the Foot are to join their Regiments at the beating of the 'General.' As soon as the Regiments are marched into Camp, and the Tents are pitched, the Patrols of the Picquets are to go out in the Front and Rear of the Lines.

The Provosts of the right and left wing with the proper detachments and officers appointed are, every time the Army marches, to assemble with the Quarter-Masters and Camp Colour-men, and march with them, and patrol in the Villages whilst the Camp is marching, and are to continue doing so until the Camp is quite settled, and that every Regiment is marched in, and are again to assemble every day at 6 in the morning at the head of the Regiments mentioned in former orders and to go out every day till countermanded.

Besides the going out of the Provost, there are 50 Hussars ordered to patrol in the Front and rear of the Camp, and to cut down every man they find beyond the Limits of the Camp.

When the Army marches, on beating the 'Assembly' the Tents are immediately to be struck, and the Companys are to draw up in the Streets; which when done the Regiments on the right of each Line to Beat a 'Ruffle,' which is to be answered by every Regiment until it comes to the left, and then returned to the right again, and when ordered by the Generals leading these Columns to beat a 'march,' they are immediately to form without any other word of Command—this to be a standing order.

The General who leads the Columns will receive orders of the Marshal at the head of the Line, where H.R.H. will be $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7.

The 2 days' Forage in Camp to be twisted or spun, in order to be carried along.

The bread Wagons for to carry the sick must be sent to each Regiment the night before the army marches, and dismissed next day.

The 'General' to be at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 4; the 'Assembly' $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after 5, and 'march' at 6.

The 2 Brigades of Guards to march at 5, to fall in to the Line. The Pioneers to be at the head of the Columns as usual with their Waggons of Tools and this to be a standing order.

Evening Orders.

The 'General' to beat $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 5, the 'assembly' $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 6, and 'march' at 7.

The Column of the Right will be composed of the Infantry of both Lines, headed by the Brigade of Guards. This Column to be followed by the Artillery and all the Baggage of the 2nd Line.

The 2nd Column will be composed of all the Cavalry of the 2 Lines of the Right Wing, headed by the Royal Dragoons. This Column to be followed by the baggage of the Duke, the Marshal, and 1st Line.

The Brigade of small Artillery to assemble at the head of Lieut.-General [Thomas] Howard's Regiment.

The Quarter Masters and Camp Colour-men assemble at 3 o'clock at the head of Hawley's.

April 26. Tuesday.

Château de Moulbaix.

[The army marched this day from Cambron to Moulbaix—8 miles.]

Nobody to stir out of Camp; the Provost is going his rounds, and will take up any man he finds out of the camp in the villages, or beyond the Grand Guard doing mischief.

The Duke hopes that the three examples that have been made this morning, will be a warning to the rest, for he is resolved to keep discipline, and have orders

obeyed, which will contribute to plenty in the Camp, whereas the enormities committed by some bad men will occasion but distress and scarcity, and the Commanding officers are desired to acquaint their men immediately with this.

All officers upon the Grand Guard or Detachment out of the Camp that have vedettes or sentries out, to stop all passengers at night, and detain them until the Commanding Officer has examined them, and is fully satisfied who they are, before he lets them pass.

April 27, 1745. Wednesday.

Château de Moulbaix.

The Army to march to-morrow. That no nation send on before to seize Quarters, until they are marked by the Fourrier.

The Lieut.-Generals of the day are to have an orderly Trooper, one English and one Hanoverian, every morning, at 6 o'clock, and no more orderly Serjeants or Corporals of Horse.

The Quarter-Masters, Camp Colour-men, and Pioneers to be at the head of the Dutch Dragoon Guards on the left at 3 to-morrow morning.

The Brigade of small Artillery to march at the head of the English Column of Foot, which will be the Regiment on the left of the first line.

The new Grand Guard to be at 3 o'clock at the head of the Guards' Dragoons, to go with the Quarter-Master-General and Camp-Colourmen.

The old Grand Guard to make the Rear Guard.

April 28. Thursday.

Braffoel.

[The army marched this day from Moulbaix to Braffoel—8½ miles.]

The men to be completed to 24 rounds a man this evening. The Army to be ready to march at a minute's warning.

Six Squadrons of the Right and six of the left are to parade immediately under the command of a Major-General.

29 April. Friday.

Braffoel.

The Army to be under arms at 10 o'clock, leaving the Tents standing, the Foot drawn up, and the Horses saddled.

Ordered that the Battalions march as complete as possible—no more men to be taken with the Baggage than what is absolutely necessary.

None of the Cavalry to march in their Frocks, all in red Clothes.

6 Battalions and 12 Squadrons from the right with 500 Pioners with their arms, and Waggon with tools, are to parade at 10 o'clock at the head of Duroure's Regiment¹ with 6 3-pounders and 2 Howitzers of the English train.

Lieut.-General Sir James Campbell commands this Corps of 6 Battalions and 12 Squadrons with Major-General the Earl of Albemarle and Brigadier Rosebeg and Lord Crawford.

1st Battalion Guards, Lieut.-General [Thomas] Howard's, Major-General [Richard] Onslow's,² with Colonel [Robinson] Sowle's Regiment,³ and 2 Battalions of Hanoverians, comprise the 6 Battalions.

The English Cavalry gives 7 squadrons, 1 per Regiment, and the Hanoverians 5.

100 Cavalry of the 1st Line right wing, and 200 Foot do., under the command of a Field Officer to march immediately to Leuze to relieve Mr. Forbes and stay there till the Bread Waggon are come to camp, and then come off, and join their Corps. Orders are to be given immediately on the arrival of the Bread Waggon, that the Regiments take what bread they bring.

The Picquets to advance after Tattoo at the head of the Line.

[April 30, 1745. On this day the battle of Fontenoy—3½ miles from Braffoel—was fought, and Browne's letter next following—No. 42—explains the situation after its conclusion.]

¹ Later the 12th Foot.

² Later the 8th Foot.

³ Later the 11th Foot.

LETTER NO. 42.

Tuesday—5 a clock in the afternoon.

April 30th, O.S., 1745.

I writ this from a pass where our squadron with others are posted to protect & secure the regular & exact order in which our forces are retreating; it is about a mile from the field of blood & slaughter where true English courage & bravery hath been exercised & displayed in as high a degree as is possible for mankind to act and by the behaviour of the Hanoverians they may henceforward justly be stiled of the same nation. His Highness the Duke [of Cumberland] was never excelled by any Hero whatever; he exposed his person every where the same as the most private soldier—this is no compliment to his High Birth, but a fact to my own eyes & certain knowledge which ought to endear him to the whole nation. But success is not allways to the valiant & brave; would intrepid calm courage & resolution have carried our point we had not now been a retreating—but our brave & not to be excelled forces are retiring in as much order as they advanced & we wish for no more then that the enemy would advance from behind there batteries, & if they should, my Life upon it, we should destroy them all.

I admire and adore that kind Providence who hath been my great Protector & Preserver of my life & limbs during such a cannonading of nine hours as could not possibly be exceeded & which that at the battle of Dettinghen was nothing to. There was batteries continually playing upon our front & both flanks at the same time, during the whole attack which was made by the infantry & they supported by the cavalry.

We are now part of the body of forces which are posted as the rear guard to cover the retreat of the whole army so that it is very uncertain whether I may yet live to see out the day, or the sun rising to morrow morning, should the enemy determine to harrass us in our retreat.

It is a great pleasure to me that my commission is not signed as Captain, and [it] was [a great pleasure] this morning, when we marched to the enemy, to think that if I fell, the money deposited would be preserved to my dear dear friends, for whom living & dying I have & shall have the greatest love & regard & friendship. Having a good conscience I have a calm mind & don't fear any thing from the consequences of death, being perfectly resigned to the will of the great & Incomprehensible Being who gave me mine & hath a just right to recall it when & in what manner He pleases.

My dear brother & dear friends, to each of you I address myself, I wish you all happiness when I may be no more, as possibly I may not, should they attack the rear guard where I am posted. We expect to move in about three hours. Adieu, my dear dear Brother & friends, Adieu.

Yours sincerely, at the Last moment possibly of Life,

PHIL: BROWNE.

[The retreat to Ath was carried out with complete success, and no attempt even was made to molest the British troops during the retirement, probably due to the fact that the French had been so well hammered that they were incapable of making any effort.]

LETTER No. 43.

From the Camp at Ath. Thursday, 2 May, O.S., 1745.

I writ you from the pass I was posted at a tuesday [30 April] afternoon at five a clock, and have only time to tell you that I am perfectly well in health and no accident whatever hath happened to me, but am infinitely fatigued having been on horse back for twenty four hours after the action and am now agoing out again.

We mounted¹ at three a clock a tuesday morning [30 April] to march to the enemy [at Fontenoy.]

LETTER No. 44.

From the Camp at Lessines, near Ath.

Wednesday, 8 May, O.S., 1745.

I writ you the 30th of April when upon our retreat, and the 2^d. of May from Ath Camp acquainting you of my perfect safety. I thank God am quite well having intirely recovered all fatigue. The loss of the English and Hanoverians both in officers and men is very considerable; the killed and wounded is said to be upwards of six thousand, the Dutch nothing near the proportion; it is reported five hundred. Old Officers that served the late war say they never saw so continual and so long a fire as the French played upon us from there batteries, during which time life was uncertain to each one for a moment as we was during the whole time, upwards of nine hours, within the command of them; four men was killed and an officer wounded by the same ball in the Major's squadron to whom I am Lieut^t and three horses of his Troop was killed just behind me by one ball likewise and they continually grounded and deadned before us, dropped amongst us and flew over our heads—which never put any one squadron in the field into disorder, for so soon as the dead men and horses could be taken out of the ranks the whole was formed immediately again as at a review. There was no Cavalry charged at all, but the troops expressed great inclination to engage sword in hand; but as the enemy continued in there lines, that could not be unless they had been first carried, but they showed a spirit of what they would do if they had oppurtunity by the undauntiness and resolution they behaved with during the long cannonading.

With regard to the validity of a Commission none can be deceived, as it is signed by His Majesty and countersigned by a secretary of state and afterwards entered in the war office and certified by them to be so entered providing it should be done either in England or Hanover and if it should be done here by the Duke you shall have notice of it by first post from me. I am perswaded Mr. Adair, to whom pray my complements, will not be for having the money continued as a deposit, providing he cann't accomplish Capt. Barton's in a very little time, and you can give him such endorsers as will be full as satisfactory to him as the continuance of the money, which Capt. Barton who hath writ him this

¹ *i.e.* paraded.

post is satisfied with providing he shall so be—and at any time I know you both can and will raise it at an hour's notice. Your great exactness and haste in depositing the money I esteem as a favour from both you and my brother John Browne—but if he shall Approve of a note although I should have no interest during the two months I had rather should be in My Brother John Brownes hands—not that I suspect in the least the house where it is. I hope mine reached your hands time enough to prevent you and the rest of my friends anxiety upon my account

N.B. I am told that had my Commission of Capt. been signed before the Attack of the french lines and I had been killed, my executors would have had the disposal of my Lieutenancy, as I bought both.

LETTER No. 45.

Lessines Camp. [Saturday] 8th June, O.S., 1745.

. I have nothing new to acquaint you with. How long we are like to continue in this Camp I cann't form a judgement, or whether we may make a second attempt to relieve the Citadel of Tournay firing from whence we heard very plainly both last night and this morning. We are a little streightned for forage as we have no more to fetch from Mons and now we send to Alost and Dendermonde but suppose we shall have green forage shortly which is to be had nearer at hand.

I have kissed the Duke's hand upon being appointed Captain of the Third Troop of Horse Guards and have gott my Commission and have writ to Mr. Adair and others to find out a proper person to recommend for the Cornecy, as should be glad to dispose of it as soon as possible; there was one purchased this week in the Blew regiment of Horse at sixteen hundred pounds.

[It is probable that Browne had by this time joined the 3rd Troop of Horse Guards.]

LETTER No. 46.

Wednesday., 3 July, O.S., 1745.

From the Camp near St. Malines,
half way from Brussels to Antwerp.

I recd. yours of the 21 Inst. and this is only to inform you that I am perfectly well in health after such a fatigue and hardship that is almost incredible and this is the first oppurtunity I have had to put pen to paper for this fortnight last past and now I am uncertain whether I can seal it or otherwise having no wafer nor fire.

LETTER No. 47.

From the Camp at Saventhem near Bruxelles.

[Tuesday] 16 July, O.S., 1745.

. We are in camped; our right to Vilvorden, and our left to Bruxelles, with the canal in our front and since our coming here

have recovered the fatigue that we underwent in our movements from Lessines Camp near Ath hither.

LETTER No. 48.

Vilvorden Camp. [Thursday] 1 August, O.S., 1745.

I recd. your favr. of the 16th July last friday [26 July] and next morning Mr. Osweald and another Gentleman was with me about half an hour; I tendered him all the civility in my Power, which he declined as he had been at Bruxelles, and was that night to go to Mecklin, but he said if otherwise and he should lye at Vilvorden, they would call upon me in the evening; but not seeing him after I suppose he is upon his return to Holland.

Mr. James Bennett having lodged with Mr. Adair Mr. Drummonds note for Fourteen hundred and fifty pounds, for the purchase of my vacant Cornecy in Genl. Honeywood's regiment, and his Commission being signed here by the Duke, of which I have acquainted Mr. Adair by a letter of this day, that sum is now mine.

I desire you would send to Mr. Adair to know when it will suit him that you call upon him which I must beg the favour you would do, I having desired him to pay unto your selfe only the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; if he carries that Deposite to my Credit in account, then you give him a receipt for fiveteen hundred pounds on my account but if he takes no notice of it in account then you only give him a receipt for fifty pounds. And when you have received it I desire the favour of my Bro^r. John Browne to replace it to my account with him.

LETTER No. 49.

Vilvorden Camp. [Saturday] August 24, O.S., 1745.

. I can inform you of nothing you are unacquainted with, we have been some time in this Camp, and we hear no talk of moving, possibly we may continue here till it may be the season to go into winter quarters. I thank God I never was in better health, and it is a great satisfaction to me to hear that all Friends are so likewise. .

LETTER No. 50.

From the camp at Vilvorden.
[Wednesday] October 2^d. O.S., 1745.

We are in expectation of letters having five mails due, and hope to hear that the ten Battallions of infantry, that left us a fortnight last Saterdag [14 September], are safe arrived in England; about ten days agoe there went out a large Detachment to cover the march of the Garrison of Ostend from Mons, and some Austrians to there, both which are effected, and the foot Guards marched by here on Saterdag last [28 September] likewise for England. Six thousand Hessians hath joined

us and encamped, which looks as if we should not soon go into winter quarters; the weather begins to be cold and wett, but I thank God I am very well in health.

LETTER No. 51.

a League from Antwerp.

[Thursday] October 17th, O.S., 1745.

General Ligoniers regiment of Horse,¹ and Hawley's² and Bland's Dragoons,³ marched from camp the 9th inst. in order to embark for England, and on Monday last all the English broke up and are in Antwerp, and Lier and cantooned thereabouts; several regiments of foot are ordered since for England, as are Lord Rothes⁴ and Sir Robert Rich's⁵ Dragoons. Divers are the talk here, some say that all the foot and Dragoons will go for England, and not the regiment of Horse nor Horse Guards; some say the whole, but time alone can discover it. If the Troop of Horse Guards should not be ordered over, I shall not see England this winter, as there will be no other Captain but my self, and but one field Officer with the Troop, but the Officers that are to go to England are not sett out yet, from whence some think that all the Troop will come, as it is thought they are not permitted to go in order that they may come with them.

LETTER No. 52.

Zeven-Bergen in the Province of Holland.

[Monday] Decr. 16th, O.S., 1745.

I writ my Bror. Clarke the 2^d. inst. from Antwerp, which we marched from on Tuesday [10 December], and came here on Thursday last—this town is half way between Breda, and Williamstadt, where we only wait for the transports, the order of Embarkation is fixt, First the Brigade of Horse Guards, then the Blews—Honywood's Horse—Lord Stair's⁶—Lord Rothes—and Cope's⁷ Dragoons—if sufficient number of Vessels should arrive, we expect all to come together, otherwise it may be two, if not three embarkations, there being some of the Train,⁸ likewise on this side of the water. We have had a hard frost, for a fortnight past, and the Canals are frozen, so that till the wind changes the transports can't come nor would the Ice admit of our embarkation were they arrived; last night we had some rain, and this morning it rather thaws, so that we hope for a change of weather, which Pray God grant, so that

¹ In 1926 the 4th/7th Dragoon Guards.

³ In 1926 3rd The King's Own Hussars.

⁵ In 1926 the 4th Queen's Own Hussars.

⁶ In 1926 The Royal Scots Grey (2nd Dragoons).

⁷ In 1926 the 7th Queen's Own Hussars.

² In 1926 1st The Royal Dragoons.

⁴ In 1926 the 5th/6th Dragoons.

⁸ Artillery and Engineers.

the remainder of the Troops, may be in England as soon as possible, (and if wanted which I hope not) in time, so as to be of Service to there King and Country. I shall give you a line the moment we Land.

LETTER No. 53.

Zeven-Bergen two leagues and a half short of Williamstadt.

[Monday] Decemr. 30. O.S. 1745.

I writ my Bro^r. Clarke the 2^d. inst. from Antwerp—and I imagined mine to you of the 16 inst. from hence, would have been my last from this side of the water—we having orders at that time to march to Williamstadt, upon the arrival of the transports, which came into Harbour to the number of Eighty three last tuesday morning [24 December] upon w^{ch} we had a counter order to remaine in our cantoonments till further orders.

The reason of which is that all the Hessians are to embark first. The first Division of there cavalry will be at Williamstadt to morrow, and as they cann't embark more than a squadron a day, it will be three weekes before they can all be aboard and at forty Horses a vessel there cavalry will take up seventy transports and if they should embark sixty infantry on board each horse transport, then there will be vessels sufficient for our Brigade—but if then we are not to go by our selves, we must stay for more transports, or for the return of these that carry the Hessians, who it is said are to go to the North, and to bring back the Dutch forces which are there. As our stây must now be a month here if not longer—should be glad to hear that all friends are well—and if any material good news that can be depended upon pray lett me know, which will be a great pleasure to others as well as my self.

LETTER No. 54.

From on Board the *Ruby* in the Harbour of Williamstadt.

[Thursday] February 13th. O.S. 1745-6.

I recd your fav^r. of the 10th of January at Zeven-bergen which we left on Monday [10 February] afternoon. Our order of March was so sudden that had not time to inform you of it. The Brigade of Horse Guards was all on Board Yesterday morning, and by to morrow the Blews will be so likewise. I cann't say whether we shall be detained for Honywoods Horse, and the Dragoons; if not we expect to sail as the wind now is, to morrow evening or Saterdag morning.

[This is the last of Browne's letters. His, the 3rd. Troop of Horse Guards reached England on 20 February, 1746, and was reduced on 24 December following, the Officers being then placed upon half-pay.]

MILITARY PRINTS—A REVIEW.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

An article on Military Prints by Colonel C. de W. Crookshank, M.F., in *The Print Collector's Quarterly*—February, 1926—is full of interest to soldiers and students of military affairs, not only from the historical point of view, but as well to those who study the dress and equipment of soldiers.

Colonel Crookshank and the Editor of *The Print Collector's Quarterly* have most kindly allowed all the illustrations to the article to be reproduced by our Society.

Colonel Crookshank writes:—

“ Military prints, as such, have not received much attention from writers; in fact, those depicting naval and other historical occurrences have also suffered nearly as much from the curious neglect noticeable in Great Britain to form collections or record pictorially events connected with the history of an Empire which is probably more worthy of attention in that direction than any other has been.

“ Personally, I was tempted to form a collection of prints of British Military Operations in an endeavour to foster interest in the military records of our Empire in the way that the wonderful collections do in Paris and other parts of the Continent.”

His article is written in the hope that it “ will have the effect of stimulating the interest of the public and producing the desire for a national collection in our Empire which has been built up so much by the prowess of its sons and the devotion of its daughters.”

It is lamentable how little we do as a race to collect and record trophies and objects of interest relating to our Expeditions, both Naval and Military, which have covered almost every part of the Globe. Apart from the justifiable pride which would be engendered thereby the educational effect and value would be incalculable.

He continues: “ Most of the prints of battle subjects are in line, stipple or aquatint, but unfortunately few possess much artistic merit, having been usually compiled from sketches made in the field, and it is regrettable to find that we have so few victories recorded in pictures by celebrated artists and possess no collections to compare with those at Versailles and elsewhere abroad. Accuracy has naturally suffered in consequence, and it is difficult to locate any particular period or incident during a battle in most of the representations; but, at the same time, they are of great interest to the regiments, units and individuals who participated in the operations, and depict with sufficient accuracy the scenes, costumes and conditions prevailing at the period concerned.”

Colonel Crookshank considers that “ some of the rough copper-plates, published in many cases within a month or two of an action, are the most interesting; these were probably made up in “ Fleet Street ”



Printed & Colored by J. G. Thompson.

Light Dragoons

Engraved from a drawing by William Miller, Esq. & colored by J. G. Thompson. Printed and Colored by J. G. Thompson.

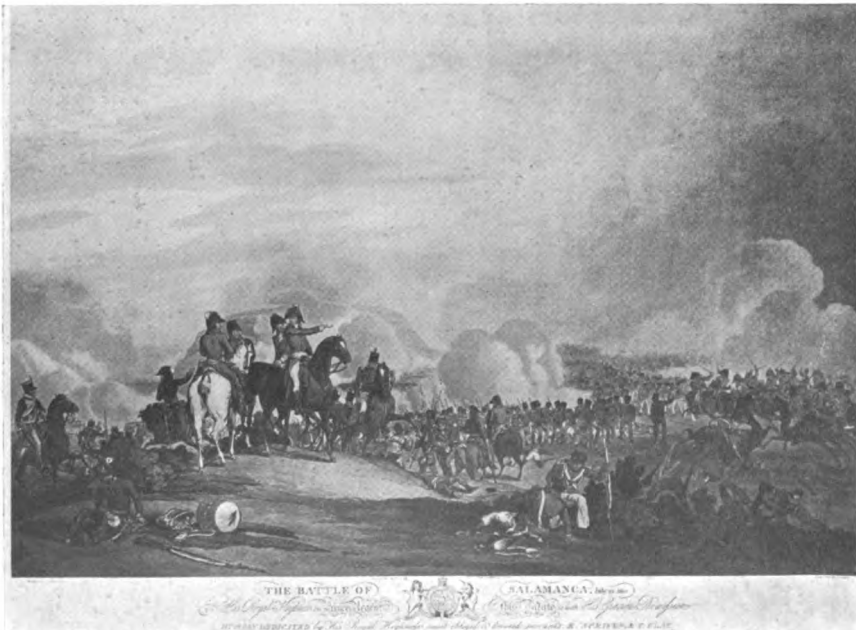
LIGHT DRAGOONS. By J. A. ATKINSON 1807
Size of the original aquatint $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches

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THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL 1775. By J. G. MULLER after I. TRUMBULL. 1798
 Size of the original line engraving 20 × 30 inches



THE BATTLE OF SALAMANCA JULY 22, 1812. By G. LEWIS after J. A. ATKINSON. 1813
 Size of the original aquatint 16½ × 23 inches

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LONDONDERRI. By R. DE HOOGE. (Leyden, 1689)
 Size of the original etching $8\frac{1}{2} \times 22$ inches



THE BATTLE OF TANIERES NEAR MONS. 1709. By C. DuBosc after L. LAGUERRE.
 Size of the original line engraving $19 \times 28\frac{1}{2}$ inches

as soon as the bearer of the despatches reached home from the front, and though they may rank with the rough coloured depictions of Lord Mayors' Shows, they convey the interest of the moment at a time when news travelled slowly, when conditions were less well-known and prolific issues of illustrated papers did not exist. They were undoubtedly objects of vast interest and pride to the families of those who were serving at the time, but as their artistic merit and accuracy were not of a very high quality, few were kept, and they are accordingly very scarce. These, however, are useful to writers of Regimental Histories, as in most of the plates the Regimental Number appears on the Colours of the Battalions engaged.

It is interesting to note that the first artists to produce engravings of battles in which British troops were engaged—in the 16th Century—were principally Dutchmen, and that in the campaigns of William III in Ireland—1689-91—Dutch artists accompanied his troops in the field.

An etching exists—*The Siege of Londonderry*—(see illustration facing this page), which is especially interesting owing to the fact that the faker was here disclosed, when the plate, as originally published, was altered to represent the *Siege of Athlone*, by removing the sea with shipping in the distance and substituting camps and land concentrations in its place.

In the Napoleonic wars, aquatints, stipples and mezzotints of considerable merit were produced, but after this period the quality degenerated.

Colonel Crookshank deals with prints of Military Actions in chronological order and mentions some of the more representative ones. We quote from his article.

“The well-known mezzotint of Sir Geoffrey Amherst, by Watson after Reynolds, shows troops navigating the rapids in the background and commemorates the operations near Montreal in 1760, while *The Battle of Bunker Hill* on June 17th, 1775, is depicted in a very fine engraving by J. G. Muller after J. Trumbull, as is *The Death of General Montgomery* at Quebec on December 31st in the same year, by J. F. Clemens after the same artist. A very fine stipple, which when met with in colours is superb though the subject is a sad one, is that of *The Burial of General Fraser* at Saratoga on October 7th, 1777, by W. Nutter after D. Graham (both of whom are well-known in many fine prints of the period), while some of the many prints of *The Siege and Relief of Gibraltar*, by W. Sharp, after various artists are fine, though possibly somewhat fanciful in composition.

“Another fine and very spirited stipple is that of *The Landing of British Troops in Egypt* on March 8th, 1801, by Schiavonetti after P. J. de Louthembourg; this is a very beautiful piece of work and extremely interesting both from a naval and a military point of view, as it shows the operations in detail and also the attacks by the French cavalry on the British infantry after landing from the boats. The subsequent operations of *The Battle of Alexandria* on March 21st appear in a good many plates, and that by Anthony Cardon after the same artist is a

companion to *The Landing*, but the most interesting and probably the most accurate representation of that battle is to be found in an aquatint of great quality by J. Mitan and C. Turner after Lieutenant Willermin, of the Royal Staff Corps. Turner's share in this plate accounts for the quality and the aquatinting which closely resembles the French work of that period. Another fine stipple by Cardon after de Louthembourg, is that of *The Battle of Maida*, July 4th, 1806, a large plate of very fine composition and execution, showing a great number of troops. A scarce and striking plate, when in colours, is that of *The Storming of Monte Video*, by Clarke and Dubourg after Lieut. G. Robinson, Royal Marines; and the Peninsular War is commemorated by a very large number of good aquatints of all sizes. The best of these are *The Battle of the Pyrenees*, previously referred to, and its companion plate *Vittoria*, by Moses and Lewis after J. M. Wright, and a set of twelve aquatints by C. Turner after Major T. St. Clair, which has the advantage of Turner's work from accurate and artistic water-colour drawings taken on the spot depicting the troops on the march, in camp, and in certain battles.

"Another series exists of battles in the Peninsular War, which is scarce and striking though not of much artistic merit, by T. Sutherland after W. Heath; but there is little quality, unfortunately, when we get to the Campaign of Waterloo, as the period is somewhat late for the best work."

The article refers to engravings of dress and costumes, being principally of interest to the various Regiments concerned, even though their artistic merit is not high. But this is really a point of great importance, as they were probably issued in the first instance as what we should now call fashion-plates.

A set of lithographs by M. Gauci after E. Hull—Uniform of the British Army in 1828—is good, as also coloured plates of Regiments and incidents by H. Martens, *circa* 1850.

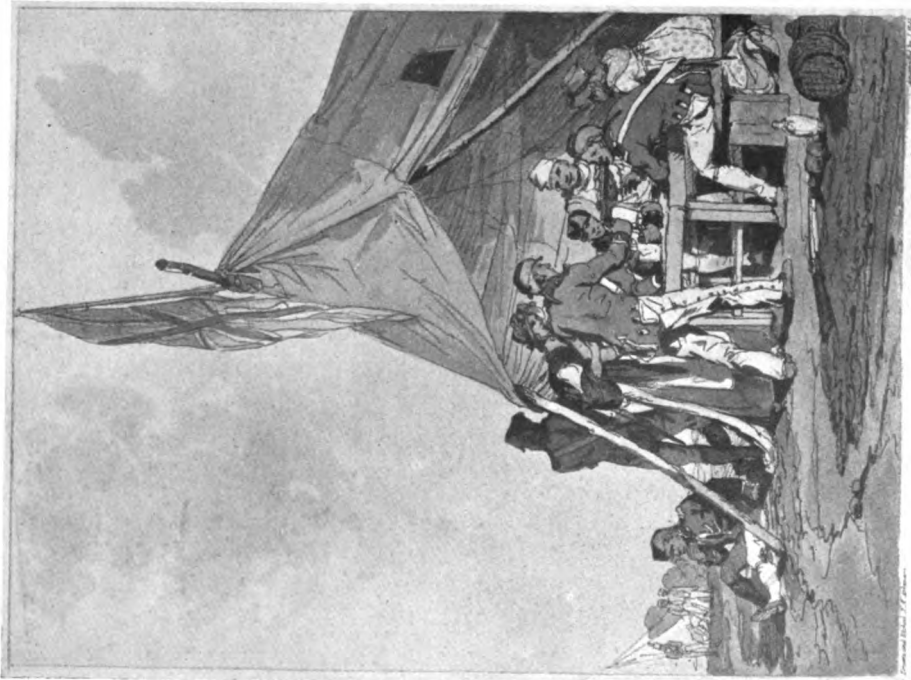
Colonel Crookshank continues: "Caricatures of military subjects were prolifically issued by G. Cruikshank, . . . Rowlandson, Gillray, Bunbury and W. Dighton.

"This brings one to the decorative prints in which military figures appear, and these are usually very scarce, particularly those by the well-known engravers, and such works are of considerable value. G. Morland produced the most important plates in this category, and of these, certainly the one that calls for most attention is *Temptation*, an extremely fine plate of the highest quality, engraved by W. Humphrey; this is very scarce in any state and only two are believed to exist printed in colours; it was reprinted at a later date, and even copies of these are scarce, but their quality is poor. Other well-known plates after Morland are *The Billeted Soldier* and *Changing Quarters* by J. Hogg and G. Graham, also a pair of ovals of *The Soldier's Return* and *The Departure*, by G. Graham, and *The Deserter* series, a fine set of large mezzotints by G. Keating; while the more domestic subjects of *Children Playing Soldiers*, by Keating, and the representation of the Trooper of the Blues in *St. James's Park*, by Soiron, and *Selling Cherries*, by Bell, are well



ARMY. By THOMAS ROWLANDSON
Size of the original aquatint $9 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ inches

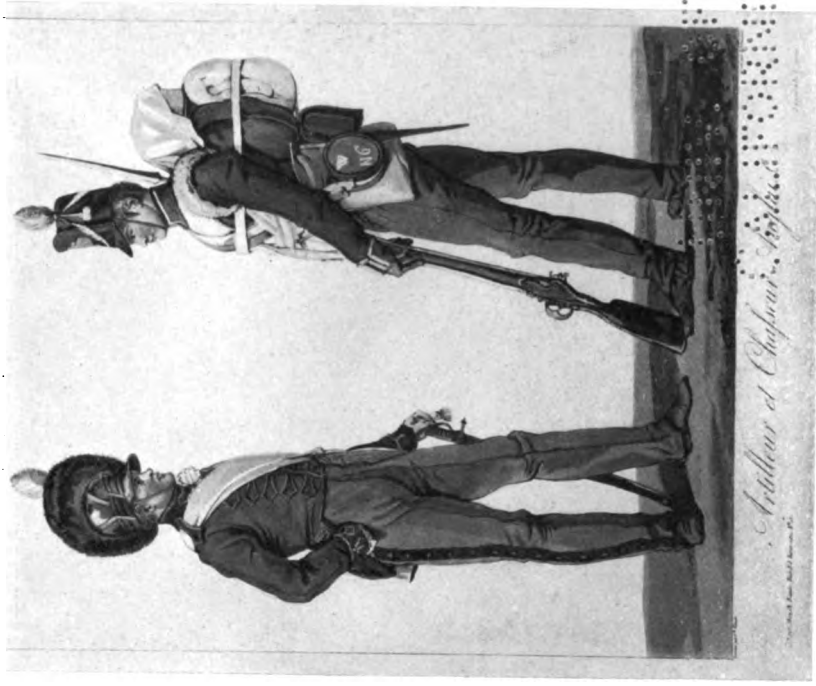
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ARGENTINA



Suttlings Booth

Engraved by J. A. Atkinson, from a drawing by J. Hill, 1808. Original in the possession of the British Museum, London.

SUTTLING BOOTH. Drawn and etched by J. A. ATKINSON and aquatinted by J. HILL. 1808
 Size of the original aquatint $8\frac{1}{2}$ x $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches



Artilleur et Chasseur Anglais

Engraved by P. Debucourt, from a drawing by Ch. Vernet, 1808. Original in the possession of the British Museum, London.

ARTILLEUR ET CHASSEUR ANGLAIS. By P. DEBUCOURT after Ch. VERNET
 Size of the original aquatint $12\frac{1}{4}$ x $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches

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TEMPTATION. By W. HUMPHREY after C. MORELAND (sic). 1790
Size of the original mezzotint 17½ x 14 inches



THE SOLDIERS RETURN. By W. WARD after F. WHEATLEY. 1787
Size of the original mezzotint 18¼ x 14 inches

known. To J. R. Smith may be credited two very pretty plates, viz., *The Soldier's Farewell* and *The Tobacco Box*; while Wheatley is best represented in a well-known pair of mezzotints of *The Encampment at Brighton* and *The Departure from Brighton*, by Murphy. These are very scarce, particularly when printed in colours, and are pleasing representations of the 14th Light Dragoons (to judge by the colours of the facings) in camp and breaking camp on the Downs near Brighton and introduce villagers and country transport in pretty groups. A pretty pair of mezzotints were engraved by Ward of Wheatley's pictures *The Soldier's Return* and *The Sailor's Return*, which are very attractive when in colours, and some other smaller plates after him also exist.

"A very rare plate in colours is that of *His Majesty George III reviewing His Troops on Blackheath*, by Pollard after W. Mason. The aquatinting in this resembles the French work of the period and the quality is very fine, while the details of the figures in the foreground form a very interesting record of the costumes of all classes of the period. George III is seen in the distance joining the troops on parade.

"An extremely pretty little stipple is that known as *The Young Recruit*, by F. Nugent after M. A. Shee, which represents a child carrying a toy gun and wearing a Dragoon helmet, said to be the Lord Althorp of that time, and was issued as a private plate." See plate facing page 160.

It is curious how scarce most of these military decorative plates are by comparison with those of rural and sporting subjects, and it is difficult to account for this except possibly owing to the general dislike for Armies which was the natural consequence of the Napoleonic Wars. The Navy did not suffer so much in this respect, the Fleets and sailors having held the affection and imagination of the British public most securely, probably owing to our being a seafaring race.

Another rare plate of general interest referred to by the author, is the *Promenade in St. James's Park*, by Soiron after Edward Dayes, which is aquatinted somewhat in the French style and gives a very beautiful and interesting representation of the costumes at the time of its publication in 1790.

Two scarce and amusing aquatints by Rowlandson, known as *Army* (see plate facing p. 158) and *Navy* are mentioned, which depict representatives of the Services, with wooden legs and various wounds, going over their battles again in the inimitable way for which that artist is celebrated; and to *A Field-day in Hyde Park* and *Scene on the Road from London to Portsmouth* as rare and fine examples of his work.

Further "*The Duke of York*," by Dickinson after Hoppner, is a striking plate in colours of H.R.H. in the uniform of the Coldstream Guards at the picturesque period when the gorget was still worn.

The study of this subject, from a purely military point of view, is fascinating, and articles on prints representing any one regiment, or connected with its history, would be valuable and of great interest.

Colonel Crookshank's own book, *Prints of British Military Operations*, published in 1921 by Adlard & Son & West Newman, Ltd., from which the coloured print of the battle of Dettingen facing p. 134, *ante*, is reproduced; Nevill's *British Military Prints*, published by *The Connoisseur* Publishing Company in 1909, with T. H. Parker's (12A Berkeley Street, W.1), and Maggs Bros. (34 Conduit Street, W.1) catalogues of Military prints, issued from time to time, would make an excellent foundation on which to build up a catalogue *raisonné*, which incidentally might bring to light prints or pictures whose existence is unknown.

Military Prints in The British Museum are classified under the names of artists, but there is no 'subject' catalogue as such, and excellent collections of naval and military prints are to be found in the Royal United Service Institution, and in the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, but an Empire collection is undoubtedly the goal for which our readers and all well wishers at home and in our Dominions overseas should strive.

A SHORT MEMORIAL OF NORTHERN ACTIONS DURING THE WAR THERE, FROM THE YEAR 1642 TILL 1644.

(*Continued from page 125.*)

All our men being got into the town [Wakefield] the streets were cleared. Many prisoners taken. But the Horse got off almost entire. But this seemed the greater mercy when we saw our mistake, now finding 3000 men in the Town, not expecting half the number; we brought away 1400 prisoners, 80 officers, 28 Colours and great store of Ammunition, which we much wanted. But seeing this was more a miracle than a victory, more the effect of God's Divine power than human force, and more His providence than the success of our prudence, in making so hazardous an attempt, let the honour and praise of it be His only.

After this, we exchanged our men that were prisoners¹ with these, and were freed a good while from any trouble or any attempt from the enemy. But then again it pleased God to mix water with brimstone and to bring us into a better condition, by the brink of ruin and destruction. Hitherto through His mercy we had held up near 2 years against a potent Army, but they finding us, now, almost tired with continual service, treacherously used by friends, and in want of many things necessary for support and defence, The Earl of Newcastle marched with

¹ Taken at Seacroft Moor. See *ante*, pp. 124-5.



A WELLINGTON BOOT
 Size of the original etching 12½ × 8½ inches



THE YOUNG RECRUIT. By T. NUGENT after M. A. SHEE, R.A.
 Size of the original stipple engraving 13¼ × 10¼ inches

an army of 10 or 12000 men to besiege us and resolved to sit down before Bradford, which was a very untenable place. My Father drew all the Forces he could spare out of the Garrisons hither. But seeing it impossible to defend the Town but by strength of men, and not above 10 or 12 days provision for so many as were necessary to have it, We resolved the next morning very early, with a party of 3000 men, to attempt his whole Army as they laid in their quarters, 3 miles off, hoping thereby to put him into some distraction, which could not (by reason of the unequal number) be done any other way. For this end, my Father appointed 4 of the clock the next morning to begin the march; but Major Gen^l. Gyfford who had the ordering of the business so delayed the execution of it that it was 7 or 8 o'clock before we began to move, and not without much suspicion of treachery in it. For when we were near the place we intended, the enemy's whole Army was drawn up in Battalia.

[A FIGHT ON ADDERTON (ADWALTON) MOOR—30 JUNE, 1643.]

We were to go up a Hill to them, which our Forlorn Hope gained by beating theirs into their own body, which was drawn up half a mile further up, on a place called Adderton Moor. We being all up the Hill drew into Battalia also. I commanded the right wing with about a 1000 Foot, and 5 Troops of Horse. Major Gen^l. Gyfford the left wing, which was about the same number. My Father commanded all in chief. We advanced through the enclosed Grounds till we came to the Moor, beating the Foot that laid in them, to their main body. Ten or 12 Troops of Horse charged us in the right wing. We kept the enclosure, placing our Musketeers in the hedges next the Moor, which was good advantage to us who had so few Horse. There was a Gate [*i.e.* a road-way], or open place to the Moor, where 5 or 6 might enter in a breast. Here they strove to enter, and we to defend; but after some Dispute, those that entered the pass found sharp entertainment, and those that were not yet entered, as hot welcome from the Musketeers that flanked them in the hedges. All, in the end, were forced to retreat with the loss of our Coll^l. Howard, who commanded them. The left wing, at the same time, was engaged with the enemy's foot. We gained ground of them. The Horse came down again and charged us, being about 13 or 14 Troops. We defended our selves as before, but with much more difficulty, many having gotten in among us, but were beaten off again with loss and Coll^l. Herne, who commanded that party was slain. He pursued them to their cannon.

And here, I cannot omit a remarkable passage of Divine Justice. While we were engaged in the fight with the Horse that entered the gate, 4 Soldiers had stripped Coll^l. Herne naked as he laid dead on the Ground (men still fighting round about him) and so dextrous were these villains that they had done it and mounted themselves again before we had beat them off. But after we had beaten them to their Ordnance (as I said) and now returning to our ground again, the enemy discharged a piece of Cannon in our rear. The bullet fell into Captⁿ. Copley's Troop in which these 4 men were; two of them were killed and some hurt or mark

remained on the rest, though dispersed into several ranks of the Troop which was the more remarkable. We had not yet Martial Law among us, which gave me a good occasion to reprove it by shewing the soldiers the sinfulness of the Act and how God would punish when man wanted power to do it.

[FAIRFAX'S FORCE DEFEATED BY THE ROYALISTS.]

But to return where we left. This charge, and the resolution that the soldiers shewed in the left wing, made the enemy think of retreating. Orders were given for it, and some marched off the field. While they were in this wavering condition, one Coll. Skirton, a wild and desperate man, desired his Gen^l. to let him charge once more, with a stand of pikes with which he broke in upon our men and they not [being] relieved by our Reserves, commanded by some ill-affected officers and chiefly, Major Gen^l. Gyfford (who did not his part as he ought to have done) our men lost ground; which the enemy seeing, pursued the advantage by bringing on fresh Troops. Ours being herewith discouraged began to flee, and so were soon routed. The Horse also charged us again. We not knowing what was done in the left wing, our men maintained their ground till a command came for us to retreat having scarce any way now to do it, the enemy being almost round about it, and our way to Bradford cut off. But there was a lane in the field we were in which led to Halifax, which as a happy providence, brought us off without any great loss, saving our Captⁿ. Talbot and 12 more which were slain in this last encounter. Of those that fled there were about 60 killed and 300 taken prisoners.

This business having such ill success, our hopes of better could not be much, wanting all things that were necessary [in Bradford] for defence, and expectation of help from any place. The Earl of Newcastle presently laid siege to the Town. But before he had surrounded it I got in with those men I brought from Halifax. I found my Father much troubled, having neither a place of strength to defend our selves in, nor a Garrison in Yorkshire to retreat to (for the Governor of Hull had declared himself, that if we were forced to retreat thither, he would shut the Gates against us). But while he was musing on these sad thoughts, a Messenger was sent from Hull to let him know that the Townsmen had secured the Governor and if he [Lord Fairfax] had any occasion to make use of that place (for they were sensible of the danger he was in) he should be readily and gladly received, which news was joyfully received and acknowledged as a great mercy of God to us; yet was it not made use of till a further necessity compelled it.

My father having ordered me to stay here, with 800 Foot and 60 horse, he intended,¹ that night, for Leeds, to secure it.

[THE ROYALISTS LAY SIEGE TO BRADFORD, AND ATTEMPT TO STORM IT,
BUT ARE TWICE BEATEN OFF.]

¹ To set out.

Now Newcastle, having spent 3 or 4 days in laying his quarters about the Town, they brought down their cannon, but needed to raise no Batteries, for the Hills within half musket shot commanded all the town, which now being planted in 2 places shot furiously upon us, making also approaches, which made us spend very much.¹ Our little store was not above 25 or 30 Barrels of powder at the beginning of the siege, yet notwithstanding, the Earl of Newcastle sent a Trumpet to offer us conditions; which I accepted so that they were honourable for us to take, and safe for the Inhabitants. Upon which, 2 Captains were sent to treat with him and [agreed to] a cessation during the time. But he continued working still, contrary to agreement. Whereupon I sent for the Commissioners again (suspecting a design of attempting some thing against us) but he returned them not till 11 at night, and then with a slight² answer, and while they were delivering it to us, we heard a great shooting of cannon and muskets. All ran presently to the works which the enemy was storming. Here for 3 Quarters of an hour was very hot service; but at length they retreated. They made a 2nd attempt, but were also beaten off. After this, we had not above one barrel of powder, and no match. So I called the officers together when it was advised and resolved to draw off presently before it was day, and by forcing a way (which we must do, they having surrounded the Town) to retreat to Leeds. Orders were dispatched, and speedily put in execution.

[FAIRFAX RETIRES TO LEEDS.]

The Foot, commanded by Coll. Rogers, was sent out through some narrow lanes, who were to beat up the Dragoons Quarters and so to go on to Leeds. My self with some other officers went with the Horse (which was not above 50) by an opener way.

[FAIRFAX'S WIFE IS CAPTURED BY THE ROYALISTS.]

Here I must not forget to mention my wife,³ who ran as great hazards with us in this retreat as any others, and with as little expression of fear. Not for any zeal or delight (I must needs say) in the war, but through a willing and patient suffering of this undesirable condition. But now, I sent 2 or 3 Horsemen before, to discover what they could of the enemy, who presently returned and told us there was a Guard of Horse close by us. Before I had come 40 paces (the day beginning to break) I saw them upon the hill above us, being about 300 Horse. I with some 12 more charged them. Sir Henry Foulis, Major Genl. Gyfford, and my self, with 3 more, brake through. Captⁿ. Mudd was slain, and the rest of our Horse being close by, the enemy fell upon them, and soon routed them, taking most of them prisoners, among whom my wife was (the soldier, behind whom she was, being taken). I saw this disaster, but could give no relief; for after I was got through I was in

¹ *i.e.* caused us to expend much ammunition.

² *i.e.* contemptuous.

³ Anne, daughter and co-heir of Horatio, Lord Vere of Tilbury. She had married Fairfax on 20 June, 1637. She died in October, 1665.

the enemy's rear alone, for those that had also charged through went on to Leeds, thinking I had done so too. But being unwilling to leave my Company I stayed till I saw there was no more in my power to do, but to be made a prisoner with them. Then I retired to Leeds. The like Disorder fell among the Foot that went the other way, by a mistake, for after they had marched a little way, the Van fell into the Dragoons' Quarters, clearing the way. But, through a cowardly fear in him that commanded those men that were in the rear, he made them face about and march again into the Town, where the next day they were all taken prisoners. Eighty, or thereabouts, of the Front which got through, came to Leeds (all mounted on horses which they had taken from the enemy) where I found them when I came thither, which was some Joy to them, all concluding I was either slain or taken prisoner.

[RETIREMENT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCE TO HULL.]

I found all in great distraction here [Leeds]. The Council of War, newly risen, where it was resolved to quit the Town, and make our retreat to Hull (which was 60 miles off, and many garrisons of the enemy in the way) which in 2 hours time was done, for we could expect no less than that the enemy should presently send Horse to prevent it, for they had 50 or 60 Troops within 3 miles.

But we got well to Selby, where there was a Ferry [across the river Ouse] and hard by, a Garrison at Cawood. My Father being a mile before with a few men, getting over the Ferry, word came to us that he was in danger to be taken. I hastened to him with about 40 Horse, the rest coming on after, in some disorder. He was newly got in to the Boat. The enemy with 3 Cornets of Horse entering the Town, I was drawn up in the market-place. They turned on the right hand. With part of my Troop I charged them in the flank and so divided them. We had the chase of them down the long street that did go to Brayton. It happened the same time, [that] those men that I had left behind were coming up the street, but (being in some disorder, and under discouragement of the misfortunes of many days before) turned about, and gave way, not knowing that we were pursuing them in the rear. At the end of this street was a narrow lane that led to Cawood. The enemy strove to pass away there, but being straight caused a sudden stop, where we were mingled one among another.

[FAIRFAX IS SEVERELY WOUNDED IN THE WRIST.]

Here I received a shot in the wrist of my arm, which made the bridle fall out of my hand, which being among the nerves and veins, suddenly let out such a quantity of blood, that I was ready to fall from my horse, so taking the reins in the other hand, in which I had my sword (the enemy minding nothing so much [but] as how to get away) I drew myself out of the crowd and came to our men, that turned about which were standing hard by. Seeing me ready to fall from my horse, they laid me on the ground and now almost senseless. My Surgeon came seasonably

and bound up my wound, so stopped the bleeding. After a quarter of an hour's rest, I got on horseback again.

The other part of our Horse also beat the enemy to Cawood back again, that way they came first to us. So, through the goodness of God our passage here was made clear. Some went over the ferry after my Father. My self, with others, went through the Levells to Hull, but it proved a very troublesome and dangerous passage, having often interruptions from the enemy, sometimes in our front, sometimes in our rear. Now, I had been at least 20 hours on horse-back (after I was shot) without any rest, or refreshment, and as many hours before, and as a further addition to my affliction my daughter¹ (not above 5 years old, being carried before her maid) endured all this retreat on horseback; but nature, not able to hold out longer, she fell into swoonings frequently and in appearance ready to expire her last. And having now passed the Trent, and seeing a house not far off, I sent her with her maid thither with little hopes of seeing her any more alive; but intending the next day to send a ship from Hull for her. So I went on to Barton (having sent before to have a ship ready against my coming thither). Here I laid down a little to rest, if it were possible to find any in a body so full of pain, and a mind so full of anxiety and trouble. (Though I must confess it as the infinite goodness of God to me, methought my spirits were nothing at all discouraged from doing still, that which I thought to be my work and duty). But, I had not laid above a quarter of an hour before the enemy came close to the Town. I had now, not above 100 Horse with me.

[FAIRFAX, WITH THE REMNANT OF HIS FORCE, REACHES HULL.]

We went to the ship, where under the cover of her ordnance we got all our men and horse aboard; so, passing the Humber we arrived at Hull, our men faint and tired, myself having lost all, even to my shirt (for my clothes were made unfit to wear with rends and blood which was upon them). Considering which, in all humility and reverence, I may say I was in Job's condition when he said,

“Naked came I out of my Mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.” [Job. 1. 21.]

But God, who is a God of mercy and consolation, doth not always leave us in distress. I having sent a ship (presently after I came into the Town) for my daughter, she was brought the next day to Hull, pretty well recovered of her long and tedious journey. And not many days after, the Earl of Newcastle sent my wife back again in his Coach, with some Horse to Guard her (which generosity gained more than any reputation he could have gotten by detaining a lady prisoner upon such terms). And many of our men which were dispersed in this long retreat came thither again to us. Our first business was to raise new forces, which, in a short time, was 2500 Foot and 700 Horse.

¹ Mary, his elder daughter. She married George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, and died without issue in October, 1704.

[FAIRFAX, WITH HORSE AND 600 FOOT, MOVES TO BEVERLEY.]

The Town being little, I was sent to Beverley with the Horse, and 600 Foot, but my Lord Newcastle (who now looked on us as inconsiderable) was marched with his whole Army, into Lincolnshire, only leaving some Garrisons at York and other places. He took in Gainsborough and Lincoln, and intended Boston next (which was the key of the Associated Counties), for his orders (which I have seen) were to go into Essex, and block up London on that side.

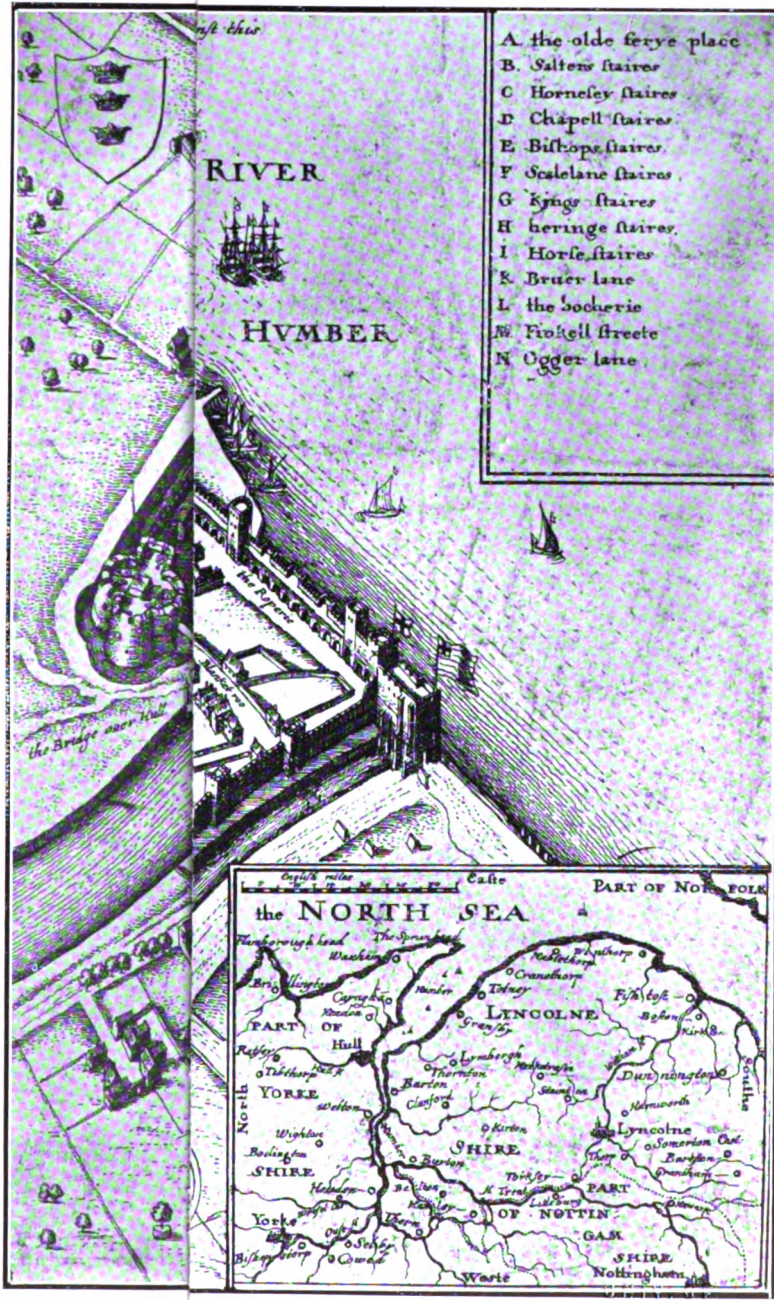
But we, having laid a great while still, being now strong enough in the field for those forces that remained in the Country, we sent out a good party to make an attempt upon Stamford Bridge, near York. But the enemy upon the alarm fled thither, which put them all there in such a fear as they sent earnestly to desire him [Newcastle] to return, or the Country would again be lost, for the Lord Fairfax had considerable Forces; upon which he returned again into Yorkshire and not long after came to besiege Hull. I lying then at Beverley, in the way of his march, finding that we were not able to maintain such an open place against an Army, desired orders from my Father to retire back to Hull; but the Committee there having always more mind of raising money than to take care of the soldiers (yet these men had the greatest share in command at that time) would not let any orders be given for our retreat (and unfit for us to return without).

The enemy marcheth from York with his whole army toward us. Retreat, we must not; keep the Town we could not: so, to make our retreat more honourable and useful both, I drew out all the Horse and Dragoons, to ward the enemy and stood drawn up by a wood side all that night.

The next morning by day, our scouts and theirs fired at one another. They march on with their whole Body which was about 4000 Horse, and 12000 Foot. We stood till they were come very near to us; I then drew off (having given Directions before to the Foot to march away toward Hull) thinking to make good the Retreat with the Horse. The enemy, with a good party, were upon our rear. The lane being but narrow, we made a good shift with them till we got into Beverley, and shut the gates; which we had scarce time to do, they being so close upon us. But in this Business we lost Major Layton and not above 2 more.

The enemy not knowing what forces we had in the Town, stayed till the rest of the Army came up which was about a mile behind. This gave our Foot some advantage in their retreat, it being 5 miles to Hull on narrow banks, and so fittest for our Foot. I sent the Horse by Cottingham, an opener road, who got well thither. But they overtook the Foot which, notwithstanding, made good their retreat till we got to a little bridge 2 miles from Hull, where we made a stand, the enemy following close. Here our men gave them a good volley of shot, which made them draw back and advanced no further.

So, leaving a small guard at the Bridge, we got safe to Hull. Thus, not only for want of military skill, in the gentlemen of the Committee,



Theet, were built in 1541/2; that on the left, e on the right, where the Hull runs into Castle has become a "Magazine."

but (to say no more) for want of good nature, we were exposed to this trouble and danger.

[THE ROYALISTS LAY SIEGE TO KINGSTON ON HULL.]

My Lord Newcastle now laid siege to Hull, but at a great distance. The sluices being let open, drowned the land 2 miles about the Town; yet upon a bank, which was the highway, he approached so near as to shoot cannon shot at random, in to the Town, which was (for the most part) fiery bullets. But by the diligence and care of the Governor (who caused every inhabitant to watch his own house, and where ever they saw these bullets to fall, to be ready to quench them) they prevented the danger. Our Horse was now useless, and many died every day, having nothing but salt water about the Town. I was therefore sent, with the Horse, over into Lincolnshire, to join with the Earl of Manchester's¹ forces which were then commanded by Major Gen^l. Cromwell,² who received us at our landing, with his Troop. Sir Thomas Henderson³ lay within 3 or 4 miles of this place, with 5000 men to prevent our conjunction, but durst not attempt. He marched 3 or 4 days near unto us, but for want of good intelligence we did not know so much (For I altogether trusted to the care of our new friends being a stranger in those parts) till one morning, he got upon our Guards at Horn Castle, which being but newly raised in the Country, fled toward Lincoln, without giving any alarm to our Quarters, who lay dispersed and secure.

But Sir Thomas Henderson marching slowly with his Army, gave the Alarm to some of our out-quarters, which was soon taken by all the rest (but with some disorder, before we could get into any considerable Body). My Lord Willoughby⁴ with his Horse and my Dragoons, commanded by Col^l. Morgan, brought up the rear. After some skirmishes we lodged that night, all in the Field. The next day, the Earl of Manchester came to us with his Foot.

[11 OCTOBER, 1643. A FIGHT AT WINCEBY, NEAR HORNCastle,
IN WHICH THE ROYALISTS ARE BEATEN.]

The day following we advanced again toward the enemy, and choosing a convenient ground to fight upon we drew up the Army there. The enemy did so, on the side of another hill close by, having a little place between us. Lieut. Gen^l. Cromwell had the van, I the Reserve of Horse, my Lord Manchester all the Foot. After we had faced one another a little while the Forlorn Hopes began the Fight. Presently the Bodies met in the plain where the Fight was hot for half an hour, but then we forced them to a rout. Above 200 killed, and 2000 taken prisoners. This was the issue of Horncastle (or as some call it Winceby) Fight.

At the same instant we heard great shooting of Ordnance toward Hull, which was a Sally my Father made, out of the Town, upon my

¹ Edward Montagu, 2nd Earl.

² Oliver Cromwell.

³ Commanding the Royalist Force.

⁴ Francis, 5th Baron Willoughby, of Parham.

Lord Newcastle's trenches, who drew out most part of his Army to relieve them; but our men charged so resolutely, as they possessed themselves of the cannon, and so pursued their advantage, as put the enemy to a total rout.

[NEWCASTLE IS COMPELLED TO ABANDON THE SIEGE OF HULL.]

Upon which he raised the siege, and returned again to York. These 2 defeats together (the one falling heavy upon the Horse, the other upon the Foot) kept the enemy all winter from attempting anything; and we after the taking of Lincoln, settled ourselves in winter quarters.

[FAIRFAX IS ORDERED TO MARCH TO CHESHIRE TO RELIEVE NANTWICH.]

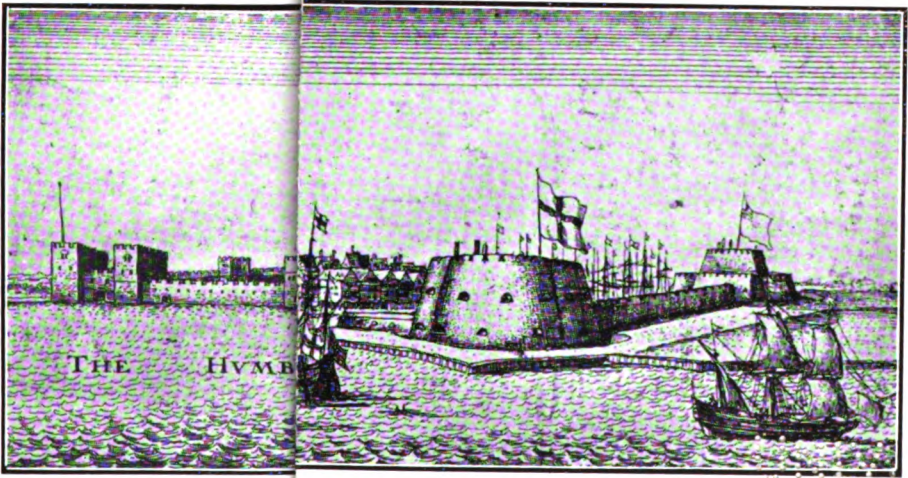
But in the coldest season of it, I was ordered by the parliament to go and raise the siege at Nantwich, which the Lord Byron with the Irish Army had reduced to great extremity. I was the most unfit of all the Forces, being ever the worst paid, my men sickly, and almost naked for want of clothes, I desired the parliament they would please to supply these wants (not to excuse myself, as some, who had no will to stir, though well enough accommodated with all these and a business of so much importance). But their answer was a positive direction to march, for it would admit of no delay; which indeed was as grievous to me as that injunction was to the Israelites to make bricks without straw. But foreseeing I should have such a return to my Desires, I had (seeing the necessity of the business) upon my own credit, got so much clothing as clothed 1500 men and all ready to march, when these orders came to me.

[FAIRFAX COMMENCES HIS MARCH ON 29 DECEMBER, 1643.]

So, the 29 of Dec. we set forward from Falkingham in Lincolnshire to Nantwich with 1800 [Horse] and 500 Dragoons; and a power to call the Regiments of Lancashire and Cheshire to make up the body of the Army. But it was not a little trouble to me, when I came to Manchester, to find some of them 30, some 40, miles distant; besides the disaffection of some of their Colonels, which went as their particular safety, or Interests swayed them. But finding more readiness in the Inferior officers and common soldiers, I got up, in a few days, near 3000 Foot. With this Army we march to Nantwich, which was upon the point of surrendering.¹

When we were in 2 days march I had Intelligence that the Lord Byron had drawn off his siege, and intended to meet us in the Field. I put my men in that order [in which] I intended to fight, and so continued my march till we were within 3 miles of the Town. There was a pass kept with about 250 men. I sent Colonel Morgan with his Dragoons to beat them off, in which his Brother, who was his Lieutenant, was slain. The Major which commanded the other party, with some others, were

¹ Fairfax left Manchester on 21 January, 1643/4, for Nantwich—36 miles.



ollar—*circa* 1640.
The large blockhouse on its right is St. Mary's. The block-

NO
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taken prisoners. We marched on till we were within Cannon shot of their works, where half of their Army was drawn up. The river which runs through the Town, being raised with the melting of the snow, hindered (as we were informed) those that lay on the other side of the Town, from joining with them. We called a Council, wherein it was debated whether we should attempt those in their works (being divided from the rest of the Army) or march into the Town, and relieve them, and by increase of more force, be better able, the next day, to encounter them. The latter was resolved on.

[FAIRFAX DEFEATS THE ROYALISTS UNDER LORD BYRON AND RELIEVES NANTWICH.]

So, making way with pioneers, through the hedges, we marched to the Town.¹ But after we had gone a little way, word came that the enemy was in the rear. So, facing about 2 Regiments, and my own Regiment of Horse, commanded by Major Rousby, we relieved those that were already engaged and so the Fight began on all sides. Those that fell on our rear, were those that laid on the other side of the Town, which had passed the River. Those that were drawn up under their works fell upon our van, which was marching to the Town. Thus was the battle divided, there being a quarter of a mile between us in the Division that first engaged. Our Foot in the beginning, gave a little ground, but our Horse recovered this by beating the enemy's Horse out of the Lanes that flanked the Foot, which did so encourage our men, that they gained now of the enemy, that made them retire from hedge to hedge, till at length they were forced to flee to their works. But their Horse retreated in better order toward Chester, without much loss. Our other wing being assisted from the Town (who sallied out with 7 or 800 musketeers) beat the enemy all back in to the same works, which we presently surrounded; but being in great disorder and confusion, some yielded themselves prisoners, with all their chief officers, arms, colours and ammunition. Thus, by the mercy of God, was this victory obtained; being yet the more signal, in that we were not to deal with young soldiers, but with men of great experience, and an Army which had ever been victorious.

[Fairfax's letter, giving the account of this Fight at Nantwich, is here inserted, with a list of Royalist prisoners who were captured. Rushworth's *Historical Collections*. Part III. Vol. II. p. 302.

I Desire your Pardon, That I have not given your Excellency an Account before this, of the great Mercy God hath sheewed, in giving us a happy Victory over the Irish Army, to a total Ruine of their Foot, and Purchase of their chief Commanders. Upon the 21th of January I marched from Manchester towards Nantwyck, to relieve that Town, with 2500 Foot and 28 Troops of Horse. The Enemies Forces were above 3000 Foot, and 1800

¹ 25 January, 1643/4.

Horse. The first Encounter we had, was with a Party of theirs upon the Forest of Delamore, where about Thirty were taken Prisoners. About six Miles farther, they maintained a Pass against us, with about 200 Men: I caused some Foot and Dragoons to be drawn out, to force it; which by God's Assistance they did in half an hours space, and they took a Major and some Prisoners. Having advanced two Miles farther, we found a good Body of them planted about Acton-Church, a Mile from Nantwyck: We drew up within Cannon shot, which sometimes played upon us, but without hurt, God be thanked. We then understood, That the Lord Byron, who had besieged the Town on both sides of the River, was prevented, by overflowing of the Water, from joyning with that part at Acton-Church; but heard he was taking a Compass to get over the River, to joyn with it. We resolved to fall upon that Party at the Church, before he should get up to it; but staying to bring up our Rear and Carriages, we gave him time to obtain that he sought for. Then we resolved to make way with Pyoneers through the Hedges, and so to march to the Town, to relieve it; and by it to add some more Force to our selves, to enable us better to fight with them: But being a little advanced in our March, they told me the Enemy was close upon the Rear. So having about two Regiments, being Colonel Holland's and Colonel Booth's, I marched not far before we came to be engaged with the greatest part of their Army. The other part presently after assaulted our Front: There Sir William Brewerton¹ and Colonel Ashton did very good Service; and so did Colonel Lambert and Major Copley, with the Horse. They were once in great danger, but that they being next to the Town, were assisted by Forces which came to their Succour in due time. We in the other Wing were in as great Distress, but that the Horse commanded by Sir William Fairfax did expose themselves to great Danger, to encourage the Foot, though capable of little Service in those narrow Lanes: Yet it pleased God, after two hours of hot Fighting, they were forced by both Wings to retreat to the Church; where they were caught, as in a Trap. A List of what we took, I have here sent your Excellency. Thus the Lord of Hosts hath done great things for us; to whose Name alone be ascribed all Glory: That nothing in the worthless Creature may any ways darken that which immediately appears herein of the Creator. Hoping still he will go along with us to prosper in this way, and make me, though unworthy, more capable to serve him in it, and so to observe your Excellencies Commands, as it may appear how much I am,

Tho. Fairfax.

Nantwyck, Jan. 29, 1643.

¹ Brereton. He was in command of the Parliamentary Forces, now besieging Chester.



From an etching in the Sutherland Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(Reproduced with the kind permission of the Secretary of the Bodleian Library and of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society.)

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The LIST of Prisoners taken.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Major-General <i>Gibson</i> . | <i>Sir Ralph Done</i> . |
| <i>Sir Michael Ernly</i> . | Mr. <i>Sherlock</i> , Chaplain to a Regiment. |
| <i>Sir Richard Flectwood</i> . | 41 Serjeants. |
| Colonel <i>George Monk</i> . | 40 Drums. |
| Colonel <i>Warren</i> . | 4 Canoneers. |
| <i>Sir Francis Butler</i> , | 22 Colours. |
| Lieutenant-Colonel. | 1500 Common Soldiers. |
| Lieutenant-Colonel <i>Gibbs</i> . | 6 Ordnance; whereof 5 Brass. |
| Major <i>Hammond</i> . | 20 Carriages, and divers Wagons. |
| 14 Captains. | 120 Women, that followed the Camp; |
| 20 Lieutenants. | of whom many had long Knives, |
| 26 Ensigns. | with which they were said to have |
| 2 Cornets. | done Mischief.] |
| 2 Quartermasters. | |

After this we took in several Garrisons in Cheshire. Lathom only, in Lancashire, held out, which was besieged by the Forces of that County, but was afterwards raised by Prince Rupert.

[FAIRFAX'S FORCE RETURNS TO YORKSHIRE.]

Having spent 3 or 4 months in this expedition, my Father commanded me back in to Yorkshire, that by conjunction of Forces, we might be more able to take the field. We met about Ferry Bridge, he being come out of Hull thither with instructions to fall upon the enemy's Garrison at Selby.

[FAIRFAX IS ORDERED TO MARCH INTO NORTHUMBERLAND.]

Here I received another command from the Parliament to march immediately with my Horse and Dragoons into Northumberland to join with the Scots' Army, the Earl of Newcastle who was then at Durham being much stronger in Horse than they, for want of which they could advance no further.

[SELBY IS CAPTURED.]

But it being resolved, within a day or 2 to storm Selby, I stayed till that business was over, which proved as effectual for the Relief of the Scots' Army.

The Governor of York lay in the Town [Selby] with 2000 men.¹ We drew Horse and Foot close to it. Sir John Meldrum² led on the Foot which had their several posts appointed where they should storm, I with the Horse ready to second them. The enemy within defended themselves stoutly, a good while; our men at length beat them from the Line, but could not advance further, because of the Horse within. I getting a Barricado open, which let us in between the Houses and the

¹ 10 April, 1644.² See 'D.N.B.'

river, we had an encounter with their Horse. After our charge they fled, over a bridge of boats, to York. Other Horse came up, and charged us again, where my horse was overthrown, being single, a little before my men, who presently relieved me, and forced the enemy back who retreated also to York. In this charge we took Colonel [John] Bellasis, Governor of York. By this time the Foot had entered the Town, and also took many prisoners. This good success put them into great Distractions and fears, at York; who speedily sent to the Earl of Newcastle to haste back thither, believing he would presently attempt them. This news suddenly called him back, leaving the Scots, who, with cold and oft alarms, were reduced to great extremity, but now, advanced without delay, after him. The Earl of Newcastle gets into York. The Scots Join their Forces with my Father, at Wetherby. Altogether made up 16000 Foot, and 4000 Horse. They march on to York.

[THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCES LAY SIEGE TO YORK.]

But for this work [the siege of York] it was thought fit to have more men, the Town being large in compass and strongly manned. Therefore the Earl of Crawford Lyndsey¹ and Myself were sent to the Earl of Manchester to desire him to Join with us in the siege, which he willingly consented to, bringing an addition of 6000 Foot, and 3000 Horse with him. So, now, the Army had 3 Generals; Leslie,² Manchester and Fairfax, who lay apart, in their several Quarters before the Town.³ But the north side remained still open to the town. Some time was spent here, without any considerable action, till, in my Lord Manchester's Quarters, approaches were made to St. Mary's Tower; and soon came to mine it; which Colonel [Lawrence] Crawford,⁴ a Scotch man, who commanded that Quarter (being ambitious to have the honour alone, of springing the mine) undertook without acquainting the other Generals with it,⁵ for their advice and concurrence, which proving prejudicial for having engaged his party against the whole strength of the Town, without more force to second him, he was Repulsed with the loss of 300 men; for which he had surely been called to account, but that he escaped the better by reason of the Triumviral Government.

Soon after, Prince Rupert came to relieve the Town.

[THE SIEGE OF YORK RAISED.]

We raised the siege, and Hessay Moor being appointed the Rendezvous, the whole Army drew thither, about a mile from whence Prince Rupert lay, the River Ouse being between us, which he, that night, passed over at Poppleton, and the next day drew his Army into the same Moor we were on; who being now joined with the Earl of Newcastle's Forces, made about 23 or 24000, but we something more. We were divided, in our opinions, what to do. The English were for fighting

¹ John, 1st Earl of Lindsay. See 'D.N.B.'

² David L. Created Baron Newark in 1661 See 'D.N.B.'

³ 3 June, 1644. ⁴ See 'D.N.B.' ⁵ 16 June, 1644.



The Portraiture of his Excellency Sir Thomas
Fairfax Generall of all the English forces for
the Service of y^e two houses of Parliament.

Rob^t Walker pinxt. 12

P. Stent excudit

Gul^l Jonthorne sculp.

to visit
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them, the Scots for retreating, to gain (as they alleged) both time and place of advantage. This latter being resolved on, we march away to Tadcaster; which made the enemy advance the faster. Lieut.-General Cromwell, Major-Gen^l. Leslie and myself, being appointed to bring up the rear, sent word to the Generals of the necessity of making a stand, for else the enemy, having the advantage, might put us in some disorder. But by the advantage of the Ground we were on, we hoped to make it good till they came back to us.

[THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR--2 JULY, 1644.]

The place was Marston Fields (which afterwards gave the name to this battle). Here we drew up our Army. The enemy was drawn up in Battalia on the Moor a little below us. The day being for the most part spent in preparation, we now began to descend toward them. Lt.-Gen. Cromwell commanded the left wing of the Horse, seconded by Major Gen. Leslie. I had the right wing, with some Scot Horse and Lances for my Reserves. The 3 Generals were with the Foot. Our Left wing charged first the enemy's right wing, which was performed a while with much resolution on both sides; but the enemy, at length, was put to the worst. Our right wing had not, all, so good success by reason of the Whins and Ditches which we were to pass over before we could get to the enemy, which put us into great disorder. Notwithstanding, I drew up a Body of 400 Horse. But because the Intervals of Horse in this wing only, was lined with musketeers (which did much hurt with their shot) I was necessitated to charge them. We were a long time engaged one with another till at last, we routed that part of their wing. We charged, and pursued them a good way toward York. Myself only returned presently to get to the men I left behind me; but that part of the enemy which stood (perceiving the disorder they were in) had charged them and routed them before I could get to them, so that the good success we had at first, was eclipsed much by this bad conclusion. But the other wing, and most of the Foot went on prosperously till they had cleared the Field. But I must not forget to remember, with thankfulness God's Goodness to me this day, for having charged through the enemy, and my men going after the pursuit, returning back to go to my other Troops, I was gotten in among the enemy, which stood up and down the Field in several Bodies of Horse. So, taking the signal out of my hat, I passed through them for one of their own commanders, and so got to my Lord Manchester's Horse, in the other wing; only with a cut in my cheek, which was given me in the first charge, and a shot which my horse received. In which charge also many of my officers and soldiers were slain, and hurt. The Captain of my own Troop was shot in the arm. My Cornet had both his hands cut, which rendered him ever after unserviceable. Captain Micklethwayt, an honest stout man, was slain; and scarce any officer which was in this charge which did not receive hurt. But Colonel Lambert,¹ who should have seconded us, but could not get

¹ John L. See 'D.N.B.'

to us, charged in another place. Major Fairfax, who was Major to his Regiment, had at least 30 wounds, whereof he died, after he was abroad again, and good hopes of his recovery. But that which nearest of all concerned me, was the Loss of my Brother,¹ who being deserted of his men, was sore wounded, of which, in 3 or 5 days he died. So as, in this charge, as many were hurt and killed as in the whole Army besides. Of the enemy's part, there was about 4000 slain, and many taken prisoners. Prince Rupert returned into the South. The Earl of Newcastle went beyond the seas, with many of his Officers. York presently surrendered,² and the North was now wholly reduced by the Parliamentary Forces, except some Garrisons.

[IS WOUNDED AT THE SIEGE OF HELMSLEY CASTLE.]

After this I went to Helmsley³ to take in the Castle there, but received a dangerous shot in my shoulder and was brought back to York, all, for some time, being doubtful of my recovery. Yet, at the same time, the Parliament voted me to command the Army in the South. But my intention being only to keep in mind what I had been present in, during this Northern war, I shall put an end to this discourse where it pleased God to put an end to the determination of my service there.

THE END.

ARMY UNIFORMS IN A STAINED GLASS WINDOW IN FARDON CHURCH, CHESHIRE—*temp.* Charles I.

BY COLONEL C. FIELD.

Although mementoes of departed mediæval warriors in the shape of helmets and monumental effigies may be found in many of our churches, yet one would hardly expect to find details of 17th Century Military uniform dress within their walls. Yet hidden away in the little country church of Fardon, a village on the Dee, eight miles due S. from Chester, is a stained-glass window in which are representations of uniforms, weapons and equipment, of the days of the Civil War. Such a church window is probably unique. In fact a late incumbent considered it so unique in a place of worship that he had it removed.

The window is a small rectangular affair, in what is known as the Barnston Chapel in Fardon Church. It is only 28½ inches high and 18 inches wide. Ormerod in his well-known *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*⁴ gives a coloured representation of it, but all he tells us about it is:—

“The painting is divided into twenty compartments. The four centre ones are strewed with weapons, and other articles of military equipment, in the angle of one of which is a representation of Sir Francis Gamul, of Buerton, Knight, a constant attendant on Charles I. at the

¹ Charles F.

² 16 July, 1644

³ 20 miles due N. from York.

⁴ Published in 1819; 3 vols., folio. A later edition was published in 1882.

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PAINTED GLASS WINDOW IN FARNDON CHURCH.
Containing portraits of Cheshire Gentlemen Who attended
King Charles I. at the Siege of Chester, 1643/4.

siege of Chester. The Badge of Baronetcy is given in the arms, and agrees with the general tradition of Sir Francis having been raised to that rank by his sovereign; but Le Neve is of opinion that the matter was proceeded with no further in than issuing the warrant for the patent.

“Over these compartments are four smaller ones: the first is broken, the second contains the representation of Richard Grosvenor, Esq. (became the second baronet in 1645), who raised the *posse comitatus* of Cheshire in 1644, being high sheriff in his father's life-time; the third is that of Sir William Mainwaring, slain at the siege of Chester; and the fourth that of William Barnston of Churton, Esq., another suffering loyalist, noticed on one of the adjoining monuments. The ensign in one of the lower compartments is unknown. In the others are figures of pikemen, musqueteers, and musicians in the equipment of the time.”

The “unknown” ensign, by the way, I find, from another source,¹ is Captain Berrington, a member of a Cheshire family, whose coat of arms appears in the same compartment.

Below the window is an inscription which is merely a condensed version of Ormerod's description with the following addition:—

“Removed 1869 by Major Barnston at the request of the Vicar, and replaced by Henry Barnston in 1896.”

Sir Francis Gamul, who may be regarded as the principal figure in the window, is shewn standing in front of his tent, holding a baton in his hand, and it may be observed that Richard Grosvenor and Sir William Mainwaring are also provided with batons. These three gentlemen are all wearing short jackets with sashes over the left shoulder, while William Barnston is apparently clad in a buff coat, with his sash wound round his waist.

Although the artist (?) employed to colour the plate in Ormerod's work has coloured Sir W. Gamul's and Richard Grosvenor's jackets *yellow*, I am strongly of opinion, after comparing its colours with those of the actual window, that all these jackets should be red, and I feel certain that I am right in the case of William Grosvenor. There is no doubt that his sash is red or crimson, and not blue, and if there are any traces of yellow about his coat I put it down to the fact that to obtain a *red* in using transparent colours it is generally necessary to first use yellow and then place a wash of *crimson* over it. The painting of the window is considerably worn and somewhat indistinct in places.

I think that the gentlemen represented must all have belonged to the same corps or regiment, the officers wearing red jackets and breeches in what we may call full dress, the jacket being replaced by the longer and closer-fitting buff coat, when going into action. It may be observed that all four officers are wearing bands of gold lace on their breeches, probably distinctive of rank. Gamul and Grosvenor have 5 each, Mainwaring 4, and Barnston 3. May we not assume that the two first ranked as full Colonels in the Royal Army, and the other two as Lieut.-Colonel and Major respectively? According to this a Captain would have 2, a Lieutenant 1, and an Ensign none. This to a certain extent

¹ *The Walls of Chester*, by Frank Simpson. Chester. 1910.

is borne out by the fact that the Ensign in the bottom row wears none, although he appears to have held the rank of Captain. But it will be seen that, though dressed in red like the other officers, the cut of his uniform, with slashed sleeves and longer breeches, is altogether different.

The key to this I discovered in a book on French costume¹ among drawings of military dress by Abraham Bosse, who lived 1602—1676. The first figure in the bottom row is almost identical with Bosse's "Officier d'Infanterie, 1643." The Ensign is a copy of "Porte-Drapeau des Gardes Françaises, 1635," except for face and hair, a lengthened colour-staff, and what should have been a cuirass—the shape is indicated in the window—painted red to represent part of the coat. The Drummer is identical with "Tambour des Gardes Françaises, 1635," and though I have not seen Bosse's drawing of a fifer, I have no doubt from his costume and from his position between the other figures, that the Fifer in the window comes from the same source.

Returning to the figure in the centre and the three in the top row, I think that all should be wearing the crimson sash, that of Mainwaring being either worn away in patches, and so shewing clear glass in places, or else the artist has tried to shew embroidery or brocaded silk, while it seems quite possible that that worn by Barnston should be crimson. That it is yellow may be due to the same cause as the yellow of Grosvenor's jacket.² Red breeches seem to have been favoured by the soldier of the period, for in a letter from William Montagu to Lord Montagu, dated 14 March, 1638,³ he says:—

"Mr. Dillingham thinks it would be good yr Lordship's men had red breeches to their buff coats, because otherwise, being country fellows, they will not be so neatly habited as the other Lords' men."

The rest of the figures in the window—those in the smaller compartments on either side—call for no particular comment. The four pikemen at the corners are wearing the buff coats and half armour usual at this period for their branch of the Infantry. Of the other four "musqueteers" carrying fire-arms two are armed with the heavy arquebus with rest, while the other two are carrying lighter weapons—possibly intended to represent the recently-introduced "firelock" or "fusil."

That soldiers equipped with this comparatively new invention considered themselves especially 'crack' troops is indicated by the following summons, dated 28 November, 1643, sent to the Rebel garrison of Hawarden Castle.⁴ The sender had come over from Ireland with other Royalist reinforcements, whose advent induced the Garrison of Chester to attack Hawarden Castle, the Roundhead detachment quartered there being too close to the City for the comfort of its defenders:—

"Gentlemen,

"I presume you very well know, or have heard of my Condition

¹ *Histoire du Costume en France.* By J. Quicherot. 1877. Hachette.

² The ends of these sashes are not fringed, but ornamented with what seems to be some sort of open work lace.

³ Hist. MSS. Commission. Papers of the Duke of Buccleuch. vol. I., pp. 282 3.

⁴ Rushworth's *Historical Collections.* Part III. Vol. II. p. 300.

and Disposition, and that I neither give nor take Quarter. I am now with my Firelocks, (who never yet neglected opportunity to correct Rebels) ready to use you as I have done the Irish, but loth I am to spill my Countrymens blood; wherefore by these I advise you to your Fealty and Obedience to His Majesty, and shew your selves Faithful subjects by delivering the Castle into my Hands for His Majesty's Use; In so doing you shall be received into Mercy, &c.; otherwise, if you put me to the least trouble, or loss of Blood, to force you, expect no *Quarter for Man, Woman, or Child*. I hear you have some of our late Irish Army in your Company; They very well know *me*, and that *my Firelocks* use not to *Parley*. Be not unadvised, but think of your Liberty; for I Vow, all Hopes of Relief are taken from you; and our intents are not to *Starve* you, but to *Batter* and *Storm* you, and then *Hang you all*, and follow the rest of that Rebel Crew. I am now no Bread-and-Cheese Rogue, but as ever, a Loyalist, and will ever be, whilst I can Write or Name.

THO. SANDFORD, *Captain of Firelocks.*"

"I expect your speedy answer, this Tuesday Night, at *Broadlance-hall*. where I am now your near neighbour."

"*To the Officer Commanding in chief at Hawarden-Castle, and his consorts there.*"

Hawarden did not surrender to this summons, but on 4 December, being in want of provisions, it was "surrendered to Sir Michael Ernley, on Conditions to march out with half arms, and two Colours of three, one flying, and the other Furl'd: and to have a Convoy to Wem or Nantwyche."¹

But to return to our stained glass window. The "musqueteers" in the outer panels in line with Sir F. Gamul are clad in red jackets, mauve or purple breeches, red (or yellow) stockings and have yellow bandoliers. The two immediately below them have yellow (? red) jackets, mauve or purple breeches, yellow (or red?) stockings and red bandoliers.

Turning to the central compartments we have at the top an arquebus or caliver and its rest, a bandolier with match and priming flask. No ball bag is apparent.² Beside the bandolier is some kind of a key or tool and below that, what may, perhaps, be a leathern funnel. Beside this is what I suppose to be a bullet-mould. On the right of these articles is a suit of half-armour with two helmets, the lower one of an unusual type.

Under the above are a species of ornamental partisan with a gilt head, an ordinary partisan, a sword, a halberd, another sword, and half-pike. Then comes a long pole, possibly a quarter staff (?), a fife, a standard and a drum and drumsticks. The drum is apparently made of wood and ornamented with a cluster of gilt nails.

Altogether this curious church window has preserved for us an interesting memento of early military uniform and equipment.

¹ Rushworth's *Historical Collections*. Part III. Vol. II. p. 300.

² What appears to be a buckle in *Ormcrod*, may, possibly, have been a ball-bag in the original.

DIARY OF MAJOR THOMAS DOWNMAN, ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY, IN THE PENINSULA.

FROM 30 APRIL, 1811, TO 17 AUGUST, 1812.

Thomas Downman was the only son of Lieut.-Colonel Francis Downman, R.A. He entered the Royal Artillery as a 2nd Lieutenant in April, 1793, and embarked immediately to join the army in the Low Countries under the Duke of York. In the disastrous action near Lannoy, 18 May, 1794, he was taken prisoner and remained in France until exchanged in July, 1795.

In October, 1808, he embarked, in command of "B" Troop, R.H.A., for Spain, and served in the Coruña campaign, attached to the Cavalry Division, commanded by Lord Paget.

He was promoted to the rank of Major on 22 January, 1810, and in the following September, he again embarked for Spain, joining Wellington's army, then in the lines of Torres Vedras. At the end of the year he obtained leave of absence to England. Whilst in England he was re-appointed to the R.H. Artillery and again ordered out to Spain.

He sailed from Portsmouth on 26 March, 1811, in H.M.S. *Elizabeth*, 74 guns, Captain Edward Leveson Gower, reaching Lisbon on 9 April. General Robert Craufurd was in this ship also.

Leaving Lisbon on 30 April, he arrived at the Head Quarters of the Army at Villar Formoso on 12 May.

1811.

APRIL 30—MAY 9.

April 30. Left Lisbon to join the Army Headquarters, Villar Formoso.¹ Major [J. H.] Carncross [R.A.] came with me to Alhandra, and slept there. Captain [E. C.] Walcott [R.A.] attended me as adjutant. Our route by Alhandra, Alcoentre, Rio Maior, Leiria, Pombal, Coimbra; halted two days, but sent the baggage, after one day's halt, by Miranda do Corvo; met it at Moita, having left Coimbra on the 8th. Heard at the former place there had been no action. A very long march over mountains, beautiful in the extreme, the scenery by the banks of the Mondego scarcely to be surpassed.

May 9. To Galizes. Met many French prisoners and wounded men of our own, particularly of the 79th.² Two days skirmishing and outpost affairs took place on the 3rd and 4th, but on the 5th a very smart action ensued.³ Cavalry as we understand chiefly engaged, and some

¹ A small village, 9 miles S. from Almeida, close to the border of Spain.

² In 1926, The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, 1st Battalion.

³ The battle of Fuentes de Oñoro.

MAY 9—22.

corps on the right. Accounts differ and [are] confused. Pushed on to a village about a league further; dined with Colonel [William] Langley of the Waggon Train.

May 10. To Sampayo.

May 11. To Barracal through Celorico, where we drew rations and received directions how to proceed to the Head Quarters.

May 12. Arrived at Villar Formoso after a most fatiguing march; lost our road, went by Castello Mendo and Castello Bom. Called on General Howorth.¹

Met Colonel [Haylett] Framingham [R.A.] with him, who was going the next day to the Alementejo. No accommodation for me. Rode with the Colonel to the Quinta de Aguillar, about five miles in front. Captain [Robert] Bull's troop ["I" Troop, R.H.A.] quartered here. Half nearly bivouacked under the trees. Weather very bad. Dined with Colonel Framingham; good beef and mutton in abundance and port wine.

May 13. Rode to Villar Formoso. Dined with General Stewart, who greatly lamented my not being with the army on the 5th inst.

May 14. Both my horses got out of the stable in the night of the 13th; not to be found; very uneasy and distressed for them. Offered 20 dollars reward.

May 15. Orders from Sir Stapleton Cotton for Captain Bull's troop to go into quarters at Aldea del Obispo. Captain Ross² having secured me a house at La Lumeida, came here with him, after riding round by Villa Formoso, where we dined with Lord Wellington and with whom I also dined the day before.

May 16.³ Lord Wellington received dispatches in the night from Marshal Beresford which caused his setting off immediately for the neighbourhood of Badajoz, which place he is besieging.

May 17. Called on Sir Stapleton Cotton and General Craufurd, reporting my arrival and [assumed] command of the Horse Artillery.

May 18. Found my horses—taken by the picquets of the Guards four leagues from us. The weather has been very wet and cold these last five days.

May 19. Dined with Captain Bull's troop. Heard Lord Wellington would arrive at Badajoz on the 19th, and that Marshal Soult was expected the day before with 22,000 men. Anxious for news from that quarter.

May 20. Inspected Captain Bull's and Ross's troops; both in excellent order. The former, taken in every respect, pleased me most.

May 21. Heard in the afternoon that a most sanguinary action [Albuera—16 May] had taken place in the neighbourhood of Badajoz, in which the allied army had lost 8000 men. Rode to Villar Formoso with Captain Ross immediately; could learn no particulars, but that the loss was 4000 English, 2000 Portuguese, and 2000 Spaniards. Shall make no memoranda upon it for the present.

May 22. The substance of the report confirmed by letters. No

¹ Edward Howorth, R.A., in command of the Allied Artillery.

² Hew Dalrymple Ross, in command of 'A' Troop, R.H.A.

³ The battle of Albuera was fought on this day.

MAY 22.

particulars yet arrived. Rode to Almeida with Captain Ross and Lieut. Smyth.¹

Much struck with the scene of desolation and ruin which the works and town of Almeida present; the blowing up of the great magazine during the siege last year, by which 500 persons were destroyed, left the place in a state of ruin. In addition to this melancholy event the French, previous to their escape from it on the 10th of this month at twelve at night, mined the whole works, and after allowing the garrison to get at a safe distance, they were most effectually destroyed, excepting the north side; a mine with 300 barrels of gun-powder there failed. The Colonel of Engineers, Commanding, is said to have been killed in the explosion, having ventured too near. General [Denis] Pack now commands there with two Portuguese regiments. Lieut.-Colonel Robe² is employed in taking an account of ordnance stores, etc., now there which are enormous. Besides which, the enemy have destroyed some hundred carriages of all descriptions by throwing them into the ditch and in the explosion are broken and buried by the weight of earth and the stone revetments. Most of the brass ordnance has been destroyed by placing them close at right angles to each other and firing at the greatest breadth of metal. Many had been drilled which they had spiked, by lighting a fire under the vent in order to soften the steel, and then boring them. A brigade³ of 12 and 8 Pounders may be completed. The arsenal which was a neat and complete thing of the kind had been entirely burnt, and nothing can equal the scene of misery and wretchedness which the whole presents. It must, however, have been a most wonderful depot for the French army, the destruction of which will take a long time to replace. Brennier, chief of Brigade, commanded, and made his escape with about 1200 men in a masterly manner and much to the disgrace of General Campbell, who commanded at . . . whose particular duty was to watch them. About 2 or 300 of the garrison were taken on their march to Ciudad Rodrigo. Brennier is made chief of Division in consequence of his conduct. He was a prisoner in England some time ago and exchanged for General Abercromby, taken at the Isle of France.⁴ By the neglect of the officer commanding the picquets near the Manalva Bridge, Broissard, Aide-de-camp to General Regnier, came with a truce to within short distance of Gallegos. Having been constantly employed on

¹ George Barttelot-Smyth, 'A' Troop, R.H.A.

² William Robe, R.A.

³ A brigade usually consisted of six guns, to which a Company of Artillery was attached. 'Brigade' referred to *matériel* only.

⁴ The diarist is in error. General John Abercromby, here referred to, was taken prisoner in 1803, when travelling in France, and was exchanged with Brennier in 1808, the latter having been captured at the battle of Vimieiro (Portugal) in August, 1803. The Isle of France, *i.e.*, Mauritius, was taken from the French in December, 1810, and on that occasion General John Abercromby commanded the British troops.

MAY 22—30.

similar errands at Santarem and being clever, there can be little doubt but he came for information, notwithstanding his pretended reason for this visit was an exchange of prisoners (215) taken on the 5th. General Craufurd, commanding the light division and advance, whose headquarters are at Gallegos,¹ was much annoyed and surprised at the imprudence of the officer on picquet.

May 23. Dined with General Craufurd at Gallegos. Sir Stapleton Cotton was there calling and told me at the door intelligence had just been received that the whole French were to march on the 26th from this neighbourhood, to Estremadura and the South of Spain. He supposed that most of our army must follow. Rode after dinner to a hill above Gallegos with Captains Jenkinson,² Walcott³ and Macdonald⁴ to take a view of Ciudad Rodrigo, which appeared not more than a league and a half from us.

May 24. Rode to Villar Formoso. Saw General Howorth. General [Brent] Spencer received a despatch from Lord Wellington; stated the action at Badajoz⁵ to have been honorable to the British arms notwithstanding our loss. He meant to remain at Elvas until the surrender of Badajoz. The siege recommenced on the 19th.⁶ Soult is said to be retiring.

Nine men of the 79th came into Villar Formoso; they made their escape from Salamanca in peasants' dress brought them by a woman; the inhabitants kind in the extreme to our prisoners, and brought them dressed meat and bread which the French guard could not prevent their giving. They were guided from Village to Village to the Head Quarters by the peasantry, who also gave them provisions.

May 25. A deserter passed through here from Ciudad Rodrigo, and states the garrison to be commanded by General — and to consist of about 2000 men and two months' provisions. They were erecting a battery on a commanding spot about 500 yards from the place, and on which the French had their breaching battery when they besieged it last year.

May 30. Received a note from Captain Campbell saying the 3rd [Dragoon Guards] and 4th Dragoons had fallen in with two regiments of French Cavalry covering Soult's retreat, which they have totally destroyed or taken. [Affair of Usagre. *Oman*. IV. 411/5.]

180 were sabred on the spot, in consequence of the Hulans not giving quarter to our infantry at the battle of Albuera on the 16th. Reports of insurrection at Madrid.

Rode to Villar Formoso; saw General Howorth, who was complain-

¹ In Spain—about half way between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo.

² 2nd Captain George Jenkinson, 'A' Troop (Ross's), R.H.A.

³ 2nd Captain Edmund Yeamans Walcott, R.A.

⁴ 1st Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald, 'A' Troop, R.H.A.

⁵ Obviously this should be Albuera—16 May, 1811. The date of Wellington's despatch to Spencer is 22 May. *Wellington's Despatches*. vii. 565.

⁶ The *blockade* commenced on 19 May, but the actual *siege* did not commence until the 30th. It was unsuccessful, and had to be raised on 10 June.

MAY 30—JUNE 8.

ing a good deal of great lassitude and weakness.

May 31. The 16th Light Dragoons and 1st Hussars [King's German Legion] marched to Belmonte and Coria, supposed with the idea of watching the Plasencia road, and being in a situation to communicate readily with the army of Estremadura and thus may move wherever most required.

June 1. It is stated on good information that the 2nd and 8th *Corps d'armées* under Marmont have assembled at Salamanca.

June 2. Captain Lawson's¹ brigade of guns marched to Alfaiates.

June 3. Received orders to be in readiness to move at the shortest notice.

June 4. We all dined with Captain Bull's Troop, as did all our party. At 11 o'clock, p.m., orders came to march at daybreak next day on the Espeja road which crosses that leading to the Quinta d'Aguillar. The enemy had moved from Salamanca towards Ciudad Rodrigo on the 3rd.

June 5. Marched according to the orders of the night before; halted on the road for two hours after day break, and returned to Alameda. The intentions of the enemy doubtful. Ordered to be in readiness to turn out at half an hour's notice. Received orders late in the evening to march to Nava de Haver at day-break.

June 6. Marched agreeable to orders. The enemy advanced from Rodrigo with upwards of 2000 Cavalry, 6000 Infantry, and eight pieces of Artillery. The whole of our army broke up from their cantonments and moved on Nava de Haver. General Slade with the Royals and two squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons covered the retreat and was much pressed by the enemy's Cavalry. He remained too long on the heights looking towards Gallegos; the wood on his left saved him as the French feared infantry being in it. They fired several rounds in it as our Cavalry moved through it, but did no mischief. Sir Brent Spencer directed the whole to retire on Alfaiates.

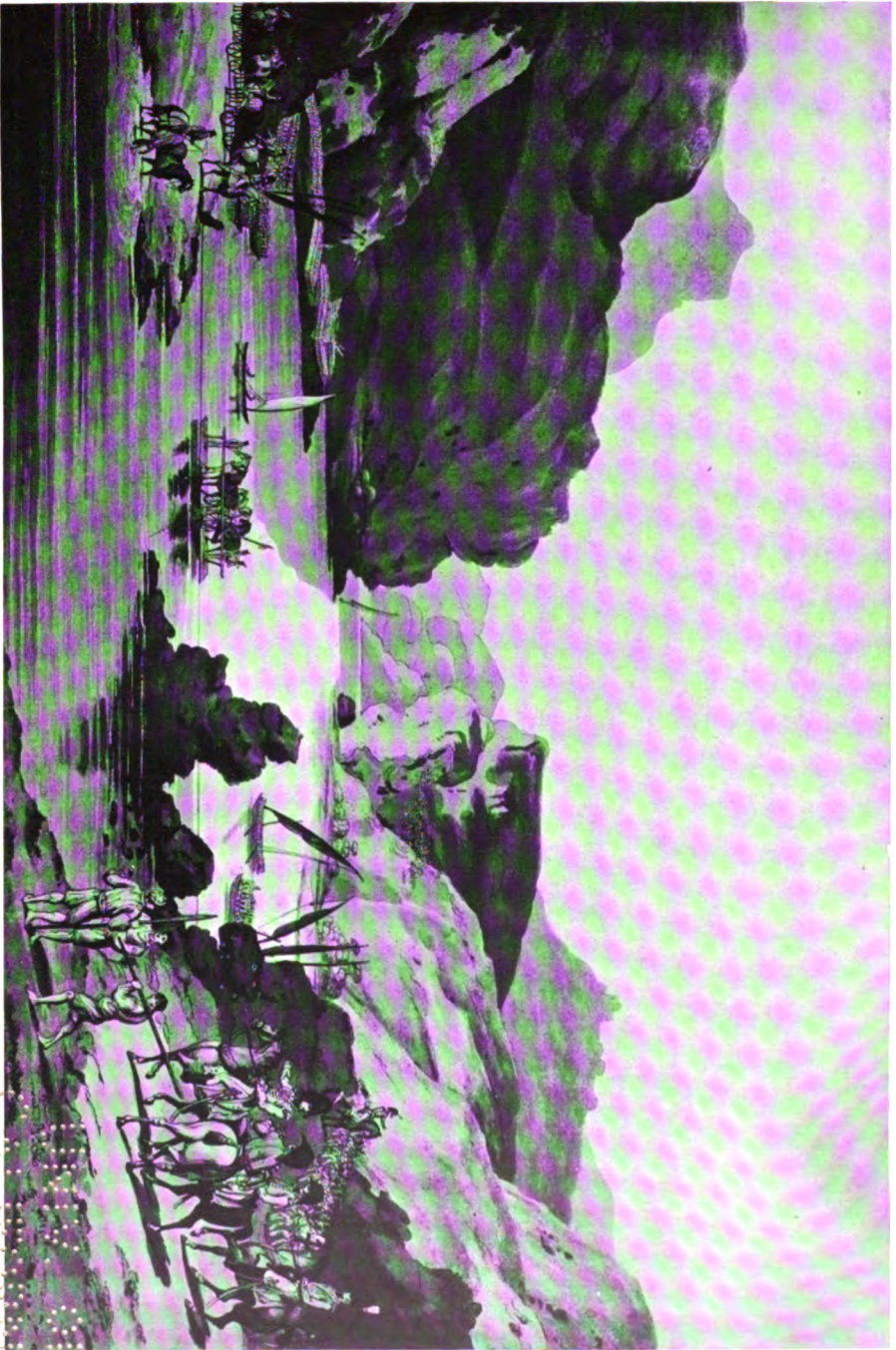
The 5th Division marched from Nava de Haver on our entering it and proceeded towards Sabugal. Captain Bull's Troop also moved upon the same place from Fuentes de Oñoro, where we marched on the 5th. Sir Brent Spencer avoided everything that might bring on anything even partial, and meant to fight behind the Coa should the enemy follow. It appeared that this advance of Marmont was to cover a movement he intended making to the South. His cavalry did not enter Nava de Haver. We bivouacked at Alfaiates in front of the Light Division; cavalry on our left. Picquets at Aldea da Ponte. The enemy filed off from Salamanca towards the pass of Baños; they did not enter Almeida.

June 7. Marched at daybreak to position behind the Coa; bivouacked. Alarm with the Light Division owing to a herd of bullocks going through them in the middle of the night. Position fine and strong. Cavalry and Bull's Troop crossed, except the 14th Light Dragoons which remained to watch the different fords in the neighbourhood of Sabugal.

June 8. Marched at daybreak to Meimoa; excellent bivouac. At

¹ Robert Lawson, R.A., in command of a Company of the 8th Battalion, R.A.—in 1926 the 87th Field Battery.

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THE THIRD DIVISION CROSSING THE TAGUS AT VILLA VELHA, MAY 20, 1811

JUNE 8—16.

dinner received orders to march immediately to Penamacor; dark when we got it. Position remarkably strong. The people of the town supposed us the enemy. Bad quarters and great confusion. Fortifications destroyed.

June 9. Marched at daybreak to St. Miguel de Grazin. The town of Monsanto is most beautifully situated on the most remarkable high and picturesque rock I ever saw. The scenery beautiful. The French attempted twice to get into the town, but its inhabitants only prevented them, indeed it appears inaccessible but by one road which is almost perpendicular. Bivouacked at Meimoa. June 10. Halted here.

June 11. Marched to Castello Branco. Passed the 1st Division of the army about two leagues from hence. Captains Lawson's and Thompson's¹ brigades [of guns] here also. The Hussars and 16th Light Dragoons came in to-day under General Anson.

June 12. Marched to Villa Velha; bivouacked about a mile and a half from the Tagus.

June 13. Marched at 2 o'clock a.m. to the water side, crossed the ferry formed by two large boats and plank'd across. It occupied four hours getting the troops over. The Light Division (with which I have marched, accompanying Captain Ross's Troop) crossed after us. Marched to Niza, the road mountainous and rough and very steep; men and horses of the whole much fagged. Weather very hot. Bivouacked in a good spot with plenty of forage.

[The illustration facing this page is taken from Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Peninsular War*—Vol. iv. p. 408—reproduced from an engraving by C. Turner, of a painting—one of a series—by Major T. St. Clair, published in 1812. The engravings, without margins, measures 20½ by 13¼ inches.

The block of this engraving has been placed at our disposal through the courtesy of The Clarendon Press, Oxford.—Ed.]

June 14. In hopes of a day's halt. Orders to march at ½ past 3 p.m. for Alpalhao; bivouacked in front of it. Horses and mules loose and noise all night.

June 15. Marched at 3 a.m. for Portalegre; a good town and comfortable quarters; weather very hot. Met at Alpalhao a master of the Navy in charge of four large flat-bottomed boats, which he was conveying to Villa Velha, where a floating bridge is to be constructed.

June 16. No orders for marching, which has caused a variety of speculations. The 1st Division and Captains Lawson's and Thompson's Brigades marched into this place.

A most melancholy accident happened previous to Captain Thompson's Brigade crossing the Tagus at Villa Velha. Lieut. Johnston,² a very fine young man, and good officer, wishing to try the ford above the ferry, which is at all times dangerous and difficult, passed it, but, on returning was drown'd, nor has his body been pick'd up. The current is very strong and ford narrow and winding and ought not to be attempted. The river at the ferry is 20 fathoms deep and about 100 yds. wide.

Report states Lord Wellington to have crossed the Guadiana with

¹ George Thompson, in command of a Company of the 7th Battalion, R.A., which in 1926 is the 18th Field Battery, R.A.

² William C. Johnston, of Thompson's Company. He was drowned on the 15th.

JUNE 16—21.

his whole army. Marmont is said to be at Almaraz, and Soult to be advancing from Llerena. If Lord W. can continue to keep the enemy on the banks of the Guadiana for two months, there can be no doubt but that climate and air will do more for him than any victory he has yet gained, provided his own troops are not exposed to the same. I think he will long have reason to repent his offensive operations on the south side of the Tagus. Sir Brent Spencer came here about 3 p.m.

It is ascertained that Marmont's force consists of 27,500 infantry in six Divisions, each having a brigade of artillery attached to it, of four guns and one howitzer. They were particularly observed whilst moving through the pass of Baños and their strength correctly ascertained. Lord W. ready to cross the Guadiana.

June 17. Halt. Under expectations of a move and an action in consequence of Marmont's advance. The weather very stormy with violent thunder and lightning. Wind very high.

June 18. Col. MacLeod dined with us. Sat late.

June 19. Marched at 2 o'clock a.m. to a bivouac about a mile and a half in front of Arronches. The river Caia running on our right, ground woody and difficult to take up as a position. Head Quarters of the army at San Vicente. Sir Brent Spencer at Arronches; Light Division in the town. First Division about two leagues on the Elvas road. General Anson in bivouac on the right bank of the Caia.

June 20. Halt. Took up my quarters with Captain Ross¹ of the Engineers, who has a quarter in the town. 6th Division passed towards Elvas. Rode out with Sir B. Spencer, Captain Ross, and Colonel De Lancey,² to reconnoitre the ground in front of this place and the banks of the Caia; found it very woody and irregular, Caia fordable in a good many places, and the country very unfavourable for a position. General Pack's Brigade came up and passed to a bivouac.

June 21. Rode to San Vicente; called on General Howorth; saw Colonel Framingham, and Captains Hawker,³ Meadows,⁴ and Lefebure.⁵ Dined with the officers of Lefebure's Troop; returned six in the evening. The Troop bivouacked with the cavalry. All well. Captains Ross and Walcott with me; lost our way and had almost decided upon remaining under a tree until morning; persevered; found a path which led to a *quinta*.⁶ A peasant conducted us to Arronches; arrived about 20 minutes past 12 at night. Before entering

¹ George Charles, brother of H. D. Ross, R.H.A. Was killed on 9 January, 1812, at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.

² William Howe De Lancey, Asst.-Q.M. General. He died in June, 1815, from injuries received at the battle of Waterloo.

³ Captain James H., commanding a Company in the 4th Battalion, R.A. This Company was present and engaged at the battle of Albuera, and is now represented by 82nd Field Battery, R.A.

⁴ Captain Philip Meadows, commanding a Company of the 8th Battalion, R.A. It was reduced in 1819 and has never been reformed.

⁵ Captain George Lefebure, commanding 'D' Troop, R.H.A. This Troop was present and engaged at the battle of Albuera. It was reduced in 1816, reformed in 1900, and in 1926 is represented by 'V' Field Battery.

⁶ *Portuguese*—a country or farm-house.

JUNE 21—8.

San Vicente, saw General Stewart at some distance; rode across a field to speak to him, at the bottom of which was a ditch. My awkward horse in leaping it fell upon his head, and rolled over with me. Only a little hurt about my hip.

June 22. Halt. The enemy shewed 3000 cavalry near Campo Maior. Captain [Benjamin] Lutyens, a subaltern, and 50 men of 11th Light Dragoons were taken prisoners. An Officer and several of the enemy were also taken on our part. Captain L. it appears was charging some squadrons, when he found himself surrounded by very superior force. Lord Wellington is stated to be much vexed about it. Received orders to be in readiness to march at day-break the next morning.

June 23. Marched with Light Division to Monte Reguengo, about two leagues and a half on the Campo Maior road and a mile to the right of it; bivouacked within 300 yds. of the river Caia. Sir Brent Spencer's head-quarters at Santa Olaia. Brigadier Generals Craufurd's and Pack's Brigades to report to General Hill, whose Corps is about two miles on the other side of the river. The whole army are now within three leagues of Elvas. The fighting position supposed to be on the heights and open country between that place and Campo Maior. The army seems hid in the woody valleys about here, and, although the different Divisions are so near each other, it is with difficulty you find them.

June 24. Halted. The enemy moved off about 2 o'clock p.m. in three columns on Montijo, Talavera, and Almendralejo. Captain [J. F.] Burgoyne,¹ of the Engineers, is constructing some works near Campo Maior; officers under him were ordered to be there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past six. Dined with Colonel [Thomas Noel] Hill,² 1st Regiment of Portuguese Infantry. General Blake with about 9000 Spaniards is marching on Seville, and is to be joined there by the Murcian army, stated to consist of near 20,000 men. It is said he is to arrive by the 30th. Everybody tired in speculating on the plans of Lord W.

June 25. On the same ground. Heard General Blake had halted at Mertola. Dined with General Hill.

June 26. Captains Hawker and [William] Latham,³ [Edward Charles] Whinyates,⁴ and [William] Dunn⁵ dined with us.

June 27. (Took letters) to Hd. Qrs. Dined with Gen. Howorth. He was by no means well and talked of going to England.

June 28. French Cavalry advanced, about 1000 and three guns. Owing to some mistake in signals not being answered, guns were reported, which rumour heard at head quarters, caused the army to move to the front, supposing the French army to be advancing. I rode along the whole line with Captain Ross. Met Majors Rice and Carr at Campo Maior. On horseback from 7 a.m. till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 p.m. Position strong on

¹ Afterwards Field Marshal. See 'D.N.B.'

² See *The Royal Military Calendar*. 3rd ed. 1820. Vol. IV. p. 372, and 'D.N.B.'

³ 2nd Captain in Hawker's Company. He was killed at the capture of Badajoz in April, 1812.

⁴ 2nd Captain in Lefebure's Troop, R.H.A. See 'D.N.B.'

⁵ 1st Lieutenant in Lefebure's Troop, R.H.A.

JUNE 28—JULY 30.

the right which rests on the Caia river, and extends about five miles to the left to Ouguella, a large castle, high wall and strong post, about three-quarters of a mile to the right of this; the ground is weak and commanded within 700 yards. There is also a large wood, in front of which any number of troops may be formed and concealed. To the right of Campo Maior at about a mile, there is some very commanding ground, and thickly wooded—about half a mile in front of the position, and may be long defended. Crossed the river nearly opposite the heavy dragoon bivouac.

July 11. A most melancholy circumstance happened three days ago, Lieut. Colonel [Charles] Bevan, commanding the 4th Regiment of foot, destroyed himself, 8 July, and assigned this dreadful act to some aspersions cast upon his conduct in Lord Wellington's despatches respecting the escape of the garrison of Almeida.¹ It appears from the statements of everybody I have heard speak on the subject, that no blame whatever could be attached to the 4th regiment, or its commander, but that the fault rests with General [Alexander] Campbell, or Sir Wm. Erskine, in not giving orders for the march of the 4th regiment in sufficient time, a delay of two hours having elapsed before they were sent. The feelings of our commander (Lord W.) will be as little troubled on this occasion, I imagine, as on most others. He has none. Ambition is his passion and carries him away, leaving those of very different sentiments to their own reflections.

July 21. March at 4 a.m. from Monte Reguengo to Portalegre. The Light Division and Ross's Troop halted about two leagues from this place in a very bad bivouac. Weather excessively hot, and many complaining. Dined with Captain Bull, whose Troop halted here on their march to Castello Branco.

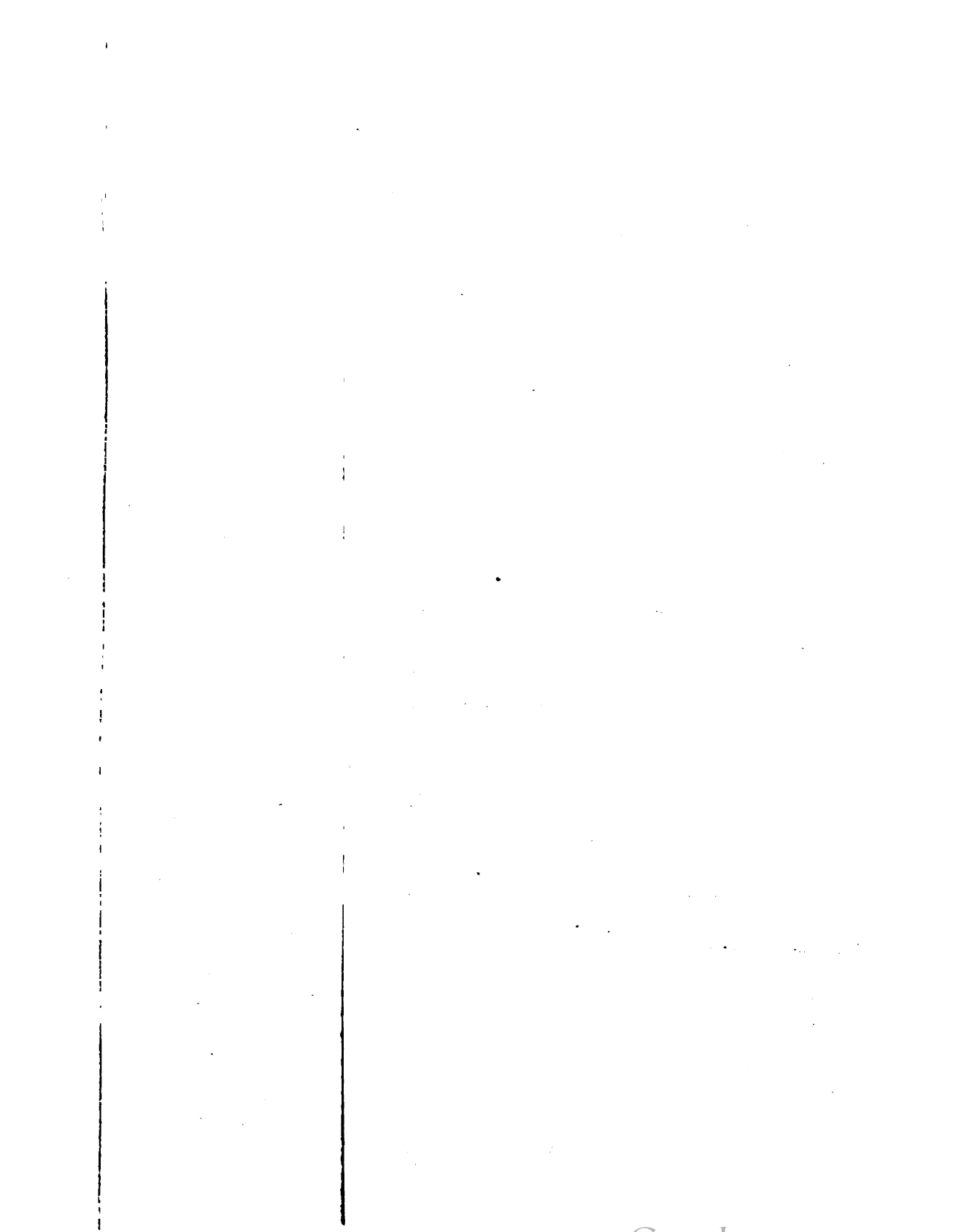
July 23. Lord Wellington and the staff of head-quarters arrived.

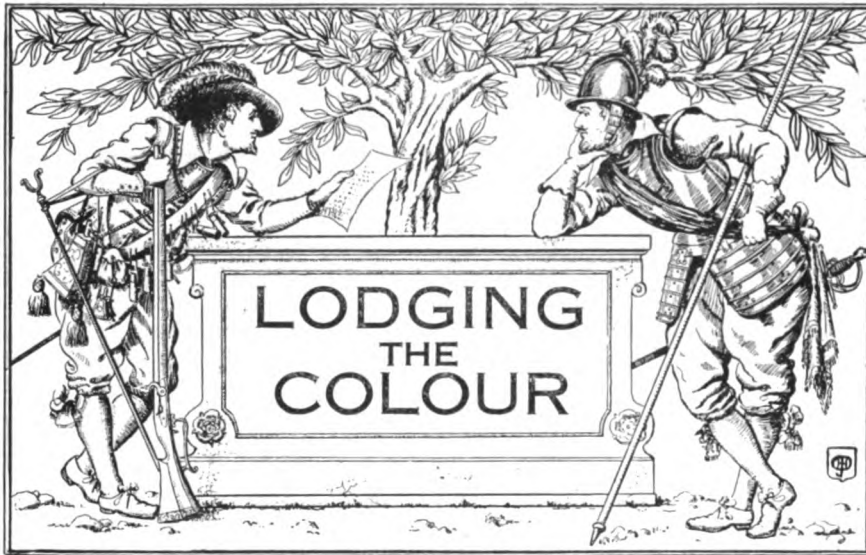
July 29. The Light Division ordered to march from Castello de Vide to Penamacor. The 5th Division takes up their quarters. This move annoyed General Robert Craufurd greatly, as well as the Division, but the General has given great disgust to the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, seizing all the forage and preventing the people of the town from entering after 8 o'clock at night. This order so far in the rear very unnecessary and tyrannical. Nor would he allow the proprietors of forage to have any for their own cattle. There may be reasons for his move. In the evening of this day orders were given for the 1st Division to be in readiness to march on the 31st. Everyone much surprised at this change, as it was generally reported we should remain in cantonments for six weeks or two months. No cause known at present.

July 30. Dined with General Stewart. Heard some of the cavalry (General Alten's brigade, 1st Hussars and 11th Light Dragoons) marched from Villa Vicosa on the 28th towards Castello Branco. Operations supposed by some to be intended offensive on our part: don't think it myself.

(To be continued.)

¹ Wellington's *Despatches*. vii. 545. 1811. *Oman*. IV. 351-6.





BY CAPTAIN H. OAKES-JONES, M.B.E.

The display at the Royal Tournament this year showing some of the evolutions and movements of Pikemen and Musketeers of about 1660, and carried out by Guardsmen from the Brigade of Guards, has many special interests for the Brigade from several points of view. The period is about the time of the Restoration. One portion of the drill—on the word of command, “Lay down your arms”—will recall the incident in the history of the Coldstream Guards when General Monk’s (afterwards the Duke of Albemarle) Parliamentary Regiment of Foot, at Tower Hill, were ordered to lay down their arms on being disbanded, and then to pick them up again as a Regiment of Guards for the King’s person.

An Infantry Regiment, at the period illustrated by this Display, was composed of Musketeers and Pikemen with, as a rule, two-thirds of the former. On the formation of a battalion or a company the pikemen took post in the centre. Each division of pikemen and musketeers carried a Colour. Battalions and companies were generally formed up in ten or six ranks according as to whether the Dutch or Swedish method of drill was in use. At the time of the Restoration six ranks was most common; and the files being often named the strings. In the drill the postures and motions were generally carried out to music. The “Posture” tune, the “Falling Off” tune, and the tune for the motions played at the Royal Tournament were taken from old music, “Mars, his Triumph,” of 1638. The Colours were also used in conjunction with words of command—as a signal of direction, or movement by flourish and wave.

Up to the time of the Restoration there had been very little uniformity in the dress of a soldier, and both pikemen and musketeers

of different regiments showed a variety of fashions in the type of their leather jerkins and their breeches. Charles II, during his exile in France had gained much information as regards the military organisation of the French, and he undoubtedly introduced many change of fashion both in military and civil dress. The musketeers in the Royal Tournament Display were shown wearing the new-fashioned breeches somewhat different to the full loose ones common at that time, strapped in under the knee with a knot of ribbons, as illustrated in our heading. The pikemen still wore the steel "Pot" hat, gorget, back and breast plates with tassels; the latter, shortly after this, were abolished, leaving only the back and breast plates. They carried a lance, sometimes sixteen feet in length, and a sword. The musketeer carried a matchlock musket, a rest and sword. The match he carried in his left hand, one end between the first and second fingers and the other between the third and fourth, both ends being lighted when the matchlock was to be used. The marching time of the British soldier of that period was slower than our present "Quick," but not so slow as our present "Slow March." The tune to which the musketeers and pikemen entered and left by in the display at the Royal Tournament was taken from an old seventeenth century tune called "The Pikeman's March." The illustration of our heading shows a pikeman and a musketeer of about thirty years earlier than the period of which we write, and the tailpiece illustrates a wheel-lock matchlock, the rest, sword, priming flasks and cartridge bandolier of a musketeer. The cartridge cases were of leather, bottle shaped, and filled with gunpowder, and the lid slid up the two cords by which the case was attached.

The ceremony of Lodging the Colour is, I think, most probably the origin of our present "Trooping the Colour" and not, as is so often stated, from the old "Guard-Mounting" display. It was chiefly with this object that I organised this display, where it could be seen that the Colour, or Colours, were actually "Trooped" down the ranks, which was not done at the "Guard-Mounting."

From the earliest times of military history the Colours or Standards were the leading and rallying points, and by the devices or badges emblazoned upon them showed the troops where to rally round their leader. And the soldier has always been trained to look upon and treat the Colours with the highest possible respect, for when a regiment is paraded, the bringing on, or taking off, the Colours was, and is, always done with ceremony.

In the 17th century, it was the custom, before a battalion or a company was dismissed to quarters, bivouac or billets, to "Troop" the Colour, or Colours, down the ranks, and the Ensigns then taking their Colours to their lodgings and displaying them from the window, or doorstep, or entrance to their tent, the Battalion or Company trooped past the Colour and so came to know, in case of alarm, the place of their rallying point.

Grose describes this procedure as follows:—

"The Captain leading them out of the field, and coming near the place intended to lodge his colours, converts the ranks of musketeers

of both divisions to the right and left outwards, and joyns them; and being so fixed, the body of pikes stand in the rear, and the ensign in the head of them, the Captain before the Colours with the drums and sarjants, guarding the Colours on each side, and the Lieutenant behind the ensign-bearer, and all being advanced, shall troop up with the Colours furled to his lodging or quarters, and as he approacheth thereto, he shall with a bow to his Captain carry in his Colours; then the word shall be given to all the musquetteers to make ready; that being done, they shall all present, and upon the beat of the drum, or other word of command, give one intire volley; and then command every officer to go to their quarters, and to be in readiness upon the next summons either by drum or command. It may fall out, that time will not permit this large circumstance; then the whole company being drawn up in a body shall troop up to the place, where the ensign shall quarter, to see the Colours safely lodged, which being effected, the musquetteers shall with one entire volley discharge their musquets, and so depart to their respective quarters; commanding all upon the next summons to be in readiness." (*Military Antiquities*. Vol. II. 3rd edition. 1812. p. 145.)

During the eighteenth century the rules observed for the sending for, and lodging, the Colour very much resemble the movements of the present day "Trooping" the Colour, and, with the exception of a few minor differences, remained the same for more than a hundred years. The ceremony was as follows:—The Battalion, having been formed up and dressed, and the officers taken post, the Colours were sent for, the Major ordering the Grenadier drummers—at the latter half of the century the drummers and fifers—to beat and play the drummers' call. This was a warning to the Ensigns detailed to carry the Colours. He then ordered a flam, upon which the Ensigns, the drummers and fifers, turned to the right. On the sound of a second flam they marched, the Ensigns with their halberts, or espontoons, "advanced" to the head of the Grenadier company on the right flank of the Battalion, and turned to the front. The Captain of the Grenadier company then ordered them to advance their arms and marched them to the place where the Colours were lodged in the following order:—

The Captain,
 Lieutenants,
 Ensigns,
 Fife-Major,
 Fifers,
 Drum-Major,
 Drummers, and the
 Grenadiers in two divisions, with a serjeant on the right
 flank of the first rank, and a serjeant on the left of
 the rear rank of the first division, and one on the
 right of the rear rank of the second division.

As soon as this escort arrived at the place where the Colours were lodged the Company was drawn up three deep with the serjeants in the rear, and the Captain ordered the bayonets to be fixed, and then firelocks to

be shouldered. When the Ensigns had received the Colours the Company presented arms, and the drummers and fifers played a "point of war." They marched back to the Battalion with the Colours flying. On approaching the left of the Battalion the Colonel ordered "Present your arms," and then to face to the left: the drummers and fifers playing "God Save Great George Our King." The Grenadiers made two wheels to the left, and on the second wheel opened their ranks so as to be in line with the ranks of the Battalion—[during the early part of the eighteenth century battalions usually formed in six ranks, but later this was reduced to three]—and halted; upon which the drummers and fifers ceased playing, and the Colonel ordered the Battalion to face to the right. Then the Captain of the Grenadiers, followed by the Lieutenants, behind whom came the Ensigns carrying the Colours, moved to the right. The Officers and Colours marching in front of the line of officers of the Battalion, the drummers and fifers between the Officers and the front rank of the Battalion, the front rank of the Grenadiers between the front and centre ranks of the Battalion, the centre rank of the Grenadiers between the centre and rear rank of the Battalion, and the rear rank of the Grenadiers behind the rear rank of the Battalion. When the Grenadiers arrived at their place on the right of the Battalion they halted and turned to the left, the Ensigns with the Colours having halted and taken post in the centre of the Battalion. As the Colours passed the line of Officers each Officer removed his hat. (The Ensigns with Colours only removed their hats when saluting with the Colours.)

It will be seen how closely these movements resemble the present-day ceremony of "Trooping" the Colour—the drummers' call, the right flank Company acting as escort, and the "trooping" or "marching" the Colour down the ranks.



TO THE
AMERICAN

STANDING ORDERS FOR THE ARMY—1755.

These Orders are copied from a MS. belonging to the Rt. Hon. Earl Fortescue, K.C.B., who has kindly placed it at the disposal of the Society. Its date is 23 May, 1755.

The Orders are, as will be seen, for the army in general and were no doubt taken as the model on which Regimental Standing Orders were subsequently framed (Vol. IV. pp. 6, 137, and 224). In due course they became *The King's Regulations for the Army*.

Extract of Orders by His Royal Highness the Duke [of Cumberland], Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces during the late Campaigns, which are to be looked upon as Standing Orders, and as such to be transcribed in the Regimental Book of each Regiment.

I.

REGULATIONS FOR DOING OF DUTY.

1. In all Duties, whether with or without arms, picquets or Courts Martial, the tour of duty shall be from the Eldest downwards.
2. Of duties of honour. The first is the King's guard; the Second those of the Royal Family; Third, the Captain General's, or Field Marshal's Commanding the Army; Fourth, Detachments of the army and outposts; Fifth, after them General Officers Guards; Sixth, the Ordinary guards either in Camp or Garrison; Seventh, the Picquets follow; Eighth, then General Courts Martial, and duties without Arms, or of Fatigue.
3. An Officer who is upon duty cannot be ordered for any other, before the duty he is upon be finished, except he be upon the Picquet.
4. If an Officer's tour of duty happen, when he is upon the Picquet, he shall be immediately relieved and go upon that duty, and his tour of the Picquet shall pass him, altho' he shall not have been upon it a quarter of an hour.
5. If an Officer's tour for the picquet, General Court-Martial, or duties of fatigue, happens when he is upon any other duty, he shall not make good that picquet, Court Martial, or duty of fatigue, when he comes off; but his tour shall pass, and in like manner if he should be upon a General Court Martial, or duty of fatigue, and that his tour for guard or detachment should happen, the guard or detachment shall pass him and he shall not be obliged to make it up.
6. The Officers and men of the Grenadier Companies, shall not be put upon any but Camp duties, except when the Grenadiers are to be detached.
7. No Major of Brigade is to be detached, but with his Brigade.

8. No Adjutant is to be detached but with his Regiment or Battalion.
9. Guards or detachments which have marched off are to be reckoned, tho' they should be dismissed immediately after.
10. General Courts-Martial, which have assembled, and the Members sworn in, shall be reckoned, tho' they should be dismissed without trying any person.
11. The KING'S Standard or Colours in the Guards can never be carried to any guard, but that on HIS MAJESTY.
12. The first Standard, Guidon, or Colours, of Regiments is not to be carried to any guard but that on HIS MAJESTY, THE QUEEN, THE PRINCE OF WALES, or Captain-General, and except in these cases it shall always remain with the Regiment.

II.

ORDERS FOR PARADING OF GUARDS IN QUARTERS OR GARRISON.

13. The ' Troop ' to beat at in the morning.
14. The men to be marched in form by the Adjutants, from the regimental parades, to the General Parade.
15. The Regiment which gives the Main Guard is to give the Adjutant for the day.
16. The Adjutant of the day is to see the files compleated.
17. The Town Major (or the Officer who is appointed to do the duty of Town Major) to see the guards told off, ordering the whole to rest and order their firelocks when told off.
18. The Field Officer of the day to be upon the parade at the Mounting of the guards.
19. As soon as the guards are told off, the short ' Troop ' is to beat, upon which the Officers are to draw for their guards by lot, except the Main Guard, and then to take their posts, facing to the men.
20. When the short ' Troop ' is ended, the whole parade is to rest and shoulder, and upon the ' ruffle ' the Officers are to face to their proper front.
21. If there be a guard which mounts with Colours, the Captain is then to send for them in form. The Ensign advancing his Espontoon, posts himself at the head of the detachment, which is to go for the Colours, and the Captain (having ordered the said detachment to poize and rest their firelocks on the left arm) orders him to march, the Drummers beating the ' Troop.' When the Ensign comes to the place where the Colours are, he orders the detachment to fix their bayonets and present their arms, the Drummers beating a ' Point of War.' As soon as the Colours are handed out to the Ensign, he then orders them to rest their bayonets on the left arm, and troops his detachment to the parade; when he comes to one of the flanks of the Parade, he is to face his detachment to the right or left, the men marching between the ranks, and the Ensign in the

- front of the Line of Officers (each of whom are to pay the proper respect to the Colours by pulling off their hats as they pass) till he comes to the center of his GUARD. The detachment being come to their ground, the Captain orders them to unfix their bayonets and shoulder.
22. When the Colours come near the parade the Town Major orders the whole to rest their firelocks continuing in that posture, and the Drummers of the several guards beating a ' March ' till the Ensign with the Colours has taken his post, when the Major orders the whole to shoulder. The Town-Major having acquainted the Field Officer of the day that all is completed, and received his orders for the guards to march, he proceeds and gives directions for each guard to march off. If the Parade is narrow, the Town Major will order the ranks to close, before the guards march off.
 23. When a guard or detachment with arms passes by any guard, that guard is to be under arms, and if the guard or detachment which is marching by beats their Drum, the other is to do the same with rested arms.
 24. When the ' Retreat ' beats, all guards are to be under arms, at which time the Officers are to examine the men's arms and ammunition.
 25. The Captain is every evening to order the Ensign to lodge the Colours regularly in the Guard-Room; the Serjeants with their halberts advanced accompanying him, and the guard, resting their firelocks, but the drums not to beat. In the morning the Colours are to be brought to the head of the guard in like manner.
 26. Tattoo to beat at . . . o'Clock at night.
 27. Officers to go their rounds regularly every night, mentioning in the report next morning at what hour each Officer went his rounds.
 28. All guards to be Troop'd back regularly to the Parade and there dismiss'd, except guards which mount with Colours, which guards are to be marched back to the parade, and after the Colours are regularly lodged are to be dismissed there when the detachment is returned.
 29. Officers upon guard are frequently to call over the Roll, and see that their men are constantly alert.
 30. An Officer is always to be present when the relief of the centries is called out.
 31. All Officers are to take Notice of the manner of the men's doing duty, and if they see any centry negligent on his post or without his arms, are to reprimand him or report him to the Officer of the guard he belongs to (altho' the man should not belong to their particular Regiment) that he may be relieved and punished.

III.

DUTY IN CANTONMENTS.

32. As soon as the Regiments arrive at their Cantonments, the Commanding Officers will order out the Regimental guards and picquets

- of . . . men per Company, and after having given out the strictest orders against stragling from Quarters, marauding, gaming, and neglect of duty, will fix the Alarm Post till further orders. Having then ordered the Colours to be lodged, the Commanding Officers of Companies will conduct their men to their Quarters recommending cleanliness and messing regularly.
33. After the Officers have seen their men lodged they will make a particular report to their Commanding Officers, who will likewise report to the General Officer commanding the Brigade.
 34. The General Officers will take the first opportunity of visiting the Cantonments of each Regiment; will give orders for such guards, or outposts, as they shall find necessary; will order the proper Alarm-post of each Regiment, and of the Brigade if it should have occasion to join; will direct the Commanding Officers to exercise their Battalions, at least once a week: will give orders for an Officer of each Company to visit the Quarters daylie, to see that the Men are Clean, that they Mess regularly, and keep their arms in good order, and that every pay-day the Officers inspect the arms, accoutrements, ammunition, linning, and camp necessaries; that a Captain be appointed to visit the Regimental Hospital or Infirmary every day, and that the rolls be called every morning and evening in the presence of an Officer, a Report of which is to be Daylie sent to the Commanding Officer, and by him to the General Officer of the district; they will likewise order the Articles of War to be read, and Divine Service to be regularly attended to.
 35. The Commanding officers of Regiments will send their Weekly Returns, every to the General Officer whose inspection they are under, and another to the Adjutant-General.
 36. The Lieutenant-Generals in the several districts will send a report, at least once a week, to the Commander-in-Chief of the general state of the troops under their care.
 37. A Field Officer of each Brigade to be of the day, to whom the respective Regiments are to report, and he to report to the General Officer of the District.
 38. Field returns to be made out and sent to the General Officer Commanding the Brigade, whenever any Battalion has been at Exercise.
 39. The picquets of the Regiments are to assemble at their Commanding Officers' Quarters every evening, and proceed to the place appointed for them to stay in all night, sending frequent patrols during the night; they will join their respective Companies in the morning, but be in constant readiness to turn out.
 40. No Soldier, Soldier's wife, or Petit Sutler, is to be suffered to sell Gin or any other Spirituous Liquors.
 41. Whenever the Men cannot draw¹ their pieces they are to be collected

¹ *i.e.*, withdraw a loaded charge from.

together, and are to fire them in presence of an Officer, and not Otherwise.

42. If any Guard, or Regiment, hears firing of arms in their neighbourhood, they are to send out immediately to know the persons and the cause of it; if soldiers without leave, they are to be made prisoners, and a Report sent to their Commanding Officers.

IV.

UPON THE MARCH.

43. 'Reveillè' not to beat the morning of a March.
44. When the whole Garrison marches, the first Beating is the 'General,' the second the 'Assembly,' and the third the 'March,' but if only part of the Garrison marches, the first Beating is the 'Assembly,' the second the 'Troop,' and the third the 'March.'
45. The Quarter-Master, Quarter-Master-Serjeant and Camp-Colour Men are to set out [in] time enough to mark the Camp before the arrival of the Regiment. He is to march the Camp-Colour Men in order.
46. No Baggage to be sent on before the Regiment, except it be ordered.
47. At beating the 'General,' all Out-posts are to join their Regiments.
48. Officers to be at the head of their Companies as soon as the 'Assembly' has done beating.
49. The Officers Batt Horses are to go along with the horses that carry the Men's tents.
50. The Surgeons to carry their Medicine Chests and Instruments on Batt horses, at the head of each Corps.
51. When a Regiment marches by platoons, they are to keep at half distance.
52. Whenever a Regiment enters a defile, a 'preparative' is to beat, on which the men are to close up in order to hasten through, and not be obliged to run afterwards.
53. In marching by files, the Officer Commanding the Grenadiers leads the Center of the first file, and the Officer Commanding the Battalion, leads the Center of the first file of the Battalion. The Lieut.-Colonel, when the Colonel is present, brings up the Center of the last file of the Battalion, as the officer Commanding the Rear Platoon of Grenadiers does the Center of the last file of Grenadiers. The rest of the Officers march upon the outer flank of the rear rank; the Drummers of the Center Division march between the two Colours. The Major and Adjutant are to be upon the flanks to see that the Officers and Men keep with their respective platoons.
54. Upon the march each Battalion to have a Rear Guard of a Subaltern and Twenty four men, which is to bring up all Straglers, and if any man should be so ill as not to be able to march, two carefull men are to be left with him, one of which will come and acquaint the Officer where such men have been left.

55. The Commanding Officers of Regiments are not to allow upon any account more Batt men than three per Company (of 70 men) and those to be such of the aukward or new men as can be best trusted with the Baggage. No General Officer or others to take any men as Batt men or servants out of the Regiments more than the above limited number, and the Commanding Officers of Corps are to be answerable that this order be strictly complied with.
56. A Quarter Master is to meet the Column a mile from camp in order to conduct it to the Ground.

V.
• IN CAMP.

57. As soon as the Regiment is formed upon its ground in Camp, the Quarter Guard is immediately to mount and the picquet to be drawn out before the Center of the Battalion; then the Colours are to be planted and the men to lodge their arms and pitch their tents.
58. During which time the picquet is to send patrols to the rear and flanks to prevent the men from Leaving the Camp, till all the tents are pitched, and Communications made, both in the front and from Regiment to Regiment.
59. No Officer below the rank of a Brigadier to lye out of Camp, and no soldier to be suffered to lye in the tents or hutts in the rear.
60. No Suttler to be allow'd to pitch in the front of the Camp.
61. Officers to stay in the Camp; when they have business that calls them from it, they will acquaint their Commanding Officer who is to take care not to give leave to too many at a time.
62. No soldier to go from the Camp without leave in writing, and all soldiers found stragling beyond the Grand Guards shall be deem'd Deserters.
63. No soldier to take his arms out of the Bell Tents, but in presence of a Commission'd or non-Commission'd Officer, and after the 'Retreat' no arms to be taken out of the Bells of Arms, but by particular order of the Commanding Officer.
64. No more than one Grand Sutler per Regiment and one Petit Sutler per Company is allowed to encamp with any Corps.
65. No firing of pieces to be suffered in the bounds of the Camp.
66. A Subalterne is always to go with the men when they go into the villages for provisions, straw, wood or water; he is to march them regularly and bring them back to Camp in the same order; will be answerable for all disorders the men may commit, and the Commanding Officers are to be responsible that this be regularly and constantly observed.
67. Receipts are always to be given by the Quarter-Masters for the quantities of wood, straw or forage they receive from the Commissaries.

68. The Rolls to be called over four times a day in presence of an Officer of each Company, and the Majors of Brigade to send every morning at Orderly time to Head Quarters a return of such men as may have been absent at Roll Calling, at the 'Retreat,' or have lain out of camp.
69. An Officer of a Company to see that the men mess regularly every day and pay in their proportions twice a week to their Messes.
70. Commanding Officers are to be answerable that their men always appear well dress'd and clean and that those for duty have their skirts tucked back and be in marching gaiters.
71. Captains of Companies to inspect into the arms, clothes, accoutrements and ammunition of the Companies twice a week. A Subaltern of a Company to examine the men every morning before they leave the camp and to be answerable for their appearing clean and well dressed.
72. All Orders relating to the men to be read to them by an Officer of a Company.
73. Whenever the men are in brown or marching gaiters, the Officers are to be in boots.
74. The Regiments to send to the Train for intrenching tools giving receipts for the same, and must return them again or pay the Ordnance price for all that shall be wanting.
75. The several beatings in Camp to be taken regularly by signals from the right or left of the first Line, and then from the left or right of the second Line.
76. The 'Troop' for parading the Guards to beat at eight o'clock.
77. The Quarter-Guards to march off and be trooped back at the same time. No punishments to interrupt the marching off or relieving these Guards.
78. Orderly guards (viz. The Provost's, Train, Magazine, General officers' Guards, &c.) to be relieved every forty-eight hours.
79. All Quarter Guards to be loaded with a running ball.
80. Whenever General Officers go in the rear of the Quarter-Guard, the Officer is only to make his men stand shoulder'd, and not to face the guard to the right about, nor beat his drum.
81. Advanced posts are not to beat the drum nor present their arms, but to remain with shouldered arms, whenever the General visits them. The same when the Generals of the day, or Colonels of the Picquet, visit those posts.
82. On days of march the Field Officers of the Picquet are to report to the General of the day at the head of the column.

TURNING OUT OF THE LINE.

83. The Line to turn out without arms whenever the General Commanding-in-Chief comes along the front of the camp.

84. When the Line turns out the private men are to be drawn up in a line with the fronts of the Bells of Arms, the Corporals on the right and left of their respective Companies; the picquet forms behind the Colours with their accoutrements on, but without arms.
85. The Serjeants to draw up one pace in front of the men, dividing themselves equally.
86. The Officers to be drawn up in ranks according to their commissions, in front of the Colours, two ensigns taking hold of the Colours.
87. The Field Officers to advance before the Captains.
88. When the Commander-in-Chief comes along the Line, the Camp Colours on the flanks of the parade are to be struck.
89. No drum to practice in camp, before the Quarter-Guards and Grand-Guards are relieved, nor after the 'retreat' beating; they are not to practice at all whilst the army is under orders of being ready to march.
90. Divine Service to be regularly performed in camp, which Officers and soldiers are to attend to.
91. Recruits may exercise and fire from nine to twelve, except when the army is under orders of being ready to march, and whenever recruits exercise, Officers are to attend.
92. Plundering, marauding, cutting down trees, distroying bee-hives, fishing or draining of ponds, hunting or distroying of game, is forbid under the severest punishments.
93. Old houses of office to be filled up and new ones to be made every six days.
94. The Commanding Officers are to send word to the provost, whenever any dead horses are found near the camp, that they may be immediately buried.
95. When Officers sign reports or returns, they are to mention their rank and the Corps they belong to.
96. Officers newly appointed are to attend the Parade every morning.
97. The parade and streets of the Camp to be cleaned every morning, and if the weather permits the men's tents to be opened every day to air them and the Bells of Arms to be opened.
98. Commanding Officers to encourage butchers to buy, sell, and kill meat for the Regiments.
99. Surgeons are to visit the sick twice a day, making a report to the Commanding Officers; they are likewise to keep a book in which they shall enter each man's name and disorder, with the time he was taken ill, and if any of them are sent to the Flying or General Hospital, they shall minute the same, with the day he was sent, specifying the Company he belongs to.
100. Commanding Officers to see that their men be provided with thirty-six cartridges per man and that they fit their pieces.

101. No persons bringing provisions to camp, to be molested or ill-used.
102. Commanding Officers of Corps to make a report in writing at Headquarters, whenever any of their men are missing the night before. The Commanding Officers of Guards or Detachments to do the same.
103. Whenever a Commanding Officer intends to exercise his battalion, he is to acquaint the Adjutant-General over night, that he may obtain the General's permission, and that the General Officers of the Day may be acquainted with it.

FORMING AND RETURNING THE PICQUETS OF THE INFANTRY.

104. The Officers and men for the Picquets being ready dressed and accoutred, as soon as the 'preparative' for beating the 'Retreat' is made, the men take their arms and form in the streets before their tents; the Orderly Serjeants and Corporals, having likewise their arms, are then to examine the men and form those of their respective Companies in three ranks with the line of the tents.
105. When the 'Retreat' begins they are to march them forward, the front rank even with the line of the Bells of Arms, each Orderly Serjeant and Corporal advancing three paces and remaining at the head of his men.
106. The Officers, Serjeants and Drummers for the Picquet to go to the head of the Colours, and, taking their arms, wait there.
107. As soon as the 'Retreat' is ended the Adjutant orders 'advance to form the Picquet.' Upon this, the whole march forward in three ranks to the line of parade, the Officers, Serjeants and Drummers of the picquet, as well as the Orderly Serjeants and Corporals, advancing twelve paces before the front rank; and when they are come to their ground the Adjutant orders 'Halt.' Upon which the Officers, Serjeants, and Drummers face to the right-about.
 'Form the Picquet'; at this command, the whole, except the Officers, Serjeants, and Drummers of the Picquet, face to the right and left, inwards to the centre.
 'March.' They march together, closing to the centre, and the Officers, Serjeants, and Drummers take their posts. The Orderly Serjeants and Corporals close likewise, but so as to be opposite to the men of their respective Companies, to answer for what may be wanting or amiss.
 'Halt.' The picquet faces to the front and the Orderly Serjeants and Corporals to the picquet.
108. The Adjutant is then to go through the ranks and after having examined the whole and found all complete, he orders the Orderly Serjeants and Corporals to their respective Companies to call the rolls. They are to face to the right and left, outwards, and march regularly with halberts and firelocks recovered.
109. The Adjutant is then to acquaint the Captain that his picquet is ready.

(To be continued.)

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE—8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

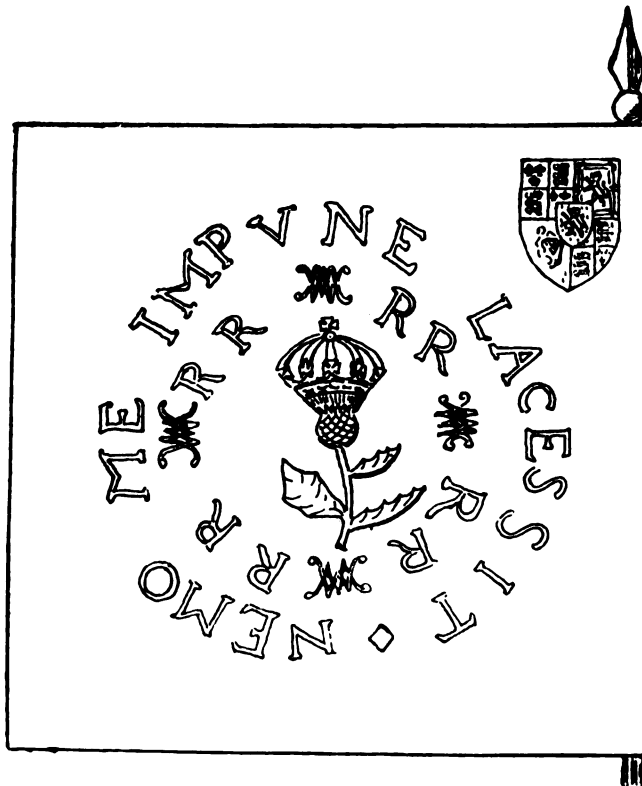
NOTES.

118. SCOTTISH COLOURS CAPTURED BY THE FRENCH, DURING THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV—1643 TO 1715. In 1910 an interesting discovery was made in the Invalides Museum, Paris, of some old drawings of Colours which had been hung in *Nôtre Dame*, and destroyed in the Revolution of 1789.

These drawings had been made from a book in the Bibliotheque Nationale entitled *Les Triomphes du Roy Louis le Grand, XIV du nom, représentés par les Drapeaux, qui ont esté pris sur les ennemis de Sa Majesté dans les Batailles, Rencontres, et Prises de Villes, et qui ont esté apportés en Ceremonie dans l'Eglise de Nôtre Dame de Paris depuis 1674 jusques à la fin de son Regne.*

The drawings are mostly grouped as taken at each battle, and comprise those of many nationalities.

At Landen, 1693, 22 Colours, 40 Standards and 3 Guidons were taken. All the 22 Colours are depicted. 6 Danish; 2 English, with St. George's Cross: 1 Scotch, a plain St. Andrew's Cross, belonging to the Scots Guards, and 3 other Scotch as depicted below, two on white and one on a blue ground, the thistle, purple with gold leaves; the crown and all lettering gold. The arms depicted are 1 and 4, England and France; 2 Scotland; 3 Ireland; and William III's Nassau arms imposed on centre.



These Colours undoubtedly belonged to the Royal Regiment of Foot (The Royal Scots).

At Dixmunde, 1695, amongst the 11 Colours and 2 Guidons depicted is one belonging to Graham's Scots-Dutch Regiment—a St. Andrew's cross on a blue ground, with a thistle in each of the four divisions.

At Malplaquet, 1709, 32 Colours and Standards were taken, all of which are shewn. Of the 22 Infantry Colours, 9 are Prussian; 2 Danish; 2 German; 5 Dutch; 1 Walloon; 1 unidentified; 1 English, Union, with a double cypher W.M. and Crown, from which comes a flame in centre; and 1 Scotch, pale blue with thistle crowned, and *Nemo me impune lacessit* on scroll beneath.

At Denain and Marchiennes, 1712, 30 Colours and 3 Standards are shewn as taken, of which two are Scottish, probably Douglas's Scots-Dutch Regiment. One a plain St. A's cross; the other white with large English arms, a St. A's cross in top corner; a thistle, bottom, left; a rose, bottom right.

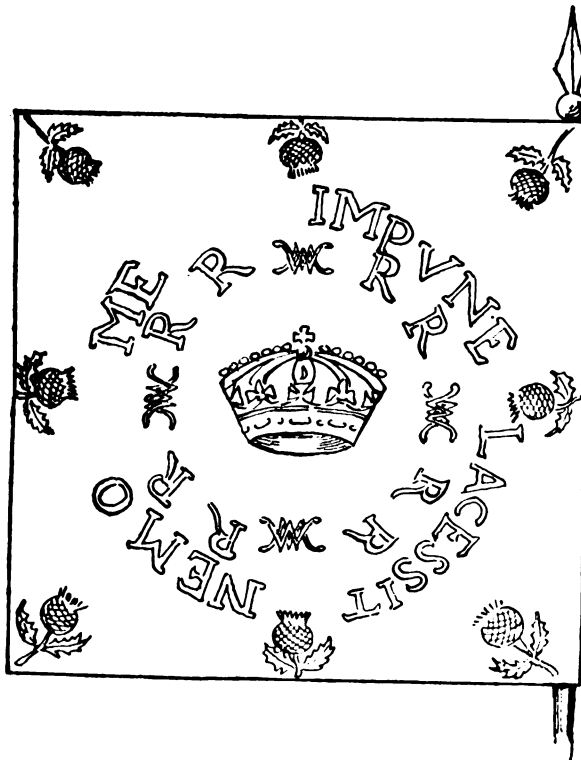
At Quesnoy, 1712, 16 Colours were surrendered, 7 Swiss (in Dutch pay); 2 Dutch; 1 English, Union; 1 Scotch, a St. Andrew's cross, with thistle crowned, in centre, and scroll over with *Nemo me impune lacessit*. The others are unidentified.

At the end of the book are various Colours, the date and place of their capture being apparently unknown.

Amongst them is one which may be Scottish or English; green, with a silver horse rampant, in a gold wreath and from this thistles, one at each corner.

Another is again undoubtedly a Colour of the Royal Regiment of Foot (The Royal Scots). All white, with design and lettering in gold, as here shown.

H. M. McC.



119. THE 90TH REGIMENT OF FOOT (PERTSHIRE VOLUNTEERS)—LIGHT INFANTRY. The illustration facing this page was drawn and lithographed by J. H. Lynch, from the drawing by M. A. Hayes. It is one of Spooner's *Costumes of the British Army—Oblong Series*. The date is *circa* 1840-4, as the men are wearing two cross-belts, and the then new "Albert" head-dress, which had just taken the place of the old 'bell-top.'

The waist-belt, with bayonet, superseded the bayonet cross-belt, just after 1844, though it did not come into general use until 1857. H. O.-J.

120. THE 'DEVIL'S ARTICLE.' This term is first noticed in print in the evidence of Lord Hardinge before the Royal Commission on Military Punishments, which sat in 1836, when he stated that the expression was then in common use in the army.

Clode (*Military and Martial Law*, pp. 38-9) infers that the general clause which is often to be found in the English disciplinary code was first added to the Articles of War in 1686. The present writer has failed to trace the code of 1686, but the 64th article of that of 1688, of which there are two copies in the Royal United Service Institution, reads:—

"All other faults, misdemeanours, and Disorders not mentioned in these Articles, shall be punished according to the Laws and Customs of War, and discretion of the Court-Martial; Provided that no punishment amounting to the loss of Life and Limb, be inflicted upon any Offender in time of Peace, although the same be allotted for the said Offence by these Articles, and the Laws and Customs of War."

Clode's assumption is, however, demonstrably incorrect, for it will be seen that a similar general clause is frequently met with in the earliest comprehensive disciplinary codes. That promulgated in 1591 by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (Harl. MSS. 7018, f. 77) terminates with these words, for instance:—

"What other Offences are not Comprehended within the Compass of these aforesaid Articles, are to be left to the discretion of the General and Marshal to punish according to the grievousness of the fact."

Further, the two MSS. codes to which the dates 1625 and 1627 have been assigned contain similar provisions:—

[1625] 'All other disorders whatsoever, are to be punished, as these formerly mentioned, though not formerly nominated.'

[1627] 'All other abuses and offences not specified in these Orders shalbe punished according to the discipline of warr and opinions of such officers and others as shalbe called to make a Councill of Warr.'

Next, Arundel and Surrey's code of Articles for the expedition of 1639 against the Scots provides as follows in the concluding article:—

'In whatever cases or accidents that may occurre, for which there is no specciall order set downe in the lawes here published, there the ancient course of marshall discipline shall be observed untill such time as his Excellence The Lord General shall cause some further orders to be made and published in the Armie, which shall thence forward stand in force upon the paines therein expressed.'

And we find in the Scottish code of 1643 a similar rule laid down:—

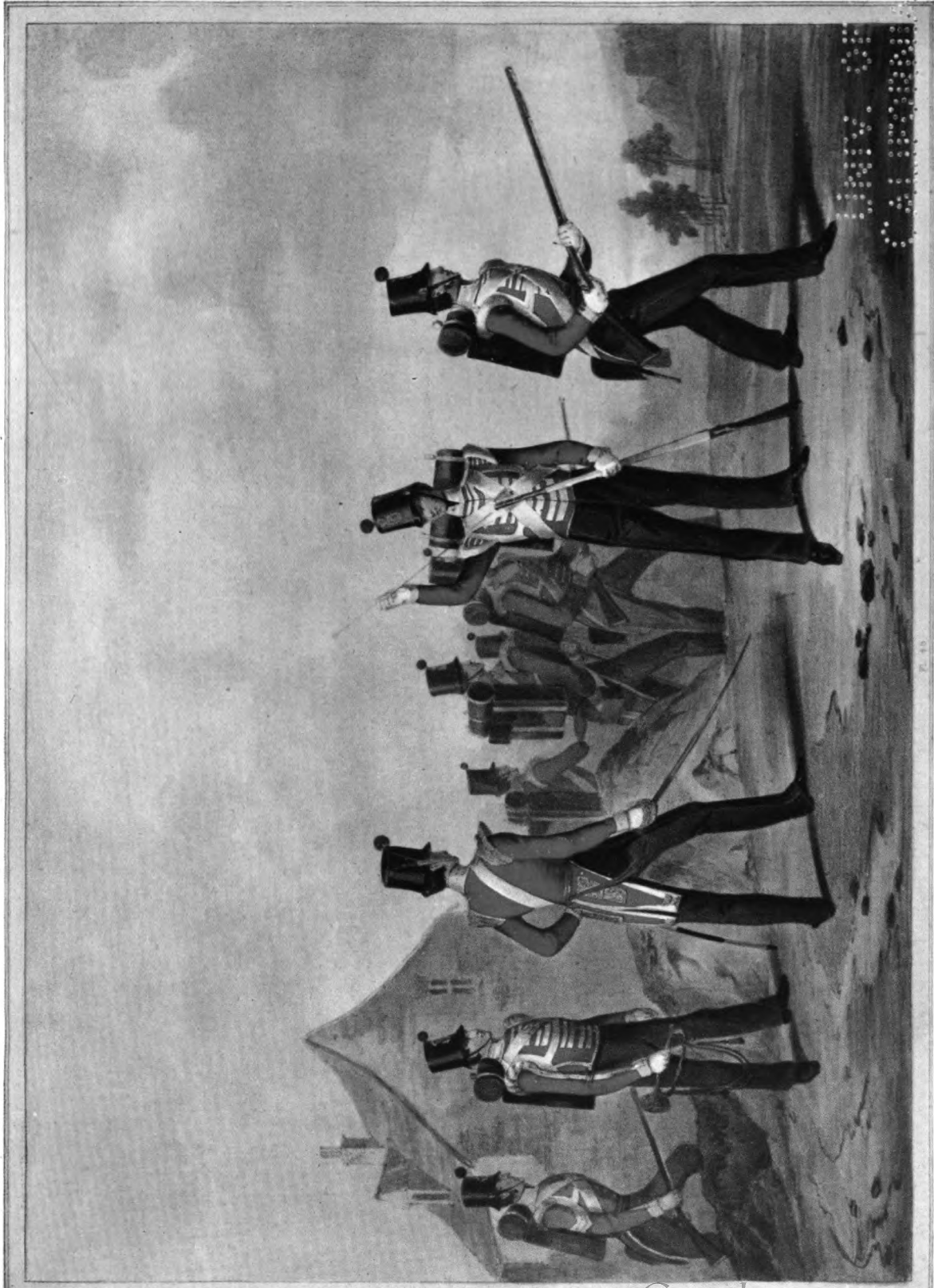
'Matters, that are clear by the light and Law of Nature, are pre-supposed: Things unnecessary are passed over in Silence: And other Things may be judged by the common Customs and Constitutions of War; or may, upon new Emergents, be expressed afterward.'

H. BULLOCK.

121. ARTICLES OF WAR. The earliest instance of what are now called 'Articles of War,' is found in Rymer's *Foedera*. Vol. I. p. 65, in the first year of the reign of Richard I, *i.e.* 1180.

The text is in Latin and is thus translated:—

"Charter of RICHARD, King of England, for the government of those who were about to go by Sea to the Holy Land. A.D. 1180.



THE 90TH REGIMENT OF FOOT (PERTSHIRE VOLUNTEERS)—LIGHT INFANTRY. See Note 119.

[From blocks kindly lent by the Proprietors of *The Commercial*]

1980

“ Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitania, and Count of Andegavia,

“ To all his men about to go by sea to Jerusalem, greeting.

“ Know ye, that by the common council of good men, we have made the underwritten ordinances.

“ He who kills a man on shipboard, shall be bound to the dead man, and thrown into the sea: if the man is killed on shore, the slayer shall be bound to the dead body, and buried with it.

“ Any one convicted by lawful witnesses of having drawn his knife to strike another, or who shall have drawn blood of him, to lose his hand. If he shall have only struck with the palm of the hand, without drawing blood, he shall be thrice ducked in the sea.

“ Any one who shall reproach, abuse, or curse his companion, shall give him as many ounces of silver as times he has abused him.

“ Any one convicted of theft, shall be shorn like a champion,¹ boiling pitch shall be poured on his head, and down of feathers shaken over it, that he may be known; and he shall be set on shore at the first land at which the ship touches.”

“ Witness myself at Chinon.”

J.H.L.

Amongst the principal sources of information regarding early Articles of War are:—

CHARLES M. CLODE.

a. *The Military Forces of the Crown*. John Murray. 1869. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. pp. xxxii. 596; xxxii. 804.

b. *The Administration of Justice under Military and Martial Law*. John Murray. 1874. 2nd edition. Demy 8vo. pp. xxiv. 412.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES H. FIRTH.

c. *Cromwell's Army*. A history of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, being the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1900-1. Methuen & Co., Ltd. 1912. 2nd edition. Crown 8vo. pp. xviii. 444. *ill.*

MAURICE J. D. COCKLE.

d. *A Bibliography of English Military Books up to 1642 and of contemporary Foreign Works*. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. 1906. Crown 4to. pp. xlii. 268. *dia. ill.* 250 copies only were printed.

FRANCIS GROSE.

e. *Military Antiquities respecting a History of the English Army*, from the Conquest to the Present Time. London. S. Hooper. 2 vols. Vol. I. 1786. pp. vi. 434. *ill.* Vol. II. 1788. Demy 4to. pp. ii. 352. 40. 40. 16. (These last 16 pages are un-numbered.) *ill.*

Two other editions were published, one in 1800, and the other in 1812.

COLONEL CLIFFORD WALTON, C.B.

History of the British Standing Army. A.D. 1660 to 1700. Harrison & Sons. 1894. Royal 8vo. pp. xviii. 888. *Coloured frontispiece.*

Note.—The illustrations referred to throughout the book were not published, owing to the death of the author. They are, however, preserved in the Library of the R.U.S. Institution, Whitehall.

As regards the first mentioned, it is unfortunate that any statement of fact made by Clode cannot be accepted without reserve: the more one investigates any

¹ Men hired to fight legal duels were called ‘champions,’ and always had their hair clipped close to their heads.

question, particularly any matter of a date or reference, the more one is led to conclude that Clode neither read his proofs himself nor entrusted them to any competent person.

Colonel Clifford Walton, it is apparent, had a wide knowledge of the provisions of early disciplinary codes, and has put on record much valuable information. It is unfortunate that he does not always give the sources of this information.

Grose on military justice and punishments is as diverting as ever, and it must be confessed Rabelaisian on occasion! His work has been much drawn on by our later writers on military law, few of whom have gone to original sources for their details of early courts and codes.

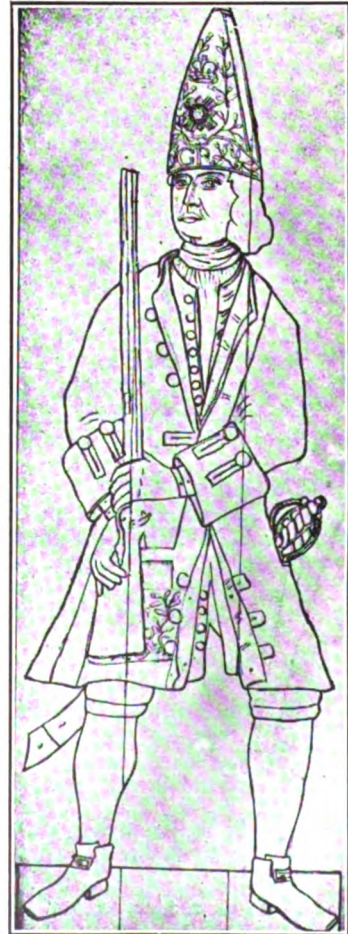
Sir Charles Firth is, as might be expected, by far the most informative writer on what is—certainly as regards military law—a most involved period, the years 1639-1644. His commentary on the articles of war of the Civil Wars is not the least interesting part of the chapter on the Discipline of Cromwell's Army.

All manuscript codes fall outside the scope of Mr. Cockle's bibliography, as do also printed Articles of War after 1642. It is, however, an indispensable guide not only to the early English and Scots codes but also to the foreign codes from which they derive so much. Moreover many English and Scots soldiers of fortune were subject to these foreign codes when serving overseas. H.B.

122. INFANTRY GRENADIERS. (Vol. IV. p. 209; V. 136.) I have seen the picture-board figures of the Grenadiers of the 2nd Queen's in the County Hotel adjoining Carlisle Station, and give my version of their uniform, checked by a reference to the drawing made from these figures and printed as an illustration to Colonel Davis's History of the Regiment and in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLVII. Some time has elapsed since I had an opportunity of studying the figures, but I think that the drawing reproduced in our Journal (Vol. IV. p. 209) is not quite correct as regards the shape of the cap and its turn-up. I think, too, that the Prince of Wales's Feathers are too big and that the pockets braided, as shewn, are also incorrect. The painting of the figures is very dingy, and, placed as they are on a dark staircase, it is very difficult to see details.

The facings certainly appear to be dark blue, but unless they have been altered by some busybody at the time the Regiment was made "Royal" in 1768, it is to be supposed that they are the 'sea-green' facings worn by it at the time represented, become darker by two centuries of time and dirt. Sea-green was adopted, according to one account, because it was the favourite colour of Queen Catherine; according to another because the regiment "was raised for the occupation of a garrison abroad" (Tangier). The lace should be white with a blue worm. The worm is very apparent along the edges. This was the colour later, but it seems possible that it may have been green originally. The body of the lace looks yellow on the figures, but white paint would certainly have become much that tint in so long a period of time.

Tradition says that these figures were used for aiming drill. Before going to their present home in 1853, they were at the *Bush Hotel*.



The figure illustrated holds only one grenade. What looks like one on the left side is the basket-hilt of the sword. It is a thousand pities that these interesting souvenirs of the Army of 1715 should be thus hidden away. Their proper place is in a Museum. No one seems to take any interest in them in Carlisle. If they had been in any Continental town there would have been models and post-cards of them galore. In Carlisle I was unable to obtain even a photograph.

I believe there are a few more somewhat similar picture-board figures of soldiers in existence, but none, so far as I know, with such a definite history. I enclose a drawing of one that is—or was—at the "Black Boy" in Chelmsford, copied from a woodcut in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1845.

The correspondent who sent the original drawing refers to the sugar-loaf Grenadier Caps as "Cumberland" Caps. Is that a name that they ever bore? They are of a much earlier date than H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, who was born in 1721. Other picture-boards are said to be at Canons' Ashley, Daventry, Bilsby Hall, near Alford, Lincolnshire, and in the Monastery of St. Florian, near Linz, on the Danube. Reference to these may be found in the *Archæological Journal*, Vols. XXIII and XLVII. I have seen other picture-board figures, but no Military ones. It is possible that there are more hidden away in various parts of the country. Their discovery would be of considerable interest to members of the Society.

The illustration of the picture-board grenadier here given is taken from the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLVII. It is supposed to represent a Scots Guardsman, but it is doubtful. I imagine the uniform is of a somewhat earlier period than that of the Carlisle figures. The coat is red, facings and linings blue, waist-coat red, stockings white, cap red. C. F.

123. A ROYAL REVIEW IN 1811. The picture on page 207 is, as a print, worthless. But it is of interest as showing the manners and customs of the people at a time when the country was engaged in a great war, 115 years ago. The battles of Fuentes de Oñoro and Albuera had been fought in May, 1811, just a month before the Review.

The wording below the picture, and its title, are:—

The PRINCE REGENT reviews the VOLUNTEER Foot and Cavalry of LONDON and the home district with a great number of TROOPS of the LINE on Wimbledon Common. Monday, June 10th, 1811.

There was twenty thousand soldiers on the ground besides a great concourse of persons of all descriptions.

Published June 26, 1811, by J. Pitts, No. 14 Great St. Andrew's Street, Seven Dials.

- A. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.
- B. Horse Artillery passing in review.
- C. Field Marshall the Duke of York.
- D. General Officer attending the Prince Regent.
- E. The Duke of Cambridge, General of the home district.
- F. The Line of Cavalry.
- G. The Volunteer Line of Infantry.
- H. Military Tellegraphs.
- I. Cavalry keeping the ground.
- K. Equiries to the Prince.

The so-called "Military Tellegraphs" appear to be some form of semaphore signalling apparatus. It will be observed that the horses of the Horse Artillery have their tails docked in the most approved fashion, and that they are wearing blinkers.

The size of the picture is 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 13", without margin or title.

The following account of this Review appeared in *The Times*—p. 3—of 11 June, 1811:—

The eager curiosity excited by the superb military spectacle, which took place

yesterday at Wimbledon Common, attracted thousands from the metropolis and the neighbouring counties.

At Wimbledon, by six o'clock, many persons had taken their stations upon the Heath. By nine some of the troops had arrived; the 15th Dragoons from Richmond and Twickenham, others from Brentford, Staines, Egham; the Royal Artillery and the Foot Guards, the Life Guards, the 18th Dragoons, the 2nd and 3d. Dragoon Guards. Then came Volunteer Corps.

The Prince left Carlton-house about a quarter before eleven. A great concourse of people had been waiting in Pall-mall to see him set out; his Royal Highness went in his travelling-carriage, preceded and followed by several servants on horseback. At a quarter before twelve the first signal-gun was fired to notify the Regent's approach; the whole of the Military stood shouldered, and the Royal Artillery and Artillery Company fired each a royal salute. The crowd rent the air with acclamations.

His Royal Highness was accompanied to the ground by the Duke of York, who, on reaching the centre of the line, immediately drew his sword, and took the command of the field, as Commander in Chief. The Regent was also attended by a vast retinue, and was mounted on a beautiful grey charger, richly caparisoned, (the saddle alone, it is said, cost near 500 guineas), dressed in a full suit of General's regimentals, with the Order of the Garter and a diamond star. A few minutes after the Prince arrived in front of the line, a second cannon fired, and the whole line presented arms, officers saluting, and the bands playing "God save the King." A third cannon fired, and the line shouldered, supported arms, and remained steady. His Royal Highness then proceeded to the right of the line, and from the right of the first line to the left, and from the right of the second to the left, the music playing as he passed; the Commander-in-chief rode on his left hand. After passing from one end to the other of each of those extensive lines, his Royal Highness took his stand considerably to the right of the centre.

A fourth cannon was then fired as a signal that the whole of the troops should load and shoulder.

At the fifth cannon a *feu de joie* was fired, beginning by the Royal Artillery on the right, passing along the ranks of the first line by files, to the left of the Hon. Artillery Company, taken up by the left of the second line; and proceeding to the right of it; each corps, after firing, loaded, and stood shouldered.

At the sixth cannon, the same firing and loading was repeated.

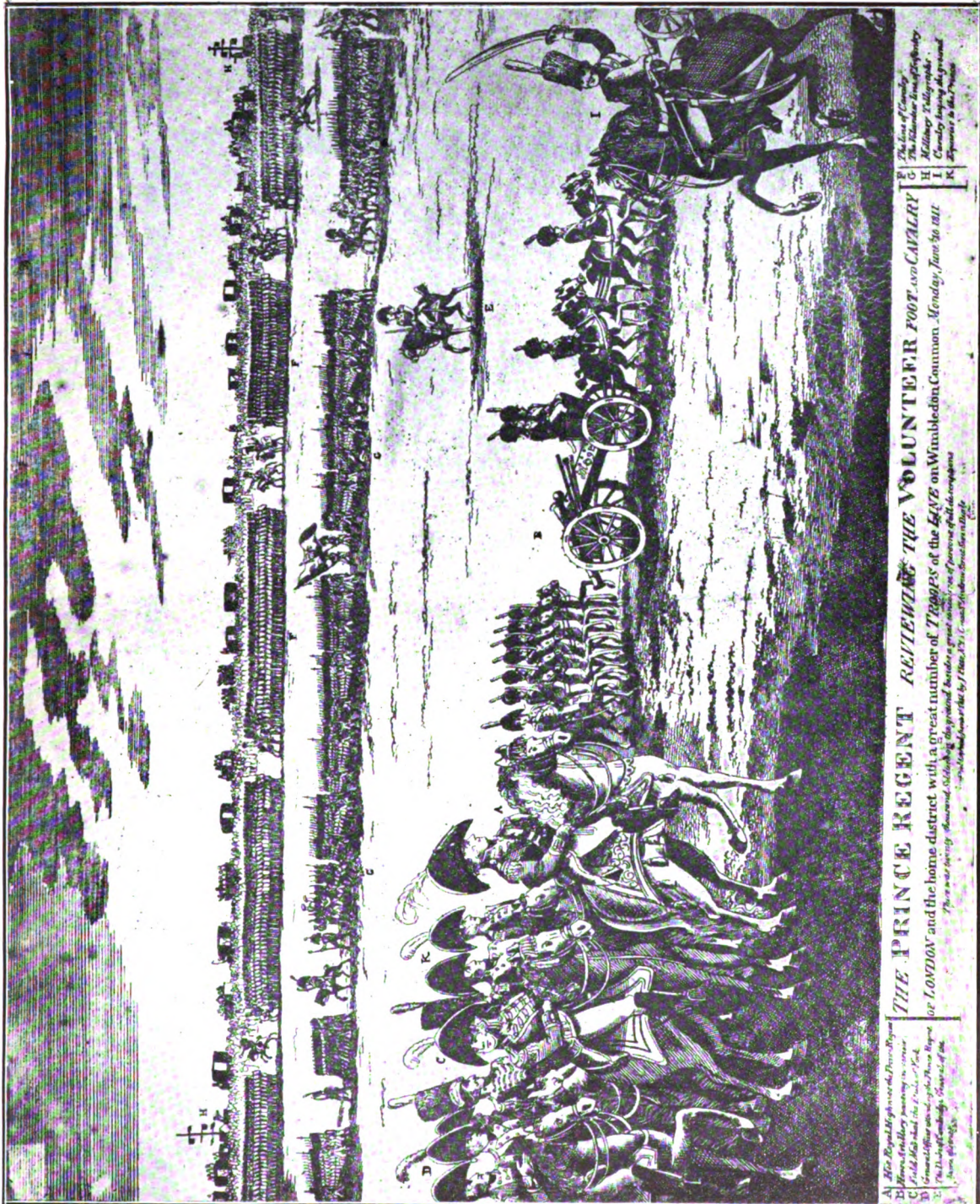
At the seventh cannon, the same firing repeated.

At the eighth cannon, three English cheers were given, hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and music playing "God save the King."

At the ninth cannon the whole of the two extensive lines marched by his Royal Highness in order of review, officers saluting, the troops with their eyes fixed on him, and the colours of each regiment dropping as they passed. The Prince Regent received each corps with marked attention. He saluted the officers by putting his hand to his hat; and as the colours of each corps passed he remained uncovered, as did also the Commander-in-Chief. As the regiments passed the Prince, they filed off in the best order possible to the different roads leading from the common; and every part of the conduct of the troops did credit to the officers by whom they were commanded. The review was over before five o'clock. Military telegraphs were planted on the ground for conveying the orders from right to left. Q.F.

124. RED HOT SHOT. (Vol. I. p. 179; II. 147; III. 99, 105.) In "The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull," by the Rev. John Tickell, published in 1796, the following passage occurs, describing the siege of the town by the Royalist forces in 1643:—

"After a great deal of labour, however, and at the expence of many lives, it was at length finished, and called by way of eminence, the KING'S FORT. On this fort were placed several pieces of large ordnance, besides two brass culverins



A. The Royal Highness the Prince Regent
 B. Heavy Artillery marching in column
 C. Light Artillery marching in column
 D. General Officer commanding the Heavy Artillery
 E. The Divisional Cavalry
 F. The Divisional Cavalry
 G. The Divisional Cavalry
 H. The Divisional Cavalry
 I. The Divisional Cavalry
 K. The Divisional Cavalry

THE PRINCE REGENT REVIEWING THE VOLUNTEER FOOT AND CAVALRY
 OF LONDON and the home district with a great number of Troops of the LINE on Wimbledon Common. Monday, June 30 1811.
 This is a very beautiful and interesting view of the greatest number of Troops of the LINE on Wimbledon Common. Monday, June 30 1811.
 Engraved from a drawing by J. H. P. C. and published by J. H. P. C.

which shot balls of 36 lb. weight. A furnace too was constructed, and several hot balls were fired into the town, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. The governor, however, knowing that there was much combustible matter in the town, and apprehensive that the whole might be reduced to ashes, did every thing in his power to prevent so fatal a catastrophe. For that purpose he gave orders that all hemp, flax, pitch, and tar, in every house should be put into the cellars, and into the lowest rooms of those that had none, that vessels of water should be set before every door; and that a stricter watch should be kept in all parts of the town, and every precaution taken to secure the magazine. After this he ordered two more large culverins to be placed on the Charter-House battery; and, at the distance of about two hundred and forty paces, erected another fort, which flanked the royalists behind the banks. The fire from these forts and the north blockhouse, soon demolished the royal fort, so that no more hot bullets were shot into the town during the remainder of the siege." Q.F.

QUESTIONS.

241. COLOURS. In John Millner's (Serjeant in the Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland) Journal, published in London in 1733, it is related on p. 226 that "Serjeant Littler, in Godfrey's Regiment (later known as the 16th Foot) swam over the river, and cut and let down the bridge for the passage of the troops; and a party thereof immediately passed over, and secured the said pass, which the enemy attempted to repossess, but came short: for which singular piece of service Serjeant Littler had colours bestowed on him, in the Duke of Argyle's regiment" (later known as the 3rd Foot—The Buffs).

This took place at the attack on Lille in August, 1708.

What is actually meant by this bestowal of 'Colours'?

Q.F.

242. THE YORK AND LANCASTER REGIMENT. Information is desired on the two points here following, for inclusion in the Records of the Regiment now being compiled.

- a. A photograph of an Officer's shoulder or cross-belt plate, of the 65th Foot.
- b. A portrait of General George Bernard, who was Colonel of the 84th Foot from 1793, the year in which it was formed, until May, 1820, when he died.

A. A. PAYNE.

[Two regiments designated '84th' had existed prior to 1793—one, formed in 1758, was disbanded in 1763; the other, formed in 1776, was disbanded in 1783.

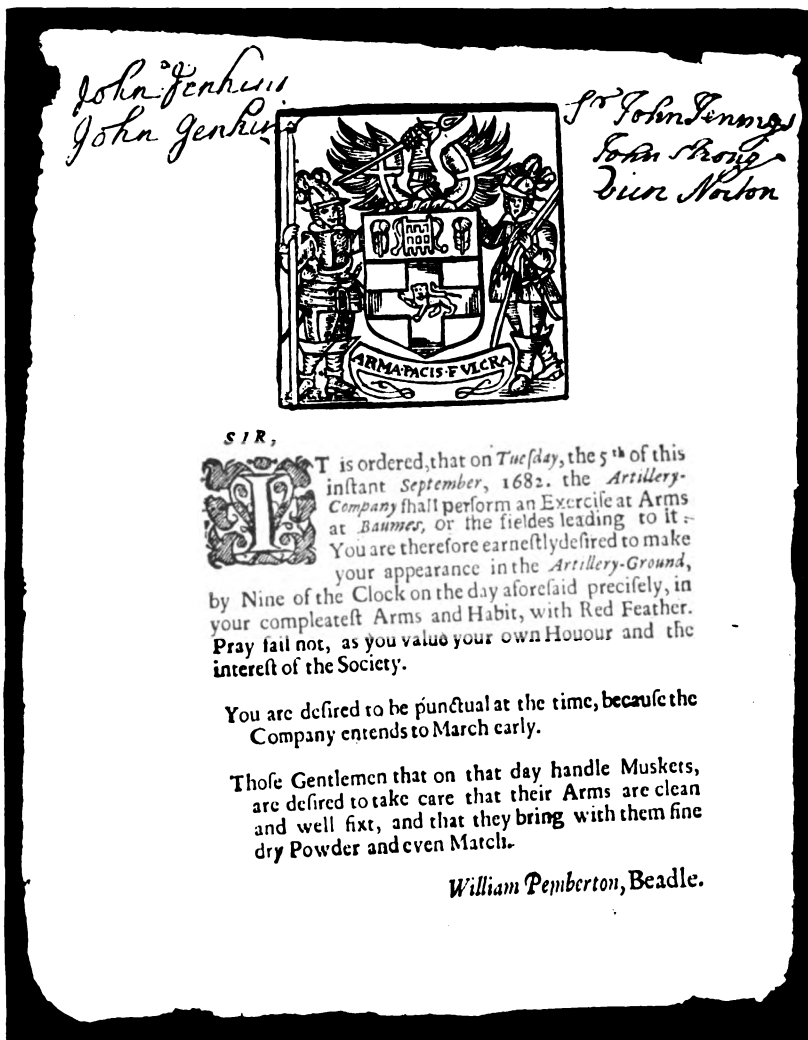
These two were in no way connected with the 84th, which was formed in 1793. J.H.L.]

243. THOMAS MARSTON, SURGEON. There is a panel portrait in the Hall of the Barber Surgeons, London, of Thomas Marston, surgeon to the Forces of Charles I, 1637. He is not mentioned in Peacock's Lists. Information about him is asked for. AESCULAPIUS.

244. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS—THE BRANK. In *Old English Household Life*, by Gertrude Jekyll (Batsford, London, 1925, p. 202), an illustration is given of a brank or "scold's bridle," which it is thought was used in Reading Gaol to "maintain prison discipline in refractory soldiers and others, who must have been frequently incarcerated in the prison for desertion and similar offences."

Can any authority be quoted for the use of the brank as an instrument of military punishment? H.B.

245. THE HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY AND THE BAUMES MARCH. The letter of which a facsimile is given below would nowadays be called a 'Regimental Order.' It contains a summons for all members of the Hon. Artillery Company to assemble on 5 September, 1682, for 'an Exercise at Arms at Baumes,'—the modern 'field training.'



The following paragraph appeared in "The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer. Being the freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick. Saturday, July 26, 1718." (p. 1108).

"We hear that the Honourable the Artillery Company of this City, who have appointed their Bawms March to be on the First of August, as they have done ever since His Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, do besides a noble Exercise, intend several fine Fire-Works, &c., in honour of that glorious Anniversary."

Where was Baumes, and what is known of the 'Bawms March'? Q.F.

REPLIES.

214. DISBANDED REGIMENTS. (Vol. I. 90, 205; III. 201; IV. 12, 21, 138, 224; V. 142.) In "A View of the British Army on the present Establishment, 1803," by "Charles Philip de Bosset, of Swiss Regiment de Meuron," afterwards Captain in the King's German Legion, the following details of uniform are given in diagram.

ROLL'S SWISS. Coat, red. Collar and Cuffs, light blue. Loops, white; pointed. Ptes: lace, white with a light blue stripe. Breeches, white. Officers' Epaulettes, Lace and Buttons. Silver.

MEURON'S SWISS. Coat, red. Collar and Cuffs, light blue. Loops, white; bastion-headed. Pte's lace, white with red stripe. Breeches, white. Officers' Epaulettes, Lace, and Buttons, Silver.

WATTEVILLE'S SWISS. Coat, red. Collar and Cuffs, black. Loops, white; bastion-headed. Ptes' lace, white with black line. Breeches, white. Officers, Epaulettes, Lace and Buttons, Silver. H. M. McC.

215. A CONDEMNED REGIMENT. (Vol. IV. pp. 57, 224.) In James Grant's military romance *The King's Own Borderers*, published in 1865, there is an account, in chapter 30, of a court-martial on a Serjeant who was sentenced "to be reduced to the rank and pay of a private, and to receive three hundred and fifty lashes, the utmost number a regimental court could then award; with the option, if he would avoid this extreme punishment, of volunteering to serve for life (*i.e.* till disabled by wounds or age) in the York Chasseurs, or any other condemned corps, in Africa or the West Indies."

The following (c. 24) is also in the same book:—"Rather than serve under old Middleton . . . I'd send in my papers—go recruiting for the 2nd West India at Sierra Leone; or join that fine body of men, The York Rangers." "What are they?" "A condemned corps, named for the good Duke; but whose officers, damme, sleep at night with loaded pistols under their pillows, for fear of their own men."

The practice of giving men who were sentenced to be flogged the alternative of going to a 'penal' battalion abroad, seems to have been a recognised custom in former days. Harris, of the old 95th, writes of a Serjeant who got into difficulties through gambling, embezzled his company's money, was tried by court-martial and sentenced to receive 700 lashes. Harris relates that "when . . . was tied up, he was offered, as was then customary, the option of banishment: but he refused it, notwithstanding considerable entreaty was made to him by his two comrades to accept it, as by so doing they thought they all would escape the lash." (*Recollections of Rifleman Harris*. 1848. pp. 123-8.)

He refused, however, underwent his sentence, and was afterwards killed at the storming of Badajoz in 1812, after showing great gallantry, in the hope of redeeming his past. R. MAURICE HILL.

216. ST. GEORGE'S CROSS ON SOLDIERS' COATS. (Vol. V. p. 137.) In the "Statutes and Ordinances of War" (Richard II. 1385), article XVIII lays down "that every man, of what estate, condition or Nation he may be, so that he be of our party, shall bear a large sign of the arms of St. George before, and another behind, upon peril that if he be hurt or slain in default thereof, he who shall hurt or slay him shall suffer no penalty for it: and that no enemy shall bear the said sign of St. George, whether he be a prisoner, or otherwise, upon pain of death. (Cotton MSS. Nero. D. vi. ff. 80-90.)

In *Statutes and ordynances for the warre* printed in London in 1544 (35 Henry VIII.)—B.M. 844. h. 25. (1)—article xxxv lays down:—

"And yf any man, of what degree soever he be, come unto the kynges obeysance, that no man take hym, rob hym, or pyll [*i.e.* pillage] hym upon the same payne, so that [*i.e.* provided] he or they that thus wyll obey, beare a crosse of saynt George."

Article *xlvi* is as follows:—

“Also that every man goyng in hostyng or battayle, of what estate condition or nation he be, of the kynges partie and hoste, excepte he be a bysshop or officer of armys, beare a crosse of saynt George, sufficient and large, upon the peine that if he be wounded or slaine in the defaulte therof, he that so woundeth or sleeth hym, shall beare no payne therfore. And if he for anie cause passe the bondes of the felde, that then he beare openly a crosse of saint George, upon peyne to be imprisoned and punyshed at the kinges pleasure. And that no soldiour beare no cognisance but the kinges and his captaines, upon paine of death. And that none enemy beare the sayde signe of saint George, but if he be prisoner and in warde of his maister, upon payne of death.”

These extracts point clearly to the fact that the Cross of St. George was used as a badge to distinguish English from enemy soldiers—a very necessary provision, seeing that soldiers did not in those days wear any distinctive uniform dress.

Y.Z.

217. THE STAFF CORPS OF CAVALRY. (Vol. V. p. 93.) The two letters which here follow contain proposals as to the formation of the Staff Corps of Cavalry.

The first, dated 13 January, 1813, is from H.R.H. The Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War.

“My Lord,

“The laxity of discipline which must ever, in a greater or a less degree, attend the continued operations of an army in the field, renders it essentially necessary that an officer in command should be provided with an assistance calculated to check and control the evil, beyond what the ordinary establishments of the army generally provide.

“I have for some time past had under my consideration that some measure of this nature ought to be adopted in regard to the army in the Peninsula; and recent accounts not only confirm me in the opinion I have entertained of its necessity, but suggest the expediency of such a new establishment being formed without delay as may be calculated to afford Lord Wellington the assistance he must require in support of the discipline of the army.

“In considering the means to be applied to the assistance of the military police of the army, I have at the same time in view a remedy for the abuse and irregularity which generally attend the provision of orderlies from the cavalry to the General officers and staff. This practice is attended with great injury to the efficiency of cavalry regiments, as well as to the general discipline of the service; and considerable benefit would attend the establishment of a corps equally applicable to the purposes of police, and to the furnishing of orderlies under specific limitations, according to rank and station.

“To refer therefore to the more immediate objects of this letter I have to propose that the duties hitherto attached to the office of Provost Marshal shall be placed upon a more efficient and respectable footing, and that an officer should be appointed to the control of it who should at the same time hold the situation of Commandant of a Staff corps of cavalry to be attached to the department of the Adjutant-General, and which should be required to provide the orderlies as above stated to the General officers, and to patrol the camp and cantonments, to take up stragglers, and to protect the property of the inhabitants, whether the army shall be halted or on the march.

“The Commandant should be of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, in order that sufficient weight should be attached to his person to enable him to control offence, as well as the offenders themselves. His Captains and Subalterns would act in the capacity of assistants; and as in a branch so materially connected with the discipline of the army, the corps would be under the control and general superintendence of an Adjutant-General, to

whom the Commandant should report for the information of the General commanding, I should propose to place him upon the staff as an Assistant-Adjutant-General as the remuneration for his services, in addition to his pay of Commandant of the Staff corps; and that Captains of troops should, for similar reasons, be Deputy-Assistants upon the same staff.

“After this officer and corps were once established, their duties would be directed in the manner best calculated to answer the proposed end by the General commanding an army in the field, and in the present instance by Lord Wellington in particular.

“It would therefore appear unnecessary for me to enter into any detail defining these duties; but at the same time, as the success of the measure would depend materially upon the respectability of the Commandant and his assistants, and as such respectability must flow from the authority with which they are vested, I shall merely remark that they should be empowered to proceed in the most summary punishments upon offending individuals; that they should prosecute at drum-head courts-martial; and that General officers commanding divisions and brigades should be instructed to comply with the requisition of the Commandant and his assistants for such courts-martial; and that sentences, short of death, should be immediately carried into execution by the senior officer on the spot.

“The subalterns and non-commissioned officers of this corps will also be required to act against all stragglers and plunderers and disorderly persons by taking them into custody, and bringing them to the Captains or assistants, who will be the only subordinate officers authorised to require punishments upon the offenders.

“This outline of duty which will be required of a corps of this description is merely mentioned to give your Lordship an idea of the advantages which the discipline of an army may derive from such an establishment; but there are several other details connected with the march and encampment of an army to which the services of such a corps could be beneficially applied, and which it is quite unnecessary to enumerate to your Lordship.

“It would be desirable to provide such an establishment as would afford a troop of this description to be attached to each division of an army; but as the corps must by necessity be formed in the first instance by detachments of men and horses from the different regiments and dragoons, it would be inexpedient to propose such an extended establishment to be formed immediately in the Peninsula as would injure the efficiency of the regiments of cavalry upon that service.

“I should propose therefore that two troops should in the first instance be immediately formed from the regiments of cavalry upon the Peninsula; and that two troops should be formed in this country in the same manner, to be sent out as soon as the arrangement could be completed; making altogether an establishment of 4 troops of 66 rank-and-file each, according to the following detail, viz. :—

- 1 Major Commandant, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and with the pay of Adjutant-General.
- 4 Captains to be assistants to the Commandant, with the additional pay of Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General.
- 4 Lieutenants, with the additional pay of 5/- per diem.
- 2 Cornets, with the additional pay of 3/- per diem.
- 6 Serjeants, each 1/- extra pay.
- 6 Corporals, each 8d. extra pay.
- 120 Privates, each 6d. extra pay.

“Your Lordship will be aware that the success attending such an establishment must entirely depend upon the composition of the corps in both men and officers; and therefore, as it will be essential to select the most steady characters from all ranks, it would be impossible to attain

the object proposed unless an adequate inducement were held out to them to volunteer for this service. It is upon these grounds that I have proposed an additional pay, which I am confident will be attended with advantages, in such a formation, doubly commensurate with the trifling expenses it will entail on the country.

"I should hope, considering the nature of the object proposed, Lord Wellington would have no difficulty in forming the two troops by the transfer of men and horses from the different corps under his command; and with regard to the Commandant and other officers I shall acquaint Lord Wellington, if your Lordship approves of the measure, that in order to increase the field of selection, he is at liberty to name officers for promotion to the ranks, which, in addition to the advantages of increased pay, will serve as an ample inducement to persons well calculated to fill the situation.

"I should propose that the staff corps of cavalry shall be clothed in the same manner as the existing staff corps of infantry, and that they should wear plain scarlet jackets with blue collars and cuffs, and helmets with bearskins, in order that they may be distinguished from the cavalry of the line."

"I am, &c.,

(Sd.) FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief."

The second letter is from Earl Bathurst to General the Marquess of Wellington, who was then in Spain, commanding the Allied Armies.

"War Department. London. 27 January, 1813.

"My Lord,

"I do myself the honour to enclose herewith the copy of a letter addressed to me by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief recommending the formation of a Police Corps to be attached to British armies when employed upon actual service, and which should be charged with those duties which are understood to be executed in the French armies by the *Maréchaussée*.¹

"I have to request your Lordship's consideration of this suggestion, which has been brought forward in consequence of the communications I have held with His Royal Highness upon the irregularities which your Lordship has represented as having been but too prevalent among the troops under your command.

"If the principle of the measure shall meet your concurrence, your Lordship will consider yourself authorised to form such a corps as the Commander-in-Chief has recommended, confining its numbers in the first instance to two troops, the strength of which shall not exceed the establishment proposed by His Royal Highness."

"I have the Honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Sd.) BATHURST,"

The Staff Corps of Cavalry was accordingly raised in April, 1813 [*General Orders*, 13 March and 21 April, 1813], its establishment being four troops. It appears to have been disbanded at the termination of the Peninsular Campaign, but was raised again for the Waterloo campaign, under its former Commandant, Sir George Scovell, K.C.B. It consisted, apparently, of two Troops, and ranked in the army between the Cavalry and the Foot Guards—see *Army List of 1816*, p. 182. In the *Army List of the following year*—p. 186—it seems to have been increased to four Troops, as there are four Captains and four Lieutenants. It served with the army in France, and was disbanded in the autumn of 1818. H.B.

218. JAEGER CORPS IN INDIA—1850. (Vol. V. p. 93.) In 1855, Italian, Swiss and German Legions (of soldiers) were raised for service, in the pay of Great Britain.

¹ Mounted Police (Marshalsea).

The British Italian Legion consisted of 5 regiments of infantry, one being a 'Rifle' regiment; the Swiss Legion of 3 regiments of Light Infantry, and the German Legion of 2 regiments of Light Dragoons, 3 Jäger Corps, and 6 regiments of Light Infantry. (See Annual Army List of 1856—pp. 461-91.)

In Vol. LXVI of the Journal of the R.U.S.I., London, pp. 469-76, there is an article on this British German Legion, by Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Egerton. The following passages, taken from it, will explain how some of the German Legionaries came to be stationed in India in 1857:—

"The men of the British German Legion who had entered into the service of Great Britain were entitled by the terms of their enlistment to receive a gratuity at the close of the war [the Crimean War], and to be sent to their country of origin at the public expense.

"It was found, however, that public opinion abroad was very antagonistic towards them, and that there was a strong probability the men might not meet with a favourable reception at their own homes.

"In this position of affairs it was suggested, in so far as regarded the German Legion, that it might be advantageous to themselves and useful to the Colony if they were established as military settlers at the Cape of Good Hope; a settlement on these lines formed one of the first subjects of recommendation by the Board of General Officers appointed to consider the Report of the Crimean Commission in July, 1856.

"The scheme provided that officers and men who volunteered for the purpose should be settled on land in suitable stations along the borders of Kaffraria; the conditions were that they should preserve their military training and be liable to any military service when called upon, and further that they should assemble every seven years for a limited period of training."

"In 1857, 1030 of these military settlers volunteered for service in the Mutiny, and a battalion of rifles was formed and actually landed at Calcutta; whether they ever saw a shot fired in anger is doubtful, but the casualties from fever and cholera were so severe that only 350 returned some six months later to South Africa."

Colonel James Warwick Woodridge, mentioned in the Question, as commanding the Jaeger Corps in India, had previously commanded the 1st Brigade of the German Legion, the date of his commission being 29 April, 1855, and Adolph Wiederkehr, had been an Ensign in the 2nd Light Infantry Regiment of the Legion.

J.H.L.

219. KNIGHTS BANNERET. (Vol. IV. p. 217; V. p. 144.) In the Report on the MSS. of Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley, of Chequers Court, Bucks, published by the Historical MSS. Commission in 1900, there are several letters from Lieut.-Colonel Charles Russell, 1st Battalion of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, to his Wife.

In 1743 Russell was in Flanders in command of his battalion. At Dettingen, 16 June (O.S.), "the Brigade of Guards had the misfortune not to be in the field of battle," having been sent off to the top of a hill "only to be spectators of what and where we ought to have been principals." (Russell to his Wife, dated 18 June, 1743.)

In a letter dated 13 July, to his Wife, the following passage refers to the battle:—

"We were mighty hot one time to have most of our General Officers made knights bannerets, a week after the action, but the ancient custom used to be only in the field of battle, and that after some particular remarkable action. Since that, they were to be made Knights of the Bath: Hurst [Brig.-General John Huske. See 'D.N.B.'] refused it, who did behave gallantly, and I hope will recover of his wound, but 'tis better, I think, for the rest, that it is dropped."

In a subsequent letter—27 July—to his Wife, he wrote:—

"General Honeywood, Lieutenant-Generals Campbell, Ligonier and Cope are to have red ribbons, and whose regalia, they tell me, are sent for."

This reference is, no doubt, to the Order of the Bath, and makes the allusion to "The Red Ribband" verses mentioned *ante*, p. 144, clear.



THE CAMP OF THE FOREIGN LEGION NEAR HYPHE.

The four Generals here named were nominated to be Knights of the Bath (K.B.), on 12 July, and installed on 20 October, 1744.

In the face of this evidence, it may, I think, be reasonably assumed that no Knights Banneret were made on the field of Dettingen. J.H.L.

220. FORTS. (Vol. V. p. 93.) Many so-called Forts were constructed in North America and Canada, between 1700 and 1760.

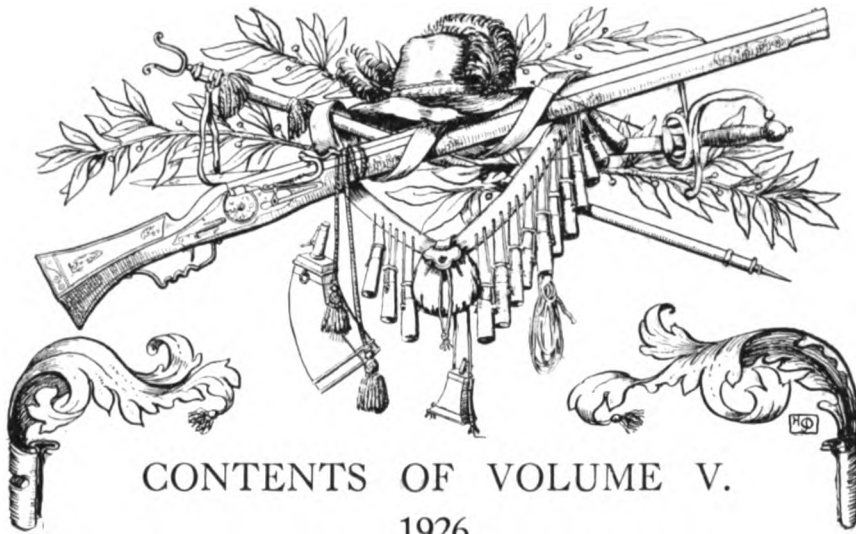
They were mostly wooden structures and might more properly be called stockaded block-houses. Many were named after persons, English and French, and some after the places where they were situated.

The following list is compiled chiefly from: *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, by Lieut.-Colonel Lewis Butler. Smith Elder & Co. 1913. Vol. I. Chapter VI.

All the Forts named are shown on the accompanying map, which is produced with the kind permission of Colonel Butler and John Murray.

| <i>Name of Fort.</i> | <i>Description, etc.</i> |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Anne. | Wood Creek, S. of Lake Champlain. 1709. H.M. Queen Anne. |
| Bedford (Raystown). | On the E. slopes of Alleghany mountains. July. 1758. |
| Carillon. | See "Ticonderoga." |
| Chambly. | E. of Montreal, on the Richelieu river. 1724. |
| Crown Point. | Due S. from Montreal. S.W. shore of Lake Champlain. 18 miles N. from Ticonderoga. 1731. |
| Cumberland. | Alleghany mountains. Now the capital of Alleghany county. H.R.H. The Duke of Cumberland. |
| Detroit. | W. bank of strait between Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair. |
| Du Quesne. | Junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. Built by the French in 1753, and destroyed by them in 1758. Named after Du Quesne, French Governor of Canada. Rebuilt by the British in 1758, and named Fort Pitt after William Pitt, Secretary of State. Now the site of Pittsburg. |
| Edward. | S. of Fort William Henry, on the River Hudson. 1755. |
| Erie. | S. end of strait separating Lakes Erie and Ontario. |
| Frontenac. | N. bank of strait connecting Lake Ontario with the River St. Lawrence. Now the site of Kingston. Louis de Baude, Comte de Frontenac, French Governor of Canada. <i>d.</i> 1698. |
| Ile aux noix. | Between Fort Chambly and Lake Champlain. |
| La Haye. | S. point of Green Bay. Commanded route to the Mississippi by the Illinois river. Possibly named after Guillaume Nicolas La Haye, a French Engineer. 1725—1802. |
| Le Bœuf. | S. of Presqu'île on French creek. (La rivière des Bœufs.) |

| <i>Name of Fort.</i> | <i>Description, etc.</i> |
|-------------------------|---|
| Lévis. | S.W. of Montreal, on S. bank of the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec. General Francois Duc de Lévis. |
| Ligonier. | Between Fort Bedford and Fort Pitt. John, Viscount Ligonier, Field-Marshal. |
| Littleton. | About 30 miles due E. from Fort Bedford, and 20 due W. from Fort Loudoun. |
| Loudoun. | E. slopes of the Alleghany mountains. Major-General, John, Earl of Loudoun. |
| Louisbourg. | Cape Breton island, East Coast. |
| Miamis. | At head of Maumes river. |
| Michilimackinac. | Commanded the passage between Lakes Huron and Michigan. Sometimes called Mackinaw. |
| Niagara. | N. end of the strait between Lakes Ontario and Erie. 1724. |
| Ontario. | S.W. shore of Lake Ontario, at mouth of the Oswego river. |
| Ouatanon. | Due S. of Lake Michigan, on the river Wabash, commanding the great trade route from Lake Erie to the Ohio. |
| Pitt. | See "Du Quesné." |
| Presqu'île. | E. shore of Lake Erie. |
| St. Joseph. | S.E. shore of Lake Michigan. Guarded the route to the Mississippi by the Wisconsin river. |
| Sandusky. | S. shore of Lake Erie. |
| Schlosser. | On the strait between Lakes Erie and Ontario. Possibly named after Lieutenant Joseph Schlosser, in the 60th (Royal Americans) Regiment of Foot. |
| Sorel. | Between Quebec and Montreal, where the Richelieu river runs into the St. Lawrence. |
| Stanwix. | Head of the Mohawk river. 1758. Brig.-General John Stanwix, 60th (Royal Americans) Regiment of Foot. |
| Ticonderoga. | N. end of Lake George. Fortified by the French in 1755, and named "Carillon." |
| Venango. | 60 miles N. from Fort Pitt, on the Alleghany river. |
| William Henry. | S. end of Lake George. 1755. Y.Z. |



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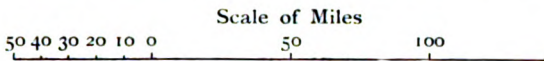
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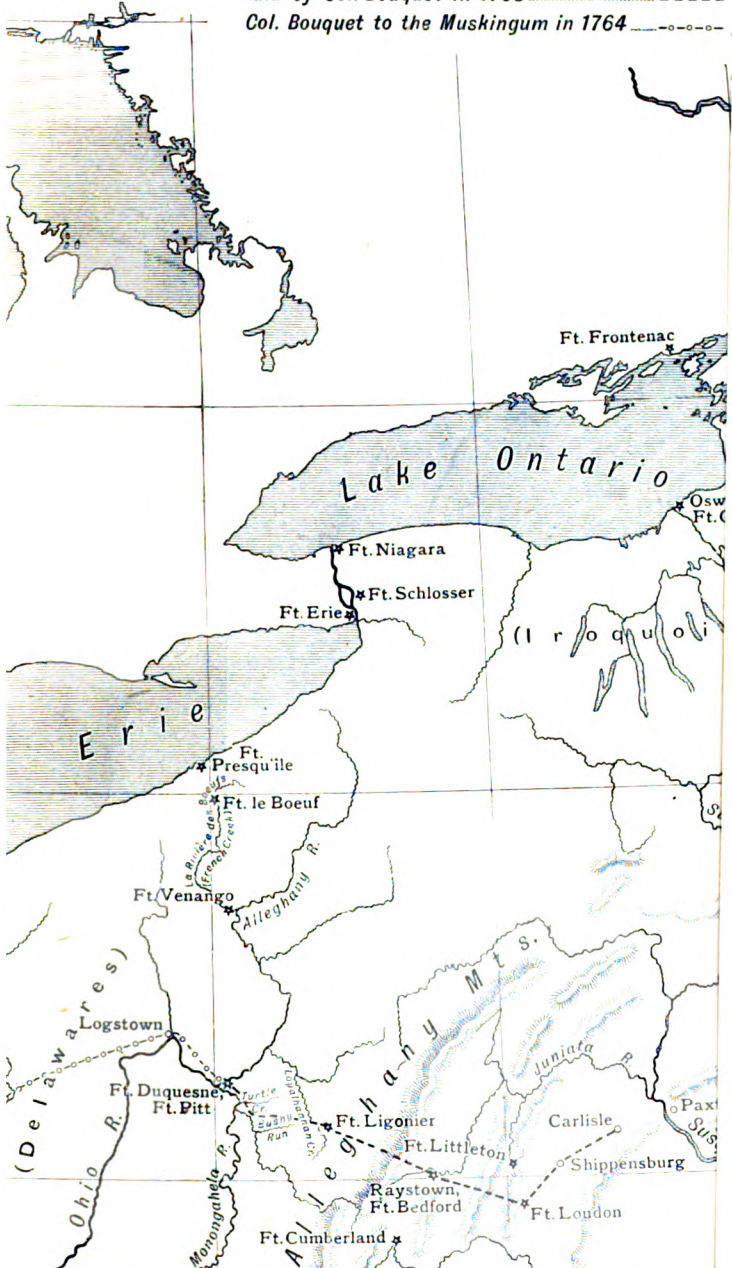
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French, Indian and English Border 1756-64

The Indian Tribes are shown in brackets thus:..... (Iroquois)



March of Gen. Forbes in 1758
and of Col. Bouquet in 1763.....
Col. Bouquet to the Muskingum in 1764.....





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1927.

PLAN FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE BERMUDAS.

SUBMITTED BY LIEUT.-COLONEL ROBERT DONKIN, IN 1780.

With an Introduction by Major-General J. C. DALTON,
Colonel Commandant, R.A.

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Robert Donkin, born on 19 March, 1727, entered the Army in 1746.

According to the 'D.N.B.,' "he had been a brother officer of Wolfe on the Staff of General Fowke in Flanders, and afterwards served on the Staff of General Rufane (Govr. and C.-in-C.) in Martinique, of Lord Granard when C.-in-C. in Ireland and of General Gage in America. He is stated to have been a personal friend of David Hume, the historian, and to have written, at the suggestion of the latter, an account of the famous Siege of Belleisle, at which he was present."

He was author of *Military Collections and Remarks*, published in New York, in 1777, "to relieve and support the innocent Children and Widows of the Valiant Soldiers, inhumanly and wantonly butchered" by the rebels when "peaceably marching to and from Concord, the 19th April, 1775."

He became Captain in the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers on 25 December, 1770. He served throughout the American War, from 1775 onwards, first as A.D.C. to General Gage, being then a Major in the 44th Foot, and later, as Lieut.-Colonel, in command of the Royal Garrison Battalion, and went, as stated in his paper, in 1779, to Bermuda to take a reinforcement, the times being troublous, means of conveyance few, and, as his statement plainly bears out, there was considerable risk of surprise or capture by enemy vessels.

With regard to his criticisms and scheme for improving matters, it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding the early days of defences in the Bermudas. After their rediscovery and colonization by Admiral Sir George Somers in 1609-10, a London "Company of Adventurers" bought the islands from the "Virginia Company," who had claimed them, and sent out the first nucleus of 50 Settlers from England under one Richard Moore to colonize them. He arrived in 1612, became the first 'Governor'—1612-15—started defences soon after he took over, and elected to fortify what is now known as Castle Harbour on the N.E. side of the island, erecting his chief work, the King's Castle, on a rocky islet.

In 1613, when readiness to meet attack was far from forward, two Spanish vessels, no doubt entirely ignorant of there being any form of defence then possible, did actually attempt to enter the harbour, but two rounds from the fort called "King's Castle" so alarmed them that they hastily put about and were soon out of sight! In the quaint language of the day it is thus alluded to, "Mark here the handywork of the Diuine Providence for they (the garrison) had but three quarters of a barrel of poudre and but one shot more, and the poudre by carelessness was tumbled down under the mussels of the two peeces, yet not touched with fire when they were discharged." England was then at war with Spain.

One hundred and sixty-six years were to pass before Robert Donkin appeared and found the place in a defenceless state, though we constantly read in Lefroy's *Memorials of the Bermudas*, 1877-9, of money voted for the defences, and, similarly, for many years after the Crown had taken over the Company's rights in 1684. The 19th Century saw garrisons of British troops and steadily improved defences and armaments under a succession of distinguished Military Governors. Probably the efficient state of the modern defences has spared the little Colony the dangers of attack, but whether it were poorly or efficiently manned and fortified the fact remains that the occasion quoted above, as obtaining in 1613, is the solitary instance of Bermuda firing a shot in anger! and "Was it not a little one?"

To return to Robert Donkin, Lefroy says in the 2nd volume of his wonderful book, p. 570, "we find traces of a Royal Garrison Battalion as early as 1779 and of Royal Artillery in 1783. In 1782 the Council still provided guns and gunpowder and the Colony possessed a sloop and a gun boat of its own."

General Donkin died near Bristol, England, in March, 1821, aged 94, leaving an only surviving son, born in 1773, who became Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, K.C.B., M.P. for Berwick-on-Tweed.

NOTE ON THE MAP.

In 1618 one of the original party of Bermuda colonists, Richard Norwood by name, a talented mathematician, undertook a proper survey of the entire group of the Bermuda islands (popularly supposed to number 365), which he incorporated into an excellent map, which became the basis for a number of charts produced by the great Dutch Cartographer Blaeuw, of Amsterdam, and others, of which one, a French rendering of the English map, is here reproduced.

Norwood divided the land into eight "tribes" called after the names of the principal "Adventurers" who were the original founders of the Company—mostly of the nobility of England, as the names indicate, viz.: Bedford, Hamilton, Smith's, Cavendish, Devonshire, Paget, Pembroke, Southampton, Sandys, etc. These "tribes" were further subdivided into smaller parcels for different owners. Many of these names are still

borne in honour by present-day Bermudians. Government reserved certain public lands and all the ports.

Lefroy records that Richard Norwood, "the most eminent and probably the last survivor of the original Settlers who came out as Surveyor in 1615," died in 1675, aged 84.

J. C. D.

DONKIN'S PLAN FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE BERMUDAS, 1780.

Our people at home seem to be ignorant of the importance of these Isles to Britain, as they were of a proper plan for humiliating the Americans. Dame Nature pointed out to the latter that obvious grand Barriere the *North River*, and the Reduction of the New Englanders *only*. But Lady Prudence not conducting, we blundered! Allow me to offer mine, for the preservation of the tottering Sommers Islands 'eer it be too late.

We all know that the real friends to Government are slenderly sown in these Territories; nay some that have honorable employments from the Crown are not without being suspected of favoring the American cause! Were a revolt to happen & be successful (which never can succeed if my plan be executed) our Enemies would soon fortify and put the proper posts (now in ruins) into such a condition as would render them for ever unregainable!

If for the trifling expense of about 1,000 guineas, Bermuda could be put out of the power of all insult, do we not richly deserve to lose it if any longer delay be made towards the immediate erection & repair of the necessary Barracks and Batteries? as all our homeward bound W. India men endeavour to make this land. Were it possessed by an Enemy such nest of privateers would be successively sallying out & triumphantly returning in with British prizes that not one in ten could ever expect to reach their destined Ports! and as there is the greatest reason to believe the Americans have *secretly ceded for ever* these Islands to the French, notwithstanding their public assertions to their *numerous friends here* to the contrary, we should lose no time in getting them into such a respectable posture of defence as to awe the internal haughty, and repel the outward, foe.

On a small domineering insulated rock to the left as you enter the Grand (Castle) harbour stands the King's Castle with a range of impregnable batteries without ammunition, the carriages rotten and not a single room to shelter the necessary Guards in; opposite to this is Fort Southampton, equally commanding with five 24 pounders. Between these two invincible fortresses must a ship run the gauntlet at the distance of 30ty yards from the Castle and 350 from Fort Southampton, and only one frigate can come in at a time, the Channel being narrow, flanked with tremendous crags and no more than 17 feet of water, so that she dare not return any shot lest firing might derange her steerage & lay her rudder on the Ledges of Rocks.

The plan naturally follows to build barracks on Castle Island for 200 men, another at Fort Southampton for 30ty men with a cistern, as a Corporal's Guard has been four days without a drop of fresh water detained by the impetuosity of surf and weather from passing over to Castle Island, where two sufficient cisterns are copiously supplied.

The Cannon that are flakeing into scales by the spray of the sea to be replaced and properly mounted, and then I bid defiance to all enemies of England coming that day, let their Fleets be ever so great. But it is absolutely necessary to erect a new six gun battery of 24 pounders at the foot of the Cavalier, it being too slender to bear that weight of metal, four of which should point to the West Continent and two to the Island where an old Fort stands, to prevent the enemy from attempting a regular siege by land.

Thus fortified were the Confederates to debark elsewhere, effect a rising of their well-wishers all over the isles and get possession of them, yet I holdly assert they could not maintain themselves longer than till a reinforcement should arrive, which by my position before described, can enter the harbour securely, land where it pleases and with the assistance of a few cruizers not only prevent all escape but make the whole prisoners.

In War a frigate to be constantly here & a couple of tenders to keep a Lookout. Although the above plan suffices to secure Bermuda for ever to England, yet I would have 300 men more dispersed among the islands as follows, viz. :—

At St. George's* (the seat of Government improperly chosen) to man the two redoubts that can destroy the town.

A third redoubt ought to be constructed on the hill upon the left of the left wing of the Governor's house to cover & protect the cisterns from being destroyed, for if water be let out *Adieu paniers vendanges sont faites.* †

| | | | |
|--|--------|----------|-----------|
| Were a revolt to be attempted | | 240 men. | } 300 men |
| At St. George's ferry, which should be made into a work to be defended till death to hinder insurgents coming over. | | 13 .. | |
| At West End to prevent smugling, but to retire to the Castle upon an invasion or rising. | | 20 .. | |
| To defend Fort Paget, an inlet for small craft only, but should the enemy seize the hill that looks down upon them, they must go round by sea to Fort Southampton. | | 20 .. | |
| On David's Island Battery, but to retire to F[ort] Southampton on an alarm. | | 7 .. | |

Let us now imagine the enemy landed, an insurrection of thousands in their favor, the West End, F[ort] Paget and David's Island parties retired to the Castle and Fort Southampton.

* Note.—The harbour and Castle the only (seat) proper.

† A French proverb. Literally 'Farewell! baskets, The Vintage is ended.' Metaphorically 'Good-bye! our hopes, all is over.'

I would augment the Ferry to forty men, which must not be taken. With the remainder the 3 Redoubts ought to hold out till the attackers are tired! But if the water in town be let out in the dark by a few disaffected, what is to be done? If you can't go off in boats to the Castle make the best capitulation you can. Are the Sommers Islands then conquered? No! The Castle and F[ort] Southampton put into proper condition are impregnable and will let in reinforcements at pleasure.

But where is the money to come from? Alas! the majority of the inhabitants would be sorry to see such works of safety erected.

Boats of Communication to be amply allowed and as the Castle and F[ort] Southampton are on two rocky barren islands where no garden can be made and frequently no intercourse with us for weeks together, which I have already experienced by reason of tempestuous weather, the troops should be comfortably accomodated with everything for a twelve months' siege.

I landed here (St. George's) on the 1st of December, 1779, from New York in ten days with a reinforcement of 129 men for the 4 Companies of the Garrison Battalion of which I have the honour to be Lt. Colonel Commandant (two Companies more, all of 100 men each being stationed at Providence). We were closely chased in by 4 rebel frigates and within 18 minutes of being taken, which had they effected the Islands were inevitably lost.

My oportune arrival, the well attached firmly declare, saved them and their property from passing into the hands of a new Master.

Sd. S. R. D.

saiés he sent a copy to Lord G. Germain & Lord Amherst, Sir H. Clinton & Mr. Gordon the 1st of Feb. 1780.

THE OLD MARCH OF THE ENGLISH ARMY.

BY CAPTAIN H. OAKES-JONES, M.B.E.

In view of the question as to the date and origin of the air and words of the "British Grenadiers," a reproduction of an old warrant regarding military music should prove of interest.

This was issued by Charles I in 1632 with the object of preventing the then old English March from being lost and forgotten. An original "true copie" of this warrant is in the possession of the Royal School of Music, Kneller Hall, and we have been able to reproduce it by the kind permission of the Commandant. It measures about 30" by 24", and reads as follows:—

WHEREAS the ancient custome of Nations hath ever bene to use one certaine & constante forme of March in the warres whereby to be distinguished one from another, And the March of this Our English Nation so famous in all the honourable. Atchievements and Glorious

The *Voluntary* *March* & *W. & R. & A. S.* the ancient custom of

Nations hath ever been to use one certain & constant form of *March* in the most noble & be-
 distinguished war then another, sayd the *March* of this in English states a name in all the *British* *Stations* & *cerimonies* & *occasions*
 of the *Commonwealth* in possession particularly by the *institutions* of *George Manwood* *enclift* and *John de Witt* & *J. F.*
Phillippon & others of the *wisdom* and *conscience* of *Trinitario* used by his *discretion* & *conscience* & *experience* & *age*
 from the *ancient* *goddie* and *musical* theory, as it was in other changes attende to have been kept & *improv'd*. It should
 beo *the* *only* *Princ* *March* to receive & receive the name by *holding* on *establishment* of one certain *measure*, which
 was *the* *measure* of *Shenard* *March* 610. *Incarnation* *whereof* *the* *one* *generally* *plac'd* *at* *the* *entrance*
 and *the* *exit* of *our* *right* *heart* and *right* *well* *belov'd* *cousin* and *son* *in* *law* *Edward* of *Westward* *King* *of* *France* & *of*
Nor *and* *England* *this* *great* *Establishment* of *honour* *exemplar* *Willing* & *Commanding* all *Trinitario* *within*
Our *Kingdome* of *England* and *Principallitie* of *Wales* except *the* *people* to observe the same, as well in this
Our *Highness* as *abroad* in the service of any *Prince* or *State*, without any addition or alteration whatever, & the end
 that it should *honour* and *commendable* a *custom*, may be *perpetrated* as a *patron*, and *grace* *that* *to* *all* *particlar*, given
 at *our* *Palace* of *Westminster* the 7th day of *February*, in the 7th *year* of *our* *reign* of *England* *declared*, *Teste*
and *Signat.* (anno *reg.*)

The *Voluntary* before the *March*



Ou ou pou ou pou & pou ou pou pou pou & pou & pou

The *March*

Ou ou pou ou pou & pou & pou

Ou pou & pou & pou

Ou pou ou pou & pou & pou & pou

Ou pou & pou & pou

Ou pou & pou & pou & pou & pou & pou & pou & pou & pou & pou

Improv'd *Spinnall* *Sartors* *the* *Musical*

These a true copy of the *Music* as copyed by the *Hand* *Wright* *Mason*

warres of this Our Kingdome in forraigne parts (being by the approbation of Strangers themselves, confest and acknowledged the best of all Marches) was through the negligence and carelesnes of Drummers and by long discontinuance so altered and changed, from the ancient gravitie and maiestie thereof, as it was in danger utterlie to have bene lost, & forgatten. It pleased Our late deare brother Prince Henry to revive & rectifie the same by ordayning an establishment of one of certain measure, which was beaten in his presence at Greenwich Anno 1610. In confirmation whereof We are graciously pleased at the instance and humble sute of our right trustie and right wel beloved cousin and councillor Edward, Viscount Wimbledon, to set down and ordayne this present, Establishment hereunder expressed, Willing & Commanding all Drummers within Our Kingdome of England Principallitie of Wales, exactlie & precisely to observe the same, as well in this Our Kingdome, as abroad in the service of any Prince or State, without any addition or alteration whatsoever. To the end that so ancient famous and comendable a custome, may be preserved as a patterne, and precedent to all posteritie. Given at Our Pallace at Westminster the 7th day of February, in the Seventh Yeare of our raigne of England, Scotland Franc and Ireland. (Anno 1632).

Subscribed ARUNDELL SURREY.

I believe this to be the same copy to which Grose* refers to when he states " Mr. Walpole has been very happy in discovering a manuscript in parchment purporting to be a Warrant of Charles I, directing the revival of the March agreeably to form thereto, subjoined in musical notes, signed by His Majesty and counter-signed by the Earl of Arundell and Surrey. This curious manuscript was found by the present Earl of Huntingdon in an old chest, and as the parchment has at one corner the arms of his Lordship's predecessors, then living, Mr. Walpole thinks it probable that the order was sent to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties."

The arms are those of the Stanley family, the Earls of Derby, and are, argent on a bend azure, three stags' heads caboshed or. I have not heard of the existence of another copy of this warrant.

Sir John Hawkins, in his *History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 1776, 5 vols., referring to this March, says (Vol. II, Book II, chapter IV, p. 171):—" It seems that the old English march of the foot was formerly in high estimation, as well abroad as with us; its characteristic is dignity and gravity, in which respect it differs greatly from the French, which, as it is given by Mersennus, is brisk and alert. Sir Roger Williams, a gallant Low country soldier of queen Elizabeth's time, and who has therefore a place among the worthies of Lloyd and Winstanley, had once a conversation on this subject with Marshal Biron, a French General. The marshal observed that the English march being beaten by the drum, was slow, heavy and sluggish. ' That may be true,' answered Sir Roger, ' but slow as it is, it has traversed your master's country from one end

* *Military Antiquities*, 1788 edition, Vol. II, p. 251.

to the other.' [This ancient March was slower than our present 'Quick March,' but not so slow as our present ceremonial 'Slow March.'"]

Old records of military music are probably hidden away in many houses, up and down the country, which, if brought to light, would be of great value and interest. Are any known to members?

STANDING ORDERS FOR THE ARMY—1755.

(Concluded from page 199. Vol. V.)

110. The Captain and his Officers are then to examine the men's arms and ammunition, which being done he orders to prime, load, and shoulder, all which they are to perform regularly and together.
111. As soon as the Colonel or Field Officer of the Picquet has acquainted the Captain that he may return the picquet, the Captain having cautioned the men to be ready to turn out at a moment's warning, orders 'Picquet to the right and left of your Companies.' Upon which the Officers, Serjeants and Drummers move three paces to the front and the men face to the right and left outwards. 'March.' They march till they come opposite to the Bells of Arms of their respective Companies, waiting for the next word of command, 'Halt.' Upon which they face to the Bells of Arms, and the Officers, Serjeants and Drummers face to the Colours. 'Lodge your arms.' They march together and having carefully lodged their arms, return to their tents, the Officers, Serjeants and Drummers doing the same.
112. The picquets are to send Patroles round the encampment of the Regiment from ten at night till day-break to take up all men they find out of their tents, and to prevent disorders in the rear.
113. In the day-time the Picquets are likewise to send frequent Patroles in the front and rear, to take up all persons they see marauding, gaming or committing disorders.
114. The two Field Officers of the Picquets are to go the rounds of the two Lines, taking one Line each, except the Colonel of the Picquet sends them word that he will go the Rounds himself. They will report to the Colonel in the morning, who is to make his Report to the Brigadier of the day before 9 o'clock.
115. Advanced Picquets are to turn out to the Commander-in-Chief only, and to the Generals of the Day if they order it. They are not to beat the Drum nor Salute, the men remaining with shoulder'd arms.
116. All immediate Detachments are to be taken from the Picquets, and the Regiments to replace them as soon as possible.

VI.

OTHER STANDING ORDERS.

117. The Grenadier Companies to be compleated out of the best men of their respective Regiments and to be constantly kept so.

118. When demands are made for ammunition the Commanding Officers must sign them, mentioning at what time and what quantity he received last, and how it has been expended.
119. Commanding Officers of Regiments to see that their Hatchet Men be provided with necessary tools.
120. No man to stir out of his Platoon or Division in marching through Towns or Villages. The Officer of the Platoon who suffers it, to be put in Arrest.
121. All Non-effective pay to be stop'd in the Pay-Master's hands, and by him remitted to the Agent for a Recruiting Fund, according to His Majesty's Order.
122. The Major-General of the day, to visit the Grand Guard before he makes his report in the morning.
123. All reports to be made to the Brigadier of the day, who is to report to the Major-General, and he to the Lieutt-General of the day.
124. Upon coming to a new Camp, the Major-General is to reconnoitre the Camp and post the Grand Guards, and make his report before Orders will be given out.
125. Whenever the Quarter-Master-General demands a Detachment to go out with him to reconnoitre, it is to be furnished immediately by the nearest troops, and a report to be sent to the General Officer of the day; such Detachments are to be allowed of[f] in the next detail of Duty.
126. Whenever Detachments are made of more than 200 men, a Surgeon or Mate is to be sent with them, belonging to the Corps of the Officer that commands the Detachment.
127. Officers when returned from out-posts, are immediately to make there report to the Major-General of the day at Head Quarters, or in his absence to the Adjutant-General.
128. All Out-Guards to send a man of their party, as a guide, to the Major of Brigade of the day, at his tent, or to the Grand parade, in order to conduct the new Guard to the Post.
129. No Officer under the degree of a Brigadier is to appear in Garrison, Camp, Cantonment or Quarters, whether on duty or not, in any other coat than his Uniform or Regimentals, either old or new.
130. Any new tents or marquees wanting, are to be made conformable to the following dimensions.
 1. Length of the ridge pole—7 feet.
 2. Height of the standard poles—8 feet.
 3. Length from front to rear, between the half-walls of the marquees—14 feet.
 4. Breadth of the marquees between the half-walls—10 feet 6 ins.
 5. Height of the half walls—4 feet.
131. The Officers of the Infantry are to salute with their espontoons and fuzees in the same manner as those of the Foot Guards.
132. No person to take away or remove the Marks set up by the Quarter-Master-General for marking the route of the Army.

133. Whenever a Battalion is under arms for Exercise or Review, a Field return is to be made out specifying
 First—the number and ranks of the several Commission'd Officers.
 Second—Non-Commission'd Officers and Soldiers under arms.
 Third—Upon duty. Fourth—Absent with leave.
 Fifth—Recruiting. Sixth—Sick in Hospitals.
 Seventh—Sick in Quarters; and Eighth—Wanting to Compleat.
 It shall also be specified where the Officers and Men upon duty are.

This Return to be given to the General or Commanding Officer who reviews the Regiment.

134. All returns, reports, and demands are to be signed by the Commanding Officers of Regiments, Guards or Detachments, and the Officer who signs them is to put down his rank and the Corps he belongs to.
135. Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers are to pull off their hats to all Officers (what soever Corps they belong to) whenever they pass by them.
136. No Centry to sit down or quit his arms.
137. Majors of Regiments are to take care that the Regimental Book be properly kept, in which

First—Every Officer's name. Second—The date of his Commission in the Regiment and in the Army, are to be entered.
 Third—Also their country, and Fourth—Age.

The names of every Non-Commission'd Officer and soldier is likewise to be entered with their age, complexion, town and country, where born; their trade or profession; and date of their enlisting.

An entry is constantly to be made in this book, of the time of receiving arms, accoutrements, cloathing, camp equipage, ammunition, bread, forage, &c., specifying the time and place where received, and the particular quantities and species.

All orders, march-routes and details of duty are likewise to be entered.

This Book is always to remain at the Head-Quarters of the Regiment, and is to be transmitted by the Major to his successor, as belonging to the Regiment.

BY ORDER OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE.

[Signed.] R. NAPIER, Adjutant-General.

23 May, 1755.

NOTE.—In another copy of these orders, paragraph 137 as given above, becomes 138, and a different par. 137 is inserted, as follows:—

137. All Officers are to observe how the duty is done and to reprimand those that are negligent, or report them to the proper Officer, although they may not belong to the same Corps.—*Ed.*

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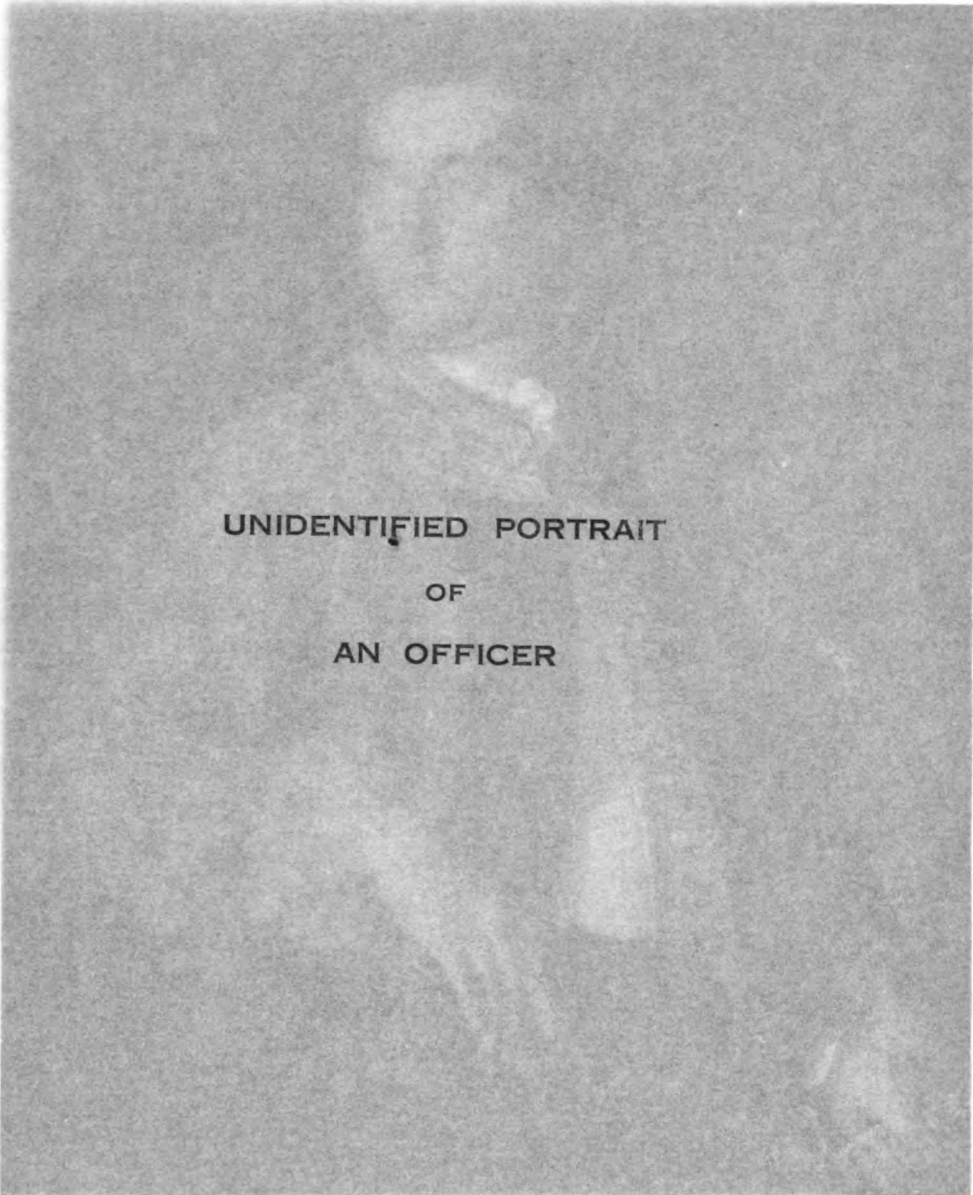
UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT

OF

AN OFFICER

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UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT
OF
AN OFFICER

AN UNIDENTIFIED PORTRAIT.

BY CAPTAIN H. OAKES-JONES, M.B.E.

The portrait of an officer, 1755, which faces this page, is reproduced through the courtesy of the owners, Messrs. Spink & Son, of King Street, St. James's, S.W. 1, and has several points of special interest. It is a remarkably fine painting, signed "Geo. Chalmers, Pinxt. Minorca, 1755." Sir George Chalmers, Bart., "was a native of Edinburgh and studied painting under Allan Ramsay, after which he went to Rome. In early life he was patronised by General Blakeney at Minorca, and he there painted a portrait of that officer from which picture an engraving was published. (See p. 12.) He succeeded to the title of baronet but not to the estate of his ancestors, which had been forfeited by their attachment to the family of Stuart. Sir George, therefore, continued to follow painting as a profession, first at Hull and next in London."*

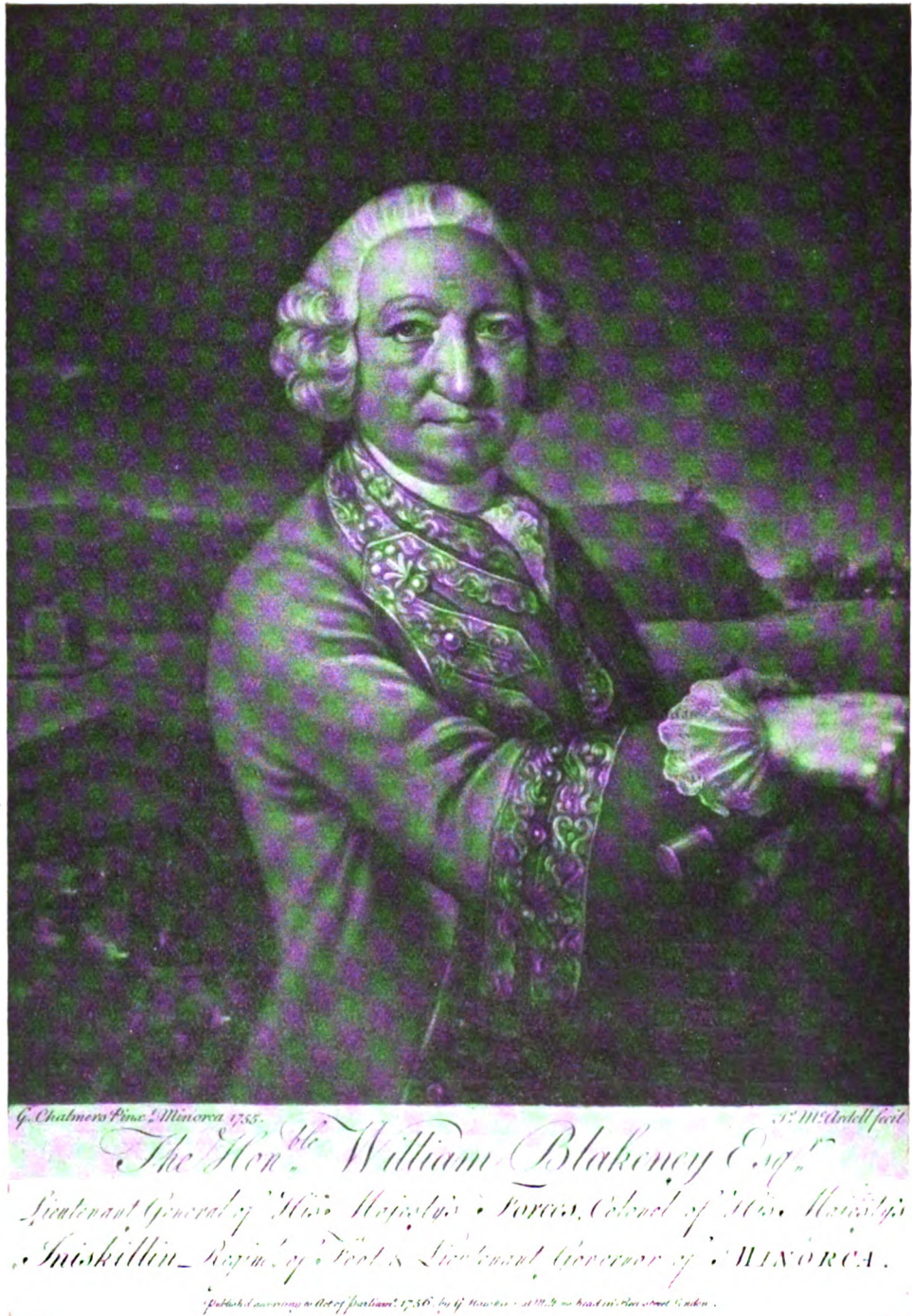
The question of the identity of the portrait has yet to be settled. The garrison of Minorca in 1755, under the command of Lieutenant-General William Blakeney, then an old man aged 82, consisted of

| <i>Regiments.</i> | <i>Colonel.</i> | <i>Colour of Facings.</i> |
|--|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Fourth (or the King's Own). | Robert Rich. | Blue. |
| Twenty-third (or Royal) Welch Fuzileers. | John Huske. | Blue. |
| Twenty-fourth. | Edward Cornwallis. | Green. |
| Thirty-fourth | Earl of Effingham. | Yellow. |
| and | | |
| One Company of Royal Artillery. | | |

From this it will be seen that there is little doubt that the portrait is that of a Field Officer of the 24th Regiment, and probably either the Colonel, the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, or the Lieutenant-Colonel, William Rufane.

"The Honourable Edward Cornwallis was the sixth son of Charles, Lord Cornwallis. He was the eldest of twin children born on 22 February, 1713, the other twin being Frederick Charles, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of George III. Edward Cornwallis entered the XX at an early age, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served with the corps through the campaigns in Flanders and Scotland, in 1744-1745. On the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Gee at the battle of Fontenoy, Major Cornwallis succeeded to the command of the corps. In 1743 he was nominated member of Parliament for Eye, and in 1745 he obtained a position at Court as Groom of His Majesty's Bed-chamber. He commanded the XX at Stirling, and, on being appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, was succeeded by Major Wolfe. In May, 1749, Lieutenant-Colonel Cornwallis sailed for Nova Scotia in charge of one thousand one hundred and forty-nine settlers, and he was

* Pilkington's *Dictionary of Painters*. 1857.



From an engraving lent by T. H. Parker, 12A, Berkeley Street, London, W.1.

the first Governor and founder of the province of Nova Scotia. In 1752 he resigned the Governorship.”*

He was appointed to the Colonelcy of the 24th Regiment on 8 February, 1752; promoted to the rank of Major-General in 1757, and Lieutenant-General in 1760; was Governor of Gibraltar in 1762 and died at Bird Place in Herefordshire on 14 January, 1776, aged 63.

WILLIAM RUFANE.

He was appointed Ensign in Colonel Thomas Wentworth's Regiment (which in 1750 was numbered the 24th Foot) on 8 February, 1722. In this Regiment, he became Captain in 1737, Major in 1741, and Lieut.-Colonel in 1751.

On 16 January, 1761, he was appointed Colonel of the 76th Foot, which had been raised in 1756 as the 61st Foot, becoming the 76th in June, 1758.†

He served under Lieut.-General Hodgson at the capture of Belle Isle in 1761, and highly distinguished himself there. He also served in the West Indies, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General in May, 1772, and died in the following February.

The question as to whether both these officers were present at Minorca in 1755 is not clear, but we know that Cornwallis was not there at the end of the year, neither was he present with his regiment at the Siege of Minorca in 1756, for when the French laid siege to the island General Blakeney had about 43 officers on leave of absence from his garrison, and the Regiments of Foot were commanded by their Lieutenant-Colonels, of whom Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Jeffreys, of Effingham's Regiment (the 34th) was senior. Absent officers received orders to rejoin their regiments late in 1755. Most of them with the drafts of recruits embarked on the ill-fated fleet of Admiral Byng, and his failure to land them at Minorca was the cause of a Court of Enquiry on Major-General Stuart, Colonels Cornwallis and Lord Effingham. (See the report of General Officers, December 8th, 1756.)

Cornwallis in his evidence stated that as soon as he heard that officers of the garrison were to rejoin their regiments he rose from a sick bed and reported for duty. He *may* have sat for this portrait early in 1755, before going on leave.

The medal is worn on the breast, as to-day, and not suspended from the neck, which was the custom in the early days of decorations.

What is this medal? At first it might be taken for the Culloden Medal, but a careful examination will show that the design is unlike either the head of Cumberland or the figure of Apollo; on either side of the ring or loop for the ribbon there is a small half-moon on the edge, and at the base a projecting ornament. (Fig. 2.)

I do not think this can be attributed to careless artistic licence, having regard to the careful drawing in his detail of the aiguillette, braid, lace,

* Smyth's *History of the XX Regiment*. 1889. p. 32—footnote.

† This was the first regiment numbered 76 and was disbanded in 1763.

THE CULLODEN MEDAL.



Obverse.—The bust of the Duke of Cumberland; above, CUMBERLAND. Below, YEO, F. (Yeo fecit.)

Reverse.—Apollo, laureate, leaning upon his bow, points to the Dragon wounded by his arrow. *Legend:* ACTUM. EST. ILICET. PERIIT. (The deed is done, it is all over, he has perished.) In *exergue*, PRÆL. COLOD. AP. AVI. MDCCXLVI. (The Battle of Culloden, 16 April, 1746.)

The medal has an ornamental border and a loop for suspension; it was made in gold, silver and in bronze. *Ribbon*—Crimson, with green borders.



FIG. 1.

and sword hilt. Moreover, it will be seen that Blakeney also wears a medal. It is not so clearly shown in the reproduction from the engraving, but in the original painting now on loan to the National Gallery of Ireland, it seems to be the same medal as in the unknown portrait, and the edge of the base is quite unlike that of the known Culloden medal. The Director of the National Gallery of Ireland has sent a sketch of the medal from the painting (Figure 1). Its form and shape appear to be identical with that in the coloured portrait. He describes it as "a cannon, or perhaps a tower, with flames issuing from it," and states that the ribbon appears to be dark blue. Age and varnish make it difficult to see if there is another colour. He has not seen the unknown portrait.

King George II ordered a gold medal for Culloden to be issued to all senior Officers.



FIG. 2.

Tancred in his historical records of medals states: "Attached to the medal which belonged to Colonel Howard, who commanded the Buffs at the Battle of Culloden, is a much-faded ribbon, 36 inches long, crimson with green borders, which might be taken as evidence it had been worn suspended from the neck." The colour of the ribbon in our unknown portrait is blue and orange. General William Lord Blakeney was made Governor of Stirling Castle 1744, and for his services in its defence during the rebellion of 1745 he was made Lieutenant-General and Lieutenant Governor of Minorca. I can find no mention of his presence at the Battle of Culloden after the siege of Stirling Castle had been raised,* but he wears a gold medal. Cornwallis is mentioned as commanding the 20th Regiment at Stirling, and we know his regiment was at Culloden and so was the 24th Regiment, in which Rufane was then a Major, but did not command his regiment there. Therefore, as gold medals were as a rule only given to senior officers in command, it does not appear

* Early in February, 1746, but his regiment, the 27th, which I believe had formed part of his garrison at Stirling, joined the Duke of Cumberland's army and took part in that Battle.

likely that this portrait is of Rufane, if the medal is a Rebellion one.*

All these facts point to the medal being granted for the 1745 Rebellion and to the possibility that another medal, hitherto unknown to collectors, was struck, possibly for the defence of Stirling Castle. If this is so, very few would have been distributed—only to Blakeney and his senior officers. There is also a remote chance that it is one of the numerous medals struck to celebrate the Carthagena expedition in 1741, in which Blakeney and the 24th Regiment took part, but not the 20th Regiment. I believe the portrait is that of the Honourable Edward Cornwallis, and that the medal is an unknown one for the 1745-6 Rebellion.

It will be most interesting if any members of the Society can give any new information, both as to the identity of the portrait and the medal. As regards the painting, the uniform is of great interest, showing as it does the exact pattern of the turn-over cuff with slash, uncommon form of cut, and the general arrangement of the lace.

CROMWELL'S REGIMENTS.

BY SIR CHARLES H. FIRTH.

[Original regiment of "Ironsides" in Manchester's Army, became, on the formation of the New Model, two regiments, Fairfax's and Whalley's. When Cromwell became Commander-in-Chief in 1650 and Fairfax resigned, Fairfax's regiment of Horse passed once more under Cromwell's command.]

In the New Model, Vermuyden's regiment, on his resignation, became Cromwell's, and later Desborough's. Its history is told in the present article.—EDITOR.]

Cromwell was colonel at various times of six different regiments of horse and foot, and in reading the military history of his period, it is not always easy to distinguish between them, though it is important to do so in order to understand what happened. Much depends on an accurate knowledge of the personal history of the officers of the army during the years between 1642 and 1660.

The first regiment Cromwell commanded was the regiment of horse into which the troop he raised in 1642 subsequently developed. He formed it in 1643 and ceased to command it in 1645 when the formation of the New Model Army took place. It was then divided into two regiments, one commanded by Fairfax, the other by Colonel Edward Whalley. The history of these two regiments has been told in detail in two papers printed in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.†

* It is not clear when or how the 20th regiment (Bligh's) was at Stirling. It landed in England from Flanders on 4 November, 1745, and at once joined General Ligonier's force which was pursuing the Scot rebels, under the Pretender, northwards from Derby. It was employed at the siege of Carlisle, which was surrendered by the rebels on 30 December. After this it proceeded to Scotland, reaching Edinburgh in February. Thence it went by sea to Aberdeen, arriving on 25 March, 1746, and joined the Duke of Cumberland's army.

† *The raising of the Ironsides*. Second Series. Vol. XIII. 1899.

The Later History of the Ironsides. Second Series. Vol. XV. 1901.



THOMAS, THIRD LORD FAIRFAX, AND ANNE VERE, HIS WIFE
Reproduced by permission from *Historical Portraits*, Vol. II, published by the Clarendon Press, 1911,
from a photograph by Emery Walker Limited of the picture by
William Dobson in the National Portrait Gallery



The second regiment Cromwell commanded was the regiment of the New Model whose fortunes are related in this paper. He ceased to command it in 1649 when he went to Ireland, and became instead colonel of two regiments, one of horse, the other of foot, raised for the expedition to Ireland. When he returned to England in June, 1650, he ceased to command those regiments. A regiment of foot was now raised to be under his command in the war against the Scots, and when Fairfax resigned the post of commander in chief Cromwell took over Fairfax's regiment of Horse.

At the formation of the New Model Cromwell, being a member of Parliament, lost his command, and his regiment of Ironsides was divided up to form regiments for other commanders. When it was decided to retain his services as Lieutenant General of the Horse in Fairfax's army, it became necessary to find him a regiment. Chance offered an opportunity. On 8 June, 1645, Colonel Vermuyden, who commanded one of the New Model regiments of horse, 'came to the general, desiring in regard of some special occasions which he said he had to draw him beyond seas, that he might have leave to lay down his commission, which was yielded unto, and accordingly he received his discharge.' (Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 32.) The same day Fairfax and other officers wrote to the House of Lords, saying that the presence of a general officer to command the Horse was imperatively necessary, and begging that Lieutenant-General Cromwell, so long as his attendance on the House of Commons may be dispensed with, may be appointed to execute that place (*Old Parliamentary History*, XIII. 498). Leave being granted by the House of Commons, Cromwell remained with the Army as Lieutenant General, and stepped naturally into the command of the vacant regiment. The officers commanding troops in the regiment at this time were Major Robert Huntington, and Captains Jenkins, Middleton, Reynolds, and Bush. At Naseby Captain Bush was killed, and Captain Blackwell took his place as troop commander. A cornet of the regiment was killed at the siege of Bridgwater, but it seems to have lost no other officers during the campaign of 1645 (Sprigge, p. 331: *Cromwelliana*, p. 20). Nor did the quarrel between the Parliament and the Army in 1647 make much change amongst the officers. On April 8, 1647, the House of Commons voted 'that Lieutenant General Cromwell's regiment of horse, under the command of Major Huntington, as colonel, shall be one of the regiments of horse, that are to be kept up.' (*Commons Journals*, V. 137.) The refusal of the army to disband prevented this vote from being carried into effect.¹ The regiment was one of the eight regiments of horse which began the opposition to the orders for disbanding, by electing 'Agitators' in April, 1647, and one of the five which replaced them in October, 1647, by the more radical 'Agents' who presented the 'Case of the Army Stated' (Rushworth, VI. 434, VII. 845). Amongst the

¹ A statement of the grievances of the Army, signed by Huntington on behalf of the regiment, was delivered to the Commissioners of Parliament by him at Saffron Walden on May 14, 1647. Clarke MSS. xli, f. 108.

Agitators elected was William Allen, who afterwards became Adjutant General of the Horse in the Irish Army (Clarke Papers, i. 33, 55, 432). Captain Middleton seems to have disappeared from the regiment about the end of 1647, at least he was tried by court martial about October, and is not heard of later (Carlyle's *Cromwell*; Letter 47).

In 1648 more important alterations took place. Major Huntington laid down his commission, explaining in a paper which he presented to the House of Lords (Aug. 2, 1648), that he did so because he had learnt that the political conduct of his colonel and of other great officers in the army was 'very repugnant and destructive to the honour and safety of the Parliament and Kingdom' (Thurloe, i. 94; Maseres, *Select Tracts*, i. 397). 'I therefore choose,' he concluded, 'to quit myself of my command, wherein I have served the Parliament for these 5 years last past, and put myself upon the greatest hazard by discovering these truths, rather than by hopes of gain, with a troubled mind continue an abettor, or assistant, of such as give affronts to the Parliament and Kingdom by abusing their power and authority to carry on their particular designs.' If Huntington's aim was to ruin Cromwell's political influence by his revelations, he failed in his object. The moment when Cromwell was marching against the invading army of the Duke of Hamilton was not the time to institute enquiries into the doubtful points in his political career, and adversaries of Cromwell, like John Lilburne, whose support Huntington had hoped to gain, refused to fall into the trap (*Ludlow Memoirs*, ed. 1894, i. 196).

When Cromwell set out at the beginning of May, 1648, to subdue the insurrection in South Wales he took his own regiment of horse with him (Rushworth, vii. 109). Probably Huntington left the regiment before the campaign began. If not he resigned early in its course, for his command was filled up more than six weeks before he laid his paper before the House of Lords. On May 9, 1648, Cromwell wrote to Fairfax, apparently from Bristol, recommending Lieut.-Col. Blackmore for the post of adjutant general, adding, 'he is a godly man and a good soldier' (*English Historical Review*, 1887, pp. 149). The recommendation evidently proved ineffective, for on June 14, 1648, Blackmore was commissioned as Major of Cromwell's regiment in place of Huntington (Clarke MSS.).

Two other changes took place in the regiment during the same summer. Captain John Blackwell's troop passed on June 6, 1648, to Joseph Wallington, Blackwell having probably discovered that financial speculation was more profitable than fighting, for he later realised a large fortune as contractor and speculator in confiscated lands. About the same time, probably, Captain John Reynolds left the regiment, not to adopt peaceable pursuits, but to take command of a regiment of volunteer horse, mostly Levellers, which distinguished itself less in the Campaign of 1648 than in the political disturbances of the following spring. His subsequent career is traced in the Dictionary of National Biography.

The regiment after sharing in the Welsh campaign, took part in the victory of Preston. Cromwell's regiment was one of the two which

charged up the 'very deep and ill Lane' which led towards Preston. 'The enemy,' says Cromwell's despatch, 'were forced from their ground, after four hours' dispute, until we came to the town, into which four troops of my own regiment first entered, and being well seconded by Colonel Harrison's regiment, charged the enemy in the town, and cleared the streets' (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter LXIV). After the defeat of the Scots, Cromwell sent Lambert's, his own regiment, and three others in pursuit of Hamilton, and Blackmore was one of the witnesses at Hamilton's trial on the question whether the Duke surrendered to Major General Lambert or to Lord Grey. (Clarke MS. 70, p. 131; *c.f.*, *Clarke Papers*, ii. 195.) When the Campaign ended the regiment returned to the South of England and part of it was stationed in London during the King's trial (*ib.* ii. 65, 186; *English Historical Review*, 1887, p. 149).

Officers and soldiers alike seem to have held advanced views. Thomas Edwards in his 'Gangraena,' tells two stories illustrating this. He complains that when the regiment was quartered in Northamptonshire in 1646, some of the troopers would not suffer the Ministers to preach quietly, but affronted them. In one case a trooper after the Minister had finished his sermon, 'stood up in the open church, speaking to the people, pretending to question some things delivered, but indeed fell upon venting to the people the doctrine of Universal Grace, that no man was condemned for anything but unbelief.' A wrangle with the minister followed. Again, one of the captains in the regiment, openly averred that if the King would not agree with the Parliament's proposals 'the Parliament would decoll him, and "thus they will decoll him," acting with his hand in putting it to his own neck in a way of cutting off; and this captain added further, that he thought it would never be well with this Kingdome till the King was served so' (*Gangraena*, pt. iii. pp. 172-3).

It might have been expected that men of such principles would be infected by the propaganda of the Levellers in May, 1649, when portions of several regiments mutinied. But at a review in Hyde Park on May 9, of his own regiment and Fairfax's regiment of horse, Cromwell pacified the malcontents by his speeches. 'There was one trooper made some objections and was bold, for which he was committed; but at the solicitation of some of his fellows, the Lieut.-General ordered his freedom, and to be received in again. The Levellers colours were pulled out of three or four of their hats.' A fortnight later the regiment presented an address to General Fairfax, protesting their faithfulness to the Parliament and their abhorrence of the revolt of the Levellers, and denouncing the falseness of the rumour that 'this regiment had a design to have seized upon the person of the Lieut. General in order to the carrying on that rebellious design.' (*Cromwelliana*, pp. 56, 58.)

It did not follow Cromwell to Ireland: a list of the quarters of the Army in England, printed in September, 1649, states that the regiment of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was assigned for the guard of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorsetshire. Cromwell's connection with the regiment ceased, and it passed to his brother-in-law, Colonel John Disbrowe, or Desborough, governor of Portsmouth and late major of Fairfax's regiment of horse (*The Moderate*, Sept. 11-18, 1649).

During the ten years in which Desborough commanded the regiment its history was extremely uneventful. It did not take part in the invasion of Scotland in 1650, though it fought at Worcester in September, 1651 (*Cromwelliana*, p. 115). In 1655 it was engaged in the suppressing of the royalist rising in the west which Col. Penruddocke headed (*Thurloc*, iii. 263). Many of the officers of the regiment seem to have been west country men, and being quartered so long in their own districts they became persons of considerable local importance during the Commonwealth. Three of its captains, besides Colonel Desborough, sat in the Parliament of 1656, and being bound as satirists asserted by the £273 per annum which they received as their pay, all voted for Kingship. One was John Jenkyn, member for Wells, who seems to be identical with the Captain Jenkins whose name appears in the original list of officers in 1645. He appears either to have left the regiment for a time, and to have returned to it later, or to have been allowed to hold a militia commission also. Desborough writes to Cromwell on Sept. 30, 1649, recommending him for favour:—

My Lord,

Haveing this opportunity, I could doe no lesse than troble you with these lines, to acquaint you that I rejoyce much in the goodnes of our God, in carring you through the many straights and difficulties which you have met withal. Truly, Sir, these dealings of our God calles for an acknowledgment of all our mercies to himself; he alone is the Lord of hosts, your victories have bin given you of himself; it is himselfe that hath raised you up amongst men, and hath called you to high employments; he hath bin very good to you; certainly where much is given, much is required; and so longe as we are made to owne our God in our mercies, so long he will owne us in continuinge mercies. Sir, high places are slipery, except God establisheth our goeings; he hath bine very faythfull to us, and I trust will still doe us good himselfe, help us to trust in him, and then, I am sure, we shall not be ashamed. Sir, my hart hath bin, and is much with you; accept all from him that truly loves you.

Sir, Major Jenkines intendinge to waite one you, gave me this oportunity to troble you; truly he hath carried himselfe in all his bussines, since I came to the regiment, exceedinge well; and if he should desire you favour in any thinge that may concerne him, I begge you would afford him it; he doth truly love and honour your Lordship; he is major of Col. Popome's militia regiment in Somersetshire, and hath much respect from all the well-affected gentlemen in that county. Sir, my wife, who is now at Exeter with me, desires to have her hearty love presented to you, and so doth he who desires a share in your praies, and forgitts not you, and is

Your lovinge brother,

JOHN DISBROWE.

Exon 30, Sept. 1650.

For His Excellencie the Lord Cromwell,
Generall of the Parliament's forces.
These humbly.¹

¹ Nickolls, *Original Letters and Papers of State addressed to O. Cromwell*, 1743, p. 26.

His troop is mentioned by Desborough in 1655 as if he were still a member of the regiment (*Thurloc.* iii. 263).

A second officer, Edward Scotten, who appears to have become a captain in the regiment in July, 1649, represented Devizes in the parliaments of 1656 and 1658. A third captain, John Fox, sat for Penzance, of which borough he was also recorder. He is said by the republican pamphleteers to have married a kinswoman of the Protector's (*Harleian Miscellany*, iii.). Fox was governor of Pendennis Castle, in which capacity he is mentioned by George Fox, one of whose many gaolers he was. When the Quaker was tried at Launceston Assizes in 1656, Captain Fox, he says, 'came and looked me in the face, and said never a word; but went his ways to his company, and said he never saw a simpler man in his life. I called after him, and said, "Stay man; and we will see who is the simpler man." But he went his ways, a light, chaffy man!' (*Journal of George Fox*. Ed. by N. Penney, vol. i, pp. 209, 241.)

Blackmore never sat in Parliament, but in December, 1658, he was appointed Sheriff of Devonshire, and is described as Sir John Blackmore, Knight in the official list (*Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 25—Dec. 2). When or by which of the two Cromwells he was knighted does not appear. A letter from him to Speaker Lenthall, is amongst the Tanner MSS. (LI. 103). It describes his activity in suppressing superfluous alehouses and exults over the defeat of Sir George Booth's rising.

Desborough was one of the leaders of the mutiny in the army which obliged Richard Cromwell to dissolve his Parliament, and consequently led to his overthrow. When the long Parliament was restored it appointed seven commissioners, of whom Desborough was one, to revise the list of officers and to nominate officers for each regiment subject to the approval of Parliament. No change took place in Desborough's own regiment. Blackmore remained major, John Jenkins, Edward Scotton, Joseph Wallington, and John Fox, Captains. (*Commons Journal*, VII. 704.) When Sir George Booth's insurrection broke out Desborough was sent to the West of England to quell the anticipated royalist rising in his aid. (*Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 4-11, 1659.) Desborough joined Lambert in forcibly dissolving the Long Parliament, and when Monck declared for it, he with part if not all of the regiment marched north to oppose his entrance into England. In November, 1659, Captain Wallington was one of the three officers sent to claim from Monck the execution of the treaty which his representative in London had made (*Baker, Chronicle*, p. 694). The sudden revolution by which the Parliament was again restored (Dec. 24, 1659) surprised them on their return south. 'News came that Colonel Disbrowe's regiment of horse which were with the rest in the north, being ordered this way, arrived at St. Albans, where learning how things went at London, they thought fit, after a long march, to make a halt, and consider.' (Dec. 23.) Next day 'one of the captains of Colonel Disbrowe's regiment of horse came to acquaint the Speaker that the regiment are resolved to stand for the

parliament, as their fellow soldiers have done, and do expect his commands how they shall dispose of themselves. Also that their colonel and some other officers with him, passing by that way, had been made acquainted with their resolution' (*Mercurius Politicus*, Dec. 22-29, 1659.)

Desborough himself, on December 29, sent a letter of submission and apology to the Speaker.

"This day came a letter from Colonel John Disbrowe, directed as follows:—

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, These Present, at Westminster.

Right Honourable,

It having pleased God (I hope out of goodwill to these of late distracted nations) to bring the Parliament again to the exercise of their trust in the government of these nations; I thought it my duty to acquaint you, that I cheerfully and with much quietness of minde acquiesce in the providence of God therein: and that I may take away all occasions of jealousies of me, I shall be ready to give the Parliament any possible assurance of my cordial and faithful submission to their authority; and if I had any hand in their late interruption, I shall beg pardon for it of the Lord: I am sure I have no self-ends or evil purposes in anything wherein I have appeared. Sir, the work of the Parliament is great and difficult; the Lord give you strength and wisdom proportionable thereunto, that such a foundation of settlement may be laid by you, as the children yet unborn may have cause to bless God. I shall not give you any farther trouble, only assure you, that notwithstanding the late unhappy differences, I shall in any capacity approve myself faithful to the peace of the Commonwealth, and observant of the commands of the Parliament; and I hope upon enquiry into the late directions I gave the officers of the regiment (lately mine) you will finde me of this temper. I will only add, that if ever hereafter there should be occasion, none shall more cordially oppose the Commonwealth's enemies, than,

Right Honourable,

Your very humble Servant,

JOHN DISBROWE.

29 December, 1659.

(*Mercurius Publicus*. No. 1, p. 19-20. Dec. 29—Jan. 5, 1659.)

Parliament now appointed fresh commissioners to weed out disaffected officers and replace them by more trustworthy ones. On January 12, 1660, the revised list of the regiment was presented to it, and with a few alterations passed. Desborough lost his commission, and Colonel Valentine Walton succeeded to the command. Major Huntington was substituted for Major Blackmore, although Blackmore, who was still at Exeter, had apparently held the command of the regiment during the brief interval which followed Desborough's deprivation, and had written to express his joy at the Parliament's restoration. (Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS. i. 690.) Captain John Butler succeeded to Captain

Jenkins's troop, and John Phelps to that of Captain Fox. Joseph Wallington, who had been Captain since June 6, 1649, though left in by the commissioners, was struck out by the House, and Captain Hanbury substituted. The only captain who kept his place was Edward Scotten (*Commons Journals*, vii. 808). New changes followed a few weeks later. Monck distrusted Walton as too closely allied to the House of Cromwell, and appointed Charles Howard Colonel in his stead (Feb. 25, 1660). Subsequently he made Theophilus Barnard captain in place of Hanbury, and replaced Scotten by Sir Henry Jones (June 4, 1660), and Phelps by Sir William Salkeld (June 4). A note in the Parliamentary Intelligencer under October 13, 1660, states that the Lord Howard's regiment is to be disbanded the next week.

Desborough lived till 1680; his later history is told in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Of Major Blackmore some account is given in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. He has been, probably in error, identified with the Blackmore who was subsequently governor of St. Helena (5th Report of the Historical MSS. Comm. p. 381).

(To be continued.)

THE BRITISH GRENADIERS.

BY D. NICHOL SMITH, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; D.Litt.,
F.R.S.L.

[Reprinted, by kind permission, from the *Household Brigade Magazine*—
Summer, 1926.]

The broadside which is here reproduced is the original issue of "The British Grenadiers." The date of this song has long been uncertain, but we have now a clue in the words "Sung by Mr. Reinhold in Harlequin every where."

"Harlequin Every-where" is the sub-title of "The Mirror," "a new burletta pantomime," which was produced at Covent Garden on Tuesday, November 30th, 1779, "with entire new music, new scenes, dresses, and decorations, the music composed by Mr. Dibdin." A "burletta" was the eighteenth century equivalent for what we now call a comic opera, and a "burletta pantomime" may be described as a cross between a comic opera and a harlequinade; it was a development of the harlequinade, and was acted after a more serious piece. On this occasion "The Mirror" followed Mrs. Centlivre's "Busy Body." A long account of the performance is given in *The Public Advertiser* of the following day, but it will be sufficient to quote the briefer account in the *St. James's Chronicle or British Evening Post*.

It has long been in the Contemplation of the Managers of our Theatres to imitate the Italian Method of making Harlequin and Punch speak and sing. The Mirrour was constructed with a View to this Novelty; and it must be confessed that the Manager has not spared Expense to give it Effect; for the Pantomimical Gentry are first discovered in a Tartarus, painted in a Manner with which the Stage in general is unacquainted. Harlequin is released from Hell, on Condition that he bring to Pluto a Virgin, in Thought, Word,

and Deed. This gives Occasion to his Adventures, and those of his Friend Punch at the Antipodes, Iceland, &c., until by applying a Glass given him in Hell, to try Pretensions to Virginity, to the Lips of a Statue in the Garden of Ceres, he animates Columbine. Ceres, after some wretched Menaces, takes the Party under her protection, upon Harlequin's Resolution to cheat Pluto. This brings on a Siege of a Castle in the Air by Pluto's Troops; which being demolished, Ceres conveys Harlequin, &c., to Olympus where all Matters are settled, and Heaven, Earth, and Hell join in a Roundelay.

Such is the outline of the Piece; and if the Dialogue and Poetry were not very exceptionable, the enchanting Scenery and the Musick would give it a certain Superiority over all the Pantomimes on the Theatre.

The book of the words, without the music, was published on December 1st, and went into two editions. Copies of it are in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. From it we learn that Reinhold took the part of Belphegor. But it does not contain "The British Grenadiers."

The newspapers, however, again come to our assistance. From *The Public Advertiser* we learn that "The Mirror," after a very successful run of fifteen performances, was, on December 16th, "laid aside till the Holidays on account of some Additions and Alterations which are to be made." When it was brought on again on Monday, December 27th, it was no longer called "The Mirror, or Harlequin Every-where," but simply "Harlequin Every-where." This is the explanation of the title given in the heading of the broadside. "The British Grenadiers" was introduced in the altered version. This version was not published, and is not recorded in the dramatic lists.

The piece continued to be "received throughout with the loudest applause," and a further alteration was made for the twenty-ninth performance on January 17th, 1780, when "an entire new scene never yet performed" was introduced. The run ended with the thirty-third performance on January 29th. (The theatre-goer who is now accustomed to continuous runs may be reminded that in the eighteenth century even the most successful piece was not commonly acted every night of the week.) But additional performances were given "by particular desire" on February 19th and March 6th, 13th, and 25th, and finally March 28th.

In default of further evidence the problem of the date of "The British Grenadiers" would therefore have been narrowed down to this: Was the song introduced with the first addition of December 27th, or with the second and final addition of January 17th? But further evidence is at hand.

All doubt is removed by *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* of January 18th. The dramatic critic of this paper has left us a vivid description, and none the less vivid because critical, of the stage setting in which this famous song was first sung, and has explained what suggested it:—

After the tragedy ("The Siege of Damascus") the new pantomime of "Harlequin Everywhere" was performed, with an additional scene, which was thus introduced: In the Castle-builder's dance, a warrior, dressed in a French regimental, (representing Count D'Estaing) appeared, and after a caper or two, was joined by a corps of military in the same sort of uniform. The scene then suddenly rose to about the midway to the clouding of the stage, and exhibited in perspective a beautiful view of the walls of a fortified town, supposed to be Savannah, in Georgia.

The warrior led on his soldiers to an assault, and the besieged maintained a fire from the walls, till a shot hit the mimic Count, who fell, and after a little monkey-like face-

THE BRITISH GRENADIERS

Sung by M^r Reinhold in Harlequin every where.

Vivace

Some talk of Alex - ander and some of Hercu - les, Of Caen & Ly -
 - fander and some Melti - a - dis; But of all the World's brave Heroes, there's none that can com -
 - pare; With a tow, row, row, row, row, to the British Grena - diers, But of all the World's bra -
 - But of all the World's bra -
 - Heroes there's none that can compare, With a tow, row, row, row, row, to the British Grena - diers.
 - Heroes there's none that can compare, With a tow, row, row, row, row, to the British Grena - diers.

2
 None of those ancient Heroes e'er saw a cannon ball,
 Or knew the force of Powder to slay their foes with all;
 But our brave Boys do know it, & banish all their fears,
 With a tow, row, row, row, row, the British Grenadiers.

Cho: But our brave boys &c.

3
 When e'er we are commanded to storm the Palifades,
 Our Leaders march with Fifes & we with hand Grenades
 We throw them from the Glacis about our Enemies Ears,
 With a tow, row, row, row, row, the British Grenadiers.

Cho: We throw them &c.

4
 The God of War was pleas'd and great Bellona smiles,
 To see these noble Heroes, of our British Isles;
 And all the Gods celestial, descending from their spheres,
 Beheld with admiration the British Grenadiers.

Cho: And all the Gods celestial &c.

6
 Then let us crown a Bumper, & drink a health to those,
 Who carry Caps & Batches that wear the loup'd Cloaths,
 May they and their Commanders, live happy all their Years,
 With a tow, row, row, row, row, the British Grenadiers.

Cho: May they and their Commanders &c.

Sk:

making, was borne off by his party. This over, Mr. Reinhold, who had shifted his Belphegor habit, and was converted into a *devilish* clever Serjeant, marched forward at the head of a posse of British Grenadiers, and ask'd them "if they had heard the good news"; before a reply could be given, he told his companions he had a song in his pocket, which he'd sing to them. He accordingly produced a manuscript, and chaunted an air, the words and music of which were neither excellent, nor execrable. The grenadiers exercised by way of chorus, and at the conclusion, marched off with their serjeant at their head.

The attempt to represent the Siege of Savannah on the stage, was undoubtedly taking a fair theatrical advantage of a popular occurrence, and the idea of exhibiting D'Estaing as a military castle builder, does the contriver of the new scene great credit, but there is something so awkward and so absurd in the conduct of the business, and in Reinhold's mode of introducing the song, that it is not in our power to say a single word in praise of this endeavour to heighten the effect of the pantomime. The soldiers, who (as the children say) were *real* and *right earnest* grenadiers, seemed so ashamed of playing that character for a shilling each, which they act every day of their lives for sixpence, that they were incapable of going through the manual exercise. We hope the scene will be new cobbled against its next representation.

We now know that "The British Grenadiers" was sung for the first time on January 17th, 1780, and that it was a topical song introduced into a popular pantomime or comic opera. It was given ten times in all between January 17th and March 28th, and was so much a favourite with the public that the words and the music were at once printed by themselves.

We may go still further, for it was the newspapers which had suggested the song. A brief report of the action at Savannah on October 9th, 1779, reached London in a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton (dated New York, November 19th), which was published in *The London Gazette Extraordinary* of December 20th and immediately reprinted in the ordinary newspapers. The official account from Major-General Prevost, commanding the forces in the Province of Georgia (dated Savannah November 1st) arrived a few days later and was published in the *Gazette* on Christmas Day—a Saturday. The good news was in the other papers by Monday. A fortnight earlier a Royal Proclamation had commanded a day of fast and humiliation.

This is what the writer of "The British Grenadiers" had read in Prevost's despatch:—

October 9th. A little before Day-light, and after a heavy (and, as usual, innocent) Cannonade and Bombardment, the Enemy attacked our Lines. The Firing began upon the Left of our Center in Front of the French, and very soon after upon our Left and Right. It was still dark, and rendered still more so by a very thick Fog, which made it impossible to determine on the sudden where the real Attack was intended, or how many. . . . The Ground towards both our Flanks, notwithstanding all a good Engineer could do, was still favourable to the Enemy. On the Right a swampy Hollow brought him under Cover to within Fifty Yards of our principal Works; on some Points still nearer. On our Left . . . the Ground being firm and clear, it was that on which we rather thought Regular Troops would chuse to act; and here therefore we looked for the French, and the Americans only on our Right. A Real Attack was here intended; however the Principal, composed of the Flower of the French and Rebel Armies, and led by D'Estaing in Person, with all the principal Officers of either, was made upon our Right. Under Cover of the Hollow they advanced in three Columns; but having taken a wider Circuit than they needed, and gone deeper in the Bog, they neither came so early as intended, nor I believe entirely in the Order. The Attack however was very spirited, and, for some Time, obstinately persevered in, particularly on the Ebenezer-Road Redoubt. Two Stand of Colours were actually planted, and several of the Assailants killed upon the Parapet; but they met with so determined a Resistance, and the Fire of three Seamen Batteries, and the Field Pieces, taking them in almost every Direction, was so severe, that they were thrown into some Disorder, at least as a Stand; and, at this most critical Moment, Major Glasier, of the 60th,

with the 60th Grenadiers and the Marines, advancing rapidly from the Lines, charged (it may be said) with a Degree of Fury; in an instant the Ditches of the Redoubt and a Battery to its Right in Rear were cleared, the Grenadiers charging headlong into them, and the Enemy drove in Confusion over the Abbatis and into the Swamp. On this occasion Captain Wickham, of the 2nd 60th Grenadiers, was greatly distinguished . . . It was now Day-light, but the Fog was not sufficiently cleared off to enable us to judge, with any Degree of Certainty, of the Number or further Dispositions of the Enemy in this Quarter. On the Left, and to the Center the Fog, with the Addition of the Smoke, was still impenetrably close; and a pretty smart Firing being still kept up there, it was judged improper to draw a Number of Troops, sufficient for a respectable Sortie, to take that advantage of the Confusion of the Enemy, which, had we known all we have done since, we might have done. . . . Our Loss on this Occasion, 1 Captain, and 15 Rank and File, killed; 1 Captain, 3 Subalterns, and 35 Rank and File, wounded; That of the Enemy we do not exaggerate when we set it, in Killed and Wounded, at 1,000 to 1,200. The French acknowledged 44 Officers, and about 700 Men; of the Rebels, they not being so ingenuous, we can say less; but the unvariable Report of Deserters and Prisoners (Gentlemen) since exchanged, made their loss above 400. Among the Wounded were Count D'Estaing (in two places) . . . About Ten o'Clock a Truce was desired by the Enemy.

The despatch was good reading. We understand why the theatre managers, taking advantage of the popular enthusiasm, should have devised a new scene for "Harlequin Every-where," with a song in honour of the grenadiers whose charge had decided the battle at Savannah. What is more important, we can now say definitely that the men who inspired "The British Grenadiers" were the grenadiers of the 60th. At this time the King's Royal Rifle Corps was known as the 60th, or Royal American Regiment of Foot.

The song was sung by Charles Frederick Reinhold (1737-1815), the most popular bass singer of his day, long remembered by his rendering of Handel's music to Gay's "Oh ruddier than the cherry." He had sung at Marylebone Gardens from 1759 to 1773, and in September, 1773, had joined the company at Covent Garden. In 1783 he became organist of St. George The Martyr, Bloomsbury. There is a brief account of him, and of his father, Thomas Reinhold—who had followed Handel to London, and had created several of Handel's principal parts—in Grove's "Dictionary of Music" and in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

We do not know who wrote the words of the song; perhaps it was Charles Dibdin. There is better reason for attributing to him the music. As he wrote the music of the burletta in its original form, he probably wrote also the music for the new scenes. "Next to the National Anthem," says Chappell in his "Popular Music of the Olden Time," "there is not any tune of a more spirit-stirring character, nor is any one more truly characteristic of English national music." We are unusually fortunate in being able to date so famous a tune to a day; but we have just missed conclusive evidence of who was the composer.

The first collection to include the song was a Scottish venture, "The Musical Miscellany: A Select Collection of Scots, English, and Irish Songs, Set to Music," printed at Perth by J. Brown in 1787, and dedicated to the Provost and Town Council of Perth by Alexander Smith. Two copies of this rare book are in the British Museum.

The words in this collection are exactly as in the broadside. When the display of classical learning in the opening lines was found to be excessive, when "Conon" gave place to "Hector" and "Miltiades"

lost his identity in "such great names as these," and when in a later stanza the admiration of the God of War, and Bellona, and all the Gods celestial was reduced to the mundane excitement of the townsmen who cry Hurra, has yet to be discovered. In the process of simplification one phrase which has lost its meaning to most readers nowadays was left untouched. Why "the louped Cloaths"? The explanation is provided by Colonel Clifford Walton's "History of the British Standing Army, 1660-1700," p. 372: "The coats of granadeers were ornamented with loops, or embroidered buttonholes, in worsted lace, with tufts at the outer ends. The colours of the loops were subject to no general rule, but varied in each regiment." Loops continued to be a distinctive part of the uniform of grenadiers to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The reviser, or revisers, who gave us the modern form of the song may be assumed to have made the alterations at a time when the public were still more at home with allusions to loops than with allusions to ancient gods and heroes.

The victory of Savannah was commemorated in many pieces of verse printed in America. Two of them are included in Frank Moore's "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution," New York, 1856.

NOTE BY CAPTAIN H. OAKES-JONES, M.B.E.

The question of the origin and date of this famous march and song still, I think, remains to be proved.

There are several points to be considered before accepting Mr. Nichol Smith's theory, as set down in his interesting article which appeared in the *Household Brigade Magazine*, that it was composed and sung for the first time in 1780 in *Harlequin every where*, and that the words were written to celebrate the achievements of the Grenadiers of the 60th Regiment in the action at Savannah on 9 October, 1779.

First, as regards the tune: it is a known fact that the air is similar to several old songs. Chappel, in his *Popular Music of the Olden Times*, reproduces the words and music, but says: "The correct date of this fine old melody appears altogether uncertain, as it is to be found in different forms at different periods; but it is here placed in juxtaposition to Sir Edward Noel's 'Delight' and 'All that love good fellows, or the London 'Prentice,' because evidently derived from the same source. The commencement of the air is also rather like 'Prince Rupert's March,' and the end resembles 'Old King Cole,' with the difference of being major instead of minor. Next to the National Anthem, there is not any tune of a more spirit-stirring character, nor is any one more utterly characteristic of English national music. This version of the tune is as played by the band of the Grenadier Guards. The words are from a copy about one hundred years old with music."

Another great authority, Fitzgerald, in his *Stories of Famous Songs*, states: "The history and origin of that stirring military air, 'The British Grenadiers,' are almost entirely shrouded in mystery and obscurity, and all that is known of it is that the words date from about

1690, while the music is founded on an air of the sixteenth century. The first properly printed copy and engraved music sheet appeared about 1780."

Now, if Charles Dibdin wrote the music of the 1780 broad-sheet for *Harlequin every where*, he did what has constantly been done by other composers—he borrowed an old-time tune. What is more likely, he based it on what was then a known military march, for the fact that there was a special march for the Grenadiers, known as the "Grenadiers' March," long before 1780 can be proved by old military instruction books. In Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline*, Chapter vii, 1759 edition, on page 125, will be found the following: "When drummers are ordered to beat a march (which is to be the Grenadiers' March), in rear of the front face"; and again on page 127: "On beating of the Grenadiers' March in rear of the right face." Also it was the custom, when the Grenadier Company were sent as escort to bring the Colours to the Battalion on parade, the drummers played the "Grenadiers' March."*

That the words of the March were old is proved by Grose in his *Military Antiquities*, published in 1786, Vol. I, page 180. He says, writing on the introduction of Grenadiers into the British Army in 1680: "These Corps were armed with harquebuzes and bayonets, and distinguished by caps and looped clothes."

Grose adds the following note:—"This distinction is mentioned in the old Grenadier song:—

'Come let us fill a bumper and drink a health to those,
Who wear the caps and pouches, and eke the looped clothes."

So it will be seen that at the time he wrote it was looked upon as an old song. Had this song been specially written to honour the Grenadiers of the 60th Regiment, it is hardly likely the writer would have used the words "looped clothes," "hand grenades," and "fusees," for these at this time, 1780, were obsolete distinctions. While Grenadier companies still continued to be the right flank company of a battalion and were composed of picked men, and often the Grenadiers of several regiments being formed together for battle action, they had at this period of which we are writing ceased to be armed with the hand grenades. The looped clothes were only a distinction to the Grenadiers for the latter part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth century, after which the battalion companies were also looped or laced, the Grenadiers being distinguished by their mitre caps, wings, match-boxes and grenade pouches.

It is hardly likely the writer of a new song would have used these words:—

"When e'er we are commanded to storm the palisades,
Our leaders march with fusees and we with hand grenades;
We throw them from the glaxis about our enemies ears"; etc.

It is far more like the Grenadiers' action at the Siege of Namur in 1695, and I think if ever the origin of this song is discovered the date

* "Drummers and fifers." "They march back to the battalion beating and playing the grenadiers march." Simes. *Military Medley*, 2nd edition. 1768. p. 256.

will most likely prove to be between 1690 and 1740, during which period our Grenadiers had become famous everywhere.

NOTE BY LT.-COLONEL LEWIS BUTLER.
(late The King's Royal Rifle Corps).

So far as The King's Royal Rifle Corps is concerned, the story told above by Mr. Nichol Smith has been entirely lost, and it can certainly throw no light on the respective views of Mr. Nichol Smith and Capt. Oakes-Jones.

It was, however, the fact that the Grenadier Companies of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Battalions of the 60th, under Major Beamsley Glazier, aided by a detachment of the Royal Marines, made the decisive charge which forced the French and American troops to relinquish their attack upon Savannah.

The same three Grenadier Companies had in the previous spring been instrumental in gaining a surprising victory over a largely superior American force at Briar Creek. The news of this success may have brought the 60th to the notice of the British public and have prepared the way for the enthusiasm with which the exploit of those Grenadiers at Savannah was received: an enthusiasm which led to the revival of what were probably an old song and an old tune.

"The Grenadier's March" was played by the 60th at least as far back as 1763. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the tune was identical with, or entirely different from "The British Grenadiers."

[In *Old English Ditties*, selected from W. Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden time*, and published prior to 1873, 'The British Grenadiers' is stated to be "founded on an air of the sixteenth century"—"Words about 1690."—ED.]

PICTURES OF THE DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE,

BY J. CLARENCE WEBSTER, F.R.S.C.

From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, 1925.
Vol. XIX.

(With kind permission.)

The death of Wolfe on the battlefield in the moment of victory stirred the imagination of the British people as had no other episode in their long history. It early furnished a theme for poets, musicians, writers and artists.



JAMES WOLFE.

Painted after his return from Louisbourg in 1758, probably at Bath. The sketch held in the left hand is that of Louisbourg. This is undoubtedly the last important painting of Wolfe made from life.

Artist Unknown.

Owned by Dr. J. Clarence Webster, Shediac, N. B.

To view
ARCHIVES



Romney, young and unknown, won his first success in 1763 by exhibiting a painting of the "Death of Wolfe" at the Free Society of Artists, being awarded a premium because of its fine quality. At first he was awarded the Second Prize, but this was afterwards withdrawn in favour of another historical painting by Mortimer, a premium being thereupon created as a reward to Romney. The picture was bought for twenty-five guineas by Mr. Rowland Stephenson, a banker, and presented by him to his friend, Harry Verelst, in the government service of India, who became governor of Bengal in 1767. The latter placed it in the Council Chamber at Calcutta. Verelst returned to England in 1770 and presumably brought the picture with him. It has, however, disappeared, and the present representatives of the family know nothing about it. Through the kindness of Sir Alexander Whyte a thorough search has been made in the various official buildings throughout India, but no trace of the picture has been found. Verelst lost his fortune through litigation and may have been forced to sell it after his return from the East. It is not unreasonable to expect that the painting may yet be found.

In 1764 Edward Penny, Professor of painting to the Royal Academy, first exhibited his "Death of Wolfe." It was well received by the public, and was engraved in several forms, the prints being in wide demand. The original painting from which the engraving was made was bought by Sir John Danvers. It is now owned by Lord Leconfield. It represents the dying general lying on the ground supported by a soldier kneeling behind him. On Wolfe's right kneels another soldier wiping the general's face. Behind stands another soldier pointing with his right hand towards the field of battle in the distance. On the left another soldier, waving his hat, is running towards the central group, evidently announcing victory. In the background is the battle of the Plains in progress near the walls of Quebec.

[Penny actually painted *two* pictures, both of which are here reproduced.

That marked "A" is the property of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and has, it is believed, never before been photographed.

The canvas measures 40½ by 30½ inches, is signed 'E. Penny pinxt,' and is dated 1763. It was presented to the Museum by the artist in 1787. "A" is the 'sketch' of Penny's finished picture "B," and, as will be seen, differs in several points from "B" as actually painted, which now belongs to Lord Leconfield and is here produced by his kind permission, from a photograph of the picture itself, *not* from an engraving of it. The picture measures 29 by 24½ inches.

The identity of the persons in this picture will be discussed in the next number of the *Journal*, but I do not think that there can be any doubt as to the person kneeling on Wolfe's right, and wiping his face.

The following passage is taken from a letter from Ensign William Johnston, 48th Foot, to his father, dated at Quebec on 9 October, 1759—less than a month after the battle:—

"Mr. Montcalm said before he died that he was beat by the most brave & generous enemy but that he commanded the most cowardly dastardly villains in the World. Mr. [John] Watson, Surgeon to our Regt. dressed Mr. Wolfes wounds he asked him and repeated it twice had we beat them. Watson told him we had and that we had obtained a complete Victory and were then in pursuit he said he was satisfied and could die contented—an expired immediately."

Watson was 'Apothecary's Mate' in North America—14.11.1757—and was appointed Surgeon of the 48th Foot on 9 September, 1758. He died before April, 1762.

Johnston's original letter was at one time the property of Major F. M. Lowe, R.A.—Ed.]

Penny's painting is undoubtedly the most realistic and accurate of all the pictures and engravings of this subject which have appeared.

Though there have been many claimants to the honour of having attended the dying general the great majority of these are unworthy of consideration. I have found fourteen different accounts of the death scene by those who claimed to have held the dying general in their arms or to have rendered him assistance. It was evidently the habit among old soldiers, long after the war had been over, to indulge in imaginative reminiscences.

The account to which most credence is now given is to be found in Knox's Journal. Dr. Doughty has recently published a letter of Samuel Holland to Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, written in 1792, corroborating this account and throwing some additional light on the occurrence.

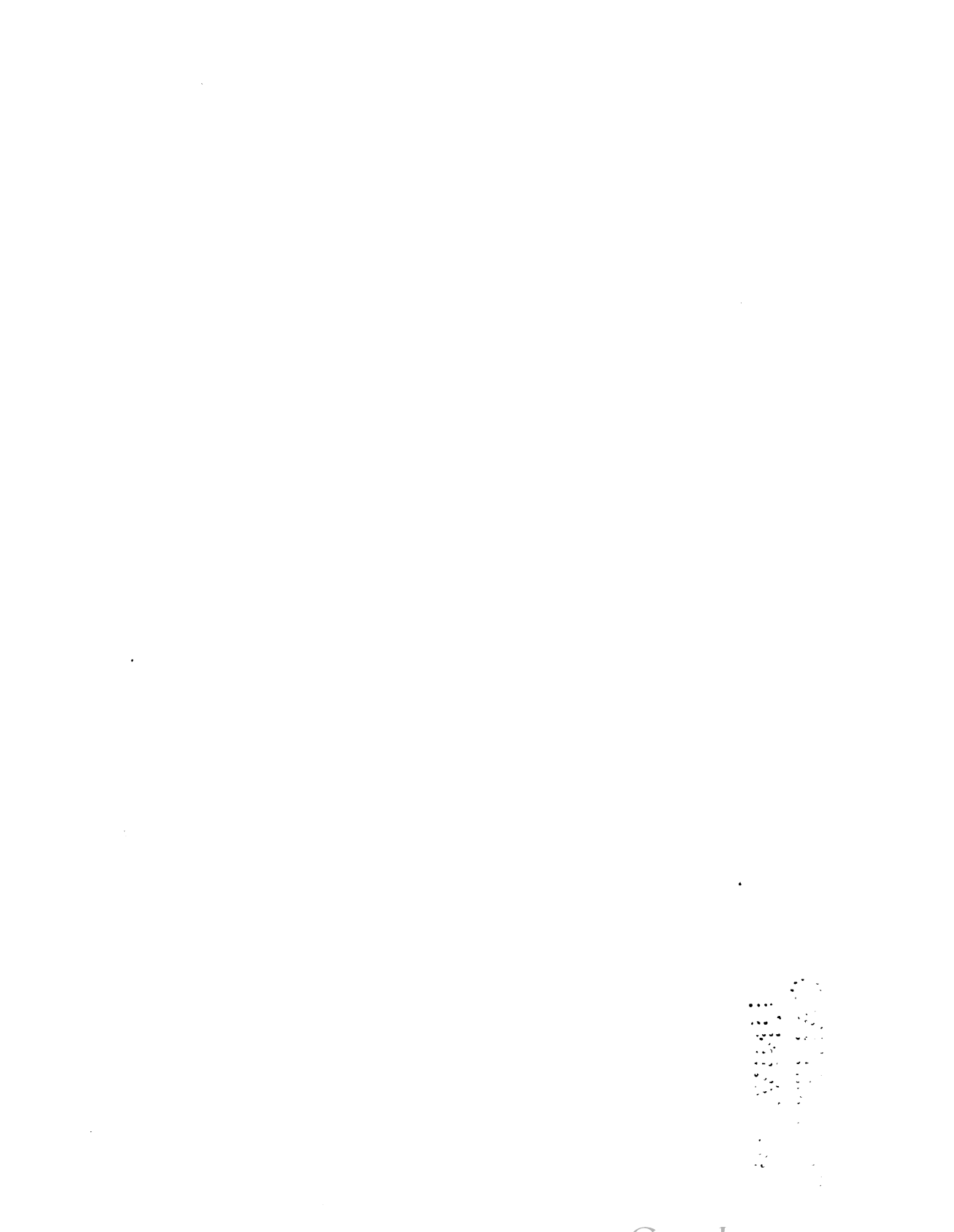
According to both Knox and Holland, Lieut. Brown, of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, an ancestor of the Marquis of Sligo, and James Henderson, a volunteer in the same regiment, supported and cared for the dying general. Holland states that no surgeon was obtainable, but that Hewit, a surgeon's mate, gave him assistance. These are the three chief figures in Penny's painting; he has depicted two of them in the uniform of the Louisbourg Grenadiers (Brown and Henderson).

According to the *Quebec Gazette* of July 11, 1815, Dr. Wilkins attended Wolfe. Another claim has also been made in favour of Dr. Tudor. In view of Holland's letter these claims must be disregarded. As shall be presently shown, West placed Dr. Robert Adair in attendance on Wolfe.

Public interest in Penny's painting was, however, completely overshadowed by the great enthusiasm aroused by the exhibition of Benjamin West's *Death of Wolfe* in the Royal Academy of 1771. George III wished to purchase the picture, but was dissuaded by some criticisms of Sir Joshua Reynolds. It was bought by Lord Richard Grosvenor, an ancestor of the Duke of Westminster. Walpole states in his memoirs that, later, West, in conversation with the King, told him that Reynolds had changed his first opinion and had expressed himself as follows: "West has conquered. I foresee that this picture will not only become one of the most popular, but will occasion a revolution in art." The King replied: "I wish I had known all this before, for the objection has been the means of Lord Grosvenor getting the picture, but you shall make me a copy of it." Thereupon West painted a replica of the same size as the original, for which the King paid £350. It was placed in Hampton Court Palace, where it remained until recent times, when it was transferred to Kensington Palace, where it may now be seen.

Another replica was painted by West for the Monckton family. The original picture now hangs in the Public Archives of Ottawa, having been presented to Canada by the present Duke of Westminster. The Monckton replica was sold at auction recently in London and is now in Toronto. Its condition is much less satisfactory than either of the other paintings, having evidently been less well cared for.

Since the first appearance of West's historic work it has been copied many times by other artists, generally on a reduced scale, and these now frequently appear in sale-rooms in England. It was first reproduced in

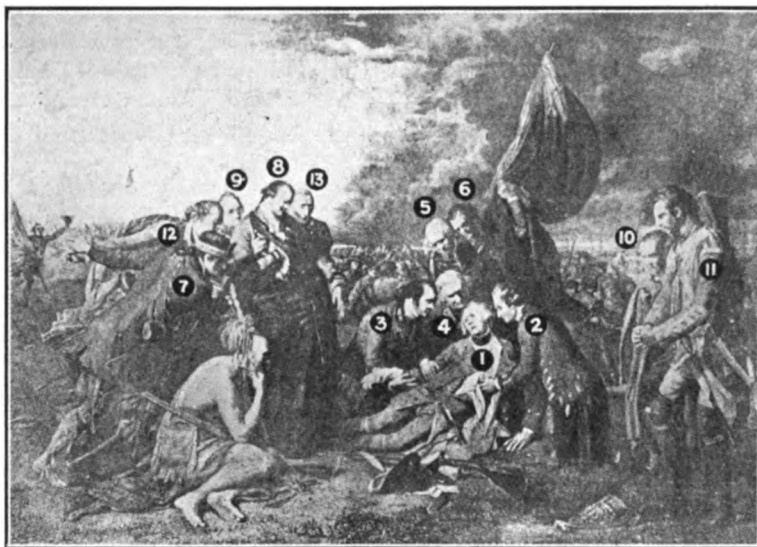




“C.” To the King’s most excellent Majesty / This plate THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE, is with / His gracious Permission humbly
dedicated by his Majesty’s most / dutiful Subject & Servant, William Woollett. / From the original Picture in the Collection of Lord Grosvenor.
Painted by B. West, Historical Painter to HIS MAJESTY. / Engraved by Wm. Woollett, Engraver to HIS MAJESTY. / Published as the Act
directs, January 1st, 1776, by Messrs. / Woollett, Boydell & Ryland, LONDON. /

print form by a line engraving of Woollet, published in 1776. This had an immense sale and attracted great attention on the Continent. In the succeeding years many other engravings were produced throughout Europe. Indeed, it is probably true that, in the history of British art, no other engraving has been so widely appreciated or has had such a large sale.

[Illustration "C" is reproduced from this engraving. As will be seen from Dr. Webster's description, West's picture can be looked upon only as 'fanciful,' and not in any way historical.



Key to illustration "C." From an article by the Marquess of Sligo in *The Canadian Historical Review* of September, 1922.

1. General Wolfe.
2. Surgeon Adair.
3. Captain Hervey Smith, or Smyth, A.D.C.
4. Colonel Barré, Adjt.-General.
5. Colonel Williamson, R.A.
6. Lieut. Henry Browne, 22nd Regt. and Louisbourg Grenadiers (an ancestor of Lord Sligo).
7. Sir William Howe.
8. Hon. Robert Monckton, Senior Brigadier under Wolfe at Quebec.
9. Captain Debbieg.
10. General's servant.
11. A Grenadier.
12. Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, Lieut. Col. 78th Highlanders.
13. Colonel Napier (?).

West was an American. His picture was reproduced in colours in *The Ladies' Home Journal*—published in Philadelphia—of November, 1925, to illustrate an article by Mr. E. V. Lucas on "Benjamin West, Stuart and Copley." West's picture is referred to in the following terms:—

"Historical events were at that time (1771) favorite themes, and the majority of these subjects being taken from the classics, the costumes of the participators were classical too, this convention being so rigid that when a quite recent occurrence at home was depicted, the costume was classical still. Benjamin West, however, with his fresh, direct, and untrammelled American mind, would have none of that; and he painted Wolfe in a General's uniform, as Wolfe was dressed when he died."

West's "American mind" was so "untrammelled" by considerations of veracity that he produced one of the most prodigious fakes in pictures that has ever been known—a most illegitimate piece of work and quite unworthy of the popularity which it has, unfortunately, achieved.—ED.]

It is, indeed, amazing that this work of art should have achieved

such popularity, when one considers that it was an amalgam of historical inaccuracies, which should have furnished the critics with sufficient ammunition to destroy the reputation of the artist and to make the picture the joke of London. That this was not the case may be explained in various ways. The public were interested in the composition and in the charm of the colouring, and, above all, in the theme. True to their traditional habit the people were captivated by a popular story picture, especially when the central figure was a great popular hero like Wolfe. It made no difference that the picture was highly melodramatic and grotesquely false. Historical details of the Quebec campaign had not become generally known, and there were no critical newspapers and magazines keen to seize on an artist's shortcomings or to hold him up to ridicule. Moreover, the name of West carried great weight, and the patronage of a Grosvenor and of the King himself would silence all critics.

The interest aroused by the painting was greatly enhanced by the unveiling of the large monument in Westminster in 1773, and the engravers benefited enormously by this enthusiasm.

The picture represents Wolfe in the act of expiring, surrounded by a group, composed chiefly of prominent officers, while in the background the battle is in progress. A soldier bearing a captured flag is in the act of running towards the group to announce the victory. In front of the group is a kneeling Indian gazing at the dying general.

Soon after the picture appeared a key was published giving the identity of several of the personages. A more elaborate one has recently been published by the Marquess of Sligo in *The Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1922. I take exception to one of his suggestions, viz., that the figure on Monckton's right was probably Col. Napier. An extended study of the lists of officers at Quebec reveals no one of this name.

In the *Life of General Sir Charles Napier*, by Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Napier, Vol. I, p. 48, is the following reference to Col. the Hon. George Napier, son of Francis, 6th Baron Napier:

“ His person and countenance were very commanding, resembling so much the mourning grenadier in West's picture of Wolfe's death, that it was thought to be a portrait, yet it was not so; the general resemblance is striking, but his figure was larger, grander in form, his eye still more falcon-like, his forehead less fleshy, showing finer blood, and his jaw more square and determined.”

The entire grouping is an example of extreme artistic license. Most of the officers were, in reality, not near Wolfe at all, but were engaged in their duties on the battle-field. Monckton, who occupies a prominent place in the group, was lying badly wounded in another part of the field. The kneeling surgeon has the face of a well-known army surgeon, Robert Adair (who inspired the well-known song “ Robin Adair ”); a study of the army records proves that he was never at Quebec nor even in America. It was John Adair who was a prominent surgeon with Amherst's forces in America, though he was not with Wolfe's army at Quebec, as far as is known.

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“D.” THE DEATH OF WOLFE. By James Barry, R.A.

Neither was there a single Indian with the British forces. West took this aboriginal figure from an eighteenth century painting of Niagara Falls by Henry Fuseli, now in the McCord Museum; he has copied the Indian's very pose, and even the musket which rests across his thigh. One wonders why West made such a selection for his group, omitting several prominent officers who might well have been included, and who were still alive when the painting was executed. The most recent biographer of Brigadier General James Murray, General Mahon, says that West asked Murray to allow him to include his portrait, but that he refused, saying: "I was not there (*i. e.*, near Wolfe), I was commanding the troops in my charge." This rugged Scotsman was too honest and too modest to allow himself to be placed in a false position. Some unpleasant gossip has come down through the generations to the effect that West asked payment for the privilege of being included in his picture. Doughty, in his *Siege of Quebec* (Vol. II, p. 314), states that John Hale, of the 47th regiment, was asked to pay West £100 for the privilege of forming one of the group, but that he declined, with the result that he was omitted. One wonders if the financial proposition had anything to do with Murray's refusal.

Woollet's engraving was directly responsible for the appearance in France of one of the same size purporting to represent the *Death of Montcalm*, the work of Chevillon after a painting by Watteau of Lille. It is even more fantastic than West's *Death of Wolfe*, as the French general is placed on a splendid cushioned settee on the battlefield, with a palm tree near by; the truth being that Montcalm, on receiving his fatal wound, was conducted to the city supported on his horse.

The last important painting of the *Death of Wolfe* made in England was that by James Barry, first exhibited in 1776. It called forth severe criticism from several of his colleagues, of whom Reynolds was most prominent. Barry was stirred to wrath and replied to his critics with great vigour. I was greatly interested to read in certain works of art published in the nineteenth century that, in painting this picture, the artist had been carried away by his love of classic art, and that all his figures were nude. I was very curious to see a painting of a battle at Quebec as late in the year as Sept. 13th, in which all the figures were nude. I made inquiries in every part of England, but could find no trace of the picture. Barry had long been forgotten by the world of Art, his chief claim to fame being the mural paintings in the hall of the Society of Arts. The picture had never been engraved and was not known to any of the museums or to the dealers.

At length, in consulting Smyth's *History of the Lancashire Fusiliers* (New Edition), I found a plate which was a reproduction of Barry's painting. I wrote to the author and found out that the original was in the Officers' Mess in the Depot of the Fusiliers at Bury, Lancashire, having been presented by Sir Lees Knowles, Bart. Later, I learned from the donor how he became possessed of the picture. He had been in Montreal in 1901 and saw it first exposed for sale, having been sent from New York to find a purchaser; it had been in America for a long

time. Sir Lees bought it and took it to England. It now hangs in his country house in Lancashire, he having rebought it from the depot at Bury, where it was evidently not much appreciated.

[Illustration "D" is from a photograph of Barry's picture, now owned by Sir Lees Knowles, Bart. The picture hangs at Turton Tower, Lancs.]

For this article it has been specially photographed by the kind permission of the owner, and at his expense.

The canvas measures inches by

It will thus be seen that three of the pictures described in this article are here reproduced from photographs of the actual pictures, so that there can be no possibility of a mistake as to what was originally painted.—ED.]

A study of the painting reveals the stupidity of those who indulged in the criticisms to which I have alluded. The only vestige of nudity is the partly exposed chest of Wolfe, a justifiable piece of realism, considering that those who were assisting the dying man were trying to control the bleeding from that part of his body. There are two kneeling officers attending to Wolfe, both in the uniform of the Louisbourg Grenadiers.

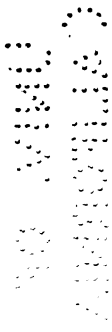
[The so-called 'Louisbourg Grenadiers' were actually the men of the Grenadier Companies of the 22nd, 40th and 45th regiments of Foot. These Companies had been brought from Louisbourg to strengthen Wolfe's force. They wore, of course, the uniform of their respective regiments.—ED.]

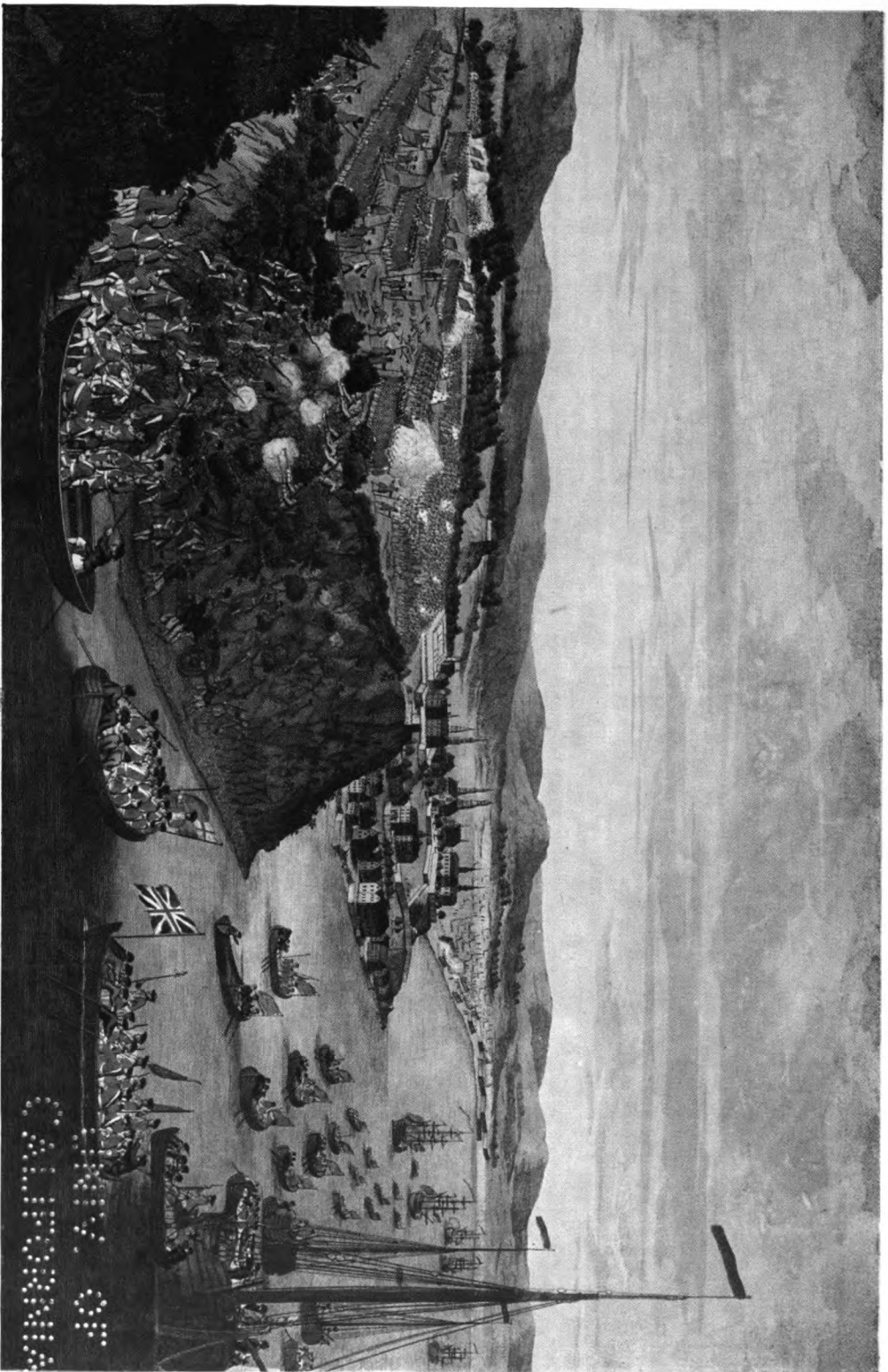
On the left are two other officers, in attitudes of poignant grief. On the right is another figure pointing to the battle in the background, having apparently brought news to the dying general. This painting has charming colour, and is much more worthy of commendation than West's production, yet it has been completely ignored and forgotten by artists and historians, while West's picture has enjoyed continual admiration for a hundred and fifty years. Indeed, it is safe to say that West's name would by this time, probably, have been forgotten by the world, had it not been for the constant advertisement afforded him by the undying popularity of his *Death of Wolfe*.

An American historical painter, A. Chappel, has also dealt with this theme, representing the dying Wolfe being carried to the rear amidst a group of soldiery. It is, however, a very unimportant production both as regards artistic quality or historical interest. Moreover, the likeness of Wolfe is very poor.

Of the engravings of this subject which have been issued in the past century and a half as separate prints or as illustrations of magazines and books, little need be said. They have been published in most European countries and in America, and exist in all sizes, shapes and degrees of quality.

Even a French artist of the late eighteenth century has painted a *Death of Wolfe*, which is now in my collection. It is a fine composition, but it is even more remarkable than West's picture (from which, by the way, the artist has stolen a number of the figures, including the Indian), because the group surrounding the dying general contains a number of cavalry horses, very effectively arranged, but entirely out of place, for, of course, the artist might have remembered that there was not a horse in the British army, at least, on the Plains of Abraham.





A View of the Siege of QUEBEC September 13th 1759

Showing the manner of attacking the English Stores by the regular army under the light Captaincy, upon Monday the 13th of September, the Captaincy being under the command of the light Captaincy, which the French were to give. Also a view of the signal Battery obtained over the French regulars (Canadian and Indian), which produced the surrender of QUEBEC.

Painted by J. M. W. Turner in 1800, after a drawing by LAMBLE & WHITTLE, 1759.

Vue de la Ville de QUEBEC le 13 Septembre 1759.

Qui représente le défilé de la garnison anglaise à l'arrivée de l'armée française, le 13 Septembre 1759. On voit dans le bas de la Ville, le signal de la victoire, qui a été donné par le Capitaine de la Ville, et qui a produit la reddition de la Ville.

QUEBEC

Laurie & Whittle

THE TAKING OF QUEBEC—1759.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

This print, published in 1797, is produced from *Prints of British Military Operations*, by the kind permission of the author, Colonel C. de W. Crookshank, M.P.

The wording below the print is:—

“A VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1759. Shewing the manner of debarking the English Forces & of the resolute scrambling of the light Infantry up a Woody Precipice to dislodge the Captains post, which defended a small entrenched path through which the Troops were to pass. Also a view of the signal Victory obtained over the French regulars, Canadians and Indians, which produced the surrender of QUEBEC.”

It is a rough line engraving coloured by hand, and in contemporary copies a good deal of body colour is added, as was customary at that period. The sense of proportion is somewhat grotesque, but it may be considered to represent the country extraordinarily well.

The site of the battle is to-day preserved as a Public Park. A French shield which was presented to the town of Hastings after the capture, was restored to Quebec in July, 1925, by the courtesy of the Corporation—a notable episode in the history of Quebec, as indicating the friendship which exists to-day between the two nations who participated in so many struggles in the 18th Century.

This shield, of which an illustration is given, is made of wood and measures 36" by 48".

“In the centre is the coat of arms of ‘France Modern,’ azure, three fleurs-de-lys or, surrounding the coat are the collars of the orders of St. Michel and St. Esprit. Above is the Crown of France.”

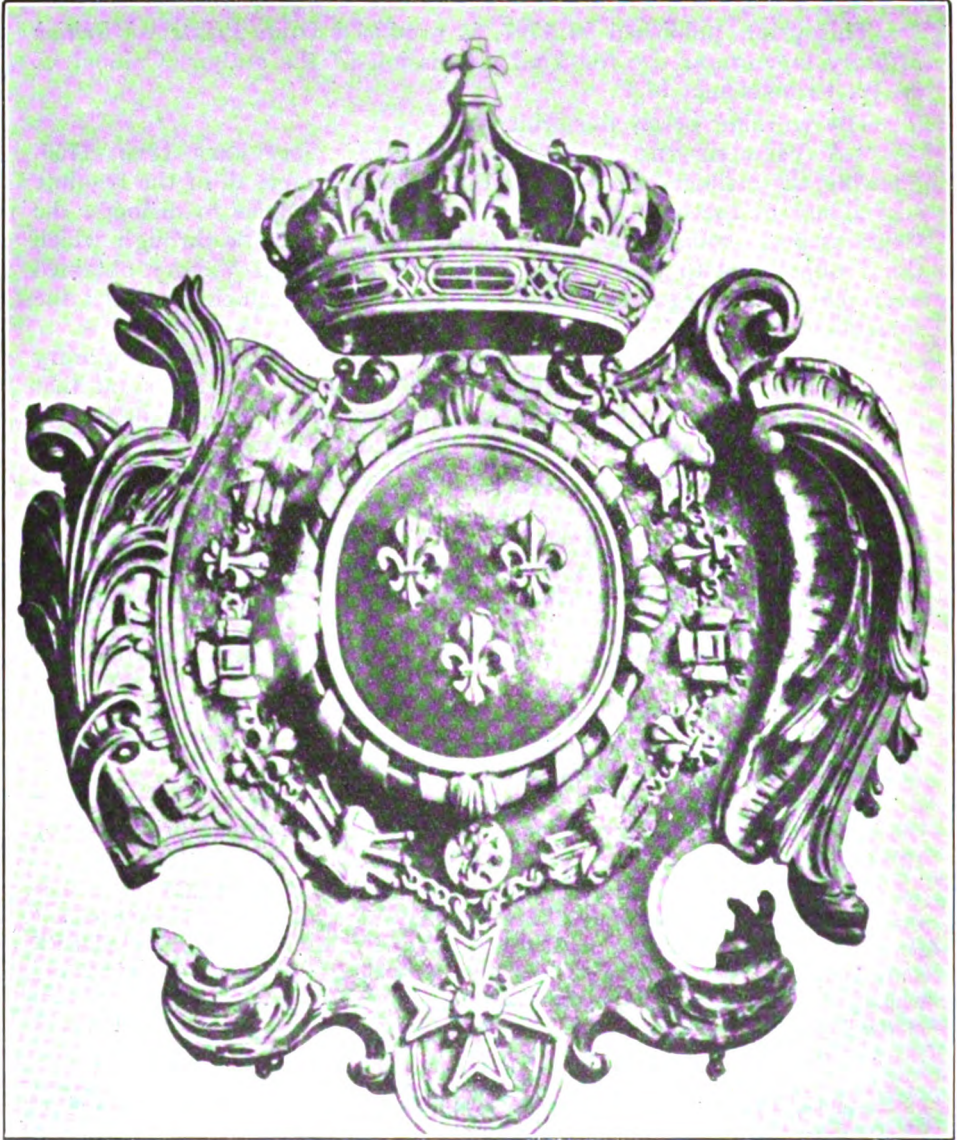
It used to hang inside the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, over the entrance door. Below it was a black wood panel, measuring 34½ by 19½ inches, which bore the following inscription in gold letters:—

This SHIELD / was taken from off one of the Gates of QUEBEC / at the time that a Conquest was made of that City / by His Majesty's Sea and Land Forces. / (In the Memorable Year 1759) under the Command of the Admirals / SAUNDERS and HOLMES and the Generals / Wolfe, Monckton, Townsend, and Murray, / which latter being Appointed the first British / GOVERNOR thereof made a present of the TROPHY / of War to this CORPORATION / whereof he then was one of the JURATS.* /

* A municipal officer (esp. of the Cinque Ports) holding a position similar to that of an alderman.

General James Murray, Governor of Quebec and later of Minorca, commanded the left wing of the army in the battle on the Plain of Abraham, 13 September, 1759, where Wolfe fell. The city surrendered on the 18th, when a Council of War decided on its retention. Murray was left there with four thousand troops.

When on 16 July, 1925, it was publicly handed over, with due ceremony, to the Hon. P. C. Larkin, High Commissioner for Canada, to be restored to the City of Quebec, its place in the Council Chamber was taken by a replica, presented by Mr. Larkin, with a new tablet, bearing the following inscription:—



“ This is a replica of the Escutcheon of the Kings of France. Taken from a gate of Quebec at the time of the capture of the City in 1759, and

presented to Hastings by General Murray, first British Governor of Canada, was graciously returned to the City of Quebec by the Town Council of Hastings on the 16th July, 1925."

The original shield, on being restored to Quebec, was accompanied by a panel bearing the following inscription in English and in French:—

"This Escutcheon of the Kings of France taken from a gate of Quebec at the time of the capture of the City in 1759, and presented to Hastings by General Murray, first British Governor of Canada, was graciously returned to the City of Quebec by the Town Council of Hastings on 16th July, 1925."

The original tablet (see *ante*) has been placed in store.

The information about this shield and the illustration of it, have been most kindly supplied by Mr. D. W. Jackson, Town Clerk of Hastings.

The Regiments which took part in the battle of Quebec (Plains of Abraham†) were:—

| REGIMENT. | COLONEL. | TITLE IN 1927. |
|-----------|----------------------------|--|
| 15th | M.-Gen. Jeffery Amherst... | The East Yorkshire. |
| 28th | L.-Gen. Philip Bragg ... | The Gloucestershire. |
| 35th | " Charles Otway ... | The Royal Sussex. |
| 43rd | " James Kennedy ... | The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire L.I. (1st Bn.). |
| 47th | " Peregrine Lascelles | The Loyal Regiment (North Lancashire) (1st Bn.). |
| 48th | M.-Gen. Daniel Webb ... | The Northamptonshire (1st Bn.). |
| 58th | " Robert Anstruther | " " (2nd Bn.). |
| 60th* | Colonel Robert Monckton§ | The King's Royal Rifle Corps. |
| " ‡ | " Charles Lawrence§ | " " |
| 78th** | Simon Fraser†† ... | Disbanded in 1763. |

These eight regiments bear the battle honour "Quebec—1759."

Three Companies of Grenadiers (12 Officers and 229 other ranks) from Louisbourg were also present; they belonged to the

| | | | | |
|------|--------|---------|---|--|
| 22nd | } Foot | In 1927 | { | The Cheshire Regiment. |
| 40th | | | | The Prince of Wales's Volunteers (South Lancashire). |
| 45th | | | | The Sherwood Foresters (Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire). |

In all accounts of the battle, these Companies are generally spoken of as the "Louisbourg Grenadiers." The Grenadiers, of course, wore the uniform dress of their respective regiments.

A Company of the 1st Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery was present, under the command of Captain William Macleod. In 1927, it is represented by No. 18 Medium Battery, R.A.

The Captain-Lieutenant of the Company was John Yorke, who is mentioned in Wolfe's orders of 11 September, 1759.

† Named after Abraham Martin, a pilot, formerly known as Maitre Abraham.

* Or Royal American Regiment of Foot, 2nd Bn.

‡ " " 3rd Bn.

§ Colonel-Commandant. ** Or 2nd Highland Battalion. †† Lieut.-Colonel Commandant.

The last orders issued by Wolfe, who was in the *Sutherland*, 50, Captain John Rous, lying at anchor off St. Nicholas (S. bank of the river St. Lawrence—12 miles up the river above Quebec), prior to the attack on 13 September, were:—

“ 11 September. The troops ashore (except the light infantry and Americans) are to be upon the beach to-morrow morning at five, in readiness to embark; the light infantry and Americans will embark about eight.

“ The detachments of artillery to be put on board the armed sloops this day.

“ The troops to hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the enemy.

“ As the *Leostoff* [Lowestoft, 28] and *Squirrel* [20] frigates are ordered to follow the flat-bottom boats, the troops belonging to these ships are to remain on board, and the boats intended for these corps are to take in others, according to the following distribution.

| | | BOATS. | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|--------|---|---|
| <i>Stirling Castle</i> [64] | ... | ... | 2 | } To take 50 each of Bragg's out of the <i>Ann and Elizabeth</i> instead of Amherst's. |
| <i>Dublin</i> [74] | ... | ... | 3 | |
| <i>Alcide</i> [64] | ... | ... | 1 | |
| <i>Pembroke</i> [60] | ... | ... | 4 | } To take Kennedy's from <i>Employment</i> transport. |
| <i>Vanguard</i> [70] | ... | ... | 4 | |
| <i>Trident</i> [64] | ... | ... | 4 | } To take colonel Howe's corps of light infantry from the <i>Ann and Mary</i> . |
| <i>Centurion</i> [50] | ... | ... | 2 | |
| <i>Shrewsbury</i> [74] | ... | ... | 4 | } To take Anstruther's from the <i>George</i> . |
| <i>Medway</i> [60] | ... | ... | 2 | |
| <i>Captain</i> [64] | ... | ... | 4 | |
| | | | | } To take Lascelles's in five boats from the <i>Ward</i> , and to take Amherst's and the American grenadiers from the <i>Sutherland</i> . |

There remains to be taken into the boats of the fleet;

200 Highlanders, of which Captain Leslie's schooner takes 50 from the *Ann and Elizabeth*;

the remaining 150 Highlanders in the *Ward* transport will be taken in the following boats:

The *Sutherland's* long-boat 40; the *Alcide* 40, *Medway* 40, and the *Sutherland's* cutter 15; the next ships carry troops immediately after the flat-bottom boats;

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| <i>Leostoff</i> | ... | ... | 300 | Amherst's, |
| <i>Squirrel</i> | ... | ... | 240 | Louisbourg grenadiers, |
| <i>Race Horse</i> [8]* | ... | ... | 250 | Highlanders, |
| Three armed vessels | ... | ... | 200 | Light infantry, |
| <i>Lovel</i> transport | ... | ... | 400 | Royal Americans, |
| <i>Adventure</i> | ... | ... | 400 | Otway's. Total 1910. |

The Ordnance vessel with tools and artillery men.

* Bomb vessel.

One hundred and fifty Highlanders to be removed from the *George* transport into the *Sea Horse* [24] frigate, 100 Highlanders to be removed from the *Ann and Elizabeth* to the *Sea Horse* frigate to-morrow evening, after the re-imbarkation of brigadier Monckton's corps.

| No. OF BOATS. | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| Order of Troops in | 8 Light infantry, |
| the line of Boats, | 6 Bragg's, |
| | 5 Lascelles's, |
| | 4 Kennedy's, |
| | 6 Anstruther's. |

One flat-bottom boat, and the boats of the fleet, to take the detachment of Highlanders and American grenadiers.

Captain Chads† has received the general's instructions in respect to the order in which the troops are to move and land in: no officer must attempt to make the least alteration, or interfere with captain Chads's particular province, least (as the boats move in the night) there be confusion and disorder amongst them.

The troops will go into their boats to-morrow night about nine, or when it is pretty near high-water; but the navy officers, commanding the different divisions of boats, will approve of the fittest time; and as there will be a necessity of remaining some part of the night in the boats, the officers will provide accordingly, and the soldiers shall have a gill of rum extraordinary to mix with their water.

Arms, ammunition, and two days provisions is all the soldiers are to take into the boats: the ships, with the blankets, tents, necessaries, &c., will soon be up.

SIGNALS.

1st. For the flat-bottom boats, with the troops on board, to rendezvous abreast the *Sutherland*, between her and the south shore, keeping near her; is, one light in the *Sutherland's* main top-mast shrouds.

2d. When they go away from the *Sutherland* she will shew two lights in the main-top-mast shrouds, one over the other.

The men are to be quite silent, and when they are about to land, must not upon any account fire out of the boats. The officers of the navy are not to be interrupted in their part of the duty. They will receive their orders from the officer appointed to superintend the whole, to whom they are answerable.

Officers of artillery, and detachments of gunners, are put on board the armed sloops to regulate their fire, that in the hurry our own troops may not be hurt by our artillery. Captain Yorke* and the officers will be particularly careful to distinguish the enemy, and to point their fire against them. The frigates will not fire till broad day-light, so that no mistake can be made.

† James Chads, R.N., Captain of the fire-ship *Vesuvius*.

* Captain-Lieutenant John Yorke, R.A.

The officers commanding floating batteries will receive particular orders from the general.

The troops will be supplied to-morrow to the fourteenth.

12 September. The enemy's forces are now divided, great scarcity of provisions in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians; the second officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think that general Amherst is advancing into that colony: a vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada: our troops below are ready to join us; all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the Point of Levi, and the troops will land where the enemy seems least to expect it.

The first body that gets ashore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them to [? from] any little posts they may occupy.

The officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not by any mistake fire upon those who go before them.

The battalions must form upon the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself.

When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps to be left to secure the landing place, while the rest march on, and endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to battle.

The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers are capable of doing against five weak battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry.

The soldiers must be attentive to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty. (*General Wolfe's Instructions to young Officers*, etc. 1768. pp. 104-5.)

Prints of British Military Operations, 1066—1868, above-mentioned, is a complete and descriptive catalogue of all the known prints illustrating British battles which took place between those dates, arranged in order of campaigns, with a short account of the operations concerned.

It is illustrated with 15 reproductions of these prints in colours and collotype and forms an excellent book of reference for regiments, as the index refers not only to all the actions, battles, etc., of which prints exist, but also to the various units whose names or numbers appear on the titles of or keys to such prints.

The price of the book is 2 guineas—published by Messrs. Adlard and Son, 21, Hart Street, W.C.1.

A portfolio of 16 plates (12 in colours) on plate-marked mounts, 20" by 25", was also published at the same time, at 8 guineas.

A limited number is now offered by the author at 3 guineas, to enable Regiments and Corps to obtain these excellent reproductions of contemporary prints of various engagements in which they have taken part. They are specially mounted for framing and can be seen at the house of

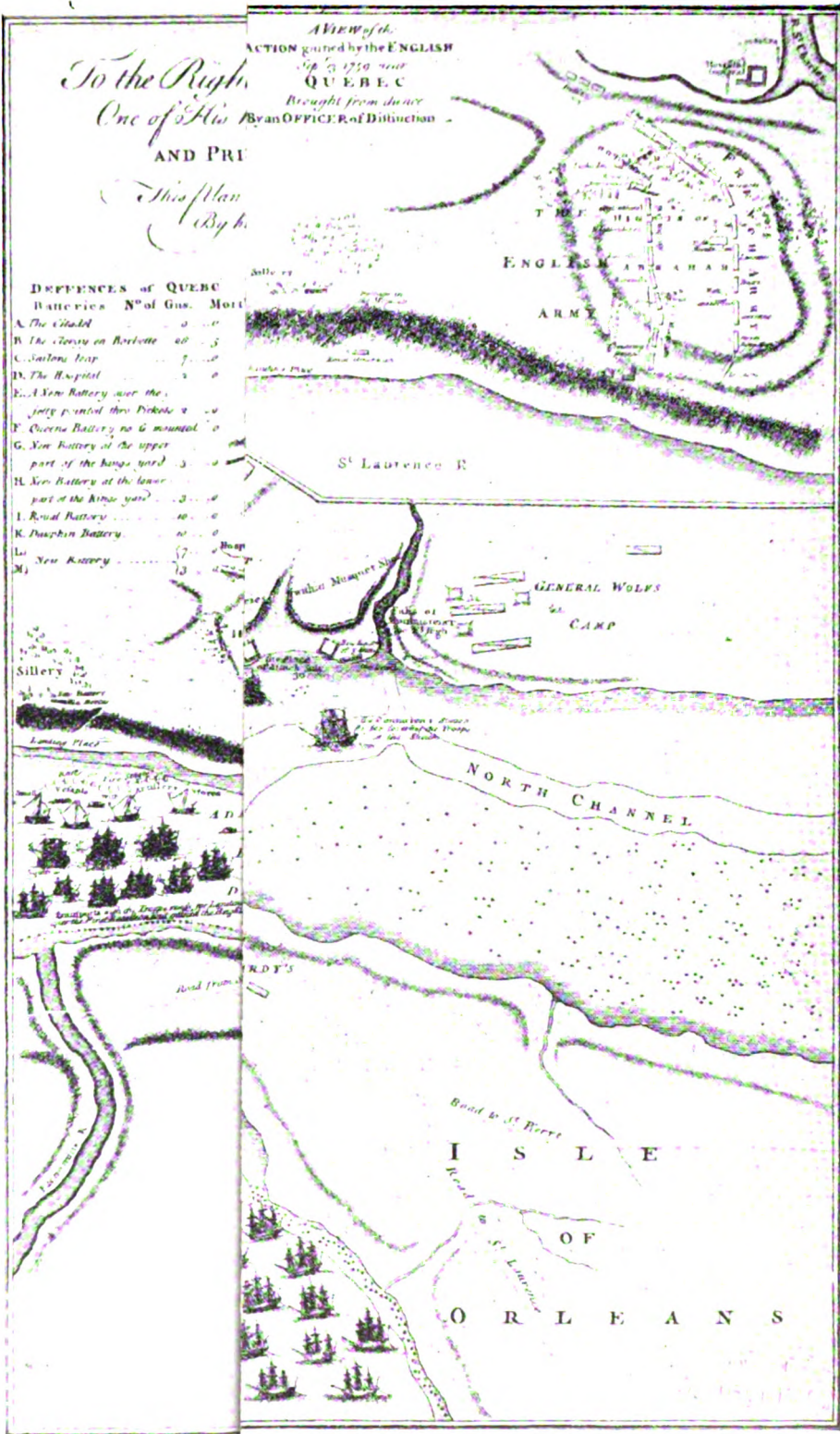
Hugh Rees, Ltd., 5 Regent Street, London, S.W.1.

To the Right
 One of His
 AND PRINCE
 This Plan
 By the

A VIEW of the
 ACTION gained by the ENGLISH
 Sep 26 1759 near
 QUEBEC
 Brought from France
 By an OFFICER of Distinction

DEFENCES of QUEBEC

| Batteries | N ^o of Guns | Moult |
|---|------------------------|-------|
| A. The Citadel | 30 | 10 |
| B. The Tower on Berthelotte | 60 | 5 |
| C. Salomon's Leap | 7 | 1 |
| D. The Hospital | 3 | 0 |
| E. A New Battery near the jetty pointed thro' Debiens | 2 | 0 |
| F. Queens Battery no 6 mounted | 0 | 0 |
| G. New Battery of the upper part of the hangar yard | 3 | 0 |
| H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings yard | 3 | 0 |
| I. Royal Battery | 10 | 0 |
| K. Dauphin Battery | 10 | 0 |
| L. New Battery | 7 | 0 |
| M. New Battery | 3 | 0 |





REVIEWS.

THE GORDON RIOTS. By J. Paul de Castro. London. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1926. Demy 8vo. pp. xvi. 280. *ill. ports.*

By J. M. BULLOCH.

It is almost impossible for anyone who reads at all to escape some knowledge of the anti-Roman Catholic Riots led by Lord George Gordon, which held London in their terrifying sway for a whole week in June, 1780. Even people who read nothing but fiction have followed them in *Barnaby Rudge*. References to the ugly affair simply litter the literature of the end of the eighteenth century, so that a bald inventory of the references fills forty pages (pp. 178-218) of my *Bibliography of the Gordons* (1924).

Yet, strange to say, they have never been dealt with in a monograph until now, when Mr. J. Paul de Castro has skilfully co-ordinated the vast mass of floating information about them in a first-class historical study. The book, which is judicious and extremely well written, shows an immense amount of research, for the material is scattered in the most unlikely places, and the 'Amherst' Papers, presented to the War Office while the work was in progress, help to unify it in a way hitherto unavailable to students. Besides that, Mr. de Castro, as a barrister, is able to review the paralysing legal attitude of the authorities, which made it very difficult for them to tackle the trouble.

The Riots are of great importance to military students, because they show very clearly how the State may mismanage the military means at its command. It is five-and-twenty years since Sir John Fortescue, in a scathing passage in his *History of the British Army*, pilloried the ineptitude of the period in speaking of the Riots. "These disturbances," he said, "could have been suppressed without difficulty if military forces had been employed at once." As it was, "London paid the penalty for the weakness of successive Governments in dealing with the riots associated with the names of Porteous and Wilkes. As officers had been tried for their lives for firing on a mob, no officer would act without a magistrate." Indeed, after the danger of the Gordon Riots was over, the Duke of Richmond moved a resolution of censure against Lord Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, for sending troops at the height of the trouble to disarm all unauthorised persons who carried weapons in the streets, and to Sir John's disgust he found a supporter in the Duke of Grafton.

Not only had Amherst few troops to spare, for they were urgently needed elsewhere, and his mind was greatly occupied by our heavy commitments abroad, but he was handicapped by the difficulties of the civil aspect of the problem. Mr. de Castro dots every "i" of these difficulties, corroborating with elaborate data the points raised a quarter of a century ago by the historian of the British Army.

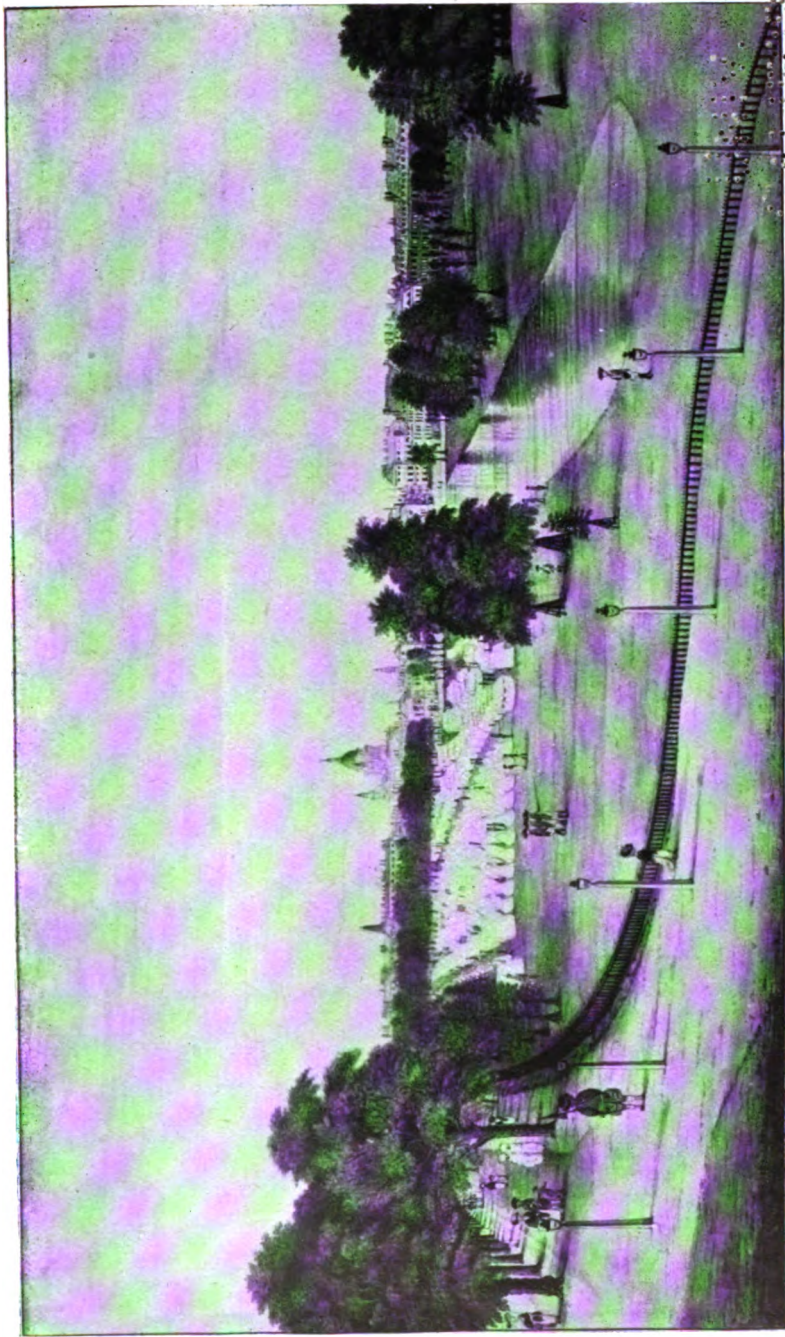
The misuse of the troops was peculiarly ironic in view of the fact that the Riots really arose from the necessities of the army itself. Our com-

mitments in America and the threat of a Continental war became so pressing that Lord North turned to the Catholics in the Highlands of Scotland as a promising field for recruits. To them he dispatched as confidential agent, Sir John Dalrymple, a baron of the Exchequer of the Scottish Judiciary, who interviewed Bishop Hay, the vicar apostolic of the Lowland District. The Bishop urged as a *quid pro quo* the removal of three of the many impediments then imposed by law on Roman Catholics. A Relief Bill, affecting England, went through the House of Commons, receiving the Royal Assent on 3 June, 1778. But when it was proposed to extend it to Scotland, Edinburgh and Glasgow retorted by creating a Protestant Association, which pilloried "Papists" ruthlessly.

The choice of Lord George Gordon, then member of Parliament for Ludgershall in Wilts, as President of the Association, was another very ironic move, because his family had tried to wipe out the memory of its tentative attachments to the Jacobites by taking service under the State. Lord George's uncle, Lord Adam, who became Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was an ardent soldier. Lord George's eldest brother, the 4th Duke of Gordon, had already raised two regiments—the 89th (1759) and the Northern Fencibles (1778)—besides a company each for the Fraser Highlanders (1775) and the Black Watch (1791), and he was yet to raise two more regiments, including the Gordon Highlanders. His brother William had been in the army, and Lord George himself started life early in the Navy. As a minor point, we may note that Lord George's brother-in-law, John Woodford, of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, who was afterwards in command of the second regiment of Northern Fencibles, raised by the Duke of Gordon, was the first officer to give orders to fire on the mob at the savage burning of Lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square by the Gordon Rioters.

Besides that, the Gordons had never been really anti-Catholic, for their lands lay in an intensely Catholic part of the country, which had managed to escape the heel of the Covenanters, and in any case they have never been interested in religious ethics. Mr. de Castro is, therefore, quite right in saying that the Catholic question was merely a pretext to Lord George; but I think he is wrong in describing him as a "revolutionary of the first water," for, as Cayley Drummie said of Lady Orreyd, he lacked the strength of deliberate viciousness. If he had not, the Riots would have been far less difficult to tackle, for it would have been easier to get at the ringleaders. All this is thoroughly typical of the cross purposes which marked the Riots from first to last, both in the authorities and of the rabble. The whole thing, in short, was a shocking bungle from every point of view.

There was certainly no leading in the case of the rioters. What happened was that the anti-Catholic movement snowballed the riff-raff of London, attracting the rabble to the streets as the procession of the Protestant Association passed from the waste tract of land in St. George's in the Fields, lying between Westminster Bridge and Blackfriars, to the House of Commons on 2 June, 1780, to demand the repeal of the Relief Act. On that day the House was a pandemonium, and when, towards



THE ENCAMPMENT OF THE GUARDS IN ST. JAMES'S PARK—5 July, 1780. Looking East, as from Buckingham Palace of to-day.

By Captain Thomas Davies, Royal Regiment of Artillery.

(From a Water-colour in the British Museum—183 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 11". B.M.—K.26. 7. d. 3.)

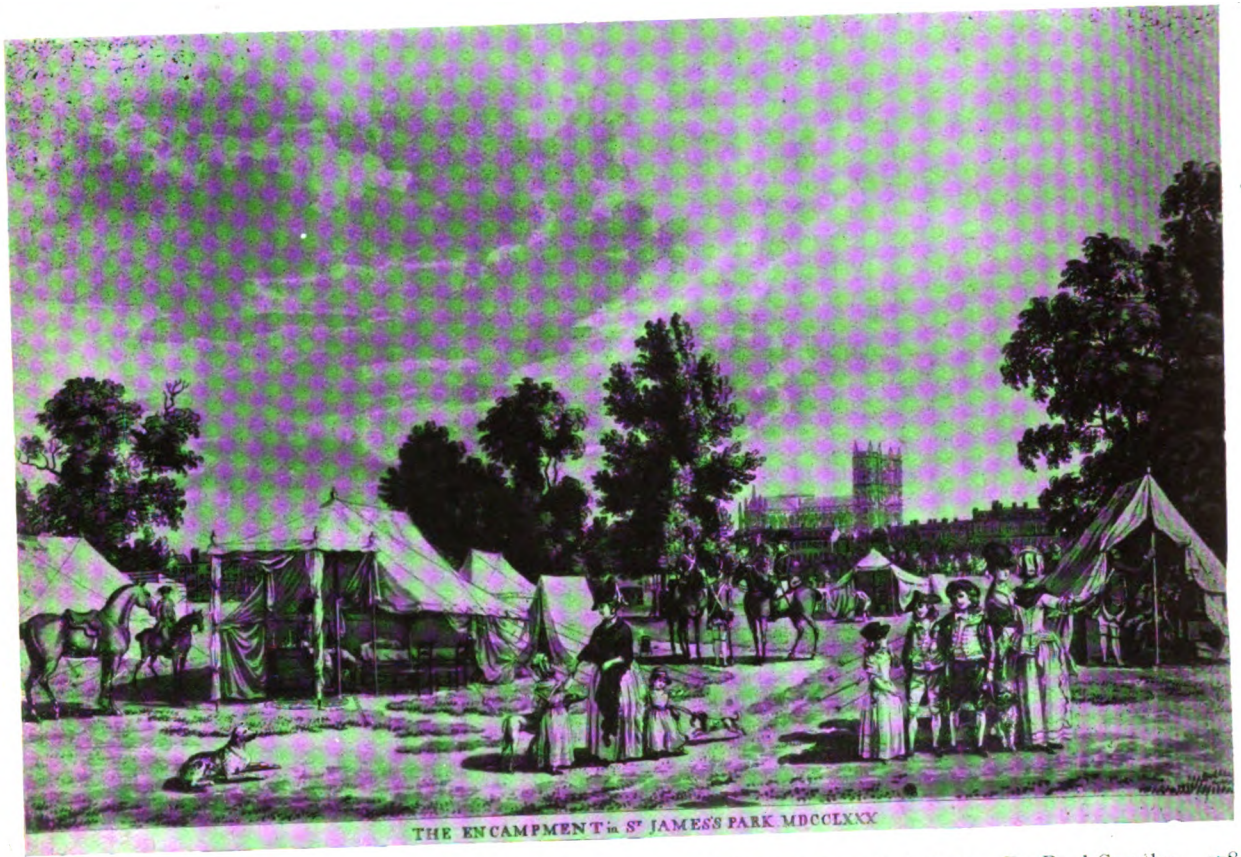
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THE ENCAMPMENT OF GUARDS IN ST. JAMES'S PARK—20 June, 1780. Looking towards Buckingham Palace of to-day.

By Captain Thomas Davies, Royal Regiment of Artillery.

(From a Water colour in the British Museum—1834 by 11". B.M.—K.26. 7. d. 2.)



THE ENCAMPMENT IN ST. JAMES'S PARK, SHOWING WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN THE BACK-GROUND. By Paul Sandby. 1780.
(From an Aquatint in the British Museum—18" by 12". B.M.—Crace collection. Portfolio 12. No. 60.)

midnight, the mob which had bellowed at its doors, set off to burn the Sardinian Chapel in Lincoln Inn Fields, it found itself unchecked by authority, and especially by military authority.

The amount of damage done during the next few days, which included the burning of Newgate, is familiar. What is far less known is the preparations of the Government, especially in the matter of troops. Even now, with the aid of the 'Amherst' papers, we know less about the disposition of the troops than we should like. A return by Amherst of 16 June shows that London was quartering 4,787 soldiers when the troubles began. Reinforcements do not seem to have come till 4 June, two days after the outbreak, when 1,500 more were marched in. This number was increased day by day, till it reached 7,580 more troops, bringing up the total to 12,367. The troops were stationed in Hyde Park, St. James's Park and at Blackheath, and included 1,455 Guards, 597 Cavalry (3rd and 4th Dragoons), and 2,142 Infantry, the last including the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Foot, while in the matter of militia, the Cambridge, South Hants, Bucks, Herts and Northumberland Regiments were represented—the last saving the Bank of England; while the "London Military Association" came to the rescue and the students of the Middle Temple raised a corps in defence of their sanctuary.

Even with such troops there were difficulties. For instance, a strange story is told of the doubtful conduct of some of the Guards who were tardily brought up to stop the rioters at the Sardinian Chapel, the first point of attack, on 2 June. Mr. de Castro says that "the troops seem to have been in sympathy with the rioters," for some of them were heard to say: "Great fools! Why did they not pull down the buildings. That might hurt their neighbours."

But the most disastrous aspect of the whole thing was the fact that the soldiers would not act without the magistrates, while the magistrates did not support the soldiers properly. This comes out very clearly in a letter which Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, wrote to Lord Stormont, Secretary of State for the South. There was a very peculiar irony in the complaint, for Lord Mansfield was Stormont's uncle, and declined to let the Guards remain on the spot when the mob were threatening his house in Bloomsbury, simply asking that they should be "ready when summoned." Jenkinson complained to Stormont that:—

In one instance the Civil Magistrates, having called for the troops, were not ready to receive them. In another instance the troops, having been called out, were left by the magistrate exposed to the fury of the populace when the party were insulted in a most extraordinary manner. In two other places appointed for them, several of the magistrates refused to act. It was the duty of the troops to act only under the authority and by the direction of the civil magistrate. For this reason they are under greater restraints than any other of His Majesty's subjects, and when insulted are obliged to be more cautious even in defending themselves.

The difficulty of the soldiers is illustrated by an incident which occurred when the mob burned Justice Hyde's house in St. Martin's Street:—

Whilst the destruction was proceeding some 30 Foot Guards led by an ensign marched into the street. The populace hailed them with loud huzzas. The ensign delivered himself of a speech demanding them to desist from their unlawful acts. His oratory was received with jeers. Perceiving the futility of his efforts he turned his men about and led them back whence they came, whilst the mob, shouting and clapping the soldiers on the back as they passed, returned to the work of demolition.

The troops were very chary of shooting. Thus, when 200 Guards fired on the mob at the Bank, they aimed in "so cautious a fashion" that only eight or nine of the rioters were killed or disabled. But the Horse Guards, when attacked in Fleet Street, were more daring, for, when they drew their "bayonets" twenty of the rioters fell and thirty-five were wounded and sent to hospital, where two died. Three of the Guards and a young officer named Marjoribanks were wounded.

Similar difficulties occurred when it was proposed in the Privy Council to declare Martial law. At the historic meeting where this proposal was made, Sir Charles Gould, Military Judge Advocate—who was the cousin of Fielding and the ancestor of Lord Cavan—alone among the judges objected. The debate at the Council Table on the subject, being of "great constitutional importance," is carefully explained by Mr. de Castro, who is a barrister by profession:—

Martial Law in its primary sense, implying that the ordinary or military law is suspended and the jurisprudence of the country in whole or in part is in the hands of the Military tribunals, had never and, in consequence of Mr. Justice Gould's attitude, has never become part of English law. But Martial Law, as the common lawright of the Crown and its servants to repel force by force has always been recognised as part of the law of this kingdom.

It was Martial Law in this second sense to which the Privy Council, after much delay, determined to resort.

The riots lasted a week, Lord George being arrested on 9 June. An enormous amount of damage was done by the rioters, whose casualties were estimated by Lord Amherst on 16 June as follows:—

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|
| Killed by Guards and Association | ... | ... | 109 |
| By Light Horse | ... | ... | 101 |
| Died in Hospitals | ... | ... | 75 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| Total | ... | ... | 285 |
| Prisoners under Cure | ... | ... | 173 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| Total killed and wounded | ... | ... | 458 |

Mr. de Castro has done his task very carefully, skilfully co-ordinating an enormous mass of material, the accumulation of which represents a world of work. The illustrations, 32 in number, are first rate. Military readers will be specially interested in the old prints of the encampments in Hyde Park, St. James's Park, and at Blackheath by Paul Sandby, and

by two views, from water-colours, of the St. James's encampment by Captain Thomas Davies, R.A.

[The blocks of the three illustrations are kindly lent by The Clarendon Press, Oxford.—ED.]

THE ANNALS OF THE KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS. By Lieut.-Colonel Lewis Butler. Vol. III. John Murray. 1926. Royal 8vo. pp. xxviii. 334. *ill. ports. maps.*

The third volume, now published, continues the story of the '60th' from 1830 to 1873—the former year being that in which the regiment received from William IV. its present title—the latter coinciding with the retirement of Colonel R. B. Hawley, the third of the great C.Os. to whom The K.R.R.C. owes so much.

It was not until 34 years after the conclusion of the Peninsular War that the regiment was again called upon for active service, and in the period embraced within the scope of the present volume the 1st Battalion took part in the second Sikh War (1848-9), the Indian Mutiny (1857-8), and in the Red River Expedition (1870), while the 2nd had heavy work in the Kaffir War, 1851-3, and a slighter share during the Indian Mutiny and the campaign of 1860 in China.

To the general reader the most interesting pages are those dealing with the Siege and Capture of Delhi, an episode which, although eclipsed in the shallow view of the "man in the street" by the romance of Lucknow, was well known in India, not only as a surpassing feat of arms, but as the decisive factor in the whole situation.

The story has been compiled solely from the accounts of men who took a personal part in the operations, and occasionally throws a new light upon the various episodes as well as on the reputation of the combatants.

The idea frequently expressed at the time, not by the Regiment, but by the Europeans in the country, that "The Sixtieth saved India," is, perhaps, extravagant, but the Battalion did what would be naturally expected from soldiers who had had twelve years' experience of the climate—it arrived in India in 1845—and were not new to active service in the country. It was, at the moment of crisis, commanded by the second Lieut.-Colonel of the Battalion, John Jones—who acquired the sobriquet 'The Avenger.' (See 'D.N.B.') Lame, ungainly, and in appearance the very opposite to an ideal Rifleman, he shewed himself a master of his art in the first and last campaign in which he ever served.

The illustration facing this page is reproduced by the kind permission of the Author.

The services of the 1st Battalion from 1845 to 1860 are recorded in the following Order by the Governor-General of India (pp. 185-6).

'Camp, Deenanugger, March 17th, 1860.

'The 1st Battalion of H.M.'s 60th Royal Rifles is about to embark at the Presidency to return to England.

'His Excellency the Governor-General cannot allow this very



COLONEL SIR JOHN JONES, K.C.B.

From a photograph in the possession of The King's Royal Rifle Corps.

distinguished Regiment to leave the country without publicly acknowledging its services in India.

'In October, 1845, the 1st Battalion 60th Royal Rifles landed at Bombay from England.

'Towards the close of 1848 it formed part of the column of troops from the Presidency of Bombay which co-operated with the army of Bengal in the campaign of the Punjaub. The Battalion was engaged in the siege of Mooltan, and in the capture of that fortress in January, 1849; at the battle of Goojerat in February of the same year; and in the brilliant pursuit of the fugitive hosts of Sikhs and Afghans, which terminated in the establishment of British power at Peshawar.

'While at Peshawar for a considerable period the Battalion distinguished itself in several operations against the border tribes.

'In 1857, soon after the breaking out of the late Mutiny, the Battalion was engaged in the important action on the Hindun; and having joined the army before Delhi, its services were pre-eminent in the memorable siege and capture of that stronghold of the rebel forces.

'The Battalion subsequently formed part of the retrieving column under Colonel Sir J. Jones, which, marking its progress by successive victories over the rebels and mutineers, proceeded into Rohilcund and assisted in taking the city of Bareilly.

'Subsequently the Battalion participated in the final operations in Oude, directed and carried out to a completely successful conclusion by the Right Honorable the Commander-in-Chief.

'But it is not more by the valour of its Officers and men, conspicuous as that has been on every occasion, than by the discipline and excellent conduct of all ranks during the whole of their service in India, that this Regiment has distinguished itself. The Governor-General tenders to the Battalion his warmest acknowledgments for the high example it has set in every respect to the troops with which it has been associated, in quarters as well as in the field; and he assures its Officers and men that the estimation in which their services are held by the Government of India confirms to the full the respect and admiration with which they are universally regarded.

'In bidding farewell to the Battalion, the Governor-General desires that it will accept his best wishes for the welfare of every Officer and man belonging to it.'

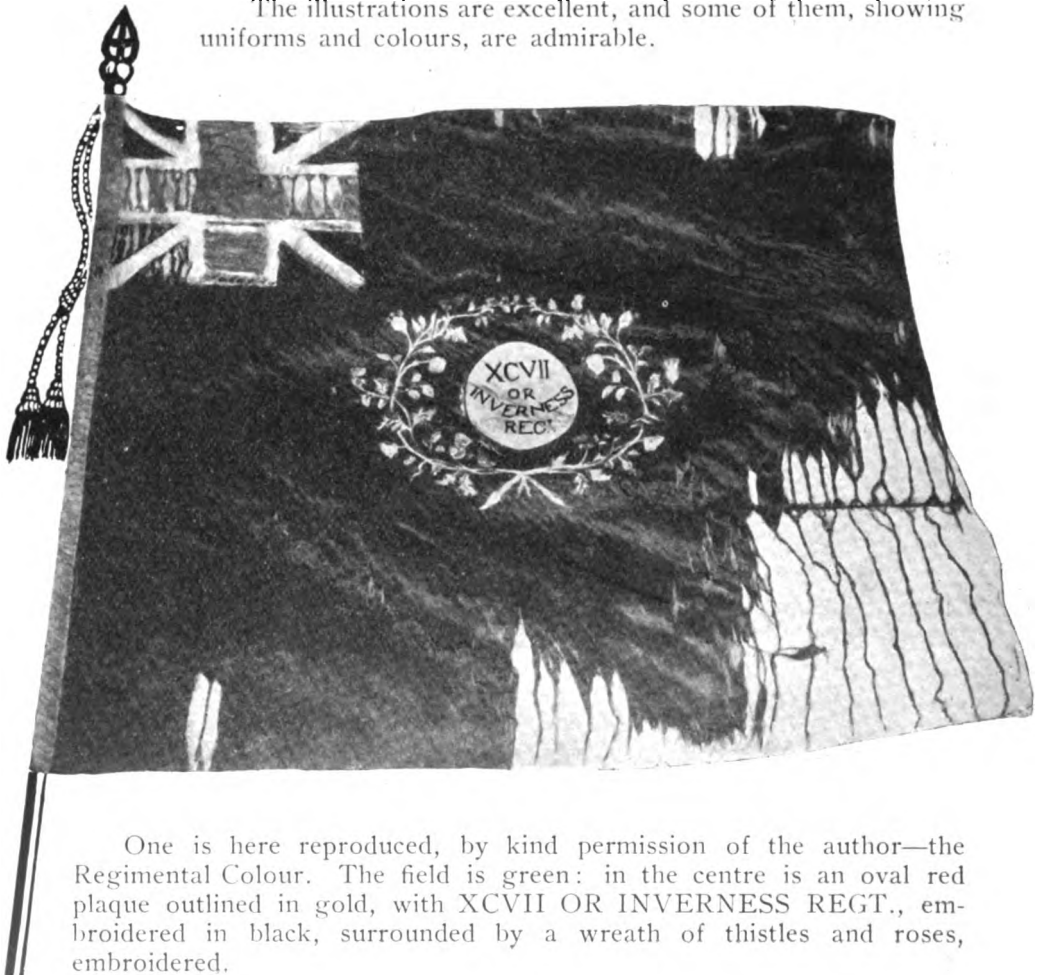
THE INVERNESS SHIRE HIGHLANDERS, OR 97TH REGIMENT OF FOOT,
1794-1796. By H. B. Mackintosh, F.S.A. (Scot.). Elgin: J. D. Yeadon.
10/-.

This carefully documented book is very interesting for the light it throws on one of those unlucky regiments, which were hastily raised and as hastily redistributed, or reduced. The 97th was raised by Sir James Grant of Grant under letters of service, February 10, 1794. Sir James was the first gentleman of quality in Scotland to offer to raise a fencible regiment, in January, 1778. Again in 1793 he was the first in Scotland to raise Fencibles. Stewart of Garth and other writers have described

the 97th as the "Strathspey Regiment." Mr. Mackintosh points out that in none of the correspondence or documents of the regiment was it so designated.

The regiment had its headquarters at Inverness, as Fort George had the Seaforth's, and it was inspected there 900 strong by Sir James himself on June 11, 1793, all the officers but two, the lieutenant-colonel, Denzil Onslow, and the major, Daniel Hoghton, being Scots. It embarked at Fort George in July and landed at Portsmouth in August, going in October to Guernsey, where it stayed seven months. Mr. Mackintosh has been unable to find the date of the order for the reduction of the 97th, but thinks it probably was about the middle of November, 1795, by which time its original numbers were considerably reduced. As many as 190 men volunteered for the Marines, and 112 were transferred to the 42nd. There are full lists of officers and the names of the redistributed men.

The illustrations are excellent, and some of them, showing uniforms and colours, are admirable.



One is here reproduced, by kind permission of the author—the Regimental Colour. The field is green: in the centre is an oval red plaque outlined in gold, with XCVII OR INVERNESS REGT., embroidered in black, surrounded by a wreath of thistles and roses, embroidered.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE—8, Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

125. SERVICE UNIFORM OF OFFICERS AT TANGIER, 1661-84. The figures in the accompanying sketch are enlarged from small figures in the drawings which the well-known artist Wenceslaus Hollar made at Tangier during its occupation by the English, 1661-84. There is a coloured original of one of his engravings from which the group of three officers on the left is taken. From this it is ascertained that the whole costume, hat included, was made of some light-grey material. The baldric, § shoulder knot, and ribbands at the cuffs, knees, shoes and hat of the left-hand figure are blue, those of the centre figure pink (probably intended for crimson), and of the third figure yellow. The two figures on the right of the sketch are from an uncoloured engraving, but we may well assume that their uniform was grey with coloured baldrics and ribbands.*

I imagine that the colours have some connection with the different British Regiments which fought at Tangier. I at first thought that they might correspond with the colours of the full-dress uniforms worn at home—the 1st Guards wearing red and the Duke of York's Maritime Regiment wearing yellow coats. But there does not seem to have been any blue-coated Regiment present. Nor do they fit in with the colours of the facings, as there were no regiments with yellow facings present. I think it quite possible, however, that the colours of the baldrics, &c., may have some connection with the special flags issued to three of the four units forming the "King's Battalion," viz., the 1st Guards, the Coldstreams, the Duke's and the Holland Regiments.**

These special colours were:—

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| For the 1st Guards | ... | Flowered taffeta & <i>Crimson</i> . |
| " " Coldstreams | ... | Crimson, white & <i>Blue</i> . |
| " " Duke's (Marines) † ... | ... | Crimson, white & <i>Yellow</i> . |
| " " Holland Regiment † ... | ... | Crimson, white & <i>Green</i> . |

It does not seem an unreasonable guess, therefore, that the three figures are intended to represent officers of the first three regiments named above.

The uniform does not seem badly adapted for service conditions. The hats seem smaller and lighter than those then worn at home and—so far as can be judged from the very small figures in Hollar's sketches—the baldrics are made apparently of some woven material which would be much cooler and lighter than the cloth or velvet ones laced and fringed with gold that are shown in portraits of the time. The cuirass, or heavy gorget, has been discarded, and also the voluminous waist sash. It is, perhaps, in lieu of this that a cord with small tassels is worn round the waist under the coat and tied in a bow with long loops in front. The lace neck-cloth is also fastened by a small cord bow with tassels. The colours of these cords correspond with those of the baldrics.

It would appear that the special grey uniform was confined to the Commissioned ranks, since Hollar shews soldiers in the background in red coats:—

Some, at any rate, of the Naval Brigade which was landed from the Fleet at Tangier in 1683, seem to have been provided with a tropical uniform, witness the following order, dated 26 September, "to Sir John Berry, of the *Henrietta*, signed

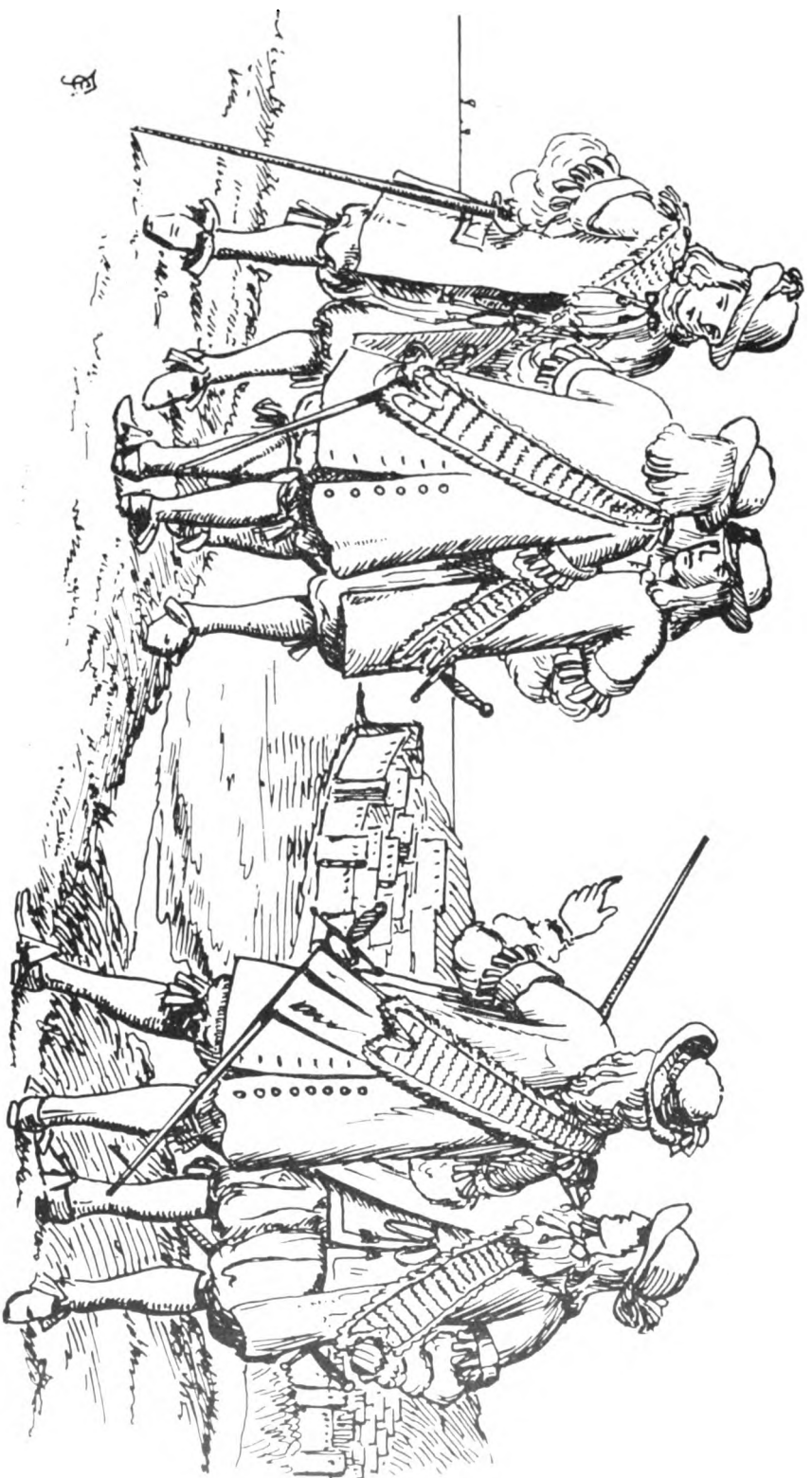
§ Shoulder-belt, or sash.

* I am indebted to the Rev. P. Sumner for details as to the colouring of figures on the left.

** Miscellany Order Book, Vol. dxv. fol. 410.

† The Lord High Admiral of England's Maritime Regiment of Foot. (See *ante*. Vol. III. p. 25.)

† Now—1927—The Buffs, East Kent Regiment. (See *ante*, Vol. III. p. 85.)



SERVICE UNIFORM OF OFFICERS AT TANGIER—1661-84.
(See Note 125.)



GEORGE, 5TH AND LAST DUKE OF GORDON, 1770—1836.
Mezzotint by *J. Lucas* after *George Saunders*.
Size 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, with margins. 1836.

by Lord Dartmouth, about the bringing ashore and disposing of the several battalions of seamen.”†

“Lord Dartmouth’s own battalion, commanded by Sir William Booth, consisting of 200 men, clothed with white and blue striped linen,** fitted with muskets, pikes and pole-axes, with 4 Union Flags.

“Sir John Berry’s battalion, commanded by [] , clothed with the clothes Mr. Hewers shall give, with 4 Irish Colours.

“Two other battalions, each consisting of 200 men, clothed with such clothes as the Scotch shall furnish. With eight Colours of Colonel [Charles] Trelawney’s Regiment.‡

“These four battalions to be commanded by Sir John Berry.”

“Tangier. 28 September, 1683. Seamen ordered ashore from ships in the roads, Lord Dartmouth ‘clothing a good part of them in the red coats we brought over with us for the Scotch§ and Trelawney’s regiments.’ ”*

C. FIELD.

126. THE LAST DUKE OF GORDON. George (Gordon), 5th and last Duke of Gordon was the elder son of the 4th Duke by his remarkably characterful consort, Jean Maxwell. Born in Edinburgh in 1770 he got an ensigncy in the 35th Foot in 1790, and a few weeks later his father raised (at a cost of £1,054) a company for him to take to the Black Watch. In 1794 he became lieutenant-colonel of the Gordon Highlanders, which his father had just raised.

He was wounded at Bergen-op-Zoom in October, 1799, Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, having written her famous song, “Hielan Laddie,” when he set out on this unlucky adventure.

He became colonel of the Black Watch in 1806, Robertson, the miniaturist, painting an admirable bust portrait of him. He became a general in 1819, and in 1820 was colonel of the Royal Scots and in 1834 of the 3rd Foot Guards.

The fine portrait of him, facing this page, by George Sanders (1774-1846), now at Gordon Castle, was engraved in mezzotint (17 in. by 12½ in.) by John Lucas and published by Boys in 1836. It is interesting as showing Gordon tartan with one yellow stripe. The tartan was invented only in 1793, being based on Black Watch tartan, apparently to commemorate the fact that the Duke, as Marquis of Huntly, had been in that regiment.

The Duke died in 1836 without leaving issue. His marquise went to his distant kinsman, the Earl of Aboyne and his estates to his nephew, the 5th Duke of Richmond, whose mother gave the famous Waterloo Ball. J.M.B.

[The block of this portrait has been placed at the disposal of this Society through the kindness of Messrs. Maggs Bros., 34, Conduit Street, London, W.1.—ED.]

127. TILBURY FORT IN 1776. The following account of life in the “good old days” is taken from a letter from Gravesend, dated 29 October, 1776, and printed in the *Ipswich Journal* of Saturday, 2 November, of that year.

“A terrible affair happened this day at Tilbury fort. A great match of cricket being to be played between Kent and Essex, the parties assembled on both sides. When they were met, a man appearing among the former, who should not have been there, the Essex men refused playing, on which a very bloody battle ensued, and the Kentish men being likely to be worsted, one of them ran into the Guard-house, and getting a gun from one of the Invalids, fired and killed one of the opposite party. On seeing this they all began running to the Guard-house, & there being but 4 soldiers there, they took away the guns and fell to it, doing a great deal of mischief. An old Invalid was run thro’ the body with a bayonet; & a serjeant

§ Dumbarton’s regiment—now (1927) The Royal Scots.

‡ The 2nd Tangier regiment—now (1927) The King’s Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).

* *Hist. MSS. Commission*. 15th Report, Appendix, Part I. 1890. The MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth. p. 51.

† *Hist. MSS. Commission*. 11th Report, Appendix, Part V. 1887. The MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth. p. 94.

** The Spanish Infantry wore blue and white striped linen or cotton undress, or tropical, uniform, at a comparatively recent date, and probably still do so.

who commands at the fort, in the absence of the officer, endeavouring with his 4 men to quell them, was shot dead. At last the Essex men took to flight, and running over the Draw-bridge, made their escape. The Kentish men then made off in their boats, but search is making after them." G. O. R.

[An Independent Company of Invalids was stationed in Tilbury Fort at this time, the three Officers of which were:—

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Captain Francis Gildart. | Date of Commission, | 4 January, 1765. |
| Lieutenant Richard Hicks. | " | 17 November, 1746. |
| Ensign Joseph Henegan. | " | 15 October, 1759.—ED.] |

128. AN INCIDENT IN THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION. On 20 December, 1744, Maréchal Duc de Belleisle, whom Carlyle terms 'chief war captain and diplomatist amongst the French,' travelling from Munich to Berlin to negotiate with the King of Prussia, and foolishly passing through a patch of Hanoverian territory, was arrested by the local magistrate, and sent prisoner first to Hanover and afterwards to Windsor.

Carlyle relates the incident at length (*Frederick the Great*, VI, 10-15, People's Edition).

Belleisle's capture was the subject of a caricature entitled, 'The French Bird Kick'd into a Cage,' which is No. 2612 in the British Museum Catalogue of Satirical Prints, iii. 490.

The original of the following ballad is in the Chetham Library at Manchester—number 891 in the Catalogue of the Broad-sides presented by Mr. J. O. Halliwell.

C. H. FIRTH.

THE FRENCH MARSHAL

Catch'd in a Trap.

A NEW BALLAD,

To the Tune of *A Cobler there was*, &c.

Had we the Kings of P a and of F . . . ce
As fairly coop'd, twou'd spoil the Monsieurs Dance.
 Vid. French Bird Kick'd into a Cage.

LONDON :

Printed for J. Collyer, in *Ivy Lane*; and Mr. Chapelle, in *Grosvenor-Street*; and sold at the Pamphlet-shops of *London* and *Westminster*. M.DCC.XLV.

Ye *Britons*, delighted attend to my Theme,
 How *France* was most shamefully baulk'd in her Scheme,
 To *Berlin* was destin'd (Affairs to embroil)
 But to *Britain* is brought, the faméd hero *Belleisle*.
Derry down down down Derry down.

This *politick* Marshal, Oh fatal Mishap!
 While dreaming of Conquest, was caught in a Trap;
 Of Plans and of Projects his Head was so full,
 He cou'd not distinguish a *Cock* from a *Bull*:
Derry down, &c.

Else surely this Master of Maps might discover,
 That *Elbingrode* lay in the Road of *Hanover*;
 Where a Bailiff, unwarlike, without any Warrant,
 Has put into Limbo this famous *Knight-Errant*.
Derry down, &c.

1000

And the Hero, who hop'd to put *Europe* in Chains,
Has scarce a Friend left to acknowledge his Pains,
Oh! solicit his Freedom—What can you do less,
Ye *Protestant* Princes of *Prussia* and *Hesse*?
Derry down, &c.

Ye cannot, in Conscience, leave him in the lurch,
For his Safety is more than the Good of your Church;
Like a Flock all unguarded your Armies must stray
And be easily conquer'd—this Marshal away.
Derry down, &c.

One wou'd think the *Bastille*, which we cannot forget,
He left it so lately, might teach him more Wit;
Or he flatter'd himself, when that Road he did keep,
That his Person was sacred, his Foes were asleep.
Derry down, &c.

But how great was his Anger, how furious his Rage,
When *Bajazet** like, he was coop'd in a Cage!
That the Kick of a Palfrey shou'd toss him away
To the LION, who eagerly seiz'd on his Prey.
Derry down, &c.

* *Bajazet* I, Sultan of the Turks, 1389-1403. He was taken prisoner in battle near Angora by Tamerlane in 1402, who according to Rowe's drama of that name ordered him to be chained in a cage like a wild beast.

How impotent, *Louis*, thy Threatnings appear,
In spite of 'em all the poor *Captive* is here;
At the Wiles of our Foes we always shall laugh,
And let *Gallia* take care her *Grand Monarque* is safe.
Derry down down down Derry down.

FINIS.

129. COUNCELLS OF WARR. 1624 and 1647. The two illustrations facing this page are reproduced from *Cromwell's Army* by Sir Charles Firth, by permission of the publishers, Methuen & Co., Ltd.

The upper one is reduced from an engraving, measuring 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", "Printed for Thomas Archer, in Pope's head Ally, and are to be sold at his shop in Pope's head Ally, over against the sine of the Horse-shoe."

The names of the 10 Councillors, as displayed on the banner in the left-hand top corner, are:—

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Oliver, Viscount Grandison. | Sir Horace Vere. |
| George, Lord Carew. | Sir Edward Cecill. |
| Fulke, Lord Brooke. | Sir Robert Mansfield. |
| Arthur, Lord Chichester. | Sir John Oagle. |
| Sir Edward Conway. | Sir Thomas Button. |

The verses at the bottom of the engraving are as follows:—

The God of Warre lookes downe, and from his eyes
Shoots smiles of ioy, to see what Policies
Are read (here) in this Schoole: This Councill-Boord,
(Upheld by tenne braue Souldiers) does afford
Matter (by Armes) to heighten Englands State,
These being more great than Romes Decemuirate
Happiest of Kings is ours: who in his Throne
Sits, Kising Peace, enjoying her alone:

More than all Christian Kings doe, yet when Drums
 Beate at his Neighbours Court gates, forthwith comes
 This heape of Worthies: an by them tis knowne,
 How to guard Strangers, how to guide our owne.
 The Souldier fights abroad, but these at home
 Teach him to fight well; From these ten Heads come
 Those streames of Councell, by which War does stand
 As safe as in the Ocean does this Land.

130. ARTICLES OF WAR. (Vol. V. p. 202.) It seems desirable to correct a mistake which, originating in Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*, has since found its way into such authoritative publications as the official *Manual of Military Law* and *Manual of Air Force Law* and Holdsworth's *History of the English Law*.

At page 60 of Volume I, *Military Forces of the Crown*, Clode refers to the Articles of War of 1672, on the authority of the *Report on Recruiting*, 1867. On turning to that report, however, it will be found that the Articles of War of 1673 are referred to.

In his other work, *Military and Martial Law*, Clode again quotes (on p. 35 *et seq.*) the Articles of War of "1672," which he states (p. vii) may be found in the War Office, having been "purchased from a (Bristol) pensioner in 1858-9."

This incorrect date must have been taken from his *Military Forces of the Crown*. The War Office Library has no copy of Articles of "1672," nor are such Articles mentioned in Mr. Baldry's list in the *Journal* (Vol. IV, p. 166).

On the other hand, though the War Office library does not possess a copy of the Articles of 1673, printed copies are by no means rare, and are to be found in more than one edition. The library of the R.U.S.I. has a copy of the 8vo edition; the P.R.O. has the 4to (amongst State Paper Miscellaneous 58); and the British Museum has two copies of the 8vo and one of the 4to (6875.a.12, 8o8.c.8 (4), and 506.h.9).

Clode's mistake is given fresh currency in the *Manual of Military Law*, 1914, where at page 10 the authority given for the Articles of "1672" is the Report on Recruiting, 1867; this, as has already been shewn, is wrong. The *Manual of Air Force Law*, 1921, at page 11 gives the error another lease of life. This note is written in the hope of killing the mistake, which is far from being the only one of its kind in Clode's works.

It is, however, interesting to know that there is after all a military code of 1672, though it is rare and was probably unknown to Clode. The only copy which has come to the writer's notice is that in the National Library of Scotland (late Advocates' Library), Edinburgh: its collation is as follows:—

Lawes and Ordinances / of / WAR, / Established for the good conduct of / His Majesties / Army in IRELAND. / By the Lord Lieutenant General, and / General Governour of IRELAND. / DUBLIN / Printed by Benjamin Tooke, Printer to the Kings / most Excellent Majesty; And are to be sold / by Joseph Wilde in Castle Street. 1672. /

Title-page surrounded by ornamental border: pp. 1-30, inclusive of title-page. p. 2, (verso of title) blank; p. 3 begins "Arthur Earle of Essex, Viscount Malden. . . . To All Officers of the Army" Page 4 ends with catchword "Laws." Text begins on page 5 and ends on page 30:

"Given at His Majesties Castle of Dublin the 21st day of September, 1672, and in the 24th year of His Majesties Reign. Hen: Ford." Small 4to.

H. BULLOCK.

131. IRISH SOLDIERS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES IN 1586. Two letters from the 'Fugger' News-Letters, 2nd series, are given [John Lane. The Bodley Head, Ltd. 1926.]

Letter No. 234, p. 118, is as follows:—

"Cologne, 15 September, 1586.

"The Earl of Leicester seems to be assembling his army. There are about fifty-five companies of foot, and twenty-four troops of horse and fifteen hundred Irish as well. These Irish-men are almost all naked and have their bows and arrows

with them. They are very quick runners, and there are also some hundred of them who go on stilts the height of a man. They are to walk through the moats surrounding the towns and climb the walls."

Letter No. 238, p. 120, refers to the battle of Zutphen:—

"Cologne, 9 October, 1586.

"A week ago I informed you how the Rhine bridge has been prepared, and a redoubt placed in each side. The English thought that with their fresh men they could carry the strong redoubt on the right side opposite Zutphen. When they advanced upon it and began the attack, the Prince of Parma, stationed hard by, was warned, and he marched at once to meet the enemy. On the 3rd inst. he reached the main standard of the English, called the Blue Standard, hoisted a mile and a half from the redoubt which the English had attacked. He repulsed them completely and took fifty-six prisoners. Then with his entire force His Highness pushed forward and attacked the English, who were already storming the redoubt, with such effect that over a thousand were killed on the field. The English lost as prisoners many of their own troops and others. Amongst them were thirty wild Irish who looked so strange that the devil himself would not fear them. They at once begged to be killed and not to be taken before the Prince of Parma. So when His Highness heard this he proceeded forthwith in person to see and to examine them. But they refused to answer His Highness, and as they were found to be ill of the plague he immediately had them killed like dogs. There are four or five hundred of these Irish over here. Probably now that the winter is coming they will go back home, for they are naked savages. Now when the English had retired, the Prince determined to give them no time, but pursued them with such fury that he routed their entire army and took eighteen colours. How many of them are fallen it is not yet possible to know, but as so many colours have been captured there are probably many dead. From the French, who were also in the battle, the Spaniards will get more loot than from the English and Irish."

132. THE ENGLISH REDCOAT. (Vol. III. p. 79-83.) In *The Fugger New-Letters*, 2nd Series, 1926, published by John Lane, The Bodley Head, Limited, the letter here following (No. 190) refers to "red coats."

"Cologne, September 6, 1585.

"Letters reach Middleburg from England, announcing that Colonel Norris was first knighted, then made a lord and Field-Marshal. He sailed for Zeeland on the 24th ult. with about eight thousand well-equipped English troops, and more are to follow under command of the Earl of Leicester as General Commanding-in-Chief of the whole body. A portion of these men actually arrived at Flushing on the 28th, but Norris and many other officers were driven towards Holland by heavy winds. Among the English are thirty-five Captains, each with a hundred and twenty men in his company. They are all smart men in red coats, bearing the badge of the Queen of England. Four hundred horse have come over too, and a good number of sappers or trench-diggers."

H. M. McC.

QUESTIONS.

246. THE DEATH OF WOLFE—1759. In 1763—see *ante*, p. 31—it is established that Romney painted and exhibited a picture of 'The Death of Wolfe.' All trace of this picture is lost, nor is there anything on record as to how the subject was treated or what the picture was like. Information is desired about it. (See 'D.N.B.')

Only last month (December) it was reported in newspapers that a picture of 'the Death of Wolfe,' which a local "expert" had pronounced to be the missing 'Romney,' had been discovered at Cardiff and that it was to be offered for sale by auction. Police court proceedings followed as regards ownership, etc., and the sale was stopped.

The picture turned out to be a copy of Benjamin West's 'fake.' It *may* be a good painting, but it is, to say the least, grotesque history. Unfortunately it has gained undeserved popularity.

J.H.L.

247. CONNAUGHT RANGERS, The following officers of the 88th Regiment of Foot (or Connaught Rangers) were in Halifax, Yorkst., in October-November, 1796.

Captain Thomas Lowther Allen.
 „ Lord George Beresford.
 Lieutenant Joseph Thompson.
 Ensign Robert Buckley.
 „ Richard Robert Browne.
 Qr.-Master John MacDonald.

Can anyone say why the regiment was in Halifax at that date or give details of the careers of any of these officers? T. W. H.

248. PROVOST MARSHAL. In what year was the office of Provost Marshal first instituted, and what were the duties of his office? Q.F.

249. LEXINGTON AND CONCORD—1775. What was the composition of General Gage's force in Boston in April, 1775, and what regiments took part, on 19 April, in the advance to Lexington and Concord, and in the subsequent retreat to Boston. The 4th and 10th Foot were certainly there. What other troops were? J.H.L.

REPLIES.

221. STANDING ORDERS. (Vol. IV. pp. 6, 137, and 224; V. 144.) In the British Museum (8825. aa. 36) is a small volume, lettered L.H.V., whose title is:—

“Standing Regulations of the Light Horse Volunteers of London and Westminster. Carefully extracted from the Minutes of the General Meetings, and Resolutions of the Committee, since the Revival of the Corps in 1794, and up to the 1st of June, 1803, to be strictly observed by every L.H.V. London, printed by J. Gold, Shoe Lane. 1803.” H. M. McC.

222. BATTALION GUNS. (Vol. V. p. 137.) A letter from Sir John Moore dated 25 June, 1803, addressed to Lieut.-General Sir David Dundas, K.B., contains the following passage:—

“The guns as notified to me by Colonel Campbell have been received by the different regiments, and I have given directions in Brigade orders with respect to the care and management of them: but I believe more advantage would be derived if the guns were attached to brigades in proportion to their strength instead of to battalions, and were under an artillery officer, to whom a proportion of officers and men from the brigades might be attached to be instructed, and to assist in working, as well as in the care and management of the guns, horses, etc., and I own I wish that something of the kind were adopted.” (*The Diary of Sir John Moore*. (ii. 82.) Edward Arnold. 1904. 2 vols. Edited by Major General Sir J. F. Maurice, K.C.B.)

This is the idea of the Field Battery in embryo; nor did it take long to mature, in that ‘battalion’ guns, as such, had ceased to be, at the commencement of the 1808 campaign in Portugal, and were all organized as ‘brigades’ of guns with complete Companies of R.A. attached to them. Q.F.

223. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. THE BRANK. (Vol. V. p. 208.) Branks. A Scotch word found in use since the 16th century. A scold's bridle: an instrument of punishment used in the case of scolds, etc., consisting of a kind of iron framework to enclose the head, having a sharp metal gag, or bit, which entered the mouth and restrained the tongue.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes the following definition from Brushfield's *Obsolete Punishments* (1858):—

“It has been called . . . a Brank, the Branks, a pair of Branks, the Scold's Bridle, Gossip's Bridle, and . . . (in 1623) ‘a Brydle for a curste queane.’ Branks were in active use in Scotland many years before their introduction into England.”

224. A RIFLE CORPS IN 1776-8. (Vol. III. pp. 56, 106; IV. 20.) The following paragraph in Vol. XIX of *The Annual Register* (p. 148) bears upon the history of rifled small arms:—

“June, 1776. Some experiments were tried at Woolwich before Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Amherst, Generals Harvey, and Desaguliers, and a number of other officers *with a rifle gun*, upon a new construction by Captain Ferguson, of the 70th regiment; when that gentleman, under the disadvantages of a heavy rain and a high wind performed the following four things, none of which had ever before been accomplished with any other small arms: 1st, He fired during four or five minutes at a target, at 200 yards distance, at the rate of four shots each minute. 2ndly, He fired six shots in one minute. 3rdly, He fired four times per minute, advancing at the same time at the rate of four miles in the hour. 4thly, He poured a bottle of water into the pan and barrel of the piece when loaded, so as to wet every grain of the powder, and in less than half a minute fired with her as well as ever, without extracting the ball. He also hit the bull's eye at 100 yards lying with his back on the ground; and, notwithstanding the unequalness of the wind and wetness of the weather, he only missed the target three times during the whole course of the experiments. The captain has since taken out a patent for the said improvements. It passed the Great Seal on the 4th Dec. following.”

Q.F.

225. MILITARY BAND. (Vol. II. pp. 57, 109; III. 14; IV. 10.) The following passage occurs in a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Charles Russell, 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, to his wife, written from Beirlegheim in the Low Countries, and dated 20 June, 1744. (Hist. MSS. Commission. Report on the MSS. of Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley, of Chequers Court, Bucks. 1900. p. 323.)

“We have our club every Thursday night and one might think it was at Pontacks; a long table well set out and illuminated, never less than four or five and twenty officers, and the music of our regiment playing all the time. General Ligoniere and Lord Albemarle have gladly accepted an invitation to join us.”

“Pontack's” was a famous Tavern in Abchurch Lane, London, and is described by Sir Walter Besant as “the finest place for dinners in London.” It was opened in the Reign of William III and lasted for three-quarters of a century. (*Survey of London, 18th Century*, by Sir Walter Besant. 1902. p. 332.)

J.H.L.

226. MEDICAL CARE OF SOLDIERS. (Vol. IV. pp. 58, 219.) The following extract from the Articles of War issued by Lord Mountjoy in Ireland in 1600, shows that his army was provided with a military hospital:—

“ . . . The goods of such as die in the Army if they make any will by writing or word shall be disposed (of) according to the will; if they make no will, it shall be distributed to the hurt sick and poor of the company whereof the soldier was, or shall go to the Hospital of the Army.” (Lambeth Palace Library. Carew MSS. No. 614, fol. 216.)

H. BULLOCK.

227. THE YORK & LANCASTER REGIMENT. (Vol. V. p. 208.) An illustration of the oval cross-belt of the 65th Regiment is given (p. 49) in *Regimental Badges Worn in the British Army One Hundred Years Ago*, by Edward Almack, F.S.A. London. 1900.

H. M. McC.

228. CEYLON—REBELLION OF 1818. Vol. V. p. 139.) For accounts of this Rebellion, see:—

a. *Ceylon*. A General Description of the Island and Its Inhabitants, with An Historical Sketch of the Conquest of the Colony by the English. By Henry Marshall. William H. Allen & Co. 1846.

b. *A History of the Services of the 19th Regiment*, now Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire) Regiment, From its Formation in 1688 to 1911. By Major M. L. Ferrar. Eden Fisher & Company, Ltd. n.d. [1911].

c. *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon, and of Its Inhabitants*. By Dr. John Davy. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown. 1821.

H. M. McC.

229. THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY AND THE BAUMES MARCH. (Vol. V. p. 209.) The following passages bearing on this subject are taken from Nelson's *History, Topography, and Antiquities of the Parish of St. Mary, Islington* (pp. 23-30), published in 1811.

The encouragement of this pastime (archery) was a measure of the first political importance, and of which most of our Kings subsequent to the Norman Conquest seemed fully aware, as is evident from the statutes that were repeatedly enacted for the regulation of the exercise.

39 Edward III. Order dated at Westminster on 12 June, 1365.

To the sheriffs of London.

Order to cause proclamation to be made that every able bodied man of the said city on feast days when he has leisure shall in his sports use bows and arrows or pellets or bolts, and shall learn and practise the art of shooting, forbidding them under pain of imprisonment to meddle in hurling of stones, loggats* and quoits, handball, football, club ball, cambuc,† cock fighting or other vain games of no value as the people of the realm, noble and simple, used heretofore to practise the said art in their sports, whence by God's help came forth honour to the kingdom and advantage to the King in his actions of war, and now the said art is almost wholly disused, and the people indulge in the games aforesaid and in other dishonest and unthrifty or idle games, whereby the realm is like to be without archers.

By K.

[*Calendar of Close Rolls.* Edward III. 1364—1368. p. 181.]

During the reign of Henry VIII, who had from early life practised the manly and athletic exercises, particularly that of the bow, several statutes were made for the promotion of archery. He granted, in the 29th year of his reign, a patent to Sir Christopher Morris, Master of the Ordnance, and others, that they should be overseers of the science of artillery, "to wit, long bowes, cross bowes, and hand gones"; with liberty for them and their fraternity to exercise shooting at all manner of marks and butts, and at the game of the popinjay, and other games, as at fowl and fowls, as well in the City and suburbs, and in all other places. In this patent there was one remarkable passage, viz., that in case any person was shot or slain in these sports by an arrow shot by any of these archers, he was not to be sued nor molested, if he had, immediately before the shot, used the word FAST. (See a copy of this patent in Highmore's *History of the Artillery Company*, p. 40.)

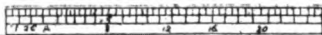
Arthur, the elder brother of Henry, was particularly fond of this exercise; insomuch, that an expert bowman was styled *Prince Arthur*. (See Barrington's *Observations on the Practice of Archery in England.* *Archæologia*, Vol. VII, p. 66.)

It is noted by Hall in his Chronicle, about 6 Henry VIII, that "before this time the inhabitants of the towns about London, as *Iseldon, Hoxton, Shoresditch*, and others, had so inclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the city might shoote, nor the antient persons walke for their pleasures in those fields, but that either their bowes and arrowes were taken away or broken, or the honest persons arrested or indighted saying, that no Londoner ought to go out of the City but in the highways.

"This saying so grieved the Londoners, that suddainly this yeere a great number of the City assembled themselves in a morning; and a *turner, in a foole's coate*, came crying thorow the City, *shovels and spades, shovels and spades*. So many of the people followed, that it was wonder to behold; and within a short space all the hedges about the City were cast down, and the ditches filled up, and every thing made plaine, such was the diligence of these workemen."

* A game somewhat similar to the present-day game of Ninepins.

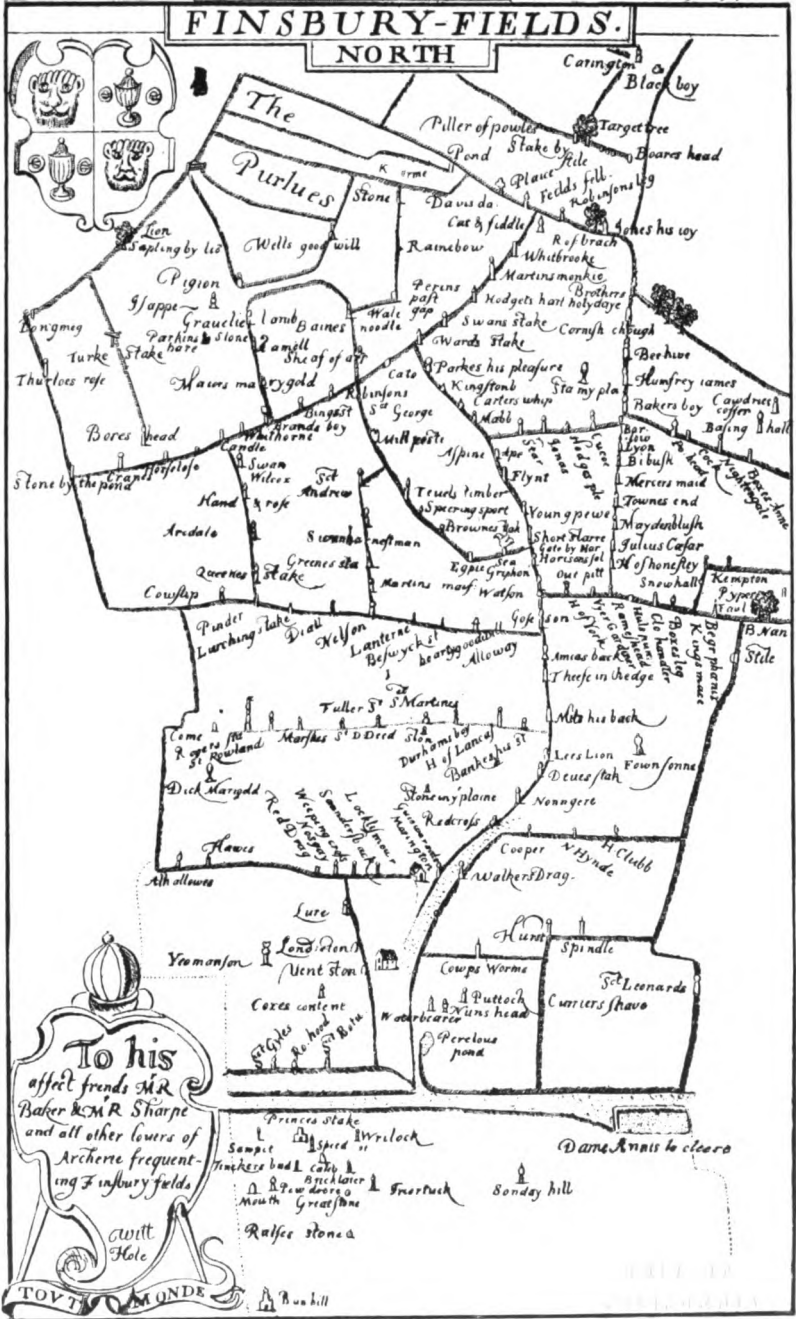
† Or camnock. A stick or club with a crooked head, used in games to drive a ball, not unlike a hockey-stick; hence, the game played with such a stick.



The Scale of scores & half scores

FINSBURY-FIELDS.

NORTH



MAP SHOWING THE ANCIENT ARCHERY MARKS OF THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY IN FINSBURY FIELDS, circa 1590.

In the reign of James I archery seems to have fallen much into disuse. Stow laments, that it had become "almost cleane left off and forsaken; for," says he, "by the means of closing in of common grounds, our archers, for want of roome to shoote abroade, creepe into bowling alleys, and ordinarie dicing houses, neerer home, where they have roome enough to hazzard their money at unlawful games." (Stow's *Survey of London* (1598), p. 77.)

To remedy these inconveniences, and give encouragement to this exercise, James, in 1605, directed his letters patent to the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, and several other eminent persons (including Sir Thomas Fowler, of Islington), alledging that divers persons about the City, possessing lands, etc., had taken away from the archers the exercise of shooting in such fields and closes, as, time out of mind, had been allowed to be shot in, by making banks, hedges, and plucking up the old marks, and making ditches so broad, without bridges, etc.; and directing these commissioners to survey the grounds *within two miles compass* of the City and suburbs as used to have marks, and be used for shooting, and to reduce the same to proper order and condition, as in Henry the Eighth's time. (See Highmore's *History of the Artillery Company*, p. 50.)

Charles the First appears, from the dedication of a treatise, intituled, *The Bowman's Glory*,* to have been himself an archer; and, in the eighth year of his reign, he issued a commission, similar to the above, directed to the same persons, and empowering them to prevent the fields near London from being so inclosed as to "interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting," and also to lower the mounds, where they hindered the view from one mark to another.

Nelson, in a Note, says:—

It appears, from the above-mentioned warrants from the Crown, that the Artillery Company of London (which seems to have had its origin in the before-named patent of Henry VIII.) has for many centuries possessed a right of assembling and exercising in these fields. Moreover, they have several times of late years asserted this right, by removing obstructions, reinstating their marks, etc., as appear by the company's records, from which the following extracts are made:—

"On the Company's march to Baumes on the Accession-day in 1782, they found the gate of a large field, in which stood one of their stone marks, near *Ball's Pond*, both locked and chained, and four men placed to prevent their entrance. The adjutant ordered it to be forced; after which they marched across, and opened another gate." (See *History of Artillery Company*, p. 366.)

"In 1784, a committee was appointed to ascertain the situation of the butts, etc., that the right might not be lost, and report thereon." *Ibid.* p. 385.

"In October the same year, the Company marched to Finsbury fields to view their several stone marks, beginning at *Prebend Mead*, where the *Castle* stone stood, and thence extending to *Baumes Fields* and *Islington Common*. They removed several obstructions, etc." *Ibid.* p. 393.

[The map facing this page shows the position of many of the Marks, or Butts, mentioned in these paragraphs. It is reproduced, with permission, from a book just published—*The Honourable Artillery Company*, 1537—1926 (John Lane. The Bodley Head Ltd.) by Major G. Goold Walker, D.S.O., M.C., who has kindly placed the block at our disposal.

The book contains a great deal of information about Archery as practised by the H.A.C. in the 16th and 17th Centuries.

A review of the book will appear in the next No. of the *Journal*.—ED.]

In 1786, "considerable encroachments having been made upon the antient marks belonging to the Company, the Court (July 30) ordered notice to be given to all the occupiers of lands in Baumes and Finsbury fields, between *Peerless Pool* South, *Baumes Pond* North, *Hoxton East*, and *Islington West*, wherein any of their marks were placed, to remove any obstruction to the Company's rights." *Ibid.* p. 396.

* "The Bowman's Glory; or, Archery revived. Giving an Account of the many signal Favours vouchsafed to Archers and Archery, by King Henry VIII, James, and Charles I. William Wood. 1682." (See *ante*, Vol. III. p. 57.)

In 1786, "the Company on its march over Baumes and Finsbury fields, having pulled down by the pioneers several parts of the fence of a piece of ground inclosed about two years since by Mr. Samuel Pitt, for gardens and summer houses, through which breaches the Company marched from the marks of *Guardstone* to *Arnold*, and from *Arnold* to *Absoly*; and having come to a piece of ground lately inclosed with a brick wall, by Messrs. Walker, Ward, and Co. (proprietors of the white-lead mill), between the marks of *Bob Peak* and the *Levant*, the Company were induced to desist from pulling down, or making a breach in the wall, in order to march through, on account of Mr. Maltby, (one of the partners in the white-lead works,) having assured the commanding officer of the battalion, that he and his partners, at the time of the making of the said inclosure, were ignorant of the Company's right in those fields, but were willing to enter into any reasonable terms of accommodation with the Company for what they had done.—One of the archers' division was then ordered to shoot an arrow over the said enclosure, as an assertion of the Company's right; which, having done, the battalion proceeded on its march to several of the other marks." *Ibid.* p. 399.

Nelson also mentions—p. 29—a book published in 1628, entitled

"*Ayme* for Finsburie Archers; or, an Alphabetical Table of the Names of every Marke within the same Fields, . . . by James Partridge," in which are enumerated "upwards of 160" marks or butts. "They were chiefly made by posts of wood fixed in the ground, having tops of different forms and unequal in height. They were scattered over the fields extending from the City Northward to *Islington Common*, beyond the Rosemary-branch, and close to the back of the village on the Eastern side."

A list of these marks, which generally bore the name of the person who erected them, is given in the "*Ayme*" above mentioned,

The following are specimens:—

| | | |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Partridge | Martin's Mayflower | Theefe in the Hedge |
| Dickman | Dunstan's Darling | Mildmay's Rose |
| Sir Rowland | Beswick's Stake | Silkeworme |
| Marsh | Lambert's Goodwill | Lee's Lion |
| Lurching | Lee's Leopard | Gilbert's Goodwill |
| Nelson | Gosson | |

Nelson continues—p. 30:—"In the use of the bow great dexterity, as well as strength, seems to have been requisite. The English archers made use of a very long bow; and, by statute 33 Hen. VIII. persons of the age of 24 years were prohibited from shooting at any mark that was not distant 220 yards,"

G. S. G. SCAIFE.

230. FORTS. (Vol. V. pp. 93, 215.) Two contemporary sketches made in 1758 are here given of Forts Niagara and Crown Point, in North America.

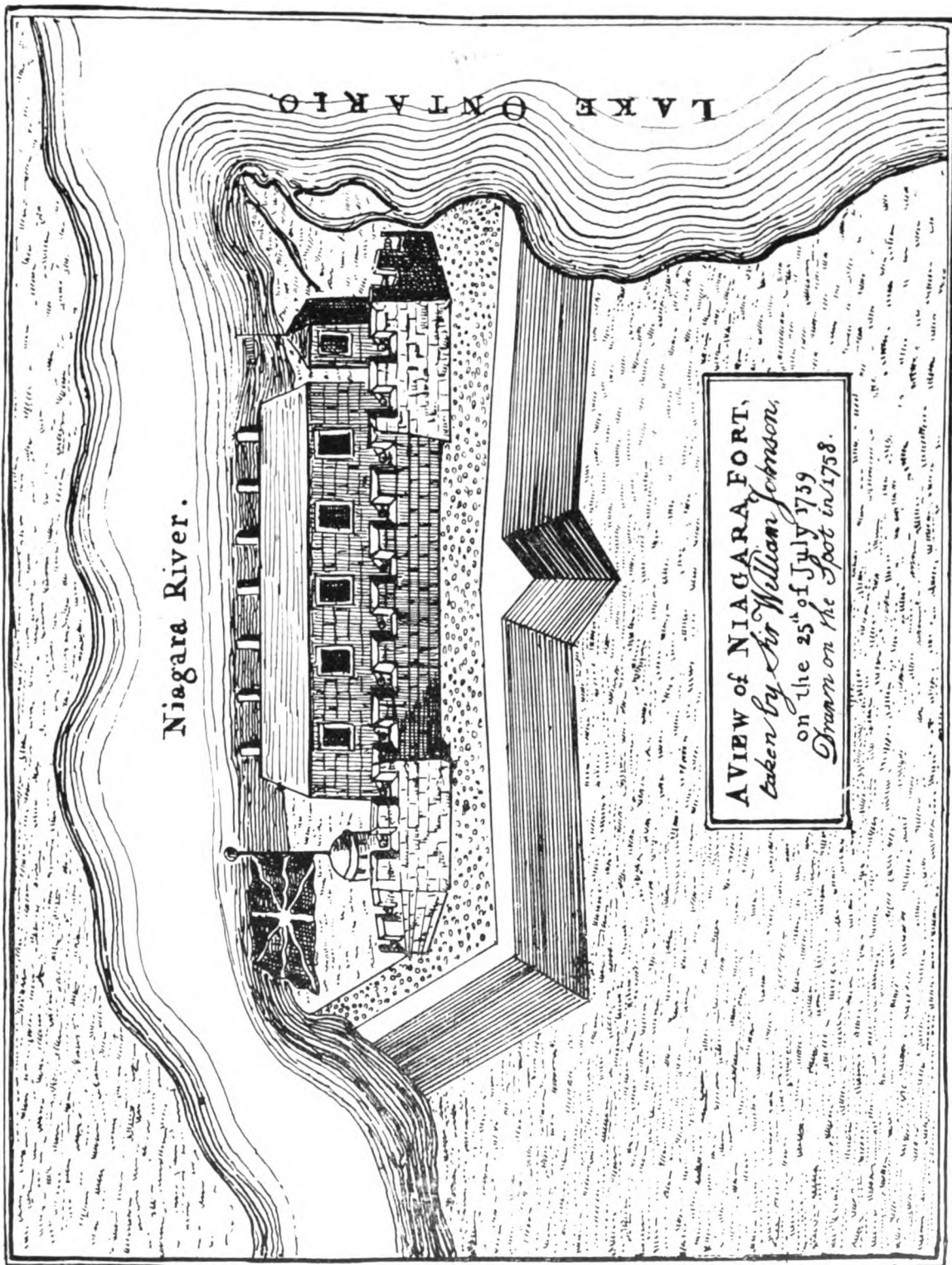
Fort Niagara was situated at the N. end (right bank) of the river Niagara, where it flows into Lake Ontario.

This is the Fort which was captured from the Americans by British troops on the early morning of 19 December, 1813. It mounted "27 cannon and had a garrison of 440 regulars." (*History of the War in 1812, between Great Britain and the United States of America.* By James Hannay. Toronto, 1905. pp. 228-31.)

Crown Point Fort was situated on the South West shore of Lake Champlain, 184 miles due S. from Montreal, and 18 miles N. from Ticonderoga.

It was built by Amherst in 1759 on a site near that of an earlier French fort which had existed since 1731, but which was destroyed by Bourlamaque in 1759 to prevent it falling into British hands.

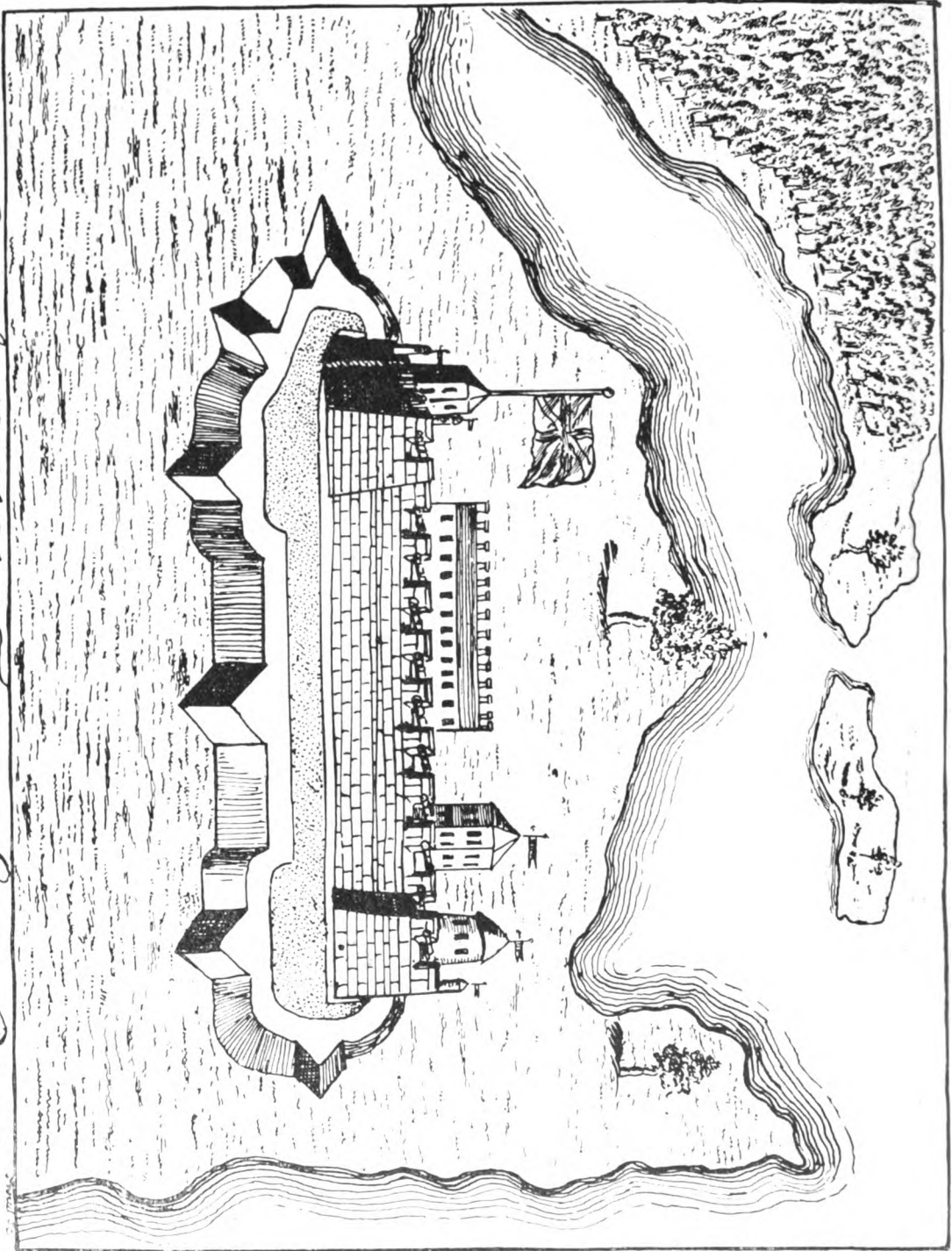
231. THE SLASHERS—28TH FOOT. (Vol. I. pp. 123, 128, 137.) In *The Canadian Historical Review* of September, 1922—Vol. III—is a detailed account of "The mystery of Walker's Ear." J.H.L.



Niagara River.

A VIEW OF NIAGARA FORT,
taken by Sir William Johnson,
on the 25th of July 1759
Drawn on the Spot in 1758.

A North View of Fort Frederic or Crown Point



A TREATISE ON THE ART OF WAR.

By THOMAS AUDLEY.

Contributed by Lieut.-Colonel W. St. P. BUNBURY, Royal Artillery
(Retired List).

Introductory Note.

The Author was Provost Marshal of Guisnes, under Henry VIII and later Lieutenant of the lower Town of Boulogne—*circa* 1543-4.

He was brother of Sir Thomas Audley, the Chancellor, to whom the estate of Barton Manor, in Suffolk, was granted by Henry VIII. This property later passed into the hands of Lieut.-General Sir Henry Bunbury, Bart., my Grandfather (d. 1860), and from him the MS. has descended to me. I presented it to the British Museum.

It is written in a rather bad clerk-like hand, with many erasures and corrections in another, current, handwriting, very hard to decipher. There are many marginal notes in the same current hand, which are worn and indistinct.

I suggest that it was the *original* draft and was possibly taken down from dictation.

There is a copy in the British Museum, Add. Mss. No. 23971, which differs slightly from it.

The MS. concludes with this paragraph:—

“ This Booke was made by Mr. Thomas Audley and geven to King Edwarde the sixte he being one of his graces gentlemen ushers of his privey chamber.”

Edward VI. died in 1553.

A TREATISE ON THE ART OF WARRE BY THOS. AUDLEY.

It maie please your most excellent majestie I do perceive by Mr. Fowler that your Highness' pleasure is to knowe my opinion as touching the orders of men for the warres. I shall most humblie desire your most excellent highnes to consider my small experience and unablennesse to instruct so noble a King as your Majestie, And to take in good part my good will although my doinges & knowledge be not so good as other mens of more experience & knowledge than I am. Wherefore I would wishe that your Majestie should have diverse mens opinions, as well strangers as Englishmen, and not to credit overmuch in one man neither in two, lest peradventure these one or two men maie thinke they do well in some

thynges when it is not so. I meane this by myself which knowe my own infirmities & Ignorance in this thinge. And God forbid but your Hygnes should be instructed by men of most knowledge and experience. And this I dare saie is enough for the whole wise heddes of any realmes christened[□] to make a good discourse for the order of Battaill* both for horsemen & footemen For I never met with no souldier but if he had knowledge in one thing or divers thinges yet he was ignorant in some other things Wherefore it is good to here divers mens opinions And to consider them together and to take the best and suerlye as I thinke in myne opinion the division [of] weapons and placing of them is the chief strength of all Battailes both on horseback and on foot for if you have to many of one kynd of weapon and to few of one other kynde of weapone when you shall come to setting of the battaile you shall fynde a great weakness by reason thereof And the remedie thereof is easely to be done. For let every standard be like appointed to so many shott† so many pykes so many bylles,§ then shall all your army of footemen be in good order. Likewise for your standard on horsebacke cause every standard to have so many men Atarmes unbarbed And so many lyghthorsemen Then shall you have a good order for the battaile, through out your whole Army And if you have light horses to every standard as me thinkethye necessarie Then must you have for your light horses a Gwydon,* for if you send out your horsemen to do any enterprise and send not forth

□ Converted to Christianity.

* The *Main* body of an army, as distinguished from the *Van* and *Rear*, or from the *Wings*.

The use of the word 'battail' (or battle) in this sense is well illustrated in Shakespeare's King Richard III, V. iii. 289, where addressing the Duke of Norfolk on the field, he says:—

"Come, bustle, bustle. Caparison my horse.
Call up Lord Stanley, bid him bring his power:
I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,
And thus my battle shall be ordered:
My foreward shall be drawn out all in length,
Consisting equally of horse and foot;
Our archers shall be placed in the midst;
John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey,
Shall have the leading of this foot and horse.
They thus directed, we will follow
In the main battle, whose puissance on either side
Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.
This, and Saint George to boot! What think'st thou, Norfolk?"

This passage is founded on Edward Halle's *Chronicle*—1548—p. 414 of the edition of 1809:—

"Now to retorne againe to oure purpose, ye next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnished w^t men & all abilimentes of warr, bringyng all his men out of there camp into ye plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous length, in which he appointed both horsemen & footmen to thentent to emprynte in ye hartes of them y^t looked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadlie feare, for ye great multitude of ye armed souldiours: & in the fore Frount he placed ye archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke: ouer this battaile was captain Ihon duke of Norfolkke with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this long vantgard folowed king Richard him self, w^t a etrong compaigny of chosen & approued men of warr, hauyng horsmen for wynges on both ye sides of his battail."

† Collectively—soldiers armed with firearms (rarely with bows). In this passage, however, archers are clearly included.

§ A weapon used chiefly by infantry, varying in form from a simple concave blade with a long wooden handle to a kind of concave axe with a spike at the back and its shaft terminating in a spear head. The modern billhook is its descendant.

* The small flag or pennon of a Troop of horse, the standard being that of a Regiment.

your wholse band then maye you in no wise send forth your standard For if a Standard be overthrowen, it is accompted to a great dishonor But if a Gwydon be overthrowen it is accompted in manner no dishonor at all. For comonlie the Gwydon goeth forthe with small numbers But if the standard be present, if he have but XXti horses wythe hym yet thenymes will reporte the whole band was there And receive no less honor then although the whole band had been there present. It hathe been used of olde tyme, that if one hundred men Atarmes were furnished with V horses then had they a standard a Gwydon & a cornet or penon And if the band were to fewe for the Gwydon to go forthe withall Then the cornet or penon should go forthe For it is less honore to losse a penon than a Gwydon for because commonlie the cornet goeth forthe with less than a Gwydon And a cornet is used to be borne before a chyefe Chaptayne and also before the High Marshall to thintent that all souldiers may see where theye be to advertise with spede, with all neade-fulle thinges & busynes And also it may please your most excellent Majestie that I have made iij single marches which iij be A B C for a souldier to begynne with all, ii of them be for footemen and one for horsemen After ii horses furnished for a man of Arms I would wyshe your Majestie should note the number of men the number of weapons And the diversitie of every kind of weapon And the placing of the saide weapons Likewise the placing of the corsslot† and these shall be an entrie for your Highnes towards the Battaile And good men of War and in especiall the almayns□ (who be compted among all nations the flower of the worlde for good order of footemen And all nacions have learned of them) When thei know what number of men thei should lead Then the colonell which is the chiefte of the whole Band calleth his expert men of warres to counsell with him in devysing his men to necessarie weapons which is the chiefte poynt that belongeth to a man of warre And also to make certaine constitucions necessarie for the souldier to observe during the Iourney* And all the saide souldiers to be swarne to their Standarde and to obeye those constitucions which be made by the colonell and worthiest expert men of warre which constitucions or ever thei be admitted as a lawe be first redd unto the Souldiers And if thei thynke them reasonable they will consent to them and hold up their hands which signifieth agreement And afterwards if they breake any of thos Lawes or constitucions, then shall thei suffer without any resistance those punishments as be appointed therefor And for the division of the weapons, is to know what shott shalbe nedefull, what pykes, what holberdes And to appoint necessarie shott is one of the hardest things that belongeth to the warres, because it is so uncertaine For evere as your numbers encreaseth so diminisheth your shott to the

† A piece of defensive armour, covering the body, and in a transferred sense, a soldier armed with a corslet.

The earliest example of its use in this sense given in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is in 1598, nearly 50 years later than the date of this MS.

□ Germans.

* *i.e.*, a military expedition.

number For in a small number you shall nede the thirde parte shott and in a bigger the iiiijth part shote & in a bigger the vth parte shott and so upwarde. The Almaines use comonlye but iij in a Rank of shotte aboute theirre battayles But we, if we mingle our Archards† and Hargabusseers‡ to gethere (as me thinketh nedefull so to do) then must you have aboute your battaile V in a Ranke, theye to have iij Archardes and ij Hargabusseers And if there be iiiij then to have ij Archardes and ij Hargabusseers Thalmaynes trusteth muche to the pushe of the pyke, therefore he will in no wise have more shott than he thinketh nedefull for overmuch weakning of his Bodie of his battail for the more that ye do appoint for the shott, the weaker is the bodie of your Battaile when it shall come to the pushe or fight for many Tymes it hath bene sene that Battail hath been gotten by shott onlie, without pushe or stroke stricken And to know what shott shall serve when you have determyned how many you will have in a Ranke about your Battaile iii iiiij or v then take out your numbers so many as you thinke will serve you either a thirde parte or a fourthe parte or a fifthe parte. And cast the rest of your men in such a Battaile as be used to fight withall, whether it be a just square or a broade which broad square is twice so broad as it is long at the least And Thalmaynes use to set no other Square but as the bredethe of the ground will serve them And the frenchmen use the same at this daie And the broad Square occupieth a certayne [number] of more shott than the just square dothe, it is not many And when ye have so done, cast the rest of your men to suche a square as ye mynd to fight withall Then sett your shott round aboute the Battaile so many in a Rancke as you determyn to have And if it com just to pass neither under nor over except it be very few in number, Than that is a sufficient of shot for your Battaile But if it come to passe that you have many shot above your number Then must ye diminishe those that be superfluous and put them to other weapons in the boddie of your Battaile And yet I woulde wishe you should have a certaine [number of] shot above your necessarie shotte or numbers, to serve you for any nede or devise you might happen to have in your Iourney And when you have appointed your shot, then must you appoint your pykes both armed and unarmed, Likewise your halbardes & Billes Thalmaynes use commonlie but one Ranke of Halbardes or ij at the most to be placed where thei place theirre Ensynes§ in three partes

† Archers.

‡ Men armed with an harquebus. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'harquebus' thus:—

The early type of portable gun, varying in size from a small cannon to a musket, which on account of its weight was, when used in the field, supported upon a tripod, trestle, or other 'carriage,' and afterwards upon a forked 'rest.' The name in German and Flemish meant literally 'hook-gun,' from the hook cast along with the piece, by which it was fastened to the 'carriage': but the name became generic for portable fire-arms generally in the 16th century, so that the type with the hook was subsequently distinguished as *arquebuse à croc*.

The earliest use of the word quoted is in 1532. In 1622 the harquebus is recorded as being 'out of use.'

§ A form of the word 'ensign,' meaning a body of men serving under one banner, a Troop, or Company.

of the Battaile And all the rest pykes And yf you will use no halberds nor Billes in this countrie then must you make your appoyntment for behynde of your Battaile is not comonlie set Juste to the Battaile as the rest of the shot is, but yt is set in tyme of Battaile somwhate behynd nere unto the carriage for the salvegard of them with a certaine of horsemen Also I would wishe that there were of every hundrede of men xx corselettes for the front of the battayle and to have them in whyte harnes is by cause white harnes is a terror in sight of your Enymie from farre Also I would wishe that every Corselet should have a double paie because theye serve in dangerous places of the Battaill And also because thei be at the charge of there corselettes And also I would wyshe for that corselettes be not easy for poore men to come by, that your majestie wold cause provision to be made in tyme for a sufficient number of corselettes And to sell them either for readie monie or for daies upon sufficient suertie So the Kings Matie should be sure to have corselettes enough to serve his purpose in time of nede And I would wyshe also that everie man that should wear a corselett should be a man of strength and of experience, And not to chose them as captaynes be chosen in England by favor and not by worthynes and in my poor opinion until such tyme as you have so many Corselettes of every hundred as aforsayd and chose your men by there worthynes, We shall never be strong in the felde And I feare me if it be not looked to in tyme, it will one daie put us in great Danger But if God put in your Majesties hed to meake this provision of harnes & weapons and chose your captaynes and Souldiers by their worthynes and not by favor, Then I doubt nothyng but your highnes shall be able to mete with any King christened onlie with your owen subjects for the good Captaine will traine his souldiers and make him a man of warre mete to serve within a fortnight though he never saw warres before with taking a little paynes But as men be trayned nowe Theye may goe iiij or v years in the warres and in the ende never the wyser. And what is the cause? Manye because his capitaine is as Ignorant as he And was made a Capitaine before he was a souldier. I speake not this because I think myselfe worthie to be a Capitaine nor yet a souldier for althrough knowledge be not in me yet it is in some other I wyshe that good Order and Knowledge were gathered togythere and sett from whereas it is And I wyshe also that captaines would be as readie to take payns to traine their men as thei be readie at the paie daie to take paynes to tell mony, for it is a grevouse payne to sett a Battaill with untrayned men And wearas I spake before of Corselettes I do not meane that the rest of the men which weare no corseletes should be unarmed But that thei should be armed with such armour as thei bring out of there Countrie with them for somewhat is better than nothing I would wyshe that no shot should have armour upon him but a morrion* or skulle† upon his head for there can no shot neither archer nor arckabusse serve well being Armed‡ And touching the Standard of horse-

* A kind of helmet, without visor.

† A close-fitting skull-cap, made of metal or other hard material.

‡ *i.e.* in armour.

men because I have furnished it but with ii horses to a man at Armes yt is not for that it is a yomanly use in all Countreies but because it is brefe and shortest to sett out, for some Countree use ii horses furnished to a man Atarmes some iii & some countree use v horses furnished to a man Atarmes which is chieflie at the pleasure of the Prynce, that setteth them furthe, for in Fraunce where they were wount to have at the least V horses to the furniture of a man Atarmes And now in the latter ende of the last warre, thoughte it best to have no light horses but men Atarmes and did experiment the same both at the deathe of Sir Raufe Eldercar and at the taking of Monsr. de Tree But Monsr. de Tree wished & said to me that woulde they had had light horses as well as men Atarmes for thei be necessarie as well bothe for the skirmishe and also to be vancarriers.§ And as me thinketh good I would have at the least the one halfe of the band light horses, that is to saie, the men Atarmes & his dimilance,* and as many Bardes† for the Battell among your men Atarmes as you should thinke good, I have sett you forthe no barded horses in this parte or band but the fourth parte because most men will thinke the fourth parte barded is sufficient enough for the Battell Then other some maie saie agayne that ther ought no man Atarmes be called a man Atarmes that lacketh any piece of his furniture bothe for his horse and hym selfe, As a pusante horse with a shafroye,‡ geyves,§§ and a brode mace for hym selfe A payre of Curetts** and some use a grande garde†† thereto A Collore, A Hedepece, A paire of Vambraces,‡‡ A Paire of polrondes,§ A Payer of Taser.* A paire of Gauntelettes, A Paire of Cushes† & Graves,‡ his sword & his stafe, for yt ys the barded horses that bringeth his mastere from the danger of the fight And some will saie you must have horses to give the chase But I would never wish That a man Atarmes should follow fast in the chase But that all the men Atarmes should follow softely in a Troup together keepeing their horses in Breath for the succour of the light horses if any nede should happen And otherwise peradventure bothe light horsemen and men Atarmes also might be overthrown Also I would that the main Battaile of footemen with a band of horsemen, should never breake order, But kepe the felde And the Artillarie to be newly charged, and set in good order for doubt of any chance that might happen And if you have three

§ Vaunt-couriers, or fore-runners.

* A light-horseman, armed with a lance with short shaft.

† Horses protected by a bard, which was a covering for the breast and flanks of a war-horse, made of metal plates, or of leather set with metal spikes or bosses.

‡ The frontlet of a barbed horse.

§§ A form of the word 'gyves,' meaning shackles, especially for the leg. Possibly a kind of picketing gear.

** An obsolete form of the word 'cuirass,' meaning a front and back piece of body armour.

†† A piece of plate armour covering the left breast and shoulder, forming additional protection to that part of the body. It was attached to the cuirass by screws.

‡‡ Armour which covered the fore-arm from elbow to wrist (Fr. Avant-bras).

§ Pauldrons. Armour covering the shoulders.

* Taces or tassets. Flexible pieces of metal surrounding the hips.

† Cuisses. Armour for protecting the front part of the thighs.

‡ Greaves.

horses to the furniture of a man Atarms, his dimilaunce his hargabusseere armed on horseback Or else a bores spere and a Dage which is a shorte gonne, to hang at the Saddle bow and if there be V horses to the furniture of a man Atarmes Then some use the man Atarmes with all the peces Two dymilaunces or hargabusseers on horseback with a bores spere with a Dagg, and a page to carrie his Masteres hed pece and his staffe

When a Captaine hath gathered his men together in a severall band And hath armed them bothe with harnes & necessarie weapons and hath received his condytte monye Then must he with his men repair to a place appointed, as Callis, Newcastle or such other like where all Bandes must assemble & shew themselves before your Highnes Liutenants generall and when all Bandes be there assembled, Then shall it be mete for the Chyeffiest with his counsell to forsee substanciallie, that there be no lack of necessaries mette for the journie As vitells and all kind of municions, which be Artillarie, of all kynd both great & small, poulder and shot for the same Bowes, arrowes and stringes, harcabushes, corne powder & leade for the shot And pikes, halbards, bills, scaling ladders for the saulte and Lanndere* to fill maundes† withall which maundes be for the saveguard of thartillerie, the gunners & labourers at the tyme of the Batterie‡ Also it must be forsene that there be no lacke of good victuall for the labourers & miners to work withall Cartes, carte-wares, wheles and exeltrees both for artilleric & other carriages, and that there be store of them, so as there be no lacke in tyme of need of them Also provision for Bridges if nede be & botes, Bordes & andcers or sakes pylls and bordes fastened together with ropes or chaynes And also to be provided of all maner of artificers with their necessaries mete for the warres as smythes, carpenters, masons, bowyers, fletchers with other lyke And above all thynges Provision ys chieflye to be forsene, for all things may be better suffered than hunger, for hunger overcomethe without strooke of the enemyies Another provision unto that is monye sufficient so that your souldiers have monye, and be well paide & often, for mony gyve the life & courage to a souldier And if your souldier be well paid then your campe flourishe like to a cytie with all maner of victualles, and other necessaries for the souldiers, so that you make streight lawes, that no souldier in no wise do take nothing nether of victuallers nor of merchaunt, except he do well & truly paie for it And also that there be meanes found that both victuallers & merchants maie salve come & go, so shall then your Maties campe be like a cytie in florysshynge bothe with victualles & harnes, weapons, clothe, garmentes, shoos and spyces, withall other necessaries or mete thinges for a souldier And although these necessarie provisions be made by your Highnes or youre Mat^s. levetenant Yet that notwithstanding it shall be mete for every good captaine to make as much provision for victuall as he can

* Apparently this word means 'labourers.'

† Large baskets. Probably they were somewhat like the gabions, hollow cylindrical baskets, of later times, and, when filled with earth, were used to protect the men who served the guns.

‡ *i.e.* when firing is taking place.

for his owne souldiers, upon his carriage, for oftymes vitells doth faile or men beware, likewise every captaine must be provided of all manner of Toolles mete for to make lodginges for his men & Setting up of pavillions or Tentés. Also all good Captaines of every band must appoint for his own band necessarie officers, vz A levetenant, a Standard bearer, A Sergeant of the Band, four Vinteners, which is xxv men to every vinten, one sergeant, one drummer & a fife to call men to service, which Drummer & Fife is alwayes conted as the mouth of the Captaine. Also I woulde wishe that there were of everie twoo thousand men a phisicean to minstre medecines to the sick and to every band a singrante, § and also to everie ii thousand men, I would wishe there were a Preacher to minister medecines for the soull And because that no captains that hath but iiij shillings by the day can be able to furnishe him selfe to his honestie and to the helpe of his souldiers except he dothe bothe Robb your Matie and also pole § your souldiers I would therefore wishe that no captaine should have lesse charge than of iic men to his ensiente* and easement for undoubtedly his carriage will stand him in iiij^s a daie, for he must have carriage for his Tents, Cofers, & bedding besides other necessaries for his kitchine Also all good Captaines will make provision of carriage for some Victualles for his men And also for the carriage of sicke & hurt men. Wherefore I think there maie no good captaine have less wage than viii^s the daie so having iic men to an ensiente Then your Matie shall be at no more Charge than your highnes was before notwithstanding the captaines having viii^s the daie then would I wishe that the double paies of the bande, as one of the Levetenants, one of the Standard bearers one Surgeon should be at the discrecion of the Captaine to bestow upon some young gentlemen or some worthie souldiers of his owen band And when all provisions & necessaries be made & set in rediness And that you be readie to Invade your enimies countrie then or ever you begin your journey you must be suier that you be well provided of a sufficient number of the saide countrie That knoweth all the waies of the countrie especially to the entent thei maie be your guides whereby you maie the easier conveye your army & carriages The which guides must have a guide Mr. appointed unto them by the High Marshall and the sayd Guyde must be under the salve kepinge of the foresayd Highe Marshall being alwayes gentillye entreated to thintent, thei have no occasion to steale awaie. The saide Guides in their examinacion must be promised large gifts, if thei do well and trulie And also thei must have great threatenings of cruell punishments if they do not well & trulie And when thei be examined, they must be examined severally aparte everie man by himselfe, to see if they agree all in one tale whereby you may perceive if they meane trulie or no And whether thei be expert in the knowledge of the countrie or no And although they be determined to go one waie yet must you examine your guide of divers other waies, which you intend not to go, to the entent thei shalbe uncertaine of your

* Ensign. See *ante*. p. 68. note.

§ To plunder or despoil.

determinacion, untill such tyme as you do set forward on your Journey, Lest peradventure your determinacion might be discovered to your enemys by your Guides.

And when the High Marshall is appointed, and for every Battaill one Provost Marshall with his under Marshall with his necessaries, vz. a Hale* with Jornes† with the safe keping of the prysoners and carriage for the same at the Kings Majestyes charge A sufficient number of Tipstaves or Sergauntes for the apprehension of offenders and safe keping of theme A clarke of the Watche, a clarke of the Market, and an executioner, these be the necessarie officers, that be under to Provost marshall. Also there must be appointed for every Battaill or Warde one high herbenger to appoint the place where men shall Lodge after the High Marshall hath appointed the ground. Also the saide harbengers ought to appoint convenient waies or streetes for men to passe through with the Campe, And in speciall overlooke that you have faier and easie passage for men to the Artillerie where men do assemble together in Battaill at the tyme of the Larne all saving the watche or the ward Also there must be scoute [masters] appointed for every Battell or ward And the High Marshall & Provost Marshall must see all those officers do their dutie for thei be all of the office of the Marshall Lykewyes, if it be so that you thinke it good to appoint Forgemasters thei be also under the Marshall, you must have also Carriage Masters which be of the said office of the Marshall also The Captaine of the Pioners or Labourers ought to give attendance at times convenient bothe upon the marshall and the Master of thartillerye. And when you have appointed all thes necessarie officers and suche other lyke, And that you be ready to set forward on your journey then must you send before your High Marshall, the Master of thartillerye, the Captaine of the Pioners and the Carriage Master whiche saide officers ought to be strongly appointed and accompanied with good men of warre bothe on horseback and on foote, as well men at Armes as Light horses, to conveigh the said Marshall suerely with his companie to the place where The army shall Lodge all night And all the Provost Marshall with there officers to give attendaunce upon that Battell that thei be appointed unto, to execute all dewe execussions upon all those that shall offend your Highnes or your Majestie Levetenente commandement And the number of men of warre, that must conveigh the Marshall, must [be] according to the power of there enemys But he ought never to be under ii or iij thousand men lest when you mistrust least your enemys might devise some trayne howe to overthrow your Marshall which were to great a discomfort in a felde and to great an encouragement to the enemys. Wherfor make your Marshall strong that goeth before and he shalbe a good shelde for those that follow And when the Marshall is arryved at the place where the army shall Lodge all night then Immediately it shall be mete for the Captayne of the Pioners and the carriage masters to returne to tharmy to se tharmye and the Artillerye with other carriage conveyed the same

* Hall.

† Not understood.

waie which before thei had learned And the commone distance of the waie that old warriors were wount to Lead there army in a somers daie was V miles in iij houres So the Armye should come to their lodging to provide forage & other his necessaries at a conveyente tyme And not to be over travailled and made wery for weryed men if thei be assailed in tyme of his weriness is halfe overcome all readie by the reason of his weriness, or grett Jorneyes And when the Marshall by choosing of mete ground for the Lodging of tharmy they ought to look circumspectlie to be lorde of iij Comodities, vz. water, wood & pasture, and in especiall water nere hand for it is a thing that may in no wise, be spared, nether of man nor beaste And in any wise it must be looked unto that the waters be sweete, and holsome, and nere unto the waters lodge yourselves upon the highest ground you can fynd so shall you be sure alwaies to have thadvantage of your enemyes And so being alwaies upon the highe you discover all lowe groundes with your Artillerie Also if your enemyes will assault you thei shall clyme to come to you whereby there strength is diminished, and also there breathe shortened And if you list to meate with your enemyes, a little descending from the highe of the hill your force and strength is the more for a man going downward is of more force, than he that goeth upwarde And when you have found out such a comodious ground and look for the comying of your ennemyes Then it is best to lodge all your Battailes or bandes withine one Campe and your horsemen also onlesse it be before a Towne that you mynd to Besege and close in Round But for a removing campe or a campe lying still And yt not at the Sege of an other Towne nor Castell and look for the cominge of their Ennemies Then I thinke that men be of more force lying together in one Campe then to lie in severall camps And like in any wyse that your campe be neither to large nor to litle for your men, for by ether of these you be the weaker And plant the Artillerie of everie Battell towards such places as you thinke be most dangerous where you thinke your enemyes maie assaile you, to your grievance And nere to your Artillerie leave a voyde place to assemble your men together in Battel at the time of the alarm And as many Battels as you have so many assembles make in the Battell, with the Artillerie before them at the tyme of the alarme besides the horsemen so shalle you be sure if your men be well placed that your campe shalbe well warded, & defended round if nede be for men knoweth not on which syde the enemyes will come wherefore it is good to prepare everie waie Also I woulde wishe that all horsemen should be readie, at the sound of the Alarme in there place of assembles, To do service if tyme require. Also, if you lye long in one place and looke for menie enemyes to assaile you, then it is good to fortifie your campe according to thopinion of olde auncient warriors, which is with trenches of xii fotte deepe & xv broad, Yea as wee use now with Bastions which shall have small Artillerie in them, And harkabussiers to flanke the Trenches of the Campe, and one Bastion to be within the levell [range] of a harkabusse from thother. And if you looke not for manie enemies to assault, Then shall it be sufficient to make the trenches of your Campe viii or ix fotte deepe and

vii fete broade, and if you tarric not in a place but remove dailie and that the power of your enemyes lie the farre of, Then shall it suffice you to have your carriage about the campe.

Also alwaies at the first arrival to a campe give in commandement to the Banderes of the horsemen of everie warde that no man dismount from his horse untill such tyme as all the footemen be quietlie lodged and that alwaies at suche tymes good & sure scoutes be put forth towards there enemyes, for upon those scoutes at such tyme depends the wealthe [well-being] of anye Campe, for when footemen be making their lodging, then be they out of order and strengthe, And if they should then be surprised of their enemyes, yt were enough to caste awaie a whole campe or armie. And a good scout will repair evere to the highest ground of everie syde of the Campe, In speciall towards the enemyes, So shall they be sure to discovere bothe high groundes & valles. And if they list to discover further, let them leave parte of their companie upon that highe [ground] where they be, which shall not stirre untill such tyme as the reste come backe againe; so shall the campe be sure of advertisement [warning] although the foremost scoutes were overthrown or taken. And I would all good men of warre or other, marching towards their enemyes or coming from their enemyes, should appoint verye good & skilful Scoutes, for thereupon hangethe much of there suertie. And when the whole Armye is come in & lodged Then must the High Marshall repayre to the Kings Majestie or to his Highnes Levetenaunte to know his pleasure what the watche worde shall be that nyght, And ymmediatelie to cause the clarke of the counsell, to write the same in a litle Bill, And the saide High Marshall to deliever the watch worde to the Kings Majestie or to his Highnes Levetenaunte and to as many ells in severall Billes as be of the counsell. That done the High Marshall ought to repaire to his one [own] lodging & there to cause his clarke to write the saide watchword in severall Bills and to command his Provost Marshall to deliver the saide watch worde, to all Earles Barons & such other like, also to all hedde officers as the Master of thartillerie, the high Treasurer, the high comptroller, with other like. And the watche word to be delivered to the reste by a Serjaunt or tipstaffe, That is to saie as followeth. To the Master of the Scoutes, to all Captaynes that shall watche that night, [and] to all Knights & Captaynes, And the Levetenaunt, the high Marshall & the consell must appoint a sufficient number to watche & warde the Campe bothe on horsebake and on fote, In the which appointment ought to be a great discrecion, that there be no lacke of men to the furniture thereof and also that men be not overtravailed with watche, And according to the number of men so must you appoint the watche & warde, and for thappointment of the bodie of the watche at thartillerie you must appoint a good & strong as your number will serve or beare for the safe keping of the saide artillerie & the wealthe of the whole campe. And the Scoutes ought to be appointed round aboute the Campe vi score yardes from the Campe without the saide Campe to harken if any enemyes do approach towards the campe And to give warning as

occasion shall serve to the Campe. Thalmains & the Spaniards thei use their scoutes to be v in a companie and givs there watch worde to one of the most discrettest. And the said v scoutes in a Campe or bande be set so nere one band to another, that in a moneshyne night thei maie goe on band to an other, Round about the whole Campe, And in a dark nyght thei will send everie quarter of an houre from one band to another to know what stiring or noise is harde [heard] one everie parte, and not to trouble the Campe with no alarm except there be cause whie. And if the scoutes on horsebacke were so used by v in a companie and did send from one band to another everie halfe quarter of an hour, And the captaynes of the scoutes to be of more force as a bodie of a watch for the succours of the rest, me thinke this were a greate suertye for the Campe. And when the watche is sett bothe on horseback & on foote, then must the Marshall geve warning to them of thartillerie, That a culvering† maie be shott of significieing to the whole Campe that the watche is set, and after that there be no Taverne nor bothe* open And that everie man, saving officers appointed, repaire to their lodgings, And that there be nether noise nor brawlinge made at that tyme in the Campe. And before the watche given to set The Marshalls Trumpet must blow to the watche at the Marshalls Pavilion. Then must the Levetenauts trumpet answere. After that likewise must all Trumpets answere in dyvers partes of the Campe, one at once, And also in the mornyng when the watche shalbe relieved then must the Trumpettes blow the relefe at the Kings Majesties Pavilion [tent] or his assignes Levetenautes except yt be before a Towne at a Siege, and the Kings Pavilion being within the Danger of the shott of the Town. Then shall it be mete that the relefe be blowne in some othere Place farre from the Pavilion of the Kings to thentente the Toune shalbe uncerteynne where the Kinges matie or his Levetenautes Pavilione is (for the suertye of his person). Also youe muste apointe certayne souldiers by the Marshalls every night to watche the gunne poulder, And the said gunnepoulder ought to be laide together & intrrenched so that no man come nere unto it, but those which be officers and have to do with it. Also a Levetenante Generals Pavilion ought to be watched for the saveguard of his person, The King being absent.

Many olde & auncient men of warr be of thopinion that it is not good for a prince or leader of an Army to be overhastie to give Battell to his enemyes, unlesse it be greatlie to his advantage, for it is a thing very weightie and ought very sagelye to be foreseen, And also to be dreddy for the wealth & honor of a King & his realm liethe thereupon. Wherefore first ought to be considered the estate & strengths of the enemyes, what chief Captaines they have And whether he be expert & manlie in the warres or no, What number of people he ledethe, and whether they be experimenter§ on the warres or no, How thei be armed for the warres, with harneys & weapons both on horsebacke and on foote. Then also it is to be considered a mans owne partie, what number of men thei be

* Booth: a shop where wares are sold.

† A type of cannon. § Experienced.

of, Likewise how expert thei be in warres, Also how necessarielie thei be appointed for the Battell with harnes & weapon, And chieflie to know what good will thei have to fight. Then if a man finde his owne partie weaker or but an indifferent matche That then many olde men of warres be of the opinion that men shoulde not be to hastie to give the Battell, if they might otherwise chose, although it hathe been often tyme seen that a few in number hath overcome many, and commonlie the fewere in number be forced to fight or else to retire, and if the few do tarie the fight, then they do determyne themselves; so for to abide the fight and to give the manlie onset that one man is worth two men And commonlie the weakere [? larger] number is carlesse and thinkethe themselves sure of the victorie; but victorie is uncertaine and God giveth it where yt pleaseth him. Wherefore I would advise all good men of warre, although they be never so muche the greater party, that thei kepe themselves as stronglie together as they can, And in anywise if they give the Battell, that they give the onset stronglye & manfullie and to be utterly determined to abyde the tyme of goode fortune of victorie. And, doubtlesse, one of these men so determined is worth three others. And if in case be that you do not mynde to geve Battell sodenlie but that you do intend wisely to wery your ennemyes, Then must you kepe yourselves upon your warde and from tyme to tyme to laie your men in ambushes to waite upon their ennemyes to thentent to take them sodenlie. Also to trayne the ennemyes with wittie skymishis from ther strength [fortress] upon your ambushes, whereby thennemyes maie dalie be deminished. And also I would wish, that no vayne skymishes should be made, for by that meanes I have knowne many good souldiers cast awaie, but that all skymishes should be made upon some good purpose, alwaies to thende to trayne the enymes from there strengthe which skymishes so made turnes us both to profit & honor & theye make any vayne skirmishe or otherwise offers themselves to there ennemyes. And a good Captaine at convenient tymes ought to greve his ennemyes in the night by sodeyne alarmes, for incountynance often alarms maketh his ennemyes slouthfull whereby thei be out of all readines and to thinke thenemyes will not come when peradventure they will come by occasion so deceived.

Also if a chief captayne perceive that his ennemyes lacke victualls or payment, whereby he perceive that dailie thei do diminishe from the felde, that then in no wise, if he with his honor thinkethe otherwise he shall not be so hastie to hasard the Battell upon them but shall seke upon them daylie to diminishe them by skirmishes, for the enemies having thos lackes, ye shalbe suere thei shall retyre with dishonor, and the honor remaineth to him that driveth awaie the ennemyes, And to hasard the Battell upon such desperate men (that lackes) doth but put in adventure whither they shall be lordes of his Victualls and Treasour or not, where els ye might be in a suertie, And if in case be that a man looke for Battell of his ennemyes, then shall it not be good to fare foule with his prisoners that be taketh ether by skirmishes or otherwise lest peradventure at the daie of Battell it might be an occasion to rest of thennemyes to fight

upon desparacion and to be more willing to die fighting than to render and fall into the handes of a cruell enemye, Whereby the enemies might happen to become victors where els thei should be in thraldome and overcome also. And if a prynce have suere intelligence that any parte of his Realme shall be invaded, Then shall it be necessarie for him with all convenient spede to adresse his poure that waie and rather to incounter with the enemyes within their countrie than to suffer them to invade and waste his countrie. Also if it come so to passe that a King or chief of a hand or army se such advantage That both wisdom & his honor advisethe hym to gyve Battell or elles he be forced to give Battell by his enemyes, Then must he wisely & manfully look to the orders and orderinge thereof, shewing, alwaies a cherefull and a manful countenance. Also it shalbe nedefull that he make a comfortable [comforting] oration, to annimate his men to fighte; if he be the King these shalbe his wordes or suche other like.

'Dearlie beloved subjectes and servauntes, it is so that we be in a great likelyhod this daie, by the grace of God to have Battell. Wherefore I do require you all in generall to bere yourselves manfullie & nobly this daie And to all thos that I shall see so nobly bere themselves or here of there adventurous doinges by any credible reporte, I promise you I shall advaunce them to greate wealth and perpetuall honor, And that I will never forget you hereafter when you have any reasonable sute unto me in the memorialle of this daie. And I desire you gentill subjectes and servantes to Remember all and consider my right, my honour & my wealth. Also your worshipp and perpetuall fame to your countrie, which hathe so many yeares contynued in honor without slander of cowardice by the valiant actes done by thandes of your noble progenitors which hathe had to do with those nacions with whome by the grace of God you shall have to do withall this daie, And even as you have received honor by dissent from your auncesters by thir prowess and manlinesse, so I hartily require you to indeavour yourselves this daie, that your noblesse & valiaunt dedes maie be a perpetuall honour to your successors for ever. Also I praie you to consider that the defence and maintenaunce of all Kings rightes, and the wyning bothe of Kingelye honor & wealth consistethe in the manly harts of men, whiche will ever shewe their faces with courage of Lyons towards their enemyes And make good with their handes, the right & honor of their King and their countrie, abyding alwaies the tyme of victorie, and as long as men bere their faces, & manly harts towards their enemies, there is ever hope & likelyhod of victorie; but when men shall wretchedly turn their faces & shewe their weake backes to their enemies, Then is there no hope but of death and perpetuall shame to them and to theres for ever. And good subjects & servauntes I shall saie in thende, as I did at the beginning, that you will remember my honour and my right, the wealth of yourselves, and the glorie of your countrie!'

(To be continued.)

THE CHARTER OF THE COMPANY OF GUNMAKERS, LONDON.

This Charter has never been printed before. It is now published, together with the illustration of the Proof Plate, by the kind permission of the Worshipful Company of Gunmakers. It is a transcript only of a *Copy* of the Charter, the original MS. not being available for inspection.

The spelling of the words has probably been modernized by the copyist when he made the transcript, as it has not the appearance of spelling of 1637.

The description of the Proof Plate which follows the Charter is taken from *A History of Firearms* by Major H. B. C. Pollard, 1926 (see Vol. V. p. 115), with the kind permission of the Publisher, Geoffrey Bles, London, who has also lent the block of the plate.

Granted

*The fourteenth day of March in the thirteenth Year of the
Reign of King Charles and in the Year of Our Lord 1637.*

Charles by the Grace of God

King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting Whereas we have been informed by the humble Petition of our well beloved Subjects the *Gunmakers in and about Our City of London* that they for many years having *lawfully practised* and upheld the *manufacture of making all sorts of Handguns* as well for our *Special service* in supplying Our Stores with that Ammunition as for the frequent occasions of our Subjects in their exercises and Musters both for *Horse and Foot* both which they are able fully to furnish And that they having of late years attained more exquisite skill in that Mistry* than in former Times *That now divers Blacksmiths and others inexpert in the art of Gunmaking* have taken upon them to make try and prove Guns after their unskilfull way whereby the said Petitioners are not only much damnified in their particular trade and livelyhood but much harm and danger through such unskilfulness in that mistry hath happened to sundry of our Loyal Subjects for Reformation of which said evils and abuses now commonly practised in that Trade and for the better upholding the said Art within the Kingdom They have humbly besought us to incorporate them into a Body Politick and to invest them with such Grants Privileges and powers as may be meet for the same

We therefore having taken into consideration their humble Request and of how great use and consequence that sort of Arms is now both for Defence and Offence upon all occasions and being

* A trade guild or company.

Gunmakers are of
divers Companys.

The present
members 63.

willing to continue and uphold the said Art within this Kingdom and to advance it if it may be to more perfection by reducing it into the hands of skilful Artists alone that may train up others in the same for the serving and supply of us and our Subjects And forasmuch as the said Gunmakers are now dispersed amongst divers Companys of London and elsewhere and therefore have not the form of Government as is necessary for the well ordering of the said Trade And for as much as We are informed that the Gunmakers in and about London are the most expert in our Kingdom in that Art And that they may be the better enabled at all times to furnish Us and our Subjects with good and serviceable Handguns for Military Service and otherwise and to settle a better Form of Regulation and Government of the said Art and Mystery amongst them for the good of our Service and Subjects for the time to come We of our Special Grace certain knowledge and meer† Motion Have willed ordained constituted and granted And by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors Do will ordain constitute and grant That Henry Rowland our now Gun-Maker

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| Thomas Addis | William Borton | Thomas Lee |
| John Watson | Michael Rowland | Thomas Armstrong |
| John Norcott | Ralph Venn | Roger Carlile |
| William Graves | Rowland Swinnerton | Walter Cassell |
| William Dawson | John Freese | William Stockman |
| William Clare | William Morris | Thomas Trundell |
| John Eccles | Thomas Barnes | Edward Daffe |
| Edward Jones | Francis Kellaway | Richard Bridges |
| William Wattson | William Watts | John Sutton |
| John Kettle | George Busse | William Wilkinson |
| John Coach | John Fox | John Pearce |
| Robert Wheeler | William Shambroth | Edward Pilcher |
| Samuel Thomas | John Ethrett | Thomas Waple |
| George Day | Sebastian Carter | James Towricke |
| Edward Burrows | William Cordwell | John Davison |
| Henry Harris | Richard Atkin | John Foster |
| Edward Graffanne | Oliver Wadland | Thomas Pope |
| George Fisher | William Batts | Richard Pope |
| Thomas Smith | Thomas Franke | Richard Jones |
| Thomas Johnson | Thomas Bradley | Henry Chorsley |
| Walter Beugh | Richard Giles | Henry Chorsley All Freemen of our City of London |
| Christopher Bird | Thomas Lydale | Thomas Lamb |
| John Silke Senior | William Gardner | John Eversley |
| John Clarke | John Hilleyard | Thomas Symonds |
| William Close | Ephraim Bird | William Rolch |
| Paul Close | Jonathan Bird | Robert Ley |
| Henry Gardiner | Edward Sanden | Philip Tomkins |
| Warrennar Pym | Henry Winterbourne | Edward Fellers |
| John Finch | Thomas Norcutt | John Wallis |
| Erasmus Finch | Abraham Faber | Edward Wallis |

† Done by a person, without the help of anyone else.

| | | |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Jasper Calchuffe | Thomas Pycroft | William Poulter |
| John Tomkins | John France | Henry Kelch |
| Christopher Fell | Thomas Locke | William Middleton |
| Thomas Kinge | Alexander Payne | Mark Chauney |
| Thomas Thomas | William Calleway | Nathaniel Painter |
| Francis Rennardson | Lancelott Graves | John Beadford |
| Thomas Clement | John Gibbs | Thomas Albery |
| John Brett | Robert Roe | Bartholomew Anthony |
| Thomas Elvin | Roger Basse | Peter Banks |
| John Alberry | John Locke | Simon Marsh |
| William Wheatley | Francis Arnnald | Thomas Yatt |
| John Anderson | Thomas Bortsun | |

And we and singular others using or which hereafter shall use the Art of Gunmaking within the City of London and the Liberties thereof and within four miles Compass thereof and all such others as shall be accepted and admitted in such manner as hereinafter is expressed for ever hereafter Be and shall be by virtue of these Presents *One Body Corporate and Politick in Deed and in Name* And shall have Continuance for ever by the name of Master Wardens and Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London We do by these Presents for Us our Heirs and Successors really and fully create erect make ordain constitute and declare one Body Corporate and Politick in deed and in name to have continuance for ever to them and their successors And that by the same Name they may and shall have *Perpetual Succession* And that they by the name of *Master Wardens and Society of Gunmakers of the City of London* shall be for ever hereafter persons able and capable in Law to purchase have receive and enjoy Manors Messuages Lands tenements Liberties Privileges Jurisdictions Franchises and other Hereditaments whatsoever of what kind nature or quality soever they be to them and their successors in Fee and Perpetuity or for term of Life Lives or years or otherwise And also all manner of Goods Chattels and things whatsoever of what name nature or quality soever they be And also to give grant lett alien† assign sett over and dispose of any Mannors Messuages Lands tenements and hereditaments Goods or Chattels And likewise to do and execute all and singular other Act and Acts whatsoever by the name aforesaid And that by the *Name of Master Wardens and Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London* they and their successors shall and may be able to plead and be impleaded answer and be answered unto defend and be defended in what Court or Courts soever and before any Judges or Justices or other persons and Officers of us our Heirs and Successors whatsoever in all and singular Actions Pleas Suits Plaints Matters and demands of what kind quality or sort soever they shall be in the same and in as ample manner and Form as any other of our loving Subjects of this our Realm of England being persons able and capable in the Law or any other Body Corporate and Politick within this our Realm of England can or may have purchase receive possess enjoy retain give grant lett alien dispose and assign implead and be impleaded answer or be answered unto defend and be defended do perform or execute And that they the said Master Wardens and Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London and their successors shall and may for

Constituted a
body Politick
perpetual.

Power to
purchase Land—
Jurisdictions.

To dispose of
Lands, &c.

To plead and be
impleaded.

† To transfer the property or ownership of anything.

To have a
Common Seal.

ever hereafter *have a Common Seal* to serve for the Causes and Businesses of them and their successors And that it shall be lawful to and for them and their successors to alter and make new the said seal from time to time at their Wills and Pleasures as they shall think fit And further we will and ordain And by these Presents for us our heirs and successors do give and grant to the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers and their successors full power and authority to assemble themselves and meet together from time to time in some convenient place within the said City of London or suburbs thereof where they shall think most meet and that then and their shall and may elect and *choose one* of the said Society in manner and Form hereafter in these Presents mentioned which shall be and shall be *called the Master* of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London And that likewise then and there they shall and may elect and *choose two* of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers in manner and Form hereafter mentioned which shall be and shall be *called the Wardens* of the said Society of Gunmakers And also *there shall be ten or more Assistants* of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers in manner and Form hereafter in these Presents expressed to be nominated and chosen which shall be and shall be called Assistants of the said Society of Gunmakers who from time to time shall be aiding helping counselling and assisting to the said Master and Wardens of the said Society for the time being in all Causes Matters things and Business touching or concerning the said Society

To assemble in
London or suburbs.

To choose a
Master
and two Wardens.

Ten Assistants
or more.

To choose
Proof Masters.

And also that there shall be *two or more* of the said Company chosen to assist for the searching viewing gaging *proving* making trial marking or stamping of Handguns to be chosen and sworn by the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society

To choose and
remove in general.

And we do hereby for us our heirs and successors give full power and authority to the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society or the greater part of them for the time being to choose such expert men yearly or oftener and them out of their places to remove and others in their places to elect and from time to time to give meet Oaths to such person and persons chosen and to be chosen for the due and faithful execution of their said places

To make
Ordinances.

And further we do grant for us our Heirs and Successors by these Presents to the said Master Wardens and Society and their successors That the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society of Gunmakers for the time being or the greater part of them *Whereof the Master and one of the Wardens* aforesaid for the time being *to be two* shall and may have full power and authority by virtue of these Presents to make ordain constitute appoint and set down from time to time such *reasonable acts* orders Decrees Ordinances and Constitutions in writing whatsoever which to them or the greater part of them whereof the Master and one of the Wardens as aforesaid for the time being to be two shall seem good wholesome profitable honest and necessary according to their discretions As well for and concerning such Oaths as shall befit to be administered to the Master Wardens and Assistants

To make Oaths.

or any other of the said Society As for and concerning the said Art trade and Mistery of Gunmaking and the well ordering and government thereof within the said *City of London or the Liberties thereof and within four miles of the same* And also for the punishment and Reformation of such Abuses and Deceits from time to time practised or to be practised either in uttering unartificial unmerchantable *bad and deceitfull Guns* or parts of Guns or Guns or parts of Guns *made of ill materials* whereby our Loving Subjects may be damnified or endangered or any other wrong Deceit or Abuse offered at any time whatsoever within the said Cities Liberties and Suburbs thereof or in any other place or places *within four miles compass thereof* And also for the support of the said Company and for the good Rule and Government of the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London and their Successors and all and singular persons using or exercising the Art or Mistery aforesaid and every of them within the said City Suburbs and Liberties within four miles compass thereof in all matters and things touching or anywise concerning the same And for declaration after what manner order and Form the said Master Wardens and Society and their successors and all and every other person or persons using and exercising the said Art and Mistery within the places aforesaid shall behave demean carry and use themselves in their said Art Trade and Mistery for the publick good As well of our Subjects in general As of the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers and their Successors And for all other Matters Things and Causes touching or concerning the said Art Mistery by any manner of means

Touching
Punishments, &c.

And support
of the Art.

Touching fines
to be set
on Offenders.

And wheresoever the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society for the time being or the greater part of them *whereof the Master and one of the Wardens for the time being to be two* do or shall make ordain constitute and establish such Acts Orders Ordinances Decrees and Constitutions as aforesaid that thereby they provide and limit such reasonable pains penalties and punishments either by Fines Amerciaments† or any other lawfull ways or means whatsoever upon all Offenders or Breakers of such Acts Ordinances Decrees Orders and Constitutions or any of them as to them or the greater part of them *whereof the said Master and one of the Wardens for the time being to be two* shall seem fit necessary and convenient to be made sett imposed limited and provided for the keeping of the said Acts Ordinances Orders and Constitutions

Reasonable fines.

And that then or at any time after the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers and their Successors shall and may by virtue hereof have and levy the said fines pains penalties and Amerciaments to their own use without the Lett or Hindrance of us Our Heirs and Successors and without the giving or rendering of any Account or other Thing to us our Heirs or Successors for the same

Power to levy
the same.

All which Acts Orders Ordinances

† The infliction of a penalty left to the 'mercy' of the inflictor: hence, the imposition of an arbitrary fine or mulct (originally lighter in amount than fixed fines for specific offences).

All Orders, &c.,
to be observed.

decrees and constitutions so as aforesaid to be made We will to be observed and kept under the pains and penalties therein to be contained so as always such Acts Orders Ordinances Constitutions Fines and Amerciaments be reasonable and not repugnant or contrary to the Laws or Statutes of this our Realm of England nor to the customs or Usages of Our City of London

First Master
to continue to
first Thursday
after St. Bartho.
Day.

And for the better execution of this our present Grant touching the premises We have assigned named constituted appointed and made and by these Presents for Us Our Heirs and Successors Do assign name constitute appoint and make Our well beloved Subject the said *Henry Rowland* the first and present Master of the said Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers to be and continue in the said Office *from the date of these Presents until the first Thursday next following after the Feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle* if he shall so long live and from thenceforth *untill one other shall be chosen and named unto the said Office of Master* of the said Society in due manner according to the Ordinances and provisions hereafter in these Presents mentioned and expressed he the said Henry Rowland taking his Corporal Oath* before the Wardens and Assistants for the time being or the greater part of them for the due and faithfull execution of the said Office and place of Master To which said Wardens and Assistants for the time being or the greater part of them We do hereby for us our Heirs and Successors give power and authority to administer and give the said Oath to the said *Henry Rowland the first Master* of the said Society

First Wardens
appointed.

To continue
as Master.

And also we have assigned named and constituted and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors Do assign ordain constitute and make Our well beloved subjects *Thomas Addis and John Wattson* to be the *first and present Wardens* of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London and that they and either of them respectively shall be and continue in their said Offices from the date of these Presents *until the said first Thursday next after the Feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle next coming* if the said Thomas Addis and John Watson or either of them respectively shall so long live and from thence *untill two others be chosen unto the said Office of Wardens* of the said Society of the Mystery of Gunmakers according to the Ordinances and provisions in these Presents expressed and declared the said Thomas Addis and John Watson taking their Corporal Oaths before the Master and Assistants for the time being or the greater part of them whom We do authorize to administer the said Oaths as aforesaid

First Assistants
appointed

And we likewise have assigned named constituted made and appointed and by these Presents for Us Our heirs and successors Do assign name constitute make and appoint Our well beloved Subjects John Norcott William Graves William Dawson William Clare John Eccles William Wattson George Day John Silke Senior John Finch and Christopher Fell to be the *first and present Assistants of the said Society* of the said Mistery of Gunmaking to be and continue in the said Office of

* An oath ratified by corporally touching a sacred object, especially the Gospels, as distinguished from a merely verbal oath, to which the body was, as it were, not a party.

Assistants *during their natural lives unless they or any of them respectively shall happen to be removed for misbehaving him or themselves in their said Office or for some other reasonable and just cause* they taking their Corporal Oaths before the said Master and Wardens before named for the faithfull execution of the said places of Assistants whom We do hereby authorize to administer the same Oaths accordingly

to continue for life.

And we will and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors Do grant unto the said Master Wardens and Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London and their Successors *That the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society for the time being or the greater part of them whereof We will that the Master and one of the Wardens for the time being to be two* from time to time for ever hereafter shall have full power and authority yearly and every year at or upon the said first Thursday next following the Feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle yearly to elect and nominate *one of the Wardens or Assistants* for the time being to be Master of the said Society for one whole year from thence next ensuing and from thence untill one other of the said Wardens or Assistants shall be elected and chosen according to the Ordinances and provisions in these Presents expressed and declared And that he which shall be chosen and named unto the said Office of Master of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers before he be admitted to execute the said Office *shall take his Corporal Oath* before the last Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society for the time being or the greater part of them to whom We for us Our Heirs and Successors Do give power and authority by these Presents to administer the said Oath well and truly to execute the said Office of Master of the said Society in all things belonging to the said Office And that after the said Oath so as aforesaid to be taken he shall *exercise the said Office of Master* for one whole year from thence next ensuing and from thence *untill one other be chosen and sworn unto the said Office in Form aforesaid* And Likewise that at the same time of electing the said Master as aforesaid they may also *elect choose and nominate two other of the Assistants of the said Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers for the time being which shall be Wardens of the said Society* for one whole year from thence next ensuing and from thence *until two other of the said Assistants be chosen into the said Office of Wardens* of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers as aforesaid according to the Ordinances and Provisions in these Presents expressed and declared

The time to choose Master and Wardens.

To choose Master on Thursday after St. Bartho.

His continuance.

New Master before admitted to act to take Oath.

Choice and continuance of Wardens.

And that they which shall be so chosen and named to the said Office of Wardens of the said Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers before they be admitted to execute the said Office of Wardens shall likewise *take their Corporal Oaths* before the said Master and last Wardens and the other Assistants of the said Society or the greater part of them to whom for us Our Heirs and Successors We give power by these Presents to minister the said Oath well and truly to execute the said Office of Wardens in and by all things touching and concerning the said Office And that after such Oaths be as aforesaid taken they shall and may *execute their said office for one*

Wardens to take Oath.

whole year then next ensuing and from thence *untill two other be chosen* and sworn in Form aforesaid into the said Office of Wardens of the said Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers in manner and Form in these Presents expressed and declared

If the Master
or Wardens
die or removed
from their Office
to choose again.

And further by these Presents for us Our Heirs and Successors We will and Grant unto the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers and their Successors that if it happen the Master and Wardens of the said Society for the time being or any of them at any time within One year after that they or any of them be chosen and sworn into his or their said Office or Offices to die or be removed from his or their said Office or Offices which said Master and Wardens for just and reasonable cause We will from time to time shall be removeable that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for such and so many of the said Master Wardens and Assistants which shall be then living or remaining or the greater part of them at their pleasures to choose make and swear one other or others of the said Assistants for the time being to be Master Warden or Wardens of the said Society according to the Orders and Provisions before in these Presents expressed and declared to execute and exercise the said Office of Master or of Warden or Wardens of the said Society *until the said first Thursday next after the Feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle* then next following and *from thence untill some other shall be elected and chosen into the same Offices* he or they first taking his or their Corporal Oath or Oath in Form as aforesaid and so as often as Cause shall require And further We will and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors Do grant unto the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers and their Successors that whensoever it shall happen any of the Assistants of the said Society for the time being to die or be removed from his or their Office or Offices which Assistants and every or any of them We will shall be removeable and be removed by the greater part of the said Master Wardens and Assistants of Gunmakers for the time being *whereof the Master and one of the Wardens for the time being to be two for evil Government or misbehaviour or for any other just or reasonable cause* That then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master Wardens and so many of the said Assistants for the time being which shall then survive or remain or the greater part of them *whereof the Master and one of the Wardens as aforesaid for the time being to be two* at their wills and pleasures from time to time to choose and name one other or more of the said Society as aforesaid *to be Assistant or Assistants of the said Society in his or their place or stead* which shall so happen to die or be removed as aforesaid And that he or they after they shall be so chosen or named to be Assistant or Assistants of the said Society as aforesaid before that he or they or any of them be admitted to his or their execution of the said Office of Assistant or Assistants shall take his or their Corporate Oath or Oaths before the Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society or the greater part of them for the time being To whom by these presents We do for us our Heirs and Successors give power to minister the said Oath well and truly to execute the said Office or Offices of Assistant or Assistants and so as often as Cause shall require

Removal of
Assistants for
Cause.

And forasmuch as We are informed that great deceits and abuses are frequently practised committed and done by divers inexpert persons using the said Art or Mistery of Gunmaking within Our said City of London and the Liberties *and ten miles Compass thereof* who for the most part do make the said Guns very slightly and deceitfully to the great endangering and prejudice of our Subjects and finding *that great Store of Handguns, Daggs* Pistols and parts of Guns* unartificially and deceitfully made and wrought in foreign and other parts are from time to time imported and brought into our said City of London and places adjacent and are there altered and sold to our Subjects to their like deceit and danger

Touching view and proof of Guns.

We therefore intending to prevent the said Deceits Dangers and Abuses for the time to come Do further will and ordain And by these Presents for Us our Heirs and Successors Do grant to the said Master Wardens and Society of the said Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London and to their Successors for ever That the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society for the time being or any two or more of them from time to time for ever hereafter by themselves or their sufficient Deputies as aforesaid being expert and skilfull in the same Art shall have the full power of search view gage proof trial and marking of all manner of Handguns whatsoever great and small Daggs and Pistols and all and every part or parcell of them as well those which shall be *made in London or the Suburbs or within ten miles* thereof as all such others as shall be imported from foreign parts or otherwise brought thither to be sold or put to sale for Military Service or other employment in any of our Dominions or Foreign Plantations or for the use of Christian Prince or State in Amity then with us Our heirs or successors or to be there used for Recreation before the same Hand guns or any part of them shall be sold and delivered which Tryal or Proof shall be in manner and Form following (viz) with *good and sufficient Gunpowder the weight of a Bullett* of Lead sizeable to every several Gun be it greater or lesser according to the Bore of the Piece together with the said sizeable Bullett and *rammed with paper* before and after the Bullett the Charges of which said Proof and trial in the powder paper Bullett Shot and traying powder for firing to be necessarily used therein to be always provided defrayed and born by the Makers or Owners of the same Guns

To prevent Deceits, &c.

Search view, gage proof, &c., in London and 10 miles.

Such as are imported.

Manner of Proof.

And to that end and purpose We do for us our heirs and successors will ordain and straightly charge and command all manner of Persons within the Limits aforesaid using the making or selling of any manner of Handguns Daggs or Pistols or any Barrells Locks Stocks or other parts of the said Handguns or that shall hereafter make sell or import from Foreign or other parts any manner of Handguns Daggs or Pistols or any part thereof to be sold within the Limits aforesaid that they and every of them at their own proper costs and charges do from time to time bring or *cause to be brought to the Common Hall* of the said Society or to such other meet Place or Places as the said Master Wardens

Whether to be brought to prove.

At the Owner's cost.

* A kind of heavy pistol or handgun.

and Assistants or their lawful expert and sworn Deputies as aforesaid shall appoint all and all manner of the same Handguns greater or smaller Daggs Pistols and the parts thereof as aforesaid thereto be duly searched viewed gaged tryed stamp and marked before the said Guns or any part thereof shall be sold and delivered The said Handguns which shall be made within the Limits aforesaid to be so brought *within ten days* next after the *making* and finishing thereof and such of the said Handguns as shall be *imported* from foreign or other parts to be sold within the Limits aforesaid to be from time to time likewise so brought by the Merchants or Owners thereof *within ten days* after the arrival of the same within the same Limits

No gun to be sold unproved.

And therefore Do hereby for us Our Heirs and Successors straightly charge and command As well all Makers of the said Handguns or Barrells of Guns within Our said City of London and the Suburbs of the same and within ten Miles Compass thereof As all merchants or others that shall import or bring any of the said Handguns Daggs or Pistols or Barrells of Guns thither to be there sold or put to sale That they or any of them do not at any time or times hereafter sell and deliver any of the Handguns Daggs Pistols or Barrells of them as aforesaid before the same shall be by the said Master Wardens and Assistants or two or more of them or their sufficient sworn Deputies as aforesaid duly searched viewed gaged proved tryed stamped and marked as aforesaid upon pain of the Loss and Forfeiture of the same to be seized by them to the use of us Our Heirs or Successors and upon such further penalties and punishments as by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm or otherwise shall or may be inflicted upon them for their contempt or neglect of Our Royal Will and Pleasure herein declared

Forfeited if put to sale unproved.

And for the due and faithful execution of the premises We Do hereby for us Our Heirs and Successors give and grant to the said Master Wardens and Society and their successors that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society or any two or more of them for the Time being by themselves or such expert and skilfull persons their sworn Deputies as aforesaid at meet Times and in convenient manner *with the assistance of a Constable* or other lawful Officer *to enter* into any House Shopp Warehouse Cellar Workhouse Room Garrett *Shipp or Vessell* or any other place or places *As well within Liberties as without within the Limits aforesaid where any just suspicion shall be had* that there are or shall be any such Handguns remaining and there to *search* for all such Handguns Daggs or Pistols or parts of them as shall be imported or shall be made within the City of London and ten miles thereof and *not duly proved* and marked nor brought to be proved or marked within the space of Ten days as aforesaid and *cause the same to be forthwith carried* to their Common Hall or other such place or places as aforesaid And there to view gage prove and try the same at the Charges of the Owners or the Makers thereof as aforesaid And also to search for all such Handguns Daggs or Pistols as shall be put to sale and delivered before the same be duly viewed guaged proved and marked as aforesaid And all such as they shall there find to be so sold

Manner of search with a Constable.

To seize imported arms unproved and carry to their Common Hall.

To seize unproved Arms put to sale forfeited.

and delivered to *seize take and carry away as forfeited to us as aforesaid*

And we do further by these Presents for us our heirs and successors ordain declare and appoint and Do require and command all persons and persons whatsoever who now do or hereafter shall use exercise and practice the same Art and Mistery of Gunmaking within our City of London and the Liberties thereof or within ten miles thereof that they and every of them respectively from time to time be subject and obedient unto all such lawful and reasonable Orders and Ordinances as shall be made and sett down by the said Master Wardens and Assistants of the said Society or the greater part of them for the time being as aforesaid under the Pains and Penalties therein to be mentioned and provided and under such further pains and penalties as by the Laws or Statutes of this Realm or otherwise may be inflicted on them

All makers of Guns subject to the Company.

And We do by these presents for us our heirs and successors ordain and appoint that all and every person and persons which by Virtue or Force of these Presents are or shall be *admitted and made free of the said Society of Gunmakers of London* shall at the time of his or their admittance before the said Master take his and their Corporal Oath and Oaths for his and their good demeanor in the Society aforesaid and for the performance of all the lawful Orders and Ordinances made and to be made for the good Government of the said Society and the due Regulation of the said Art or Mistery without Falsity or Deceit And the Master of the said Society for the time being shall have full power and authority by these Presents from time to time to give and administer such Oath and Oaths to every such person and persons so to be admitted and made free of the said Society And further We Do for us our Heirs and Successors by these Presents will ordain command and appoint that all such Gunmakers either Members and free of the said Society or otherwise Foreigners within the said City of London and four Miles thereof that hereafter shall take any Apprentice or Apprentices (except such Gunmakers who are now free of the Company of Blacksmiths) shall from time to time bind the said Apprentices to some Member or Freeman of the said Society of Gunmakers to the end that all such persons within the said Limits as do or shall use the said Mistery of Gunmaking (except as before excepted) may in process of time become Members and free of the said Society and of none other Company for the better Regulation and Government of the same Mistery or Trade for the time to come And for the due Accomplishment of Our Royal Will and Pleasure in the premises We Do for us our Heirs and Successors will ordain declare and command by these Presents That the said Master Wardens and Society and their Successors for ever hereafter shall have and keep one Stamp or Stamps to be engraved with the Letters G.P. crowned wherewith the said Master or Wardens and Assistants or any of them for the time being or their sufficient sworn Deputies as aforesaid shall from time to time mark or stamp all such Handguns Daggs Pistols and parts of Guns only as upon search view gage tryal and proof shall be found sufficient serviceable and of good materials and *shall wholly and utterly reject and forbear to mark* therewith all such other Handguns or parts as shall be found

All persons admitted to be sworn.

All persons in London and 4 miles to bind Apprentices to free Gunmakers.

Gunmakers Mark G.P. crowned.

To break and
deface Guns
unserviceable.

insufficient unserviceable or made of bad materials *but shall break deface and destroy the same* which said Mark or Stamp by us to the said Society appointed as aforesaid We Do for us our Heirs and Successors streightly charge and command That no other person or persons shall make use or counterfeit the same for the marking or stamping of any Handguns whatsoever within the ten Miles aforesaid upon pain of Our high Displeasure and such further punishment as by the Laws or Statutes of the Realm or otherwise shall or may be inflicted upon the Offenders therein

No person to use
the Art but who
has served 7 years
Apprenticeship

And to the end that the Artificers Gunmakers and Members of the said Society may be better encouraged and that able and expert men may be bred in the said Art and the Manufacture be the better improved It is our Will and Pleasure And We hereby for us our Heirs and Successors further will ordain declare and command by these Presents *that no person* or persons of what quality or condition soever do or shall *within the Limits* aforesaid at any time hereafter *exercise the Art of Gunmaking* but such person or persons as according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm *have served seven years apprenticeship to the said Art or Mistery* aforesaid and shall have first *zerought his or their Proof Piece* and have presented the same before the said Master Wardens and Assistants or the major part of them *And be thereupon allowed and approved of as an expert* and able Workman in the said Art of Gunmaking Upon pain of our high Displeasure and under such other pains and penalties as by Our Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm or by the lawful Ordinances of the said Society may be further inflicted upon them

and presented a
Proof Piece.

Power to
purchase Lands.

And further of Our more especial Grace certain knowledge and meer Motion We have given and granted and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors Do give and grant to the said Masters Wardens and Society of Gunmakers of London and their Successors Special License Power and Authority to have purchase receive and take to them and their Successors for ever Mannors Messuages Lands Tenements Meadows Feedings Pastures Woods Underwoods Rectories Tithes Rents Reversions and all other Hereditaments whatsoever within this Realm of England or elsewhere within any our Dominions As well of us Our Heirs and Successors as of any other person or persons which are not holden of us our Heirs and Successors in Chief or of us our Heirs and Successors or of others by Knights Service And so as the same Mannors Messuages Lands Tenements Meadows Feedings Pastures Woods Underwoods Rectories Tithes Rents Reversions Services and other Hereditaments do not exceed in the whole *the clear yearly value of Forty pounds* by the year above all Charges and Reprizes without suing forth of any Writ of *Ad quod Damnum* And notwithstanding the Statute of not putting Lands and Tenements into *Mortmaine* or any other Statute Act Ordinance provision heretofore had made ordained or provided or any other Thing Cause or Matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding

Not holden of us
in Capite or by
Knight's Service.

Without a Writ
of Ad quod
damnum and the
Statute of
Mortmaine.

Also to give or
bequeath Lands,
&c.

And also We do for us our Heirs and Successors by these Presents give and grant to

any the Subject or Subjects of Us Our heirs or successors special License and full and free power and authority that they and every of them shall and may give and grant bequeath or alien any Mannors Messuages Lands Tenements Meadows Feedings Pastures Woods Underwoods Rectories Tithes Rents Reversions Services and other Hereditaments whatsoever which are not holden of us Our Heirs or Successors immediately in Chief or of us Our Heirs or Successors or any other by Knights service† to the said Master Wardens and Society and their Successors And so as the same Mannors Messuages Lands Tenements Meadows Feedings Pastures Woods Underwoods Rectories Tithes Rents Reversions Services and other hereditaments so to be given granted aliened or bequeathed do not exceed in the whole *the clear yearly value of Forty pounds* by the year above all charges and Reprizes notwithstanding the Statute of not putting lands and tenements into *Mortmain** or that there be not any Writ of *Ad quod Damnum* sued forth in any other Thing Cause or Matter whatsoever theretofore had made ordained or provided to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding And We well weighing and considering that the good order and honest practice of the Trade aforesaid will conduce much to the benefit of us and of our Loving Subjects and that the Members thereof being under the Survey and Government of Our City of London The Offenders in the said Trade are like to be the more effectually punished and those that use the same as they ought to do the better comforted and encouraged We hereby declare our will and pleasure to be And do require and command That the *Lord Mayor and Aldermen* of our City of London for the time being do cause and allow these Letters Patent to be *enrolled within the Common Chamber* of the said City whereby those that are and shall be Freemen of London and Members of the said Society of Gunmakers may be subject to the Government of the said City and may enjoy the Benefit thereof

Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London to enroll the Charter.

And further we do will ordain and grant for us our Heirs and Successors by these Presents to the said Master Wardens and Society and their Successors That it shall and may be lawful to and for the said *Master Wardens and Assistants* or the greater part of them for the time being to *take and admit* into the said Society and the Liberties and privileges thereof such persons from time to time as they shall think meet and shall desire to become *Freemen or Free Brothers of the said Society* and to administer such Oath unto them as unto the other Freemen of the said Society which persons so to be admitted together with the Master Wardens and Assistants and the Rest of the Company of Gunmakers then before admitted shall be and shall be reputed taken and known by the Name of Master Wardens and Society of the Mistery of Gunmakers of the City of London Nevertheless Our Intent and Meaning is

The Court of Assistants to admit Persons.

Free or Foreign.

Title of the Company.

And we do hereby declare the same to be that these Presents or any thing therein contained shall not separate or take away from the Company of Blacksmiths of London any person or

Not to take any Member from the Blacksmiths or Armourers.

† The military service which a Knight was bound to render as a condition of holding his lands: hence, the tenure of land under the condition of performing military service.

* The condition of lands or tenements held inalienably by a Corporation.

The Farm Rent
of 13s. 4d. paid.

To be obedient to
the Privy Councill
and Office of
Ordnance.

persons being Gunmakers now Freemen of the said Company of Blacksmiths or hinder them to bind their Apprentices with them nor to debar the said Company of Blacksmiths from the power of search and Tryal they now have by their Charter but no Fee or Allowance to be paid for any search or Tryal any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding Yielding and Paying therefore yearly And the said Master Wardens and Society of the Mistry of Gunmakers of the City of London for them and their Successors Do Covenant promise and grant to and with us our Heirs and Successors to answer and pay to us Our Heirs and Successors into the Receipt of our Exchequer the yearly rent or sum of *Thirteen shillings and four pence* of lawful money of England at the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God yearly to be paid for ever Provided always and Our Intent and meaning is that the said Master Wardens and Society and their successors shall from time to time be subject and obedient to all such Orders and directions of the *Privy Councill and Councill of War* of Us Our Heirs or Successors for the time being as shall be set down or given touching or concerning the assising and Regulation of all manner of Handguns both for Horse and Foot As well for the Service of Us our Heirs and Successors as for the use of the Subjects of Us our Heirs and Successors as occasion shall require Although express mention of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises or any of them or of any other Gifts or Grants by us or by any of Our Progenitors or Predecessors To the said Master Wardens and Society heretofore made in these Presents is not made or any Statute Act Ordinance Provision Proclamation or Restraint to the contrary thereof heretofore had made ordained or provided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever in anywise notwithstanding.

In witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent Witness Ourselves at Westminster the fourteenth of March in the thirtieth year of Our Reign.

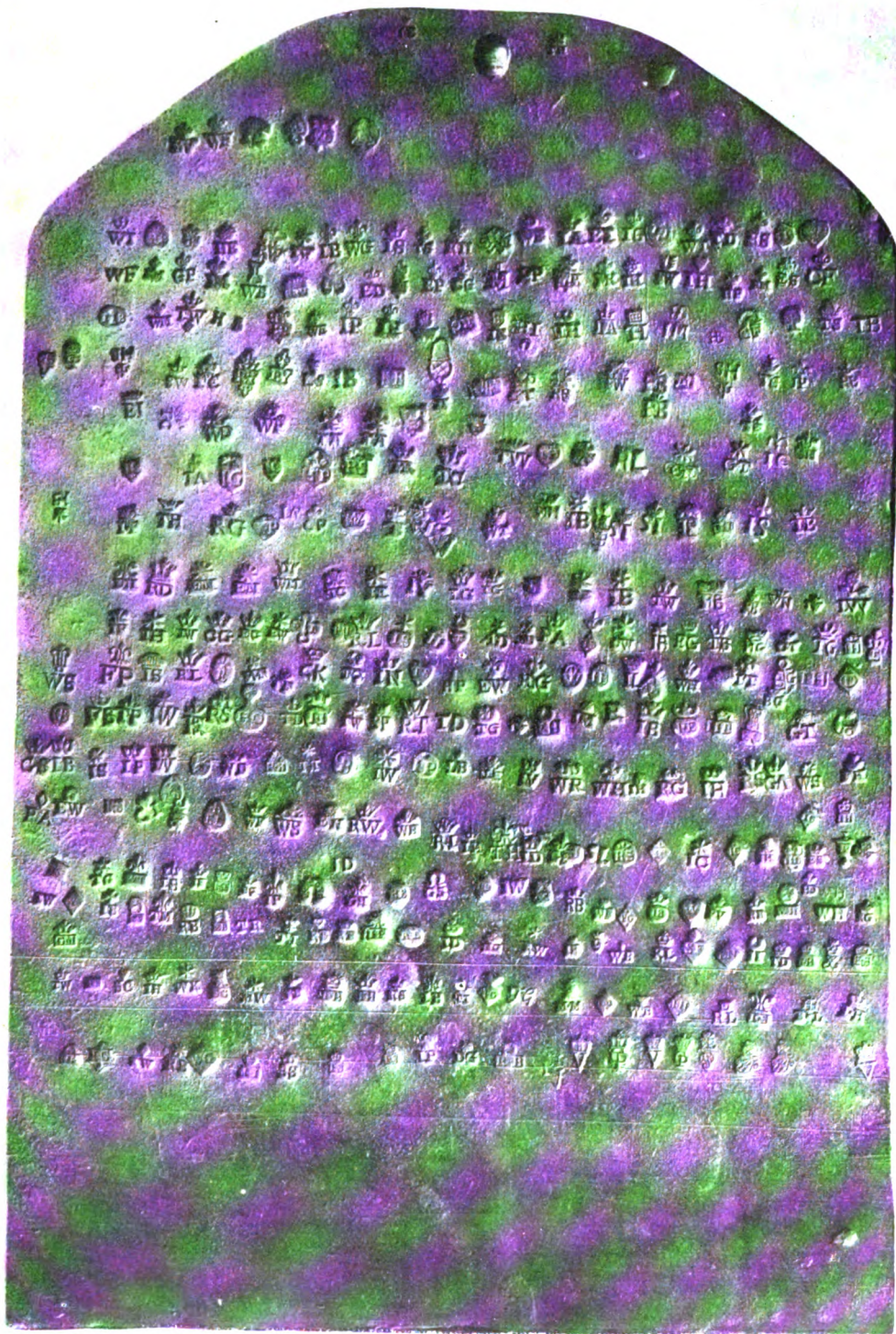
By Writ of Privy Seal.

WOLSELEY.

THE PROOF PLATE. BY MAJOR H. B. C. POLLARD.

This copper plate [which measures 13" by 8½"] is traditionally supposed to have been stamped with the accepted maker's identification mark used by a maker when he was admitted as a freeman of the Company. The mark would serve to distinguish his barrels from those sent in to proof by other makers.

The Worshipful Company of Gunmakers was, and still is, one of the minor City Livery Companies or Guilds, but there were many makers who were simply under the legal obligation to have their weapons proved but who were not members of the Company. It is doubtful if at any



THE PROOF PLATE OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GUNMAKERS.

time in its history the Company has represented more than a proportion of the London makers.

Fairly full records of the apprenticeship and admission of gunsmiths exist, but are not available for the study of the historian. Many of the City Companies have thrown open their records to research students, but in the case of this Company permission has not yet been given. The revenue of the Company is derived from the charges for Proof of arms. The premises of the Proof House are at a site in the Commercial Road, and no other foundations, almshouses, etc., have to be kept up. A few gunmakers are still associated with the Company, but it is not confined to the gun trade or accepted as a representative body or trade association.

The proof plate is, unfortunately, not associated with any records. There is no contemporary accessible record of the makers whose marks these are, and many are unknown. The interpretation of the plate presents particular difficulties, and can only be checked from known specimens. Some stamps occur fairly frequently at successive periods. Others are known to be associated with a maker whose name is not the initial or combination of initials shown on the mark. Certain familiar marks do not occur on the plate, and are in consequence probably the marks of gunmakers who were not interested in the Company.

In some cases the association of initials suggests a barrel maker X who would make barrels for customers Y and Z, sending up his wares marked XY and XZ in order to distinguish them. In some cases we can assume that an inversion of initials has taken place. John Smith or Smith John being the same individual under the letters I.S. or S.I. This inversion is not uncommon in crude seals or stamps which have to be cut in "looking glass" inversion.

The order of the stamps seems to be roughly chronological, although here and there later imprints occur out of order. The short but blurred top line dates back to about 1680, and the last line bears the stamps of gunsmiths of the last decade of the 18th century. In course of time and by the close scrutiny of marks on pieces in collections it may be possible to resolve the riddle set by the plate. I shall be interested to hear from any collector who can trace any of the marks which occur on the plate and are not among the makers' marks given in this book. The photograph of the plate is reproduced by permission of the Worshipful Company of Gunmakers of London.

THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY—11 May, 1745 (New style).

This letter, in the possession of Sir Charles Firth, was written on the day after the battle. The writer, Charles James Hamilton, was the 3rd son of Charles Hamilton, Lord Binning, grandson of the 6th Earl of Haddington, and brother of the 7th Earl.

It was addressed to his Aunt Grizel, Lady Murray, whose maiden name was Baillie, his mother being Rachel Baillie. Grizel married Sir Alexander Murray, of Stanhope, Bart.

C.J.H. was born on 3 October, 1727, and would, therefore, have been 17 years old in May, 1745. An added note, at the end of his letter, says "aged 16."

It cannot be said with certainty what regiment Hamilton was serving in at Fontenoy. The MSS. Army List of 1752 (P.R.O. Ind. 5438) shows him in the 3rd Regiment of Dragoons, the date of his commission as Cornet being 26 February, 1746, *i.e.* nine months *after* the battle. He was, possibly, serving as a 'volunteer.'

According to the Scots' peerage he became Lieutenant on 29 July, 1751.

On 12 March, 1755, he obtained a Captaincy in the 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards, and became

Major in the army on 19 May, 1762;

Major in the regiment on 13 February, 1766;

Lieut.-Colonel in the army on 25 May, 1772;

retiring in 1776.

He was appointed Governor of Blackness Castle in 1792.

He died at Tyninghame on 28 September, 1806.

From ye Army, 12th May, 1745 (N.S.).

Dear Aunt,

I would have writ to you since I came to ye field but really I have not had time; I have not had time to sleep this six days but what I got on ye ground, & nothing to cover me but ye Skies. We have had a most bloody battle wth ye french; yesterday we begun at 5 in ye morning & left off at 2 in ye afternoon, all w^{ch} time ye french kept cannonading us; I was forced to be very civil & make a great many bows to ye balls, for they were very near me, for both my right & Left hand men were killed, & all round me there were men & horses tumbling about, but thank god none touched me. We could do nothing but stand there & be knocked on ye head, for they had a great many batterys & three times ye number of cannon y^t we had, & besides that they were entrenched up to ye ears that we could not hurt them; we fir'd upon a Little village very Smartly where they had a Battery; The foot were very sadly cut to Pieces, for ye french Put grape shot into their cannon & cut them down just as if they were sheering corn. There is a great many officers killed in ye Infantry; in ye Welch Fusiliers, only two came of ye field Without a Wound. My Lord Charles Hay* & Charles Ross† are both kill'd, & Andrew Sandilands § very ill, Wounded, & a great many others but you will hear a more Perfect account of it soon, & what number of men, is not yet

* 2nd son of the 3rd Marquis of Tweeddale. Captain in the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards. He was wounded only, and recovered. He died on 1 May, 1760.

† Belonged to the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards.

§ A Captain Alexander Sandilands, who belonged to the Royal North British Fusiliers (21st), was taken prisoner. Possibly he is the man mentioned as Andrew.

known; we have a Cornett missing in our Regiment* so we think he is kill'd, & a captain Wounded; there is not an Officer in My Lord Stairs's. hurt. I Long'd for y^m to come to it Sowrd in hand, but they durst not do y^t. I had my horse shot just in y^e knee wth Musket ball, & I am afraid he will be always Lame. I was forced to go of y^e field & get my other horse. I did not regard y^e small Bullets after y^e cannon Balls in y^e Least tho they came bussing about me Like Bees, & I had got just by one of y^e Standards Where they came very fast for they Were Shooting at y^e Standards Like Mad, but at Last we were Obliged to retreat for their was no Standing their cannon as they were intrench'd, for we could not see any thing Scarce but their bits of white Paper in their hats, but I hope we shall be revenged of them for this trick. Ye General is very well & sends his compliments to you, I just writ y^s to Let you know I am well. I recollected y^t I must die some time or Other, & if my time was not come I was as safe ther as any Where Else. Pray My duty to mama, Grand-mama, Love to my Brothers & sisters & service to every body Else
& am Dear Aunt your most Dutyfull Nephew

CHARLES JAMES HAMILTON.

THE CAITHNESS FENCIBLES, AND A RECRUITING CARD OF 1799.

BY MAJOR I. H. MACKAY SCOBIE, F.S.A. Scot.,

Author of *An Old Highland Fencible Corps*, &c.

In compiling this account of the Caithness Fencibles, among other authorities consulted, much information has been derived from an interesting article on the regiment by the late Venerable W. M. Sinclair (a grandson of the Colonel), which appeared in the *Celtic Monthly*, Vol. I, 1893; also the *Memoir of Sir John Sinclair*, written by his son, the late Archdeacon John Sinclair. A short history of the corps, drawn up by Colonel Sir John Sinclair, "out of regard to the memory of his First Battalion of Fencibles; and particularly addressed to the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Private Soldiers of that battalion, that they may remember their having belonged to so respectable a Corps," was published in the *British Military Library*, Vol. II (1801). Accompanying it is an excellent coloured illustration of an officer in full uniform, dedicated by the Editors of the Journal to "Colonel Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, and to the Other Officers of the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles." In General Stewart of Garth's well-known *Sketches* will also be found a short account of the regiment.

* This certainly shows that the writer was in a Cavalry Regiment.



SIR JOHN SINCLAIR OF ULBSTER

REPRODUCED FROM THE MEZZOTINT IN COLOUR BY H. MACBETH-RAEBURN A.R.A.,
AFTER SIR HENRY RAEBURN, R.A.

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During the wars in which Great Britain found herself involved towards the end of the 18th century, great efforts had to be made to face the danger. Among other expedients employed, was the calling into being of *Fencible Corps*, i.e., regular troops raised for the duration of the war, for home service, and designed to free the regular army for service overseas. This species of force, so frequently confused by writers with the Volunteers, was successfully made use of, although to a limited extent, in 1759 and again in 1778. From 1793 to 1799, however, fencible regiments were formed on a far greater scale, the majority of them being raised in the Lowlands and Highlands of Scotland, as that country, unlike England, had no proper militia until 1797. In 1793, ten battalions were raised. The following year saw some thirty-two added to the establishment, not the least distinguished among those which came from the Highlands being the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles. This fine corps, whose history was typical of most of these battalions, was raised by Sir John Sinclair of Ulster, one of the most patriotic, versatile, and able men of his day, on a letter of service dated March 7th, 1794. It was the first Fencible regiment for which letters of service were issued in 1794, and was numbered the "8th Regiment of Fencible Infantry." The fencibles raised after this were not numbered.

When the proposal to form a regiment was first made to Sir John by Mr. Pitt, "he replied that he had never thought of becoming a soldier, but that since the public services seemed to demand it, he would not hesitate for a moment." His corps claimed the merit of being the first regiment of fencibles to be raised for service in Great Britain, the previous ones having been limited to the country of their origin (i.e., England or Scotland).

At that period, the Highlanders of Scotland were, in general, less averse to a military life than their Lowland and English compatriots, but so great had been the call on their services during the past 35 years (and so poorly had these services been required), that, by 1793, the difficulty in getting men from the north was growing acute. Bounties, in consequence, not only for the regulars but also fencibles soon rose to an alarming height, owing to the competition of officers raising men. So much so, that in February, 1795, the practice was checked, and bounties in future had not to exceed 15 guineas for recruits for general service, and 10 for those enlisted for the fencibles.

The methods of obtaining men at that period, among the less scrupulous, were somewhat "drastic," as the following will show:—A Highland lady was extremely anxious to get a commission for her son. This could be managed if she provided a certain number of recruits. So she ordered her ground officer to kidnap the required number, sons of her small tenants; these she secured in a hole under her staircase until the arrival of the recruiting officer, and, it is said, greased the soles of these lads, and semi-roasted them before the fire, until they were so tender that even if they had escaped they could not have gone far!

In addition to the numerous fencible regiments formed, the years 1793-4 alone saw the birth of eight Highland regiments of the line, of

which four are still in existence, and in the latter year matters were further aggravated by the creation of the Volunteer Force.

Under these conditions, the raising of even a fencible regiment, which, from the more limited nature of its services, probably attracted men more easily to its ranks than a regular corps, was no easy matter. This Sir John Sinclair soon experienced, for he found several rivals in the field, not only fencibles but regulars. Among the latter were the Gordon Highlanders, who had an active recruiting agent in Caithness, in the person of Sir Robert Sinclair of Murkle, a son-in-law of the Duke of Gordon (see Bulloch's *Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland*).

Such was the energy exerted by Sir John Sinclair, however, that recruits were rapidly enrolled. This was all the more remarkable, and a reflection on his great popularity and influence, as the bounty allowed by Government, i.e., three guineas, does not appear to have been materially added to. By October, 1794, seven months after the date of the letters of service, the new regiment was embodied at Inverness, 600 strong, by Sir Hector Munro, of Novar, and pronounced an efficient and excellent corps. The bulk of the officers and men were from Caithness, most of the remainder being from the adjoining county of Sutherland and other parts of the Highlands.

Among other circumstances, we are told, connected with this corps which attracted notice, was the appearance of the officers, no less than nineteen of whom averaged six feet in height, and who were, in consequence, known by the people of Inverness under the Gaelic designation of "Tighearnan mòr," or the "Great (or Big) gentlemen."

Out of compliment to, and with the permission of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King George IV), who was a personal friend of Sir John Sinclair, the latter named his new corps (which would otherwise have been called the Caithness Fencibles) the "Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles," after the Scottish title of the Heir Apparent.

A man of strong individuality and ideas, Sir John Sinclair contended that the *truis* (i.e., similar to trunk hose, but made of tartan cut on the bias, with feet and legs in one—not the garment now known by that name in Scotch regiments, which are simply tartan trousers!) was an older dress than the kilt. In this belief he dressed his regiment accordingly.*

The tartan worn by this corps appears to have been similar to that designed for the Gordon Fencibles of 1793, and adopted by the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders when raised in 1794, i.e., the Government (or 42nd) *sett*, with a yellow stripe in it. Two tartans are associated with the Sinclairs, but neither resemble this pattern.

The full uniform consisted of the red jacket, faced yellow, white waistcoat, buckled shoes, small white goatskin purse with plain brass

* Without entering into the question of the comparative antiquity of these respective garments, a subject of controversy which forms no place here, it may be stated that the *truis* were known to the Highlanders from a remote period.

top and six black tassels, feathered bonnet with usual diced band of red, white and green, shoulder or cross plaid, and tartan pantaloons in imitation of the old truis (these were not cut on the bias and terminated just above the ankle, where they were tied with green ribbon, exposing the scarlet and white tartan hose worn underneath, with a broad band or stripe of yellow cloth along the seams and round above the ankles, and a fringe of tartan down the outside of the thigh and leg, and round the ankle). The officers, serjeants, drummers, and pipers—also the band of music when formed—were armed with the broad-sword, with brass or copper basket-hilt, slung in Highland fashion at the back in a white pipe-clayed shoulder-belt with oval belt-plate (of silver for officers and serjeants, brass for the rank and file), the officers in addition having a silver-mounted dirk, and the serjeants a halbert or pike. The men were equipped with muskets and bayonets. The lace was of silver for officers, white tape with a blue worm in it for the rank and file. The buttons were of silver or pewter. Officers and serjeants (unlike kilted corps), wore the sash round the waist, that for the serjeants having a yellow stripe in it.

In defence of the truis, Sir John Sinclair even composed a song for his men, one verse of which ran:—

“ Let others boast of philibeg,
Of kilt and belted plaid,
Whilst we the ancient trews will wear,
In which our fathers bled.”

This song was a great favourite with the soldiers, and often caused quarrels between them and other Highland corps, each maintaining the superior antiquity of its own garb.†

The belt-plate of this regiment has frequently puzzled students of military dress, owing to the peculiar legend which Sir John Sinclair caused to be inscribed on it. Above and below a Crowned Thistle appeared the word “ CAITHNESS,” and the legend “ FLODDEN ”—the latter commemorating the fact that this disastrous battle was the last occasion on which the men of Caithness had been embodied for regular military service. A specimen of this rare plate was exhibited at the Military Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1890.

Although Sir John Sinclair attached great importance to the smart appearance of his men, he would allow no stoppage from their pay (such as was usual at that time) to provide ornaments to the uniform, but supplied at his own expense such decorations as he thought necessary. He rightly considered the allowance made by Government was barely

† According to the illustrated list of fencibles in Col. Hamilton Smith's MS. tabular statement of the dress of the British Army in 1800 (now in the S. Kensington Art Library), the following Highland, or semi-Highland, corps also wore the truis, or tartan pantaloons, with the feathered bonnet, and sporan or purse (with or without the shoulder-plaid):—Caithness Legion, 1794-1802; Duke of York's Own (Banffshire) Regt., 1798-1802; Lord Elgin's Regt., 1794-1802; and the Prince of Wales' Own Regt., 1798-1802. The only regular regiment to wear the truis, or tartan pantaloons, was the 71st Highland Light Infantry, who adopted them in 1808, prior to assuming light infantry uniform in 1809.

sufficient for their clothing and subsistence. "My men," he was wont to say, "must be kept in a state physically capable of duty."

In order to introduce and maintain a high state of discipline in his corps, Sir John adopted a plan eminently suitable to the character of Highlanders, in that it appealed to their high sense of honour and self-respect. He ordered every company commander to produce, on the first Monday of every month, a muster-roll of his men, specifying the name, birthplace, date of enlistment, discipline, and behaviour of each individual under his command. This document, known by the soldiers as "Sir John's Roll," was read out on parade, before the whole regiment, when the Colonel, calling up each man in turn before him, stated publicly the report given of his conduct. Occasionally, when the report was an excellent one, the soldier received promotion on the spot. "I wel. remember," says an old fencible, "one of the Colonel's speeches when his roll was read. 'My lads,' says he, 'we shall soon probably have to defend ourselves from the invaders, and every man who distinguishes himself shall be recommended to the Duke of York. Promotion is open to all without partiality. Nothing shall have weight with me but good behaviour.'"

On becoming a soldier, Sir John Sinclair had turned his active and ingenious mind to military subjects, and wrote several valuable treatises and articles. He also supervised the drawing up of Mess Regulations for the use of his officers, which are a model of their kind. Furthermore, he paid particular attention to the interior economy of his regiment, and to the welfare, in general, of his men. In regard to the latter, the following is a good example:—After the battalion had been embodied at Inverness, it was for a short time quartered at Fort George. Here one of the soldiers, a young man of respectable parents in Caithness, being guilty of some slight disobedience of orders, the officer in command, a strict martinet, had the youth tried by court-martial. In accordance with the severe ideas of those days, 500 lashes were awarded. The men of the regiment (like all Highlanders, extremely averse to corporal punishment) were shocked at the cruelty of the sentence. Fortunately, it could not be carried into effect without the sanction of Sir John Sinclair, who was then in London busy with his Parliamentary duties. As soon as the court-martial papers reached him, he at once posted north, arriving about midnight at the village of Ardersier, close to Fort George. Early next morning, the news spread that Sir John had arrived, when the whole regiment, ignoring their officers, rushed past the sentries, and marched to the village. Here, on finding their colonel at the inn, they greeted him with cheers, and carried him shoulder-high to the fort. The regiment was assembled, when Sir John warmly censured the officer in command for the barbarity of the sentence, ordered the prisoner to be liberated, and the punishment to be expunged from the regimental books. The acting commanding officer (a Major), deeply offended, immediately left the regiment, and Sir John Sinclair, after remaining a day or two at the fort, returned to his duties in London.

From Inverness the regiment was shortly moved to Fort George, as

we have seen, and thence after a few months to Aberdeen, where it remained under canvas for about a year. Here Sir John Sinclair, while commanding the encampment formed to resist an apprehended attack from the French armies in Holland, wrote an ingenious pamphlet containing useful hints respecting the conduct of camps, and the diet, clothing and habits of the troops (see *British Military Library*, Vol. I, pp. 181-5). The regiment was afterwards stationed at Glasgow and Berwick-on-Tweed, at which latter place its exemplary conduct was so highly appreciated by the inhabitants, that the freedom of the borough was presented to Sir John Sinclair. It was removed to Morpeth late in 1797, and during the summer and autumn of 1798 was again encamped, with other troops, at Blyth, near Newcastle, under Major-General Viscount Feilding. Here it received the complete approbation of that General for its uniform steadiness and efficiency. From Blyth, the regiment was sent to Sunderland and South Shields.

As soon as his regiment had been embodied, Sir John Sinclair offered to raise a second battalion, whose services should extend to Ireland. The offer was immediately accepted, and letters of service issued to him, dated December 19th, 1794.

The difficulties, however, which had confronted him in the forming of his first battalion were now greatly increased in his task of completing a second. The neighbouring county of Sutherland, a fertile source of good soldiers, which had already furnished one fencible corps in 1793, was now fully occupied in raising another, the Reay or Mackay Fencibles.† At the same time, in his own county (now well drained of men), Sir John Sinclair had to face the opposition of a rival corps—the Caithness Legion.* As a result, bounties rose to the maximum figure allowed, viz., ten guineas, and even then men had to be sought for outside of Caithness.

Many devices were employed at that time to obtain recruits, some of which, as we have already noticed, were not very creditable to their inventors, while others, to say the least of it, were high-handed in the extreme. But the call for men was insistent. Sir John Sinclair, however, was not one to stoop to any underhand means; his recruiting efforts all through appear to have been singularly fair and above-board, and eventually had their reward.

In May, 1795, or six months from the date of the letters of service, the second battalion of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, consisting of 600 rank and file, was inspected at Forfar by Major-General Hamilton, passed by him as an effective Corps, and marched to Ayrshire, thence crossing over to the north of Ireland. As in the case of the first battalion, the majority of the officers and men came from Caithness, but there was a greater proportion of men from other districts of the Highlands,

† See *An Old Highland Fencible Corps*. Blackwood. Edinburgh. 1915.

* Raised by Sir Benjamin Dunbar of Hempriggs, on a letter of service dated Nov. 15th, 1794. Many of the officers and men came from Caithness. Served in Ireland, and disbanded at Enniscorthy in 1802. Was a well-conducted regiment. It also wore the bonnet and truis, or tartan pantaloons, with red jacket and yellow facings.

including Perthshire,* and from the Lowlands.

This battalion was quartered in Ulster for upwards of two years. While stationed at Armagh, in December, 1796, an Address was presented to Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser (of Culduthil) by the Magistrates of the County, thanking the regiment, in terms as "flattering as any corps ever received in similar circumstances, for its good conduct" during a period of fourteen months, and under conditions of peculiar difficulty. Divided, from the unfortunate necessity of the times, into various cantonments, and many of them stationed in a manner most unfavourable to military discipline, they yet preserved the fidelity of soldiers and the manly rectitude of their national character. It is with equal pleasure and satisfaction we declare, that the tranquility which this county is now happily beginning to enjoy, must, in many respects be ascribed to the ready obedience and proper deportment of the officers and men under your command."

From Armagh, the battalion was moved to the south of Ireland, in which quarter it continued to maintain its high reputation.

In 1797, while at Youghall, this battalion, with the exception of 50 men, volunteered, with characteristic enthusiasm, to extend its services to any part of Europe. The offer was accepted,† but it was not called upon to go abroad.

During the Irish Rebellion of 1798, the second battalion was actively employed, and, like other Highland corps stationed in Ireland at that unfortunate period, was distinguished for its "humane behaviour, strict discipline, and soldier-like conduct."

Referring to this time, General Sir Charles Ross wrote to Sir John Sinclair, as follows:—"I have repeatedly had occasion to express my satisfaction with the Caithness Highlanders, and my opinion of their merit, which was conspicuous on all occasions. At a very critical period they conducted themselves with invariable steadiness and propriety." Lord Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, thought highly of the regiment, for Captain, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, Benjamin Williamson writes to the regimental agent, Mr. Russel, of Frith Street, Soho:—"The Lord-Lieutenant told me he admired the appearance of the men, and that what he liked better, he heard the best report of their good behaviour on every occasion, and from every general under whom they had served."

During the year 1798, in common with many other fencible corps, both battalions of the Caithness Fencibles gave further proof of their loyalty and public spirit by voluntarily contributing to the national fund instituted to assist the public Exchequer, then very low. An amount of £200 was remitted by the second battalion alone, through Sir J. Sinclair,

* One of the Perthshire men who joined at this time, afterwards the author of a most interesting Journal of Campaigning experiences between 1797 and 1818 (published at Perth in 1842), was Serjeant D. Robertson, who volunteered (with many others) to the 92nd Gordon Highlanders in 1800, in which he became a Serjeant. His journal has been largely quoted in the late Col. C. G. Gardyne's excellent *Life of a Regiment* (Hist. of the Gordon Highlanders).

† This entitled the soldiers to pensions when disabled, the same as in regiments of the line. Officers at that time, and for many years later, had no disability pensions.

made up of four days' pay from the men, and one week's pay from the officers.

Both battalions were remarkable for their character and conduct, which was only in keeping with that of other fencible regiments raised from the Highlands. They were also fortunate in having such excellent officers as Lieut.-Colonel Rae of the first, and Lieut.-Colonels Fraser and Williamson of the second battalion, all three of whom well understood the peculiarities, habits and dispositions of their men. In the case of the second battalion its excellence was all the more praiseworthy, as from the nature of their duties in Ireland, and state of that country, the men were often on detachment, frequently away from the control of their officers, and thus left very much to themselves; yet this made no difference, and nothing that could be called a crime ever occurred. Courts-martial, at a time when these were held for almost trifling offences, were few and punishments slight. For neglects and minor infringements of discipline the soldiers of the delinquent's company were generally called upon to bring the offender to account, to award some slight punishment, and keep a sharp eye over him afterwards. This mode prevailed in many Highland regiments in the old days, and with the happiest effects. Sir John Sinclair's custom was, if possible, to make persuasion do the work of fear. "Our Lieutenant-Colonel," narrates an old serjeant, "was a strict disciplinarian. When any of us did wrong, he showed us the 'Articles of War'; but the Colonel himself spoke to us in private. He told us what disgrace we were bringing on him, on our wives and families, and on our country; and threatened to expose us where we should least wish our faults to be known. Many a man would have chosen the 'black-hole' before a lecture from Sir John."

In 1799, the Government resolved on disbanding all fencible regiments whose services were limited to Great Britain, and, in consequence, the first battalion of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, then quartered in the North of England, marched to Edinburgh, the first division arriving there on the 1st May. Here it was disbanded on Bruntsfield Links, on the 6th May of that year.

The results of proper attention to the comforts of the men, coupled with a humane system of discipline, too often unknown in those days, were well manifested on this occasion. Although the battalion came by forced marches from Sunderland (the distance from Berwick to Edinburgh, 55 miles, being covered in three days), in very bad weather, not a soldier was unfit for duty. When Major-General Vyse called for a list of the sick, the adjutant replied that his list was a blank; there was not one sick man in the whole battalion. This was a most unusual state of affairs for that time, and much commented upon. Every individual came forward in person and delivered up his arms and equipment.

Shortly before this, Sir John Sinclair had obtained a Supplementary letter of service, authorising him to augment his second battalion from 600 to 1,000 effective men, under the designation of "Caithness Highlanders" (the old name, however, still stuck to the corps), with a second Lieutenant-Colonel and other officers in proportion.

Every exertion had now to be made, to enable this augmentation to be carried out successfully, and the second Lieutenant-Colonel, Benjamin Williamson (of a Caithness family), a most capable officer, was ordered to proceed to Scotland to supervise the recruiting for the re-organised battalion, which was to be completed by August, 1799. Sir John Sinclair, however, with characteristic energy, took an active part in the matter. He hoped to obtain many of the men required (over 500) from his first battalion, about to be disbanded.

In order to attract favourable attention to his second battalion, he circulated leaflets both among the soldiers of his first battalion, in Caithness, and in other parts of Scotland, giving a full description of the conditions, and services required of it. He also issued a "Recruiting Card." This latter was not at that time altogether unknown, and indeed, may have been made use of by him when forming his first and second battalions. Always thorough in his methods, Sir John Sinclair appears to have commissioned the Edinburgh miniaturist and etcher, John Kay (the originator of *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*), to execute a drawing for this card, showing the uniform of his corps. One of these cards, a curiosity to-day, was discovered recently by the writer, and is reproduced here. On one side appears a carefully-drawn representation, neatly coloured by hand, of an officer in full regimentals, and is signed "J.K. 1799." It is of interest as giving clear details of the uniform, which, with the exception of some minor differences, agrees with the plate of the regiment to be found in Vol. II (1801) of the *British Military Library*, and also the well-known painting of Sir John Sinclair by Raeburn, which now hangs in the Royal Scottish Academy. † Whether the figures on all the cards were coloured is not known. On the reverse side of the card are printed the words "CAITHNESS HIGHLANDERS" —Sir John Sinclair Colonel—For the Service of Ireland Only—Bounty TEN GUINEAS—A Highland Plaid* to all Spirited Volunteers—To be Assembled in the Month of August—God Save the King."

It is said that Sir David Wilkie, when a boy in his father's manse in Fife, was so delighted at seeing one of these cards, sent by Sir John to his father, that he "was constantly drawing copies of the little coloured figure on it," and that this led to his artistic talents being discovered, and to his adopting the profession in which he afterwards became so celebrated.

On the disbandment of his first battalion, Sir John Sinclair's hopes were more than fully realised, when over half the men (about 350) volunteered into the second. This very creditable state of affairs was almost entirely due to Sir John's own personality, added to his great popularity. Referring to this occasion, a military correspondent afterwards wrote to Sir John—"I entertain the greatest respect for your character, from

† There is a copy in the Town Hall at Wick.

* The "Breacan-guaille," or Shoulder (Cross) Plaid—not fastened at the shoulder by a brooch—and also the sporan or purse, was worn by all ranks when in review order, just as in Kilted Corps the Belted Plaid ("Breacan feile") with purse was the full dress. On their disbandment, the men were allowed to take part of their uniform away with them, including the plaid, which was still in general use among the country people in the north, and valued as an article of wear.



CAITHNESS HIGHLANDERS

Sir John Sinclair Colonel

(FOR THE SERVICE OF IRELAND ONLY)

Bounty **TEN GUINEAS.**

A Highland Plaid *to* all Spirited Volunteers

To be Assembled in the Month of August.

God save the King

no. 1000
ANNEXURE 1

having been a witness, a few years ago, to your regiment re-enlisting under your banner as soldiers, and that too, at a period when they were tempted by numberless recruiting officers with higher bounties.”

Owing to the excellence of Sir John Sinclair's recruiting arrangements, the remainder of the men required to complete the augmentation, about 200, were soon obtained. The new force, amounting to 526 recruits, after being assembled in August, 1799, joined the battalion in the south of Ireland in the following December.

On the way they were inspected in Dublin by Major-General Sir J. H. Craig, when they received the marked approbation of that strict disciplinarian, and accurate judge of the qualities necessary to good soldiers.

While stationed at Cork, the battalion was inspected early in 1800, by General Lake, when an incident, somewhat similar to that on the disbandment of the first battalion, took place. There was scarcely a man on the sick-list, and the General declared that although he had often heard before of regiments 1,000 strong, he had never seen one till that day.

In June, 1800, the Government encouraged fencibles to volunteer into the line, when 4 officers and 220 of the Caithness Highlanders joined the 79th and 92nd Highlanders, a greater number than was furnished by any other fencible battalion. At various other times, men of the regiment had volunteered to the 42nd, 78th, and other corps.*

The men of the Caithness Fencibles, as in other Highland Corps at that time, were in the habit of stinting and underfeeding themselves in order to save as much as they could out of their pay, formerly 6d. a day (increased in 1797 to 1s.). This trait in the Highland (and Scottish) soldier's character is duly noticed by General Stewart of Garth and other writers on these regiments. Sir John Sinclair and his officers had frequently to exert their authority to prevent this being carried to excess. Part of the money saved was usually remitted at intervals to relatives and even friends, the remainder being held in store against the time when they should be disbanded. It is said that some of the soldiers of this corps (more especially the second battalion) on their reduction, had amassed sums of no less than £100 to £120 during its period of service. This was in marked contrast to the thriftless ways of the ordinary British soldier of that day.

After over six years' service in Ireland, where it was distinguished for its excellent conduct and remarkably good state of health,§ the Caithness Highlanders returned to Scotland, and after being inspected by General Sir Alexander Don, was disbanded at Glasgow in July, 1802.

* Among men of this battalion, who afterwards distinguished themselves in other regiments, was Piper Kenneth Mackay, a native of Tongue, Sutherland, who joined the 79th Cameron Highlanders in 1802. For his gallant conduct at Waterloo, Mackay received a Testimonial from the Highland Society, of which Sir John Sinclair was then President. The latter brought Mackay's gallantry to the notice of King George III, who presented him with a silver-mounted set of Pipes, and also saw that he was awarded a suitable pension.

Sir John Sinclair's close supervision and judicious management of both battalions of his regiment was only characteristic of him, and had much to do with their efficiency and steady discipline, so commented upon by every inspecting officer and noticed in the many civil testimonials received. His interest, moreover, in the men and officers did not end with their reduction, or leaving the corps. Many letters were until recently preserved in his family, not models of style, but breathing the warmest gratitude, from individuals whom he had assisted to independence and even wealth. One or two examples may be given. Serjeant Sinclair, one of the volunteers to the 42nd, distinguished himself at the Battle of Alexandria, in 1801, where he captured a French Eagle. As soon as his late Colonel heard of it, he solicited the Commander-in-Chief to bestow an ensigncy on this meritorious soldier. The application was granted, and Sir John Sinclair had afterwards the satisfaction of recommending the ensign to a lieutenancy. Another, Serjeant Alex. Waters, a native of Caithness, who had volunteered to the 78th, or Ross-shire Buffs, obtained an ensigncy on his former Colonel's recommendation, for having (when in the 2nd Battalion of that regiment) carried off, in the face of the enemy, a wounded officer at the disastrous affair of El Hamet, in Egypt, 1807. A third case was that of a young man named Fraser, of poor parents in Caithness, upon whom Sir John Sinclair had bestowed an ensigncy in his fencibles. On the reduction, he obtained a cadetship for him in the East India Company's engineers, and also advanced the sum necessary for his equipment and passage to India. Fraser soon remitted the loan, distinguished himself as one of the Company's ablest officers, amassed a large fortune, and eventually returned home, where he bought three estates in Caithness, Oxfordshire, and Berkshire. While he lived, he "never ceased to remember Sir John Sinclair's generosity to his family and himself."

THE BATTLE OF WARBURG—A BALLAD.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY SIR CHARLES H. FIRTH.

The Battle of Warburg was fought on 31 July, 1760, and is related in detail by Sir John Fortescue—*History of the British Army*, Vol. II, pp. 507-12.

The Allies were commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick. The 'Sperkins' of verse 2 was the Hanoverian General von Spörcke. 'Buckland'—verse 3—should be 'Beckwith,' *i.e.* colonel, afterwards Major-General John Beckwith (father of Sir George, and of Sir Thomas Sydney Beckwith). According

§ During seven years of service, part of which time it was 900 and 1,000 strong, the number of deaths in this battalion was only 2 officers and 37 n.c.-officers and men, not amounting to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a man out of every 100 each year. This was at a time when mortality in the army was relatively high.

to the 'D.N.B.,' John Beckwith commanded the 20th regiment at the Battle of Minden, and the brigade of Grenadiers and Highlanders in the 'Seven Years' War.'

The original of this ballad is in the 'Madden' Collection at Cambridge—Slip Songs, Vol. I. No. 102.

Come all you jolly Britons of every degree,
And listen to my Story, and you shall plainly see,
It's of the British Volunteers, that never fear'd their foe,
Commanded by brave Brunswick, that valiant man you know.

On the 31st of July, the morning being clear,
We esp'd a flying army belonging to Monsieur,
At one o'clock we fir'd a shot, and they return'd the same,
It's now, my boys, says Sperkins, this begins the game.

There's Buckland's grenadiers, my boys, that's faced up with green,
Commanded by Captain Robinson, as it was plainly seen:
They took the lofty hills, my boys, before the French army,
And in three hours time, my boys, we gain'd the victory.

Then up comes three battalions, the French king being nigh,
Crying out Victory, we'll make you English fly,
We gave them such smart vollies, which made them for to rue,
They turn'd their backs upon us, and cried out Morblieu!

Full thirty-five thousand we fought that very day,
Of the best troops they had in France, we show'd them British play;
And we no more than eight thousand engag'd of our army,
And in three hours time, my boys, we gain'd the victory.

The ground was covered with wounded and with slain,
Ten thousand of the finest troops lay bleeding on the plain;
The rest of them they ran away, as fast as they could hie,
But soon they were pursu'd, my boys, by the British cavalry.

Near the plains of Warburg, the truth to you I tell,
Our cavalry catch'd them near the river Mell;
And with their glitt'ring swords they cut and slash'd away,
Lord Sackville don't command us, the cavalry did say.

At Warburg on the plain, my boys, the battle it begun,
And about the hour of four o'clock the battle it was done:
So here's a health to the Grenadiers, that was not afraid to stand,
The French to fight was our delight, when Granby gave command.

So here's a health to King George, my boys, our sovereign Majesty,
Likewise to all his forces that was in Germany;
For they were men of honour, my boys, they were not afraid to stand,
But they will fight until they die for the sake of old England.

Here's a health to the Prince of Brunswick, likewise to Ferdinand,
Also to Lord Granby, for he's a soldier's friend;
Give him a broad sword in his hand, as I the truth may tell,
And with the British forces he'll drive the French to Hell.

Here's a health unto delight, my boys, likewise to brave Maxwell,
Who in the field of battle behav'd themselves so well,
Also to our noble officers that in the field do stand,
The French to fight was our delight, when e'er they gave command.

[The Editor suggests that 'Buckland' in verse 3 *may* have been Lieut.-General Maurice Boeland, Colonel of the 11th Foot, whose

facings were 'full green,' and in which regiment Captain George Robinson was serving in 1760.

"The Grenadier Company of the Eleventh had six men killed, twenty-one wounded, and six missing" in this battle. (*Cannon's Historical Record*, p. 37.)

Maxwell, in the last verse, may have been Major John Maxwell, of the 20th Foot, and the word 'delight' in the first line of the verse seems to be a misprint for somebody's name.]

REVIEWS.

A GREATER THAN NAPOLEON—SCIPIO AFRICANUS. By Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd. Edinburgh and London. 1926. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 282. *port. maps.*

This book is a valuable contribution to military history, and the challenge in its title will doubtless call attention to a neglected field of study which was familiar to and valued by a generation now passed away. Little has been heard of late years of the campaigns of Hannibal, and Scipio, Hannibal's conqueror, is to many of us only the shadow of a memory. Captain Liddell Hart's picture of the great Africanus, therefore, is welcome, though drawn by an over partial hand. Many may disagree with the author's comments, but no one can deny the clearness of his facts or the interest of the narrative into which they are woven. The following sketch of Scipio's life will indicate the scope of the book.

Publius Cornelius Scipio was born (235 B.C.) in the illustrious family of the Cornelii, a family of soldiers. We first hear of him when seventeen years old as saving his father's life in the battle of the Ticino and gaining the Civic Crown in the beginning of the Second Punic War. Then two years later he was a military tribune, and escaping the slaughter of Cannæ, he broke up a conspiracy of unworthy young patricians about to abandon Rome and seek fortune elsewhere; but his life's work began (210 B.C.) when he was appointed pro-consul in Spain, where his father and uncle had both been killed when in command of the Roman armies. Three Carthaginian armies were stationed, one near Gibraltar, one at the mouth of the Tagus, and one near the site now occupied by Madrid. They were based on New Carthage, the only Spanish harbour in the Mediterranean, where most of their money, their war stores, and their Spanish hostages were collected. There were, however, barely one thousand trained soldiers in the garrison, and the large civil population was unused to war. Rome only held the north-east corner of the Peninsula, behind the Ebro, and it was here that Scipio landed with 28,000 infantry and 2,800 cavalry.

Having spent the winter in preparations, he crossed the Ebro in the spring of 209 B.C., and then in seven days' strenuous marching was

before New Carthage, where his fleet—for he had command of the sea—arrived simultaneously. He then carried the city by assault, and this vital blow was struck at the Carthaginian power without their armies having made any attempt to prevent it.

Success then waited upon Scipio. Having consolidated his position and by his policy and personal fascination having detached most of the Spaniards from the Carthaginian alliance, he defeated the field armies in two pitched battles—Boecula and Ilipa. Thus after a campaign lasting four years from his landing in Spain, he drove the Carthaginians out of the country, leaving the Atlantic port of Gades (modern Cadiz) as their sole possession in the Peninsula. He also succeeded in making a life-long friend of the Numidian prince Massinissa and detaching him from Carthage; but failed in a similar attempt with Syphax, the Massisillian king, although he made an hazardous journey into Africa for the purpose. On his return to Spain he quelled an insurrection of Spaniards and a dangerous mutiny in his own army.

After his magnificent services Scipio became a power in the state, and persistently urged on the Senate that Carthage should be attacked; but he was bitterly opposed by a party led by Fabius Cunctator, who, although he had himself done the state good service, seems to have been morbidly jealous of the younger man.

In 205 B.C. Scipio was elected consul, Sicily being his province, where he busied himself in preparations for a descent on Carthage, of which however, the Senate had not yet approved. Meanwhile Hannibal, after the disasters of the destruction of Capua, the punishment of Tarentum and his brother's defeat and death at the Metaurus, was holding grimly on to the mountainous country about the toe of Italy. Here the small town of Locri having fallen into Roman hands, Hannibal determined to retake it by a surprise attack, but was foiled by Scipio, who, slipping over from Sicily with a superior force, frustrated the attempt. Nevertheless he was furiously attacked in the Senate for quitting his province without permission, and his good name also suffered from his association with a miscreant, one Quinctus Pleminius, whom he had placed in command at Locri. Furthermore, owing to his known predilection for literature and art, he was stigmatised by his enemies as one forgetting his military duties in the intoxication of Greek culture. But the report of a military commission sent to investigate affairs in Sicily turned the tables on his accusers, and in the spring of 204 B.C. he, with the full consent of the Senate, landed in Africa with 30,000 infantry and 2,700 cavalry.

His first act was to lay siege to Utica, a city on the coast fifteen miles to the north of Carthage and with the aid of Massinissa he defeated a Carthaginian force sent to raise the siege, clearing the surrounding country of all supplies. The Carthaginians displayed a fine fighting spirit, and with a still larger force, collected by their general Hasdrubal Gisco and reinforced by Syphax, compelled Scipio to raise the siege and retire to an entrenched camp, Castra Cornelia, where he would be sup-

ported and provisioned by his fleet. The camps of Hasdrubal and Syphax were close together and about six miles inland from Castra Cornelia.

During the following months, either with the intention of gaining over Syphax or merely for the sake of espionage, Scipio's emissaries were for ever coming and going between the hostile camps, and eventually he learnt so much of their position and construction that he was enabled in a night attack to set both camps on fire and destroy or disperse the forces of the Allies. The indomitable Hasdrubal, however, again collected an army only to be again defeated, and Carthage was obliged to sue for terms. They were granted a truce, and whilst negotiations were in progress Hannibal crossed over from Italy and established himself on the coast at Hadrimentum, eighty miles south of Carthage, where he remained during the winter of 203 B.C. with 24,000 men. An opportunity of capturing some Roman shipping and supplies then induced the Carthaginians to break the truce and to undertake certain inconclusive operations against Scipio's fleet.

Scipio at once marched up the Valley of the Baradas, one of the chief sources of supply to the city of Carthage; and thus regained touch with Massinissa, whom an urgent message recalled from Numidia. In obedience to his Senate, Hannibal followed Scipio up and the two generals came face to face at Zama, one hundred miles west of Carthage. Hannibal was much the weaker in cavalry but had a stronger force of infantry and eighty elephants. At the beginning of the battle these animals, thrown into confusion by a simultaneous blast from the Roman trumpets, disorganized the Carthaginian cavalry on either flank, who were at once attacked and driven from the field. Both Hannibal's flanks were thus laid bare. Then Scipio, extending his line at the expense of its depth, adopted enveloping tactics, and an infantry combat ensued with varying fortune until his returning cavalry fell upon Hannibal's rear with fatal effect. The Carthaginians were completely defeated, their city surrendered, and the Second Punic War was at an end.

Scipio was now thirty-three years old and at the zenith of his fame, and might have grasped political power, but he contented himself with loyal work for the republic as Censor, Consul or Prince of the Senate.

The history of the last years of this great soldier's life is unpleasant reading, full as it is of sordid political intrigue and base ingratitude. He died in voluntary exile at his country seat, 183 B.C., when 53 years old.

Scipio's life, of which the foregoing is a bare outline, is described in useful detail by Captain Liddell Hart, who never disguises the fact that his hero is for him a hero indeed. He has all our sympathies when he enlarges on his good qualities as a man, his steadfastness, his chivalry, his clemency, his noble freedom from envy and his frank recognition of a subordinate's services; but when reading the story of his unbroken success we feel that the work of others is ignored and that when praise, justly due, is given it is sometimes exaggerated.

Thus on page 270 we are told that Scipio "built for Rome an empire

which stretched from the Atlantic to the Black Sea and the Taurus Mountains"; while the map of the Mediterranean world, p. 202, showing the territories added to Rome during Scipio's career seems to infer that the expansion was entirely due to him. Africanus would never have made such a claim; he would have remembered Nero at the Metaurus, Marcellus in Sicily, Flaminius at Cynoscephalæ, and even the "crusted" old Cunctator himself.

Then again, surely no "outstanding genius" was required to recognise the vital importance of New Carthage in the Spanish campaign. The miracle is the apathy of the Carthaginian generals who, during the best part of a year, did nothing to render it more secure, while Scipio was allowed to get within striking distance. His preparations, his secrecy, his rapid marches, his investment by land and sea were all excellent, but he would have been a weakling indeed if he had not taken advantage of his opportunity.

We are further told that the storming of the city "has no parallel ancient or modern" (p. 255). Much is made of the fact that Scipio knew that the lagoon on the west was fordable at low water; but what strikes one most forcibly is not Scipio's knowledge of this fact, but the Carthaginian general's ignorance of it. Again, the burning of the camps of Syphax and Hasdrubal is called a "masterpiece" (p. 254), but what of the fatuity that allowed Scipio's spies ingress and egress for many days? (p. 131). It must be admitted that Scipio owed much of his success to contributory negligence on the part of his enemies.

Again, on page 253, the battle of Ilipa is said to be "without a peer in all history." This hand-to-hand conflict of some 40,000 men may have been the scene of "the highest development of tactical skill in the history of Roman arms"* (p. 253), but surely not in *all* history? Surely a sense of proportion is wanting here; what common denominator can we find for an Ilipa and a Blenheim, a Leuthen or a Marengo?

Lastly a word as to the title of the book. Scipio was perhaps the noblest Roman known to history, but was he greater than Napoleon? This question is debated in the last thirty pages of the work. Readers will judge for themselves, but in the present writer's opinion such a comparison is rendered futile by the 2,000 years' gap; and these pages are the least interesting in a book which can be read and re-read with great pleasure, a book which, it is to be hoped, will receive its just reward in a wide circulation.

LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE BENGAL ARMY. 1758-1834. Alphabetically Arranged and Annotated with Biographical and Genealogical Notices by Major V. C. P. Hodson, Indian Army (retired list). Author of *Historical Records of the Viceroy's Body Guard*. Part I. Constable & Company. 1927. 8vo. pp. lvi. 456.

Part I includes names from 'A' to the end of 'C.' The book is of extraordinary interest and contains information of the greatest possible value to the historian.

* Quoted by the author from Colonel Denison's *History of Cavalry*.

It should be on the shelves of every Library, and in the Mess of every regiment of the Indian Army.

Major Hodson is to be congratulated upon his excellent achievement.

THE DAY OF CONCORD AND LEXINGTON. The Nineteenth of April, 1775. By Allen French. Boston. Little, Brown, and Company. 1925. 8vo. pp. xiv. 296. *portraits. ill. maps.*

A most impartial account and, therefore, an interesting book, very fully annotated. The illustrations and maps are of great assistance to the reader.

REPORT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. May 17-18, 1926. Published by the Department of Public Archives, Ottawa. F. A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1927. 8vo. pp. 130.

Besides the Report proper, there are Historical Papers on

- a. Pitt's Decision to keep Canada in 1761.
- b. The letters of Sir Howard Douglas,* Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick, 1823-9 (he did not assume office until 1824).
- c. The rise and fall of Louisbourg.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN NEW YORK. Its Political, Social, and Economic Significance. For general use as part of the program of the Executive Committee on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Revolution. Prepared by the Division of Archives and History. Albany. The University of the State of New York. 1926. 8vo. pp. iv. 372. *portraits. ill. maps.*

This contains an excellent bibliography of works connected with the subject and many illustrative documents. Chronology of New York in the Revolution, 1765 to 1789, covers twenty pages.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the New York State Historical Association. Vol. VIII. January, 1927. Number 1.

Articles of especial military interest are:—

- a. The fighting around New York City in 1776. pp. 49-52. With illustration.
- b. Restoring Revolutionary Battle-fields. pp. 53-61. With illustrations and map.
- c. Garrison Orders and Proceedings of Fort Niagara. pp. 62-80. With illustration. The orders extend from 15 November, 1812, to 9 January, 1813. (*To be continued.*)

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Edward E. Curtis, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Wellesley College. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1926. 8vo. pp. xii. 224.

This is a useful book to any student of the period, especially chapter IV—'The Provisioning of the Army,' and chapter V—'The Problem of Transportation.' There are good appendices giving establishments of regiments, etc., and a full bibliography of works bearing on the subject.

* He received the Order of K.C.B. (Military) in 1840, and of G.C.B. (Civil) in 1841.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE—8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

133. A REGIMENTAL INSPECTION IN 1599. The description of the following incident is extracted from some family papers printed by the late Lord Claremont for private circulation about 60 years ago. In these papers Sir Faithful Fortescue gives an account of Sir Arthur Chichester, afterwards Lord Belfast and Lord Deputy of Ireland. The Earl of Essex was appointed Lord-Lieutenant in 1599, at which period Chichester was in command of a regiment, 1,200 strong. The extract is as follows:—

“ From Dublin he (Chichester) was sent with Regt. to garrison at Tradath (Drogheda). Within a short time after the Earle of Essex arrived at Dublin with the Gallantree* of England, and hearing much in praise of Sr. Arthur Chichester, and perfection of his Regiment, made a jorney purposely with his Gallants to see them, and Sr. Arthur having drawn his Regmt. up in a fayre field and exercised them perfectly (at which he was excelent) they being in close order, the Earle thinking to put a sally on them by breaking thorow them, charged at them with his Galant Cavallrie, but the Collonell (not being used to receive foyles) had so ordered his Pikes as they forc't the Earle to a carry coale,† and upon his wheele a saucie fellow with his Pike priekt his Lordsp. (saveing yr. reverence) in the arse, and made him bleed; so, he haveing enough of that smarting sport, he retreated, giveing the Collonell and his Regt. high Frayse.” J. R. J. J.

134. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. (Vol. II. 150; III. 56; IV. 59, 144; V. 208; VI. 58.) The sentences which here follow were given by Courts-Martial in the army of the United States of America in 1812/3. They are extracted from an article entitled ‘Garrison Orders and Proceedings of Fort Niagara,’ in *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, Vol. VIII. January, 1927. pp. 62-80. Fort Niagara was at that time held by the Americans. It was captured by the British Forces on 18 December, 1813.

- a. That he be chained to a wheel-barrow one week at hard Labour.
- b. That his ration of Whiskey be stoped for two weeks.
- c. To receive twelve Cobbs, on his bare posteriors.
- d. To weare a ball and Chain for 10 days; that he have the shoulder-knot he made to insult the N.C. Officer with, sewed to the back of his coat for the same time, perform police duty and sleep in the guard-house at night.
- e. Ten Cobs, one week at hard labor and confined to the guard-house at night during the time.
- f. To receive ten Cobs on the naked posteriors.

The earliest use of the word ‘cob’—a blow—in this sense quoted in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is in 1828. See Reply No. 233, p. 127. J.H.L.

The following is extracted from *Public Consultations*. Fort St. George, Madras. Friday, 25 August, 1769.

* Gallants, collectively; gentry, fashionable people. The first example of the use of this word given in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is dated 1606.

† Caracole. A half-turn, or wheel, executed by a horseman. The first example of the use of this word given in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is dated 1614.

GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT.

AMERICAN WAR.

What a Brilliant Prospect does this Event hold out to every Lad of Spirit, who is inclined to try his Fortune in that highly renowned Corps,

The Royal Marines, When every Thing that swims the Seas must be a PRIZE!

Thousands are at this moment endeavouring to get on Board Privateers, where they serve without Pay or Reward of any kind whatsoever; so certain does their Chance appear of enriching themselves by PRIZE MONEY! What an enviable Station then must the *ROYAL MARINE* hold,—who with far superior Advantages to these, has the additional benefit of liberal Pay, and plenty of the best Provisions, with a good and well appointed Ship under him, the Pride and Glory of Old England; surely every Man of Spirit must blush to remain at Home in Inactivity and Indolence, when his Country and the best of Kings needs his Assistance.

Where then can he have such a fair opportunity of Reaping Glory and Riches, as in the Royal Marines, a Corps daily acquiring new Honours, and here, when once embarked in *BRITISH FLEET*, he finds himself in the midst of Honour and Glory, surrounded by a set of fine Fellow Strangers to Fear, and who strike Terror through the Hearts of their Enemies wherever they go!

He has likewise the inspiring Idea to know, that while he scours the Ocean to protect the Liberty of OLD ENGLAND, that the Hearts and good Wishes of the whole *BRITISH NATION*, attend him; pray for his Success, and participate in his Glory!! Lose no Time then, my Fine Fellows, in embracing the glorious Opportunity that awaits you: **YOU WILL RECEIVE**

Sixteen Guineas Bounty,

And on your Arrival at *Head Quarters*, be comfortably and genteely *CLOTHED*.—And spirited Young *BOYS* of a promising Appearance, who are Five Feet high, will receive *TWELVE POUNDS ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE BOUNTY*, and equal Advantages of *PROVISIONS* and *CLOATHING* with the Men. And those who wish only to enlist for a limited Service, shall receive a Bounty of *ELEVEN GUINEAS*, and Boys *EIGHT*. In Fact, the Advantages which the *ROYAL MARINE* possesses, are too numerous to mention here, but among the many, it may not be amiss to state,—*That if he has Wife, or aged PARENT, he can make them an Allotment of half his PAY; which will be regularly paid without any Trouble to them, or to whomsoever he may direct: that being well Clothed and Fed on Board Ship, the Remainder of his PAY and PRIZE MONEY will be clear in Reserve for the Relief of his Family or his own private Purposes. The Single Young Man on his return to Port, finds himself enabled to cut a Dash on Shore with his GIRL and his GLASS, that might be envied by a Nobleman.—Take Courage then, seize the Fortune that awaits you, repair to the ROYAL MARINE RENDEZVOUS, where in a FLOWING BOWL of PUNCH, in Three Times Three, you shall drink*

Long live the King, and Success to his Royal Marines

The Daily Allowance of a Marine when embarked, is—one Pound of *BEEF* or *PORK*.—One Pound of *BREAD*.—Flour, Raisins, Butter, Cheese, Oatmeal, Molasses, Tea, Sugar, &c., &c.; And a Pint of the best *WINE*, or Half a Pint of the best *RUM* or *BRANDY*; together with a Pint of *LEMONADE*. They have likewise in warm Countries, a plentiful Allowance of the choicest *FRUIT*. And what can be more handsome than the Royal Marines' Proportion of *PRIZE MONEY*, when a Sergeant shares equal with the First Class of Petty Officers, such as Midshipmen, Assistant Surgeons, &c., which is Five Shares each; a Corporal with the Second Class, which is Three Shares each; and the Private, with the Able Seaman, One Share and a Half each.

For further Particulars, and a more full Account of the many advantages of this invaluable Corps apply to *SERGEANT FULCHER*, at the *EIGHT BELLS*, where the Bringer of a Recruit will receive *THREE GUINEAS*.

“ The Proceedings of a G.C.M. held at this place on Wednesday the 23rd Inst., on Lieutenant-Fireworker William Price West [Madras Artillery], and Mr. William Watkins, Cadet on the Bengall Establishment, for Desertion, are now laid before the Board, of which they are found guilty, and sentenced, Lieut.-Fireworker West to be cashiered in the most ignominious manner, by having his Sword broke and his Sash cut to pieces at the head of the Troops, and Mr. Watkins to be drummed through the Ranks with a halter about his neck, and that they both be confined till an opportunity offers of sending them from hence to England.

“ The Board approve the Sentence, and order that the same be carried into execution.”

Public Consultations, Monday, 28 August, 1769.

“ The President acquaints the Board that Lt. Col. Freischman had reported to him the very independent and disrespectful behaviour of Mr. William Price West when he was ordered out yesterday morning to undergo the Sentence of the G.C.M., who appeared dressed in a Huzar Cloak, with a Hatt the brim of which was cut round except a point like a Peake of a Jockey Cap, with a white Cockade in it; and a Cheroot sticking in his mouth. That he, Colonel Freischman, desired him to take the Cheroot out of his mouth, which he refusing to do, Col. F. struck it out, and ordered a Drummer to take the white Cockade out of his Hatt. That as soon as the Sentence was executed by breaking his sword and cutting his Sash to pieces, he in a most insolent manner pulled off his Hatt and huzza'd.” V.H.

135. RECRUITING POSTERS. (Vol. I. 119; II. 56, 99; III. 194; V. 36.) The Poster, which is reproduced on page 114, belongs to the Officers' Mess, Plymouth Division, Royal Marines, and is now reproduced by the kind permission of the Commandant. It is framed, and measures 17½ inches by 13½.

It bears no date, but as the title ‘ Royal ’ was not granted to the Marines until 29 April, 1802, it is obvious that the ‘ American War ’ referred to must be that of 1812-4.

The Newark printers, C. and J. Ridge, retired from business. *The Eight Bells* was situated in Cartergate, and was later known as The Royal Dragoon. It was closed many years ago.

136. LIGHT INFANTRY OF THE FOOT GUARDS. The illustration on the next page is reproduced from a print which belonged to Lord Dillon, President of the Society.

It was published in August, 1793, by S. W. Fores, of 3 Piccadilly.

The following extract from *The Origin and History of the First or Grenadier Guards*, by Lieut.-General Sir F. W. Hamilton, K.C.B. 1874. Vol. II. pp. 274-5, explains why these Light troops were formed:—

“ The use of light infantry troops had for some time been established in continental armies, and during the stay of the Guards at Dordrecht, towards the end of March, one light infantry company was formed, composed of picked men from the three battalions of the brigade, each battalion furnishing twenty-seven men; the officers were also selected from the service battalions, and the command of this company, which was attached to the Grenadier battalion of four companies, was conferred on Lieutenant-Colonel Perryn of the First Guards, who had already seen service in America, his place and those of the other officers being filled up by officers of corresponding rank from the battalions at home.

“ As the value of the use of light infantry in the field has from the year 1793 to the present time risen more and more in the estimation of the best judges of military tactics, till it is now considered by some to be almost the only mode of attack to be employed against the new long range weapons, it will be interesting to record what steps were taken in the First Guards, for its introduction. Nearly simultaneously with the formation of the above temporary brigade company while on active service, an order was issued in England, on the 10th of April, by the King's command, for raising four light infantry companies for the First Regiment of Guards, each of one captain, two lieutenants, two buglers, and 100 rank and

file, and two of like strength for each of the other two regiments. As many of the officers who were to receive commissions in those companies were then with their battalions abroad, the Duke of York ordered them to be relieved by others upon the first opportunity, and return home.

“The following were the officers selected in April for the four light infantry companies of the First Guards:—



LIGHT INFANTRY *of the* FOOT GUARDS

Four of these new raised Companies Embarked to join the DUKE of YORK in the Siege of VALENCIENNES July 9th 1793.

CAPTAINS AND LIEUTENANT.-COLONELS.

Lt.-Colonel Thos. Glyn.
 „ Hon. G. J. Ludlow.
 „ Will. Thornton.
 „ Duncan Campbell.

LIEUTENANTS AND CAPTAINS.

Rob. Cheney. Denzil Onslow.
 H. Clinton. Hon. A. Hope.
 Jn. Gosling. Hon. Jn. Broderick.
 M. Disney. H. F. Campbell.

“These companies were actively trained for their new duties under proper instruction at home, and in July two of those of the First Guards, and one from each of the two other regiments, were sent out to Holland.”

137. HELMET OF THE INNISKILLING DRAGOONS—1815. The Helmet, of which an illustration is here given, belonged to Major Henry Madox, The Inniskilling Dragoons, and was worn by him at Waterloo.

Madox—then a Captain—commanded the right squadron in the battle and brought the regiment out of action at the end of it. In the great charge of the



heavy brigade which overthrew d'Erlon's attack with four divisions, a musket bullet passed through Madox's helmet; its place of entrance and exit can still be seen, very neatly mended.

The helmet is made of black leather, with black Plume, and brass ornaments. It is the property of Mr. Aldridge, of Bath. E. S. JACKSON, Major.

138. REVEILLE. Sir John Fortescue (*History of the British Army*, ii., p. 19, note) states that the first use of the word *reveille* that he has met with in an English official work is in article 29 of the *Articles of War* for 1718.

An earlier instance, however, occurs in article LVIII of the *Articles of War* of 1673—

"No Victualler . . . shall entertain any Souldier in his House . . . before the Beating of the Revalles in the Morning."

In the 1685 code (art. XLVIII) the spelling is "*Reveilles*."

In the 1667 Scots *Articles of War* (X. iii.) a similar prohibitory clause reads "before the Dyenne in the Morning."

What is "Dyenne"?

H. BULLOCK.

139. THE HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY (CITY OF GLASGOW REGIMENT). These types, showing uniforms of different periods, are reproduced from small painted figures and are now published by the kind permission of The Editor of *The Highland Infantry Chronicle*. See plate facing this page.

"The figures are taken from a collection of painted wooden figures of types of the 71st, which owe their existence to a Mr. Goodwin." (*H.L.I. Chronicle*. Vol. XXVII. January, 1927.) J.H.L.

140. MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE. The coloured portrait issued with this Number is reproduced by permission of its owner, and of the Royal Society of Canada, in whose *Transactions*, Vol. XIX, 1925, it originally appeared.

"Quebec" Regiments, see *ante*, p. 39, can obtain copies for framing free of charge. EDITOR.

141. A SEDITIOUS HANDBILL. The original of this handbill, which was introduced into Barracks in 1797, is in the possession of Captain C. N. Robinson, R.N. C.F.

TO THE BRITISH ARMY.

COMRADES,

ARE we not men? Is it not high time we should prove that we know ourselves to be such?

Are we anywhere respected as men, and why are we not?

Have not wrong notions of discipline led us to our present despised Condition? Is there a man among us, who does not wish to defend his country and who would not willingly do it without being subject to the insolence and cruelty of effeminate puppies?

Were not the sailors, like us mocked for want of thought, though not so much despised for poverty as we are? Have they not proved that they can think and act for themselves and preserve every useful point of discipline, full as well, or better than when under the tyranny of their officers?

What makes this difference between a commissioned officer and a private or non-commissioned?

Are they better men? You must laugh at the thought! Do they know discipline half so well as our Serjeants? Don't they owe their promotions to their connections with placemen and pensioners, and in a mock parliament, which pretends to represent the people?

When we think of the people ought not each of us to think of a father, or a brother, as part of them? Can you think a parliament speaking like fathers or brothers, would treat us as we are treated?

Would they mock us with a pretended addition to our pay, and then lock us up in barracks, to cheat us and keep us in ignorance? Would they not rather consider the price of everything wanting for our families at least double our pay?

Why is every regiment harrassed with long marches, from one end of the

Types
of
the
71st



(BANDSMAN)
1845



(OFFICER)
1786



(N.C.O.)
1812



(PRIVATE)



(OFFICER)

country to the other, but to keep them strangers to the people and to each other.

Are we so well clothed as soldiers used to be? Ask the old pensioners Chelsea College, whether horse or foot? Ask them too, if it was usual when there were fewer regiments, for colonels to make a profit out of soldiers' cloathes? Don't colonels now draw half their income from what we ought to have, but of which we are robbed?

THESE COMRADES, are a few of our Grievances and but a few; **WHAT SHALL WE DO?** The tyranny of what is falsely called discipline, prevents us from acting like other men. We cannot even join in petition for that which common honesty would freely have given us long ago. **WE HAVE ONLY TWO CHOICES**, either to submit to the present impositions, or demand the treatment proper for men.

THE POWER IS ALL OUR OWN! The regiments which send you this, are willing to do their part. They will shew their countrymen, they can be soldiers without being slaves, and will make their demands as soon as they know you will not draw the trigger against them. Of this we will judge, when we know you have distributed this Bill, not only among your comrades, but to every soldier you know in any part of the country.

BE SOBER, BE READY.

A REPLY TO THE ABOVE HANDBILL BY THE MARINES.

" An Answer to a Hand-Bill found on the 21st day of May, 1797, in the Marine Barracks, Chatham.

" As we know not who you are that have taken the liberty to address us as Bretheren, but from the tenor of whose address we have every reason to disown as such—Yet lest ye might be led to imagine from our silence, that we in the smallest degree acquiesce in your sentiments; we consider it necessary for the establishment of our own honour, to reply to your several observations :

" You say, are we not men?

" We are men; we know it; and should the Enemies of our King, our Country, or Constitution (either Foreign or Domestic) ever oppose us, we will prove ourselves such; we should only lose our natural claim to the name of man did we ever in the smallest degree swerve from that fidelity and attachment which we owe to our beloved Sovereign and to our Country.

" You ask us, are we anywhere respected as men?

" Yes—we are not only respected as men, but by every good man regarded as the Protectors of our Country. If there are any class of men who hold us not in proper respect, we are well assured it is only those, who, lost to every sense of virtue, and blind to the real interests of their Country, endeavour to disseminate principles of Jacobinism and Sedition, with a view to destroy that Constitution and Government which have so long been the admiration of surrounding Nations, and to introduce a system of anarchy and confusion, by which alone their diabolical schemes of murder, rapine and plunder can be brought to bear; but we are united and resolved to shed the last drop of our blood in the opposition of such detestable doctrines, and such we trust is the resolution of all our virtuous bretheren.

" You say wrong notions of Discipline have led us to be despised.

" We as good Soldiers glory in proper Discipline, and in paying that necessary and proper obedience to the commands of our Officers, who treat us with all that respect and humane attention that every good Soldier deserves.

" We believe, and the Officers acknowledge, that Serjeants are a principal spring in the Military Machine; but that is no argument that the Army could act as well, or indeed could exist at all, without superior and commissioned Officers; they only form one of the gradations of rank necessary to the well-being of the whole.

" We place every dependence on the wisdom of His Majesty and Parliament for the amelioration of our situation, and we have every reason to be satisfied with their declared intentions in our favour."

" We know by experience that Barracks* are far better for us than Quarters, where a want of necessary conveniences for Soldiers used to cause us much trouble. In Barracks we have everything convenient.

" We acknowledge that a great number of our Brother Soldiers are harassed by long marches through the country, to prevent the base designs of the disaffected and disloyal, who endeavour to disorganise the Army, unhinge the Constitution, and strike at the very vitals of all good Government. And you ask us, that labouring under so many grievances, what are we to do? We briefly answer—Our Duty as Soldiers and not as Slaves, in protecting our King and Country to which we have bound ourselves, by a just and Voluntary Obligation.

" You desire us in conclusion to be Sober, to be Ready—We will be Sober and Ready, but it will be in the Opposition of all such invidious Endeavours to poison our Minds, and to make us throw off that necessary Obedience and respect to the just and legal commands of our Officers, whom we love and respect, and to the Chief of whom in this Division we have every reason to pay the highest degree of Veneration.†

" Cease therefore your vile endeavours to poison our minds, for we are too steadily attached to our Country, to our King, and to our Constitution, ever to be led astray by such absurd and wicked attempts.

" Signed by the Serjeant-Major, Serjeants and Corporals."

A REPLY FROM THE NORTH MAYO AND LIMERICK CITY LIGHT COMPANIES.

Fethard. 16 May, 1797.

" WE, the Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers and Privates of the NORTH MAYO and LIMERICK CITY Light Companies, possessed of Hearts glowing with every Sentiment of Loyalty and Affection for our most Gracious and much revered Sovereign King GEORGE the Third, and for the happy Constitution with which we are at present blessed; at this time when every exertion is made use of by the Disaffected and Designing, to Seduce and make Discontented His Majesty's most Faithful Troops, feel ourselves particularly called upon thus publicly to express our Abhorrence and Detestation of an Infamous Publication, industriously circulated and falsely insinuated to be the production of the Dublin Garrison; We also pledge ourselves, to prosecute to the utmost of our power, any Person or Persons that we may know, or hear to be guilty of publishing or circulating Seditious Paper, or any Person or Persons tendering illegal Oaths, being determined most firmly to adhere to the Oath of Allegiance, already sworn to by us; in consequence of which we now request our respective Captains will hereunto sign their Names, the above being our real Sentiments and unalterable Determination; We further request Col. Stewart, whom we have the honour of being commanded by, will have the goodness also to sign this."

REPLY BY THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK REGIMENT OF MILITIA.

" WE the Serjeants, Corporals, Drummers and Privates of His Majesty's 21st, or County Limerick Royal Regiment of Militia, having heard with concern, that several Seditious Means are using to Mislead and Decoy the Army of this Kingdom from their Allegiance to their King and Country, Unanimously Resolve, that we hold in the greatest Abhorrence such diabolical Schemes, and that we will use our utmost Endeavours to detect and bring to Punishment any Person presuming to tamper with our Loyalty in any Shape whatever, and for the better carrying into effect these our determined Resolutions, we do hereby offer a Reward of TWENTY GUINEAS to any Person who shall make known, and prosecute to Conviction, any Traitor so offending.

Signed by desire of the Serjeants, Corporals, Drummers and Privates of the Regiment.

ROBERT GORDON, Serjeant-Major.

Waterford, 19 May, 1797."

* The Royal Marine Barracks were finished and first occupied on 3 September, 1779.

† Maj.-General Harrie Innes.



MARINE CORPS.

WE the Non-commissioned Officers and Private Men, belonging to the *Light Company*, finding, to our great Astonishment, that evil-disposed Men have said the Discontent about Pay had arisen with Us, and by that Means throwing on us the BASE *Stigma of Disloyalty* to our *King and Constitution*: We hereby come forth to declare, and most solemnly Swear we are true to the Oath we have already taken, to serve our *King and Country*; that so far from taking any other Oath to betray that Service we have voluntarily entered into, We here publicly declare, *we are Individually most grateful for the Bounty we receive from Government*; that we neither *know any Person or Persons* in the Barracks, who are *Disaffected*, and also pledge ourselves to bring to our Officers, any Person or Persons who may endeavour to use any Means to make us swerve from that Duty it is here our Glory to avow.

SERJEANTS.

Robert Dalley
Francis Murphy
Richard Frodtham
H. H. W. Bray
Charles Old

CORPORALS.

Richard Lavis
James Dalby

PRIVATES.

Arthur Hutchinson
James Mulholland
Thomas M'Ellory
Owen Connor
Peter Healey
John Brenan
William Olliver
Thomas Connoll
Thomas Shaw
Benjamin Allport
Thomas Murray

Edward Sinnott
Robert Glafs
Samuel Officer
Patrick Carroll
Michael Carr
Dennis Donoghue
James Doyle
Andrew Larson
Soloman Perry
David Dixon
Daniel Woodward
Patrick Commiskey
James Ryan
James M'Guire
William Jenks
Thomas Forster
John Holmes
Patrick M'Donough.
Henry Blundell
Daniel Coffey

Michael Cavanaugh
John Kennedy
Charles Gorman
Neil Gelaspie
John Davis
Dennis M'Carty
Patrick Farley
William Anderson
John Marks
Patrick Shea
Michael Breman
Thomas Harvey
Edward Roberts
Isaac Simons
Thomas Smith
Robert Knight
Joshua Gregory
Thomas Lloyd
John Rabjohns
Joseph Garrison

QUESTIONS.

250. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. (Vol. II. 150; III. 56; IV. 59, 144; V. 208; VI. 58.) A letter No. 335, from *The 'Fugger' News-Letters*, 2nd series (John Lane. The Bodley Head, Ltd. 1926) mentions a punishment than which it is difficult to imagine anything more fiendish.

"Venice, November 15, 1588. They write from Naples that the Master of the Spanish Ordnance has been condemned to be torn asunder by four galleys for sending a boat full of powder and other munitions to the Queen of England on pretext of forwarding it to Spain."

Are other instances known of this form of punishment? J.H.L.

What was the nature of the punishment wearing "a ball and chain" which is mentioned in Note No. 134, p. 113, of this No. of the Journal? J.H.L.

251. QUEEN'S OWN TOWN. This place, now known as Finnis, is situated in South Australia about 34 miles S.E. from Adelaide, near the mouth of the Murray river. It was named after the 50th (The Queen's Own) Regiment of Foot, which was stationed in the neighbourhood in 1866-69, on arrival from New Zealand.

Some of its few streets are named after Officers of the Regiment who were serving in 1867.

NAMED AFTER

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Hamley Terrace. | Major (Bt. Lieut.-Colonel) Francis Gilbert Hamley. |
| Fyler " | Captain Arthur Evelyn Fyler. |
| Clarke " | " Montague de Salis M'Kenzie Gordon Augustus Clarke. |
| Turner " | Lieutenant George Henry Turner. |
| Fleury Street. | " William L. Fleury. |
| Allardice " | " George James Campbell Allardice. |
| Considine " | Ensign William Napier Considine. |
| Taunton " | " James Edward Doidge Taunton. |
| Owen " | Asst. Surgeon Owen Owen. |

Was the town built by the regiment?

Are other instances known of towns, or villages, being named after British Regiments? J.H.L.

252. THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE REGIMENT AND ITS REGIMENTAL MARCH. The Regimental March of the 1st Battalion—*The Kynegad Slashers*—appears to be an old Irish jig, one of many which are, more or less, the same. "The Slashers," a nickname of the 28th Foot, was adopted about 1765 as the result of an exploit in Montreal in December, 1764. (See *ante*. Vol. I. pp. 128, 137.)

Kinnegad is an Irish village in Co. Westmeath, about 10 miles east of Mullingar. The 28th was stationed at Mullingar from 1866 to 1867.

In 1796 a Corps of Yeomanry was raised at Kinnegad—The Kinnegad Cavalry—and in 1798 forty-eight men of this unit won distinction by the gallant defence of the village of Clonard, Co. Meath, against some 3,000 rebels, and gained the sobriquet of "The Slashers," and "a lively melody, still popular in Ireland, was named *The Kinnegad Slashers* in complimentary commemoration of the achievements of that corps at Clonard." (*Beauties of the Boyne and the Blackwater*, 1849; and Musgrave's *Memoirs of different Rebellions in Ireland*, &c. 1802. Vol. II, p. 66.)

The 86th Foot (The Royal County Down Regiment, now the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Ulster Rifles) is stated to have marched past in India about 1845 to the tune of the "Kinegar Slashers." Kinegar is in Co. Down. The 28th was often stationed in Ireland in its early days, and recruited very largely in that country. When the regiment first played the "Kynegad Slashers" as its march is not known, though it was certainly in use about 1867.

The march tune used by the 2nd Battalion of The Gloucestershire Regiment (61st) is named "The Hampshire," though known in the regiment as "The Highland Piper."

This is the official march tune of the 1st Battalion of The Hampshire Regiment, and is also used by the 2nd Battalion of the Essex Regiment.

The tune appears to be a Scotch air and there is a suggestion from The Hampshire Regiment that the words were "I'll gang no more to yon town," or words to that effect.

Robert Burns wrote two songs—"I'll aye ca' in by yon town" and "O wae ye wha's in yon town." The tune for these is given in Oswald's *Caledonian Pocket Companion*, printed in Edinburgh about 1750. It, however, does not resemble in any way the march tune of the 61st, or that of The Queen's Regiment which bears the title of "We'll gang nae mair to yon town."

James Oswald was music-master to George III and may well have composed this and other regimental marches. He is said to have revived the tune of 'God save the King.'

THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE REGIMENTAL MARCH. "Kynegad Slashers."



The air of *The Kennegad Slashers*, as given in Orpen-Palmer's *Irish Airs for the War Pipes*, published by G. Butler & Sons, differs considerably from this.

THE HAMPSHIRE REGIMENTAL MARCH. "The Hampshire."

The musical score for 'The Hampshire Regimental March. The Hampshire.' is written in 2/4 time and consists of four staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a dynamic marking of *f*. The melody is characterized by a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, creating a rhythmic and melodic pattern typical of a march. The second and third staves continue the melody, with the third staff ending with a double bar line. The fourth staff continues the melody, with a dynamic marking of *ff* and a first ending bracket labeled '1st' and '2nd'.

Further information is asked for concerning the origin and date of adoption of these two marches.

When was the Kinnegad Cavalry disbanded?

R. M. G.

253. **THE CLEANING OF FIRE-ARMS.** The two extracts here following are taken from the *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, by Franklin Hough, published by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, in 1883. They refer to operations in North America.

Rogers raised a force of 'Rangers' to serve with the British Forces.

13 June, 1756. "The next morning, about sun-rise, we heard the explosion of upwards of twenty small arms, on the opposite side of the lake, which we supposed to be a party of French and Indians, cleaning their guns after the rain." pp. 49-50.

January, 1757. ". . . and ordered the party, with the utmost expedition, to march to the fires we had kindled the night before, and prepare for a battle, if it should be offered, by trying our guns, it being a rainy day, which we effected." pp. 67-68.

What does this method of cleaning guns consist of?

Y.Z.

254. **'MARCH' AS APPLIED TO THE TRANSPORT OF TROOPS BY WATER.** The following extract is taken from the *Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, by Franklin Hough, published by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, in 1883. It refers to operations in North America.

June, 1758. "the whole army, consisting of near 16,000, embarked in battoes [bateaux] for Ticonderoga.

"The order of march was a most agreeable sight; the regular troops were in the center, provincials on each wing, the light infantry on the right of the advanced guard, the Rangers on the left with Colonel Broadstreet's battoemen in the center." (p. 118.)

Are other instances known of the use of the word 'march' in regard to the transport of Troops by water?

J.H.L.

255. **THE 11TH, PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR'S OWN, CAVALRY (FRONTIER FORCE), INDIAN ARMY.** This Regiment was formed in 1921, by the amalgamation of two regiments, formerly known as the 1st and 3rd Punjab Cavalry. These two regiments were raised at Peshawar and Lahore respectively, in 1849.

The Officers want to acquire pictures connected with these regiments, especially those depicting the uniform of Officers or men—1849 to 1902—either by purchase, or by having photographs taken.

Possessors of any such are asked to communicate with The Mess President, 11th P.A.V.O. Cavalry (F.F.), Sialkot, Punjab, India, stating

- a. The subject of the picture.
- b. Whether a print or painting.
- c. Its date and size.
- d. If willing to sell, and at what price?
- e. If willing to allow a photograph to be taken.

C. B. D. STRETTELL, Colonel.

REPLIES.

232. **PROVOST MARSHAL.** (Vol. VI. p. 58.) Letter from the Privy Council to the Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of England, dated 6 September, 1598. (Calendar of Acts of the Privy Council. Vol. XXIX. p. 132.)

'Uppon notice lately given unto her Majestic of diverse notorious and outrageous misdemeanours of certaine rogues, vagabondes and other dissolute persons that in some places not farre distant from London have committed such violences (even to the assayling and slaying of some of her Majesty's officers) as the ordinarie course of justice sufficeth not to suppress them, it hath pleased her Majestic to give order for the appointing of a Provost Marshall for London and for some of the counties neere adjoyning. Heereuppon wee have proceeded thus farre by her Majesty's commaundment as to cause as (*sic*) commission to be drawn for a Provost Marshall, to be signed by her Majestic, and certaine letters to be written by us unto the said counties to give them knowledge of the commission and to

require their service in the redressing of the said disorders. But because we do consider that this maie in some sorte appertaine to your Lordship's office of the Earle Marshall of England, and would by no meanes take any course herein that maie be prejudiciall to the right and aut(h)oritie of your place, we have thought meete to acquaint your Lordship herewith before we goe any further in the businesse, and doe praie your Lordship to certifie us both of your opinion concerning your owne particuler right and interest (in the ordering and executing of this service) by virtue of your office, as also in generalitie to give your good advise for our better proceeding herein . . . [further telling him of the occasion when Sir Thos. Wilford was made Provost Marshal in the year 37 Eliz.]"

Undated draft of Essex's reply to the above, in Essex's own handwriting. (*Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*. Salisbury MSS. Vol. VIII. p. 334.)

[1598—about 6 September.] "I have even now received your lordships' letters whereby you require me to deliver my opinion how the outrages and horrible misdemeanours done by the swarms of roguish and desperate persons may be met withal, and how far this direction or order that shall be given may concern my office of Marshal of England. To which two demands I cannot answer as I would, the council chamber of my poor mind being so ill affected at this present, and my books and papers which do concern my office being not with me. But to satisfy your lordships as well as I can upon this sudden, I think that the riding continually of some troops of horse that may scour all the byways near to London is the means to take these persons, and the holding twice a week of a Marshal Court the best way to rid those that are taken. The warrant for doing this must be under the great seal of England, and the persons that shall lead or command the horsemen that are sent abroad must be in the nature of provost marshals. The reasons that move me to wish these rogues and vagabonds to be taken and so rid by a Marshal Court, are that it doth agree with her Majesty's merciful and excellent government not to let her subjects die *sans replique*, as the Frenchman terms it, while her kingdom is free both from invasion and rebellion; that there is like to be better justice done and discretion used in the taking of men's lives by a Marshal Court than by every man that in a county shall be used as a provost marshal; and lastly, as it carries with it a form of civil justice as well as martial, whereby it will be thought less hard, so it will as fully and effectually meet with the inconvenience as if the provost marshal had authority to hang them upon the first sight. For mine own interest, I take it, under your good lordships' reformation, that all provost marshals in England are but subaltern officers under the Marshal of England, and that they owe account unto him, and he may be appealed to from them. Besides, the records of the Exchequer and of the Tower do prove that the Marshal of England, 12 miles about the Prince's person, is to judge all criminal causes and persons, and to command those judgements to be executed. The Knight Marshal, who is indeed but the K. Provost Marshal, and is called in France *Grand Provost de l'Hostel*, hath been used in those kind of services, and so have other men specially chosen by the Prince's commission, as in the 37th year of her Majesty's reign Sir Thomas Wolford. But this hath been in the vacancy or absence of a Marshal of England. For myself, I do assure your lordships faithfully, I neither have cause or humour to draw trouble to me, and yet I had rather endure a great deal than that such an ancient office of the Crown should in me lose his authority and jurisdiction. If her Majesty's commission be granted unto me to call and hold the Court, and pay given him for some horsemen, it will be easy for him to find men fit to go abroad, and conduct them. And so neither her Majesty's Marshal nor the country shall be charged with giving entertainments to provost marshals. I humbly crave your Lordships' favourable conceit of this sudden opinion delivered by him that when he had best health durst never offer you his conceit out of presumption, and yet now he hath worst will yield it to your Lordships for obedience."

On 9 September, 1598, a proclamation was issued against idle vagabonds and others pretending to be soldiers, to the effect that Her Majesty would appoint a provost marshal, to apprehend, and hang by martial law those who were not readily reformed. (*State Papers Domestic*. Elizabeth. Vol. 268. No. 54.)

The following references bear on this subject :—

1558. Sir Gyles Poole was a Provost-Marshall, apparently in London. (*Acts of the Privy Council of England*. 1556-1558. New Series. Vol. 6, Printed calcs., p. 370.)
1569. Mr. Highfield was a Provost-Marshall under Viscount Hereford. (*Calendar S.P. Domestic*. 1547-1580. p. 350.)
- 1582-5. Barnaby Googe, the hack-writer and poet (see *D.N.B.*) was appointed Provost-Marshall of the Presidency Court of Connaught about August, 1582, and was succeeded on 24 April, 1585, by Captain Francis Barkley. (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, Vol. III., pp. 141, 181, 241, 301, 361.)
1588. 4 October. Peter Crisp appointed Provost-Marshall of the soldiers pressed to go with Sir John Norris to the Low Countries. (*Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research*. Vol. I. p. 167.)
1589. ? 18 November. Humphrey Coningesby appointed Provost-Marshall of the County of Hertford. (*Calendar S.P. Domestic*. 1581-1590. p. 630.)
- „ 5 December. Thomas Nevinson, of Eastry, gent., appointed Provost-Marshall in the Lathes of Scray, Shipway, and St. Augustines with the City of Canterbury. (*Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the Finch MSS.* Vol. I. pp. 29. 1913.)
1597. Provost-Marshall to the Governor of Barwicke (Berwick ?)—William Bredyman. (*Acts of the Privy Council of England*. 1597-1598. New Series, Vol. 28. p. 192.)
1599. 13 August. The deputy lieutenants of Cornwall appointed the following as Provost-Marshalls for the divisions of Cornwall :—
Thos. Penrose for Penwith and Kerrier,
John Hender for Trigg, Lostwithiel and Stratton,
Wm. Coade for the hundred of East and West,
Gilbert Holcom for Pyder or Powder.
(*Calendar S.P. Domestic*. 1598-1601. p. 291.)
- 1600 George Newgent appointed Provost-Martiall at Ballishannon. (*Acts of the (circa) Privy Council of England*. 1600-1601. New Series. Vol. 31. p. 258.)
- 1600/1. 27 February. List of various Provost-Marshalls.
For Kent, Sir Thomas Waller.
Hartford, Mr. Rafe Connisbye.
Essex, Mr. William Smithe.
Surrey, Sir Thomas Morgan.
Middlesex, Sir Francis Darcy.
(*Acts of the Privy Council of England*. 1600-1601. New Series. Vol. 31. p. 188.)
1678. 24 October. “Thomas Lott, Eldest Sarjeant,” appointed Provost Marshal at Fort St. George, Madras. (*Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1640—1800. H. D. Love. John Murray, 1913. I. 438. *Indian Records Series*.)
- 1678/9. 6 February. Isaac Abraham appointed Provost Marshal, vice Thomas Lott, promoted Ensign. (*ib.* p. 438. *Fort St. George Public Consultations*. Vol. III. 6 February, 1678/9.)
1679. 21 July. Tillman Holt appointed Provost Marshal. (*ib.* p. 437.)

Among the instructions prescribed for the Provost Marshal at Fort St. George (*Public Consultations*. Vol. II. 24 October, 1678), was the following :—

“You shall preserve and keepe all manner of instruments for punishments in your custody, as Gyves, Sheekles, Bolts, Chains, Bilboes, Mannacles, Whips, etc., using them either in case of Judgement, or command from the Governour and Councell, or from the Justice or Justices of the Choultry, or from the Councell of Commission Officers.”

The following extract illustrates the punishments commonly inflicted:—

Fort St. George. Public Consultations. Vol. III. 5 May, 1679.

'Giles Scudamore, Elias Loyd, Henry Salter, Frederick Perdue, Charles Lacon, John Goldsby and Thomas Arnold, who run away from this Garrison the 3d of Aprill, and were taken at Trivelcore, and returned by force the 10th of the same Month, being called before the Councell and examined concerning the said fact, the Commission Officers being present, were sentenced to ride the wooden Horse for 3 daies, 3 hours at a time, and to serve 5 yeares de Novo, the first two yeares at 81 fanams per Mensem, and the 3 last yeares at the usuall pay of the Garrison. . . . And Giles Scudamore, Corporall, and Elias Loyd, Rounder,* being upon guard and having received the Word that night before they run away, beside the said punishment of rideing the Horse, shall be confined a Month in Irons, with allowance of Rice and Water, and forfeit that Months pay to the Honble Company. And Henry Salter and Frederick Perdue, private Sentinells, and John Goldsby, Gunners Mate, alsoe running away off their guard, beside the punishment of rideing the Horse, shall each of them forfeit one Months pay to the use of the poore, exceptnig 40 fanams apeece for Dyett Mony.'

H. BULLOCK.

233. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. (Vol. III. p. 56. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'cobbing' as "A way of punishing sailors," with a quotation of 1769:—"Cobbing is performed by striking the offender a certain number of times on the breech with a flat piece of wood called the cobbing-board."

Another quotation, of 1785, explains that "cobbing consists in bastinadoing the offender on the posteriors with a cobbing stick, or pipe staff."

C. James's *An Universal Dictionary*, 4th edition, 1816, defines the word thus:—

"A mode of punishment among soldiers for petty offences which are committed in camp, barracks, or quarters, and which is inflicted without the form of a court-martial. These trespasses consist chiefly in acts of indecency, filth, and dirtiness, which are more properly punished privately than exposed to the public. In this case some of the culprit's comrades investigate the matter, and a strapping with the belt or scabbard takes place." J.H.L.

234. BARRACK MASTER. (Vol. I. p. 135.)

1. The Barrackmaster-General's Department was instituted in June, 1792; the first Barrackmaster-General being Earl Cornwallis. In 1822 all barracks were handed over to the Ordnance Department, and the former department apparently ceased to exist as such.

There is much information to be found in Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*, Vol. I, chap. xii.

2. Barrack Masters existed in the Royal Marines as late as 1844, those of the first class ranking as, and wearing the uniform of, Majors. See *United Service Magazine*, May, 1844, p. 144.

3. The appointment of Barrack Master still exists in the Military Engineer Services in India, and is usually held by a Warrant Officer.

H. BULLOCK.

235. LEXINGTON AND CONCORD. (Vol. VI. 58.) The following statement is taken from a contemporary newspaper:—

Return of the Commission, Non-Commission Officers, Drummers, Rank and File, killed and wounded, prisoners and missing, on the 19th of April, 1775.

4th, or King's own Regiment. Lieutenant Knight, killed. Lieutenant Gould, wounded and prisoner. 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, wounded. 7 rank and file killed, 21 wounded, 8 missing.

5th Regiment. Lieutenant Thomas Baker, Lieutenant William Cox, Lieutenant Thomas Hawkshaw, wounded. 5 rank and file killed, 15 wounded, 1 missing.

* *Rounder*, a junior non-commissioned officer, who went the rounds and inspected the sentries.

10th Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, Captain Lawrence Parsons, Lieut. Wadd. Kelly, Ensign Jeremiah Lester, wounded. 1 rank and file killed, 13 wounded, 1 missing.

18th Regiment. 1 rank and file killed, 4 wounded, 1 missing.

23d Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Bery Bernard, wounded. 4 rank and file killed, 26 wounded, 6 missing.

38th Regiment. Lieut. William Sutherland, wounded. 1 Serjeant wounded. 4 rank and file killed, 11 wounded.

43d Regiment. Lieutenant Hull, wounded and prisoner. 4 rank and file killed, 5 wounded, 2 missing.

47th Regiment. Lieut. Donald M'Cloud, Ensign Henry Baldwin, wounded. 1 Serjeant wounded. 5 rank and file killed, 21 wounded.

52d Regiment. 1 Serjeant missing. 3 rank and file killed, 2 wounded.

50th Regiment. 3 rank and file killed, 3 wounded.

Marines. Captain Souter, Second Lieutenant M'Donald, wounded. Second Lieutenant Isaac Potter, missing. 1 Serjeant killed, 2 wounded, 1 missing. 1 Drummer killed. 25 rank and file killed, 36 wounded, 5 missing.

T O T A L .

1 Lieutenant, killed.

2 Lieutenant-Colonels wounded.

2 Captains wounded.

9 Lieutenants wounded.

1 Lieutenant missing.

2 Ensigns wounded.

1 Serjeant killed, 7 wounded, 2 missing. 1 drummer killed, 1 wounded. 62 rank and file killed, 157 wounded, 24 missing.

N.B. Lieutenant Isaac Potter reported to be wounded and taken prisoner.

Signed, THO. GAGE.

These figures and regiments correspond almost exactly with those given in the Diary (p. 61) of Lieut. Frederick Mackenzie, 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers, published by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1926.

Mackenzie took part in the Lexington-Concord affairs on 19 April, 1775.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

CAMPAIGNS IN PALESTINE FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Israel Abrahams. *The Schweich Lectures*. 1922. London. Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1927. 8vo. pp. xii. 56. *map*.

THE MILITARY GENIUS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. An Essay by Brigadier-General Colin R. Ballard, C.B., C.M.G. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1926. 8vo. pp. viii. 246. *maps*.

This is a book of extraordinary clearness, but it would be helpful to the reader if the year was printed at the head of each page, and if the maps opened clear of the text, and *always* horizontally.

The War is treated in 'Diary' form, and the 22 maps, clearly printed and dated, are excellent, the Unionist forces being shown in red, and the Confederates in green.

A TREATISE ON THE ART OF WAR.

(Continued from page 78.)

[NOTE.—A correspondent suggests that the word 'Jornes' mentioned on p. 73 *ante*, as 'not understood,' is 'Irones.' This, I think, is obviously correct.—ED.]

This being done in dyverse partes of the felde that the Kings comfortable wordes may be knowne to all men And the captaynes having knowledge thereof before, for because thei should cherishe their men with good meates and drinks. And then it shalbe mete for all men to blow to the Standard, and to bring their men in order of Battayle in suche a square as you thinke beste to fyght w^t.all & as the gronde will serve; most parte of men usethe at this daye the brode square, which is at the leste twice so many in bredethe as thei be in lengthe, which methinketh is verie good bothe for thoccupieing of many handes and also for the faire presence made to their ennemyes. Also the just [exact, as opposed to approximate] square is good, and when you have determyned how many men you will set in a Ranke Then must you first place the corselettes,* which in old tymes was called men at Armes on foote, for that they were better armyd and also were men of more force & experience than thother were. Wherefore thei had double paie more then any footeman had. I wold wish also that thei had rather close headpeces than others. Thes men at Armes, otherwise called corselettes, maie in no wise be mist [mixed. ED.] amongeste footemen, for if thei be, farewell the strength of footemen. And there must be also a sufficient number of them, for even as the wealth and strengthe of all horsemen consistethe in the men At armes on horsebacke, so dothe the wealth and the strengthe of all footemen lie in the men at Armes or Corselettes on foote, And if you have a sufficient number of Corselettes you maie not set them all before, but you must set ii or iij rankes of them behynde of your Battell lest peradventure you might have an onset behynd of yor Battaile. And besydes that they shall kepe in your men behynd from flying, And when you have placed a sufficient number of your corselettes before, which is at the lest v or vi rankes, then would I have one Rank of halbards or Bills armed with Corselletes yf it will come so to pass and in the saide ranke to place certayne ensientes. I would wishe that the Halbards Corselettes should have no lesse paie than the pyke Corselettes. Then if you have many Bills place a Ranke or ij ymmediately behynd the Halbards Corselettes, then pykes agayne, iij iiij or v Rankes, as it will come to pass. Then place Bills or Halbards agayne and sett the Kings Standard in the myddest of the mydle Ranke, And set other ensines in the same Ranke; then as you have placed your men before the Kings Standard so place them behynd his Highnes Standard. And some use to

* A piece of defensive armour, covering the body, and in a transferred sense, a soldier armed with a corslet.

The earliest example of its use in this sense given in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is in 1598, nearly 50 years later than the date of this MS.

set at thends of their ranks of Billes in the flanks ii or iij Ranks of Pykes lest horsemen should take the advantage and geve you the onset in the flanks. And when you have sett the Bodie of the Battell, then must you place your small shot, † both archers & Harkebusses. I would wishe there were as manie of thone as of thother And that there myght be one Ranke of archers and one othere of harkabusses, set over for the tyme of the Battell together. And you must have for the covering of the weake flanks two sleeves, ‡ for every flanke a sleve, and as many ranks of them as be in the flanks of the Bodie of the Battell, which sleve of shot in the flanks ought not to remove, but to abide still for the safeguard of the flanks. Then must you place them that must assaile your ennemyes at the first encountering; some use to place them abrode before the forefront of the Battell and so thei do advaunce themselves, somewhat before the Battell, and to shôte off at their ennemyes as often as thei myght retyre to the sides or ever that the Battell did joyne and then to greve their ennemyes with shot to thuttermost of their power as long as the fight doth endure, But the said smalle shot must beware that thei do not advaunce themselves to farre before the Battell lest peradventure thei myght be overthrown with horsemen. Some horsemen use at this daie to set within the first Ranke of Pykes one Ranke of harkebusses to shotte at every joyning of the Battell and othere, some useth it not; also some useth to place the shot, that shall assaile there enymes lyke two sleeves streight out at ij corners of the Battell. Thei must so be used that if you have Artillery by the flanks of the Battell, that then the saide small shot be no impeachment [impediment] to thartillerie, nor yet the Artillerie no impeachment to them. I would wishe the said small shot to be for the tyme of the fight one Ranke of good archers, and one other Ranke of harkabusses, And when ye have set the Battell of footemen in good arraie lykewise must the Battell of horsemen be set at the same tyme. The broad square is very good for horsemen to fight in & I would desier to have horsemen in dyvers and several Bandes to thentent that if one Bande were repulsed or disordered that then thother Bande might be readie to reskew at hand; I would wishe there were for every Battell of footemen two wings of horsemen which is a strength for the flanks of every Battell of footemen, and an occasion to take thadvantage of the flanks of the enemyes, when tyme is, But if you see that your ennemyes come with all their Battell in a front, and one Battell nere unto another, for that thei fere the power of their horsemen and that if their Battell went fare one from another, that you might take thadvantage with yr horsemen of all their flanks; wherefore in goeing in a frunte nere together with all their Battells thei shall cover bothe their flanks of their maine Battell with their vawarde and the rerewarde. Likewise is their Battell a covering and safeguard for the iner flanke of the vawarde;

† Troops furnished with hand fire-arms, as distinguished from artillerymen.

‡ *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'sleeve' as 'A body of troops placed on the flanks of an army, battalion, etc.; a wing or flank.' Obs. The earliest example of its use given is in 1574:—

"It remaineth that we do intreat [deal with] howe to make the sleeves of the harkabuzers and wings of the horsemen."

Also a coveringe of the Inere flanke of the rereuarde. And if your ennemyes do demeane them selves, then must you redresse your Battelle after the same sorte to incounter with your ennemyes like unto like, Battell to Battell, right wing to right wing, & lefte wyng to left wyng, which is the vaward of the rereward, And to set all the horsemen on the two uttermost [outer] sydes of all your battells without [outside] thartillerie, if you have any, in severall Bandes, to thentent that yf you be of the more power of horsemen then [than] thenemyes be of, that then your horsemen shall geve the onset on the flankes at the tyme of the joyning of the Battell, And if you have more numbers of horsemen then [than] be of your ennemyes, Then shall it be good to make mo Battells, to thentent that when you geve the onset upon the frunte of thenemyes, then those Battelles which you have above the number of the Battell of your ennemyes, maie at that instant tyme give the onset upon the flankes of thennemies, which is a great likelyhod of victorie; likewise the vauntage is to be taken amonge the horsemen; loke whether partie is the greater or more Bandes and kepe thmselves nere together, so that they mai give the charge or onset upon the frunte of thennemyes, likewise on the flanks both at one tyme; then is no doubt but to have victorie. In my opinion ther is no army of so great a force unlesse thei be thoroughly furnished as well with horsemen as with footemen

And if a Captaine of ii or iii hundred footemen be sent forthe unto thennemyes countrie to do any enterprise or for any convoe, yff he marche iij or v in a ranke, as comonlie men dothe use so to march, when thei be few in number for spedines of the waie and passing of stretes, for few men may not tarrie long in the ennemys countrie, Then yf it so happen that their ennemyes come so sodenlie upon them, so that thei cannot set their men in order of Battell, then yt shall be good for the Captaine to cast his Pykes in a Round Ring in the same order as they marched before, iij or v in a Ranke, And let him set likewise his Halbardes or Billes in a Round Ring within the said Pykes And the Standard or Ensiente in the middeste of the Billes. Then let him place also his shote within the first Ranke of Pykes round about the hole ring And if he se cause whie he maie put out some shotte to the skyrmishe, This done he shall be suer to make answeere to his ennemyes every waie, And his mens faces toward his ennemyes though thei were assaulted round. And this waie me thinkethe much better at the tyme of a sodayne, then to fight in a long range as men do marche.

In layenge siege to a town or a castell you must lay your army so that you may shytt [shut] in the Towne from all succours and Reskews. And yf you lie within the danger of the shotte of the Towne then must you cover your men with some hill between the Towne and them. Also you ought, if you conveniently maie, shytt the Towne in round with trenches of a sufficient depthe for the covering and saveguard of your men that shall bothe watch & ward in them. The trenches be made chefely for iij purposes; first that the men of the Towne shall not issue out of the Towne to agreve the Campe nether by skyrmishe nor by no alarm; Secondarilie that you mai approche the Towne nere with your

artillerie to make the Batteries* with all; And thirdelie that the Towne shall send out no worde to their fryndes of ther Estate nether to receive in worde from their fryndes of succour or reskew. Also the trenches ought to be manned so stronglie that thei shall not nede to doubt any assaute that might be made out of the Towne, And for the succour of every Trenche there ought to be laied some men in campe nere hand well covered with some hill to thentente that, if nede be, thei may spedely repaire to the trenches for the succour of them, for ofte tymes it hath been seene that men hathe been slayne and also taken out of the trenches into the Towne and the great peaces of the artillerie peged† & the small carried into the Townes which is a great dishonour to a campe and an army lying in severall campos aboute a Towne, as it is metest for the suere keeping in of the said Towne And also for keeping of succours and reskews from the said Towne as yt ys before rehersed. Me thynkethe then good that there be within every Campe or leager as the vawarde [of] the Battell and the rereward, ij places of assembly furnished with Artillerie for men to repaire to at the tyme of the alarm, one of the places towards the Towne and the other place of assembly to be towards the ennemyes, where ys most likeliest thei might come to greve the Campe, and to appoint the most number of men to repaire to that place of assemblie, where you thinke it most dangerus. Also at the tyme you make the Trenches nere unto the Towne, which commonley be made in the nyght, Then ought you to warde the labourers strongly, with men of warre, with thrice so many men at the lest as be within the Towne lest peradventure the men of the Towne should make asaulte upon the labourers as commonly thei will at the first approche of a Towne. Wherefore it is good at all tymes for the men of warre to put out good scouts between the labourers and the Towne to thentent that in no wise thei be surprised or sodenly taken, And when a Town is battered and breches made up, with their weapons in their handes, And if nede be to stand upon the breches and fight. Then some be of the opinion that the Towne is sautable, And other some be of thopinion that though the breches be never so faier and well made, yet if all the flankes be not taken awaie, eythere by battayle or by enymes, That then the Towne is not sautable.

Alwaies where breches be made thei would be made with expedicion and the assault to be given ymmediately after the breaches be sufficientlie made to thentent the Towne should not fortify against the breches againe and alwaies at the tyme of the assault all the whole army bothe on horsebacke and on foote ought to stand in order of Battell to thentent no Reskew should come to the towne for the tyme of the assault, And also to put the Towne in fere and [if] it chaunce thone hand to be repulsed from thassaute that an other shall be ready to gyve a new assault. I would desyer God that if it were the Kings Mats pleasure there were alwaies provision in a redyness for the defence of this Realm as an armyry furnished with harnes and weapons to them belonging for iiij thousand

* *i.e.* to 'batter in breach,' meaning a heavy cannonade of many pieces, directed against one part of a town wall or fort.

† Spiked.

horsemen, as well men of Armes as light horsemen And also for iiij thousand corselettes for footemen to be alwaies readie for any sodayne warre that myght happen, for suerly without good harnes and weapons a Realme cannot be defended. I do remember when Charles themperor† that now is in the beginning of his tyme made an army out of Spayne against the french Kinge to invade the countrie of Gascoyne, when at that tyme the Spanyardes were not so expert in the warres as they be now, by the meanes whereof there were some of them so without experience that themperor and his counsell perceiving the weakness of his men for lacke of harnes, made provision for a great number of harness & carriage for the same at themperors charge, mynding that yf a daie of Battell should have happened, as indede it did not, That then the said harness should have been geven and distributed, to the most worthy souldiers, And me thinks that the Venessians have made also a goodlie provision for the defence of their commonwealthe, because their cheife citie, which is Venis, standeth in the water and is forced out of the water. Therefore because the said citie might be damaged by water & in no waie else, I here saie thei have made such provision that thei have alwaies iiij hundred galles with all their necessarie furnytyr alwaies in a readiness which never floted on the water but be kept drie in a house prepared for the purpose, which house is called the Arsenall. And the charges of so many galleys is wonderfully great by the reason that the slaves that must row in them be bought for money. Wherefore I would not wishe that the Kings Majestie should be at so great charge for his Armory but I would wyshe his highnes should be at xx or xxx mli* charge with his armory to be alwaies in a redynes, what nede soever should happen, for that which a man hath he maie reken upon. And I have hard said that some diamande will cost as muche monye as all these harnes And truth it is such costlie jewells be mete for princes to have, and bothe dothe well bothe diamantes and harnes and weapons. And when a daie of Battell shall come that the princes life, his honour and his wealthe shalbe preserved, then will the harness and weapons show fairer than the diamantes. I would also wish, that three kynd of men should be advanced by a King, which iij kynd of men be only the supporters of a Kyng and his commonwealthe. And the names of thos men be the wise, The learned of God, And the men of warre, And thone of these cannot be without the others, And the Realme that is unfurnished of these iij kynd of men is conted both beastly and wretched. And cherish them and have them alwaies at nedde.

Thus will I ende my Rude and simple Booke wishing all good souldiers to be no more blooddie than the Lawe of Armes doth require, for then no doubt thei shall have long countynauce in the warres with good successe, And thus I shall most humbly desier your most excellent Majestie to pardon me of my Rudeness and Ignoraunce.

Your maiestys poure, and daylye subiecte

THOMAS AUDELEY.

WYLL GOODALL.

† Charles I of Spain and Charles V of Germany.

* 20 or 30 thousand pounds.

OLD ARMY CUSTOMS.

By LIEUT.-COLONEL A. WILSON, D.S.O., late 8th Gurkha Rifles.

It is somewhat difficult to write about old army customs, but as the late war has brought about so many changes, it seems only right to endeavour to recall the reason why certain things are done.

Up to the present day, the terms "Regiment" and "Battalion" have been almost synonymous in our service, the reason being that some regiments had only one battalion, whilst others had several, but these were never employed together as parts of the same unit, or even quartered together in the same garrison.

In early days, the company was the infantry unit, and when several companies served together under one officer, they were spoken of as "Companies under Colonel So-and-so's regiment," or rule, which expression was soon abbreviated into "Colonel So-and-so's regiment." The Colonel still remained a company-officer, but in practice his company was commanded by the next senior, who thus got the title of Lieutenant-Colonel.

At drill and exercise, all movements were made under the control of the Sergeant-major, who performed the duties now undertaken by the Adjutant. He was a commissioned officer, and was the only one who remained on his horse in action, for he constantly had to be moving about with orders, or seeing to the formation of the companies. After a time, his title was cut down to Major. Thus it is that a Major-General is now junior to a Lieutenant-General, for he was originally called Sergeant-Major-General, and naturally was under the Lieutenant-General. When the senior Sergeant was later given the title of Sergeant-Major, he wore, except for the badges, practically the same uniform as an officer and habitually carried his sword in its scabbard, for he too had a lot of running about, and never drew it, except to defend the colours or himself, therefore the present day Sergeant-major never draws his, except at the ceremony of trooping the colour.

Other sergeants were armed with halberds, and it is more probable that sergeants of the Indian army got their title of "havildar" from the word "halberdier," than from the Arabic "hawalah" (a charge) and "dar" (holder), as halberds were carried in the British army when Indian regiments were first raised. Halberds with battle-axe heads were not abolished till 1792, the pikes, which followed them, not till 1839, and their use is commemorated by sergeants always fixing bayonets, when acting as escort to the colours and also, as is within the memory of some still serving, by all sergeants handling their rifles in a different manner from the rank and file.

At first, every company had its own flag, on which was emblazoned the coat of arms of the company commander, for he generally enlisted men from his own estate to form his company, but as the army increased in size and all captains were not of sufficiently high birth to entitle them to a coat of arms, it was ordered that the company flags should be of different colours to distinguish them, and so the flags got the name of "colours." In the cavalry, each man carried a forked pennon on his lance, the object of it being that it could be waved in front of his opponent's charger's eyes to make the animal shy; each group of horsemen was called a "banner" and its commander a "banneret." To distinguish him, his pennon was cut square, and thus originated the forked pennons of our lancers and the square standards of squadrons and regiments.

At the time of the Crusades and for long afterwards, the clothing of the English soldier was white with a red cross upon it, hence we get the Red Cross, still worn by those who attend the sick and wounded soldier. Such clothing was naturally not uniform in pattern, as each man brought his own.

The first recorded issue of uniform clothing was that given to the Welsh spearmen in 1337. It consisted of a tunic and mantle, but unfortunately no record of its colour exists.

King Henry VIII was the first to clothe his body guard in red, which gradually became the chief colour of the British uniform, but it was not till Cromwell raised his "New Model," that the army as a whole was clad in red, each regiment being distinguished by facings of the Colonel's colour and often his crest was worn as a badge as well. The facings were really the lining of the coat, which showed when the collar, cuffs and lapels were turned back. Nowadays, only one English regiment wears a commoner's crest as a badge, the Duke of Wellington's, though three Scottish regiments do so, the Seaforth (Mackenzie), Gordon (Gordon), and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Campbell and Sutherland).

The Drum was probably introduced as a military instrument at the time of the Crusaders, for it is of a peculiarly Oriental nature, as is the trumpet, and from the combination of these two arose our military bands. They were used to mark the rallying point in a battle and to stimulate the courage of the warriors, as have been the Highland bagpipes from time immemorial.

The Swiss, in the early part of the sixteenth century, were a very military nation and provided mercenary soldiers in all parts of Europe. They were the first troops to march in step to the sound of the drum. Seeing that money was to be made out of the business of fighting, the Germans naturally were not long in following the Swiss example, and as they were more amenable to discipline, their services were in great demand by any potentate, who wished to settle any little difference with a neighbour, without disturbing his own subjects too much. From those Germans, or Almans, as they were called, sprang many of our army customs, for instance, the drumbeats at the beginning of a march, before

the other instruments join in, are said to be exactly the same as those used by the Almain, four hundred years ago; also the fifes, which were at first called 'Almain whistles.' The three volleys fired over a soldier's grave can also be traced back to the Germans, for when a man had been sentenced to run the gauntlet to death, after he was dead his comrades knelt and prayed for his soul and then fired three volleys in the air, in the name of the Holy Trinity. This at any rate is a more reasonable supposition for their origin than that the volleys were fired to scare away devils.

The salute is of still greater antiquity, probably dating from the Crusades, when European Swords had cross hilts. Before going into action, or on coming into the presence of a superior, the sword was raised to kiss the Cross and then lowered as a sign of humility. It is not stretching the imagination very far to believe that the salute on the march was making the whole sign of the Cross, before lowering the sword. The salute with the hand corresponded, at one time, exactly with the Arab salam of shading the eyes from the dazzling countenance of the person saluted, later, the palm of the hand was opened to the front, to show that no missile or weapon was held. The Turkish soldier still shades his eyes and keeps his hand up the whole time he is in the presence of his superior. The "present arms" with the rifle is a relic of holding out the weapon, with which the man was armed (pike, bow, or musket) in such a position that it could not be used. The custom of offering the sword, which still obtains on certain occasions in the Indian army, has a similar meaning, and also signifies that the wearer places his services at the disposal of his superior.

In some Indian regiments, when the recruits have passed their drills and are ready to join the ranks, they pile arms and are brought up in batches to lay their hands on the King's colour and renew their oath of allegiance. When all have done so, the colours are held up so as to form an arch, and then the recruits file underneath them, each man saluting them as he does so. They then take up their arms, join the ranks and are ready for any regimental duty. A similar ceremony, reminiscent of the Roman one of passing under the yoke, was practised by the Almain troops. The recruits on enrolment were marched beneath an arch of halberds, so that each could be individually inspected to see that he was fit and his arms and equipment were efficient, and possibly also as a token of his submission to authority.

It is said that most of the bugle and trumpet calls in use up to the Boer war were composed by that great musician Haydn. Afterwards a great many of them were changed; one would like to know with what object, also the name of the composer of the more or less unmelodious substitutes. Barrack calls, which have suffered the most, were never used in the field, so they could scarcely have been altered with the view of mystifying the enemy.

The term "rifle" as applied to a firearm, is somewhat obscure. It was at first spelt "riffle," and that with the way we have of substituting in words certain letters for others of somewhat similar sound,

may have come from "ripple," which describes the wavy or undulating appearance of the inside of the barrel, or the marks the grooves made on a bullet. Americans still use the word "riffle" for the "ripple" on water.

It is strange that there are no records traceable to show when the officers' mess was first started as a regimental institution. In a book, published in 1740, it is stated that in one regiment, the Lieut.-Colonel proposed that all his officers should eat and drink together, but this was not at all the usual custom, except on service or in camp, till about the year 1800, and even then it was by no means universal or obligatory, for all unmarried officers. It was not till 1872, that a special uniform for mess was ordered. It seems probable that messes, more or less as they are now, were instituted in militia regiments long before they were in the regular army, for officers, who were only assembled for a few weeks, would find a joint arrangement for obtaining food much more convenient than each fending for himself.

That the mess is a comparatively recent institution is borne out by the fact that the writer has long been interested in mess trophies, and has never yet *seen* a piece of plate, in the possession of any unit, which bears an inscription or badge connecting it with that unit, older than 1800, and has only *heard* of one older, dated 1792, and it belonged to a militia battalion, now disbanded.

It is probable that the troops of the East India Company in Madras were the first to establish officers' messes, for we read in Minute 14, dated March, 1754, by the Court of Directors, that "You are to make an allowance of five pagodas, or forty shillings, a day, to Colonel Adlercron, which we desire his acceptance of, to defray the expense of house-rent and for keeping a table for himself, the Lt. Colonel, Major and such other officers as he shall think proper," and further on it is stated that "The before mentioned allowances are only to put His Majesty's forces upon the same footing with our own."

A mess was established for the Cadet Company at Chingleput in August, 1801, and it was laid down that every cadet was to be a member of it, but messes, in which every available officer of a unit dined, were by no means universal till some time after the Peninsular War.

There are a good many terms in every-day use, which are traceable to the army (one could quote dozens of sea expressions). "Mufti," signifying civilian clothes as opposed to uniform, must certainly date from the Crusades, as it is an Arabic or Saracen term for ordinary dress as distinguished from that worn on a ceremonial or official occasion. So does in all probability the word "barrack" or "park," one being a corruption of the other, for this is the Arabic term for the formation of camels, when collected together for the night, as guns are parked, or soldiers collected in barracks. "As plain as a pike-staff" comes from the serjeants holding up their pikes to show the men the point on which to form. "To drink a bumper"—Bumper was the name for a leather jack or flagon, which was called after the bombard, an early form of cannon, made of leather, reinforced with iron hoops. "Stock, lock and barrel," indicating completeness, arises

from the fact that the different parts of the musket were accounted for separately on different pages of the equipment ledger. "Hoist with his own petard"—the petard was a sort of bomb, for blowing in the gate of a fortress, which in the days of uncertain fuses must often have done more harm to its users than to the object they wished to destroy.

To deal fully with regimental customs would entail a small volume in itself, and their origin must often have been lost sight of, even in the units where they exist, seeing how frequently the numbers, names and even territorial associations have been changed within the last two hundred years. In the Indian army, such customs have practically ceased to exist, owing to the more frequent and more radical changes, in personnel and constitution, for some units have had as many as fourteen changes in title alone, within the last hundred and forty years. The Indian Army List, till a year or two ago, used to give a list of these, below the present designation of each regiment. Now that small link with the past has been broken: evidently it is beyond the capacity of the compiler to cope with the alterations, and it is almost impossible for an officer who retired only a few years since, to recognise his old unit, under its present title.

The British Army List, for over forty years, has shown its former number against each infantry battalion, grouped under the territorial system, and, strangely enough, the Indian publication does the same for each British regiment serving in India, but there is nothing in it to connect the First Battalion 3rd Madras Regiment with the old Alcock-Ki-Pulton¹ formed by Captain H. P. Alcock in 1776, or the First Battalion 7th Rajput Regiment, with Broon-Ki-Pulton, raised in 1798 by Major G. S. Browne, which was known as the 2nd Bengal Light Infantry, for over fifty years. Surely such things are worth the little trouble they would entail in perpetuating, if only for the sake of keeping alive "esprit de corps."

THE KING'S MARSHALMEN.

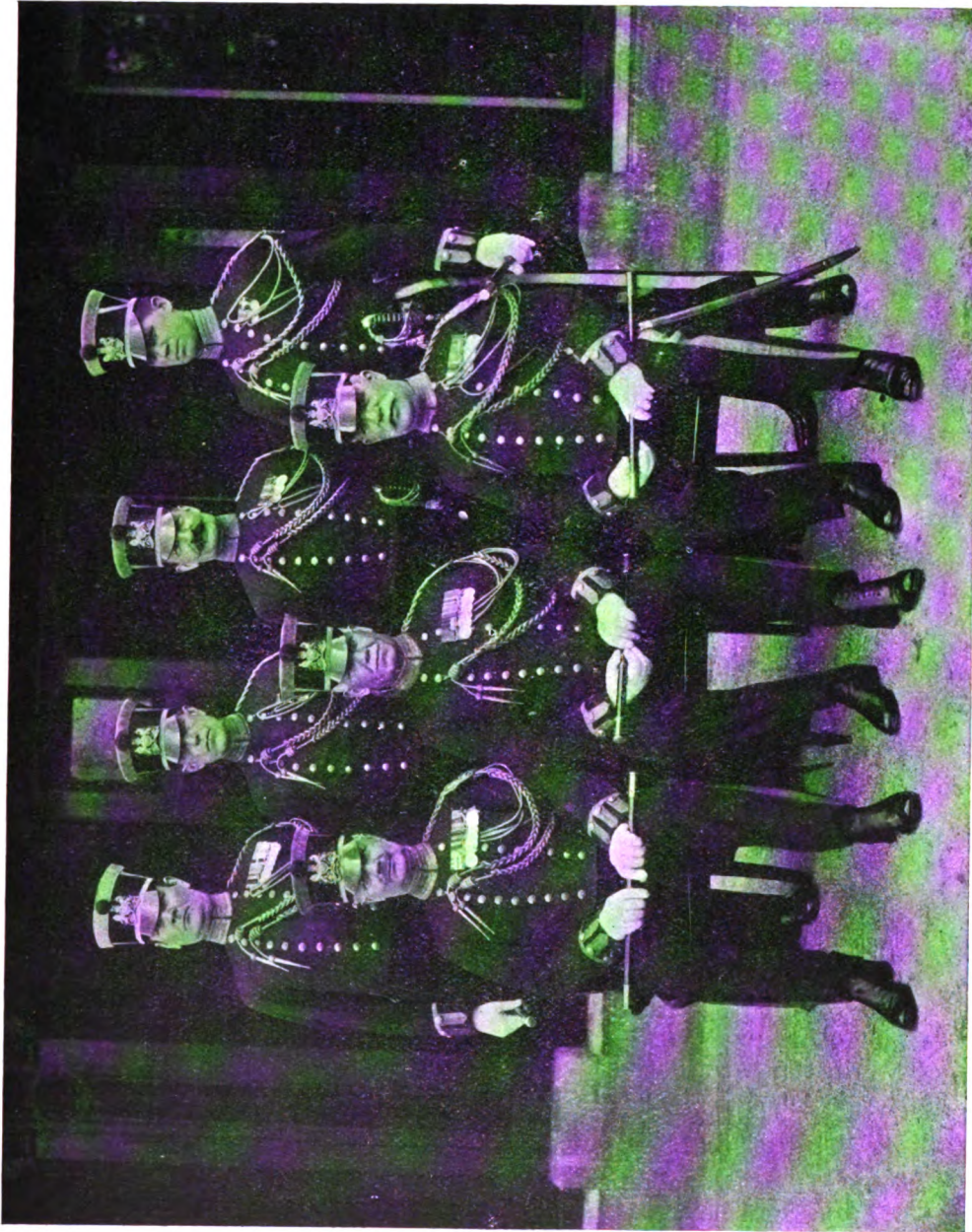
By MAJOR C. L. GORDON, Coldstream Guards (retired list).

[Reprinted by kind permission from *The Household Brigade Magazine*—
Summer, 1926.]

Some account of The King's Marshalmen, their origin and present duties is, I feel, not out of place in the HOUSEHOLD BRIGADE MAGAZINE, since one Marshalman is on duty every day at guard-mounting, and probably very few persons know who, or what he is.

During the years I was in the Brigade I heard many descriptions of their origin, but never the right one. The most popular theory was that they originated in the days when the troops wore white breeches and gaiters, and that their principal duty was to accompany the guard

¹ Pulton=Regiment (from the French peloton).



THE KING'S MARSHALMEN.

to detect and arrest small boys or other evilly disposed persons, who threw mud at the spotless white legs of the troops.

The Marshalmen were formerly the under-officers of the Knight Marshal, "an officer of the Royal Household who had judicial cognizance of transgressions within the King's House and Verge." They were officers of the Court of the Verge—a branch of the Marshalsea Court.

This Court was an ancient one, founded on the Common Law, but limited in its jurisdiction to an area of twelve miles, "counted from the King's lodging." This area was known as "the Marshalsea of the King's House," and a prison of that name was under the jurisdiction of the Knight Marshal.

The Marshalsea Prison, which was a penitentiary for smugglers and other offenders against the revenue laws, and also for debtors, was situated in what is now known as Marshalsea Place, a turning out of Angel Court, Bermondsey. It is fully described in "Little Dorrit" by Dickens. The duties of the Marshalmen are described in a Memorandum dated 1785, as being required "to attend in their turn at the gate of the King's Palace, wherever the King should please to reside, to keep good rule and order there from 7 in the morning to 9 at night, and during every session of Parliament to attend at the door of the House of Peers to supervise persons entering and leaving, not departing until their Lordships should be risen, and to execute any Warrant or Order sent from any of the Lords of the Privy Council, the Lord Steward and Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, or any other of the King's officers, for arresting or conveying any person before such officer, or to any of H.Ms. Prisons."

It would appear that the office of Knight Marshal existed as long ago as the reign of Henry VIII, and that he was a deputy of the Earl Marshal. His duties, and those of his assistants, were at that time defined as responsible for the policing of the precincts of the Court, *inter alia*, "to have special respect to the exclusion of boys and vile persons, unthrifty and common women, the punishment of vagabonds and mighty beggars, not permitting any of them to remain in or about the Court." The office of Knight Marshal was abolished in 1846, and the Marshalsea Prison closed down in 1849.

At the present time there is an establishment of six Marshalmen, vacancies being filled as they arise, on the recommendation of the Lord Chamberlain.

One comes on duty daily at guard mounting, and remains on duty until 4 p.m., or until the House of Lords rises. When the House of Lords is sitting two Marshalmen are always on duty at the House, until their Lordships arise. They remain at or near the Peers' entrance to ensure that no unauthorized person enters.

The Marshalmen attend all State functions, and are required to supervise the setting down, and departure of the carriages containing their Majesties' guests. They may also be required on certain special occasions, as, for instance, the Balkan Peace Conference in 1912, and the plenary session of the League of Nations in 1919, both of which were held at St. James's Palace.

The Marshalman on duty is the King's Coroner's Officer, and in the event of a death within the precincts of any Royal palace, necessitating an inquest, he attends such inquiry and acts as Coroner's Officer. All such inquests are held by the Crown Coroner, but this does not apply to Scotland, where the law and procedure is different to that in England.

There is no record in existence of when the custom of a Marshalman attending guard-mounting originated, but it probably dates from the time when they were responsible for good order at the Royal Palaces, as described above, before the days of the Metropolitan Police.

Their full dress uniform is a scarlet cloth coatee with blue facings, blue doeskin trousers with gold lace stripe, Wellington boots, and black chaco head-dress. They wear a short sword, with black scabbard, slings and waist-belt, with gilt mounts and grip, the sword knot being of gold and crimson lace.

They also carry a black ebony staff or baton with gilt mounts, the Royal Arms being engraved around one end, and the City of Westminster Arms around the other.

There is also a modified undress uniform, and a cloak and cape of blue cloth, with a black velvet collar and gilt buttons.

The pay of a Marshalman is £124 a year. Of the present Marshalmen, it is worth recording that five are ex-Guardsmen.

CROMWELL'S REGIMENTS.

BY SIR CHARLES H. FIRTH.

(Continued from page 23.)

CROMWELL'S ENGLISH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Cromwell returned from Ireland in June, 1650, with the intention of serving as second in command to Fairfax in the war with Scotland. It was desirable to provide him with a regiment to command, so, on 21 June, 1650, Parliament voted: 'That a regiment of foot be forthwith raised in Lancashire for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under such officers as he shall be pleased to appoint' (C.J. VI. 428. cf. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1650, pp. 210, 225-8, 350, 580, 582, 589).

Cromwell appointed Charles Worsley, son of Ralph Worsley, of Platt, near Manchester, to be his Lieut.-Colonel. Worsley, who was born in 1622, had been a captain in the Parliamentary forces in 1644. He set to work at once. A volume of memoranda written by his father has the following entries:—

" 1650, July 19, Friday. At Cheetam Hill was the first muster of Lieutenant-Col. Charles Worsley's soldiers. The second in the same

place, August 2, 1650." It continues: " Aug. 19, Lieutenant-Col. Charles Worsley set forward towards the north with the regiment. August 24, Lieutenant-Col. Charles Worsley came to Skipton. September 2, he came to Durham. September 3, to Newcastle. September 9, to Berwick. September 12, to Edinburgh."¹

' They came to us after Dunbar fight,' says John Hodgson, ' and I had a company of foot given me in it.' He had previously been a lieutenant in Lambert's foot regiment.² A letter from Edinburgh, under date Sept. 27, 1650, says: ' A Commission is granted to Lieut.-Col. Goffe, to be col. of the regiment of foot lately called his Excellency's, and the Lancashire regiment, under Col. Worsley, taken in to be his Lordship own regiment.'³

In August, 1651, Charles II invaded England and Cromwell marched after him, sending some cavalry to hinder his progress and following more slowly with the infantry. He had sent Colonel Lilburne and his regiment of horse to prevent the Earl of Derby from raising forces for the King in Lancashire, and Lilburne wrote to Cromwell asking to be reinforced by a foot regiment. Cromwell, who had by this time reached Rufford Abbey, in Nottinghamshire, sent his own regiment of foot under Worsley, choosing them for the purpose because they were mostly Lancashire men. ' We marched at a great rate till we came at Manchester,' says Hodgson, ' and coming thither there was some appearance of danger, so we pitched in the field a night or two.' Lord Derby, with about 1,500 horse, marched towards Manchester, ' where they had not only very great hopes of surprising my Lord General's regiment of foot, but also the assurance of the assistance of 500 men in and about the town.' Lilburne, who described ' the Manchesterians ' as ' very malignant,' was afraid that the regiment would be cut off before it could join him. Seizing a favourable opportunity he attacked and completely routed Derby's forces near Wigan on August 25 taking over 400 prisoners, though Derby himself managed to escape and to get to Worcester (Ormerod, *Tracts relating to Military Proceedings in Lancashire*, 1844, pp. 296-310; Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War*, ii. 338).

Next month Worsley's regiment had the easier task of intercepting the Scottish cavalry in their flight towards Scotland after the battle of Worcester. Hodgson relates with what success they achieved the task. Near Nantwich, says he, ' we had a party of horse and foot drawn out to intercept them; and our soldiers had pleasant work with them while they marched by. They were, by computation about five or six hundred men, and our musketeers would have gone into the lane and taken by the bridle the best-like person they saw, and brought him out, without a stroke; so low was the Scot brought. But the most remarkable thing was, one Oliver Edge, one of our captains, had a mind to see what became of the forlorn, hearing such a great firing; and viewing them very busy, he

¹ Booker, *History of the Ancient Chapel of Birch in Manchester Parish*, Chetham Society, 1859, p. 37. The spelling of these memoranda is modernised.

² *Memoir of Capt. John Hodgson*, p. 152, ed. 1806.

³ *Mercurius Politicus*. Oct. 310, p. 308.

spies a party of horse behind him in the fields, and having no order to be there, he retreats towards the regiment; but they called upon him, and asked if he was an officer; and drawing towards them, about 18 or 20 horsemen lighted, and told him they would surrender themselves prisoners; there was the Earl of Lauderdale, [Lord] Sinclair, and a fourth: these became prisoners to one single Captain; but the soldiers fell in with him immediately' (*Hodgson*, p. 154; *Cary Memorials*, ii. 374). Edge brought his prisoners to Chester, and 'was so civil to me,' wrote Lord Derby, 'that I and all that love me are beholden to him' (*A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, pp. 73, 78, 80). The Council of State voted Edge a reward of £100 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1651*, p. 459).

In October, 1651, the regiment was one of the three sent under the command of Col. Robert Duckenfield to capture the Isle of Man. It capitulated on Oct. 31 (*Mercurius Politicus*, Nov. 6-13, p. 1197).

Next year the regiment was brought up to London and quartered at St. James's (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1651-2*, p. 352; 1652-3, p. 460). When Cromwell resolved to put a stop to the sitting of the Long Parliament he knew that he had within call men and officers on whom he could rely. 'Call them in,' he said to Major General Harrison after his speech to the House. 'Then Harrison went out and presently brought in Lieutenant Colonel Worsley (who commanded the general's own regiment of foot), with five or six files of musketeers, about 20 or 30, with their muskets.' Supported by them Harrison persuaded the Speaker to leave his chair, or, as some said, pulled him out. Algernon Sydney, who sat next the chair on the right hand, refused to move. 'Put him out,' said Cromwell. 'Then Harrison and Worsley put their hands upon Sydney's shoulders as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door.'¹ After the members had all gone, the door of the House was locked, and Worsley took away the key and the mace.

Probably the rest of the officers agreed with the Lieut.-Colonel in supporting the expulsion of the Long Parliament. The Army as a whole approved it, and opposition did not begin till the foundation of the Protectorate. The objection of those soldiers who opposed Cromwell's government was to the nature of the new government, to the great power which the Instrument of Government gave to the Protector, and to the abrupt termination of the rule of the Saints. Worsley's original major, Roger Sawrey, had left the regiment in 1652, or early in 1653, to become lieut.-colonel of Col. West's regiment in Scotland. His successor, John Wiggan (or Wigan or Wiggon) had been Curate of Birch Chapel, near Manchester, but became a congregationalist, not a presbyterian, and was in bad odour with most of his brethren (*Life of Adam Martindale*, pp. 61, 74; Booker, *Chapel of Birch*, pp. 145, 154). In 1651 he had become captain of a troop of horse, apparently in Col. Grosvenor's regiment, in Lancashire (*Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651*, pp. 87, 103).

¹ Journal of the Earl of Leicester, in Blencowe's *Sydney Papers*, pp. 140-1; cf. Ludlow, *Memoirs*, i. 353, and my article, The Expulsion of the Long Parliament in *History*, Jan., 1918, p. 204.

109). Somehow he got transferred to Cromwell's regiment of foot, which he left about January, 1654. A pamphleteer, writing after the Protector's death, says:—

' His own regiment of Foot as Major Wiggan then major thereof, and the rest of the officers very well know, did greatly scruple and oppose the signing of it: for after 3 or 4 houres debate between the then Protector (so called), Major-General Lambert and the said Major about it, they could not perswade to the signing of it, upon which the Protestor and Major General offer'd to make some alterations therein, the more easily to gain subscriptions from the aforesaid officers, but after calling them all together he caused the Instrument of Government to be read unto them saying, " That should be their Magna Charta," and promising that he and his Council would do all the good things that had been desired by the good people; and in particular that " that ugly maintenance by Tythes " (for those were his very words) should be taken away before the 3rd of September following; hereupon and many other specious promises made unto them, all the aforesaid officers, except the said Major, subscribed the forementioned address without any alteration; but the Major and several of the officers and soldiers, could by no means be perswaded to sign it.' (*A true Catalogue of the Places in which R. Cromwell was proclaimed.* (B.M. E.999 (12).)

Obliged to resign his commission Wigan returned to his old occupation as a minister in Manchester, and succeeded finally in getting his stipend augmented by £100 a year ordered by the Protector's Council (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1656-7, p. 38; 1658-9, p. 265).

Worsley, on the other hand, was an unswerving supporter of the Protectorate. He was member for Manchester in the Parliament of 1654—the first member who ever represented it there. In October, 1655, he was one of the Major-Generals appointed by Cromwell, and had in his charge Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire. In that capacity he did his work with enthusiasm. ' I plainly discern the finger of God going along with it, which is indeed no small encouragement to me,' he wrote to secretary Thurloe. His letters show the activity with which he taxed ' malignants,' ejected scandalous ministers, put into execution the laws against swearing and Sabbath-breaking, and suppressed the alehouses which he termed ' the very womb that brings forth all manner of wickedness ' (*Thurloe Papers*, iv. 149, 179, 187, 315, 322, 333, 340, 450). But coming up to London to attend a general meeting of the Major Generals, he died on June 12, 1656, at St. James's. Next day he was buried with great respect.

' In the evening was solemnised the funeral of Major General Worsley, which was performed with much honour, according to his merit; his hearse being attended by the rest of the Major-Generals, and divers other persons of honour and many coaches. Before him marched 4 regiments of foot, 10 troops of horse, and the life-guard of his Highness, drums being covered with mourning, pikes trailed on the ground, and trumpets mournfully sounding after the military manner usual in such solemnities, who conducted his body to Westminster

Abbey, where it was interred near Sir William Constable in the Chapel of Henry the seventh, three grand vollies of shot being discharged at the interment.' (*Mercurius Politicus*, June 12-19, 1656, p. 7038; cf. *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 381.)

Worsley's successor as Lieut.-Colonel was Major Waldine Lagoe, who as a captain in Pride's regiment had distinguished himself by his courage at the storming of Bristol (Sprigge, p. 117). He had become major of Pride's in 1648, and was probably transferred to this regiment in 1654, when Wigan was dismissed. In September, 1656, he was one of the three officers employed by the Protector's Council to prevent all the newly-elected members of Parliament who could not produce a certificate of approval from the Protector's Council from taking their seats in the House (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 24). A man who had served under Pride and Worsley was not likely to have scruples about the privileges of Parliament.

The regiment continued to be quartered in London till the end of the Protectorate, and when Richard Cromwell became Protector, he also became its colonel. Lieut.-Col. Lagoe, being a staunch Cromwellian, was naturally displaced when Richard fell, but he was not treated as an enemy of the new Government, and it was proposed to make him Lieut.-Colonel of Fairfax's regiment, then in Scotland, or Adjutant-General in Ireland (*Clarke Papers*, iii. 212, iv. 25; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1659-60, pp. 3, 13).

Major Wigan thought that the Commissioners for the nomination of officers would restore him to his old post, as being a sufferer for the Republican cause; but instead of that they offered him a commission as lieut.-colonel in Overton's. He had the effrontery to complain, saying that he did not know the officers of that regiment, and doubted whether they were fit to serve. 'He observes,' he said, 'that Fifth Monarchy men are generally objected against by those that have the nominations, but his judgment is that Jesus Christ is King of Saints, as well as nations. His laws are laws of righteousness, and his people ought to be employed in all places of public trust.' (*Ib.* p. 45.)

After Richard's fall the colonelcy of the regiment went to Lieut.-General Fleetwood. Fleetwood was practically commander-in-chief, with the rank of Lieut.-General, and was colonel of a regiment of horse as well as of this regiment of foot (June 9, 1659; *Ludlow's Memoirs*, ii. 91). A list of the officers of the foot regiment is given in the Commons Journals (VII. 668, 679). Its lieut.-colonel at this date was Jeffrey Ellatson (or Ellison), and its major was Oliver Edge. The regiment was quartered in London or near it during 1659, and supported Fleetwood in putting force upon the Parliament. On the triumph of the latter at the end of December, 1659, Fleetwood was deprived of the command of the regiment, and Thomas Fitch, late governor of the Tower, became Colonel, while Samuel Gooday and Christopher Copperthwaite became lieut.-colonel and major (Commons Journals, VII. 824). On April 23, 1660, Monck appointed Thomas Sheffield colonel, in Fitch's place, and made other changes amongst the officers,

so that its composition was entirely altered by the time it was disbanded (*Mercurius Publicus*, April 26-May 3; *Clarke MSS.*, Vol. 53). Sheffield did not keep the command long. On 30 July, 1660, Thomas Lord Ossory became colonel, and he was reduced to be its lieutenant-colonel (*Clarke MSS.*). Lord Ossory's regiment, which was quartered in Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, was disbanded on Oct. 1, 1660, and received at disbandment £5,823-5-2 (Reports of the Disbanding Commissioners, *Mercurius Publicus*, Oct. 4-11, and Oct. 18-25).

The later history of some of the officers mentioned is worth recording. Oliver Edge lived at Manchester, unmolested, till 1696. Some account of him and his family is given in Booker's *Chapel of Birch* (p. 11). Lagoe was Worsley's successor in more senses than one. He married, about 1659, Worsley's widow, Dorothy, daughter of Roger Kenyon, and was living in 1667 (Booker, p. 65; *MSS. of Lord Kenyon*, p. 79). Apparently he, too, was not disturbed on account of his politics.

John Wigan was less fortunate. In 1664 he was in prison in Lancaster Gaol on suspicion of plotting against the Government. There he had a disputation with George Fox about the Light within, who describes him as 'a very wicked man.' Wigan wrote a pamphlet on the subject, 'and put in abundance of abominable lies.' It was called *Antichrist's Strongest Hold Overturned, or The Foundation of the Religion of the People called Quakers, Bared and Razed*. When Wigan was released he got leave to go to London, where he and his wife died of the Plague in 1605, and so 'the Lord cut him off in his wickedness.' (*Journal of George Fox*, ed. Penney, 1911, i. 458; ii. 63, 394.)

It is strange that Worsley's body was not disturbed in 1661 when other remarkable men buried in Westminster Abbey during the Commonwealth and Protectorate were disinterred. In 1869 the searchers for the remains of James I discovered in Henry the Seventh's Chapel the skeleton of a tall man, supposed by antiquarians to be Worsley's, for reasons which appear to be sufficient to justify that conclusion (Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, ed. 1886, p. 518). Major General Worsley and Colonel Richards are the only representatives of the Cromwellian Army who lie in Westminster Abbey.

(To be continued.)

THE CAITHNESS FENCIBLES' TARTAN.

BY DR. J. M. BULLOCH.

The suggestion made by Major Mackay Scobie in his article in the *Journal* (vi. 96-106) on the Caithness Fencibles that this corps wore a tartan which "appears to have been similar to that designed for the Gordon Fencibles of 1793 and adopted by the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders

when raised in 1794, *i.e.* the Government (as 42nd) sett with a yellow stripe in it," is extraordinarily interesting. The tartan shown in the coloured print accompanying Major Mackay Scobie's article and also in Raeburn's glorious portrait of Sir John Sinclair, Lt.-Colonel of the Caithness Fencibles, is certainly very like Gordon tartan, which, as I have shown (*Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland*, p. 155), was designed in 1793 by Forsyth, the weaver of Huntly, Aberdeenshire. In any case, it is like neither of the two setts associated with the Sinclairs. And yet, art critics, in dealing with Raeburn's portrait of Sir John Sinclair in the uniform of the Fencibles, reproduced in this issue, often describe the tartan as Sinclair.

If it could be shown that it was really Gordon tartan, it would be extremely interesting, for the first authentic illustration of that sett has hitherto been regarded as being that shown in Raeburn's portrait, now in Gordon Castle, of the 5th Duke of Gordon, painted in 1820: that is to say, a quarter of a century after his portrait of Sir John Sinclair.

And yet it would be ironical if the Caithness Fencibles had worn Gordon tartan, for, though Sir John Sinclair's mother was a Gordon, her family, the Earls of Sutherland, reverted to their original old name of Sutherland out of dislike for the Gordons, who first imposed their patronymic on the family in 1500, and lost their dominance by espousing the Jacobite cause to which the noble house of Sutherland was opposed.

Furthermore, while Sir John was raising his regiment, he was being recruited against by Sir Robert Sinclair of Murkle, who had married Lady Madelina Gordon, a daughter of Jane, Duchess of Gordon. There was a further irony in this, for Sir Robert declared that the Caithness people suggested, by way of discrediting her, that Lady Madelina kissed the recruits, though precisely the same story was told in laudation of her daring mother by raising the Gordon Highlanders.

The mystery of the tartan is equalled by the fact that the portrait is usually said to have been painted in 1790, whereas the Caithness Fencibles were not raised till 1794. It was reproduced in 1922 as a colour mezzotint (24½ by 15½), engraved by H. Macbeth Raeburn, five hundred copies being published (by H. C. Dickins). The process block (reproduced in this issue) of the mezzotint admittedly does not adequately convey the richness of the colour of the mezzotint. The original painting is in the possession of Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bart., M.P.

Sir John Sinclair (1754-1835) was an extraordinarily active man. He was educated at the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Oxford; at twenty-six years of age became M.P. for his native county; toured the Continent; was ever a zealous and public-spirited agricultural reformer, and an indefatigable writer. He will always be remembered for his *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-1799). In fact, he introduced from Germany the word "statistics" to the English language. He wrote no fewer than 367 tracts and pamphlets on a great variety of subjects, and was responsible for the establishment of the Board of Agriculture. It is said he once tried to induce nightingales to establish themselves in the treeless plains of Caithness.

Mr. Neil Munro, in describing the portrait in the *Bookman's Journal and Print Collector* of April, 1922, makes great game of the "almost incredibly grandiose uniform" of the Caithness Fencibles, and incidentally describes the tartan as "Sinclair." He goes on to describe the "truis" worn as a "striking travesty of the Gallic garb"—for the Sinclairs are not Gaelic—and he notes that the baronet is wearing a cavalry sabre instead of a claymore.

Sir Walter Scott in a petulant moment described Sir John as "a pompous officious old ass," and "that he was as vain as a peacock is manifest not only in this garb of his devising, but in his face. But one can realise," adds Mr. Munro, "how Raeburn would delight in depicting such a garb and perpetuating such a face—handsome, haughty, aristocratic, not typically Scots, with the sleek jowl and the indolent eyes that hint at the *viveur*, though it must be added that no such character emerges from his written history. In the painting of such 'romantical' contemporaries Raeburn could hardly fail to have an exceptional pleasure. The clashing colours in Sinclair's singular mosaic uniform are magnificently reconciled and blent into an *ensemble* which has no discordant note, though the truthfulness to every detail is unquestionable."

It would be very interesting to discover whether anybody has an example of the actual uniform worn by Sinclair and his Fencibles.

OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE OF PAST BRITISH UNIFORM DRESS.

BY PERCEVAL W. REYNOLDS.

It is now more than 40 years since the writer began to enquire into the past costumes of the British Army and to collect notes on the subject. At that time the study presented great difficulties—hence perhaps its fascination. No published work gave any adequate survey of the whole matter, and no public library appeared to have much material. Uniform clothing began to appear *regimentally* in the 17th century; the date when the idea had become established, and when the national authority of the army began an attempt to regulate it, may be taken as not much before 1700. Broadly, the 18th and 19th centuries constitute the period intended to be covered by the phrase Past Uniforms. The late Mr. S. M. Milne was the pioneer in serious investigation of the history of the various changes, and, though his collection was dispersed, his work rendered possible the advances since made. During the last twenty years, also, the pressure of heavy taxation by compelling the sale of the contents of many old houses has brought to knowledge items of great interest which were formerly inaccessible.

The writer has recently completed the binding up of his notes, photographs, and sketches, so far as concerns the Regular Army of the United Kingdom during the centuries named. (The eight or nine volumes originally contemplated have somehow expanded into thirty, besides three or four printed books.) The moment seems suitable, therefore, for taking stock of the present position. There is no intention of here going into the story of the costumes and equipments themselves, but only of considering the sources and extent of the information now available, the defects of such information, the material which may still be lying perdu, and at least one use, not generally recognized, to which it might be put.

The sources of information may be classified thus:—

1. Actual articles of dress or equipment.
2. Records in trade books relating to the manufacture and supply of such articles.
3. Prints or drawings specifically representing military uniforms.
4. Other prints, pictures, drawings, &c., which happen to show such uniforms.
5. Official orders and other documents relating to the matter.
6. Unofficial descriptions or notes occurring in narratives, letters, diaries, &c., published or unpublished.

They are put in this order because actual articles, or graphic representations of them, give more explicit and distinct information (whether right or wrong in itself) than written descriptions of any kind can possibly do. But of course all the sources have to be compared with each other and considered together. Everyone who investigates a subject of this kind, also finds that a small portion of what comes before him has to be rejected as mere invention or fabrication, and that a rather large portion is confused or mistaken. He has, in fact, involuntarily to compile a sort of footnote to that "History of Human Error" which a character in one of Bulwer Lytton's novels was supposed to be writing. In briefly surveying the several classes set out, it is needful therefore to note the traps and uncertainties peculiar to each of them.

1. Actual articles of clothing, if uninjured and authenticated, are naturally decisive. The principal risks seem to arise from theatrical and fancy dress adaptations; the more so as genuine old garments appear to have been occasionally re-decorated or repaired with incongruous material for these purposes. Head-dresses seem to have survived in greatest number, and leg clothing most rarely, as can easily be understood. Metal articles of equipment, especially schako plates and breast (belt) plates, are very numerous, and, as a good few people collect them, here unfortunately the faker seems to have had his hand in occasionally. Re-strikes also have been procured, from old dies, and these may be quite accurate, or sometimes may not. It should not be forgotten that important original articles have been dug up in America. It is a pity that the rank and file, and the serjeants, are but little represented. What has become of all the knapsacks (of various patterns) worn from 1815 to 1860?

Where does a specimen of the old cross-belts, so long used, exist? A great many sealed patterns perished, it is said, in an accidental fire.

2. Records in trade books come next in order, because they are frequently accompanied by drawings of garments and drawings or rubbings of metal articles, and are necessarily as exact as possible as they were for use in manufacturing fresh supplies. Also the entries are frequently dated. Of metal work the largest collection of these records is in Birmingham, having been brought together mainly by the amalgamation of various businesses, and is very important, though in rather a chaotic state. On the whole this class of material gives some of the most reliable information obtainable. Many records of lacemen, embroiderers, and military tailors also were searched and copied by Mr. Milne. The book, in which he entered up this matter, has gone to New York, and only extracts of a large part of it remain in this country. Records of this kind refer almost exclusively to officers' outfits. One volume, specifying the clothing of other ranks (as we should now call them) of English and Scotch Militia, 1819-24, survives in the Public Record Office. No such complete description for even one line regiment has yet turned up. It must be confessed that the written descriptions in this source of information require rather expert interpretation. They were mostly made by comparatively uneducated men, often in difficult handwriting, without punctuation, and in a technical jargon which was not quite identical throughout all the firms in the trade. With regard to this field, it may be hoped that the various firms who manufacture such articles will not destroy any records they may still possess, especially those before 1855. We may trust that the Pinlico Factory does keep its old patterns, and in some sort of order. What has become of the records of the old Army Clothiers, who supplied the men's clothing when this was in the hands of the Colonels? Have all such papers completely perished?

3. The earliest set of prints prepared expressly to show the costume of the army, in this country, was that executed under the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland and dated 1742. A series of paintings by David Morier, 1751-59, and another by Dubois-Drahonet, 1833-4, both at Windsor, must also have been executed by Royal Command. To these should perhaps be added the 1792-3 plates by Edward Dayes, understood to have been commissioned by the Duke of York. (They extend only to the Foot Guards and 10 Line regiments.) The list of sets and separate prints executed by private enterprise from 1797, or so, to 1900, is far too long to be given here.

It might be supposed that a published print, on sale as a representation of a particular military uniform, must have been accurate, with rare exceptions. As a matter of fact several causes interfered with this desirable result. First, there is the difficulty of ascertaining all the details. It must often have been impossible to actually see anybody belonging to many of the corps which it was desirable to include in a series, and before photography existed there would be nothing else definite to go upon. Then there is the difficulty of accurate represen-

tation, for drawing by eye alone is a slow process, and the artist was often only of moderate competence. Further, his work had usually to be copied by an engraver or lithographer who might know little or nothing of military costume, and, afterwards, to be coloured by hand by a third person. It is not surprising, therefore, that plates of regimental uniform vary much in reliability and are often palpably incorrect.

No unknown prints of importance are likely to be still undiscovered, but there are yet a few missing ones in some of the minor series, *e.g.* that published by Del Vecchio in London and Dublin about 1823-5 (rather grotesque drawings by Alexander), the "Small Spooner" series of about 1832-5, and a set about 1830, published by Englemann, of which the numbers seem to reach 20, but of which only seven or eight are known, at least to the writer. No public, or semi-public, library has anything like a complete show of these productions. Indeed, except the Prince Consort's Library at Aldershot, and the Royal United Service Institution, few possess more than some scattered specimens. Meanwhile, with the aid of photographs, sketches, and memoranda, the evidence supplied by the great majority of these has been duly catalogued.

4. The other prints, portraits, &c., which show uniforms incidentally, offer, if we include original portraits and drawings in private possession, the widest field, which is still incompletely examined. Here the greatest difficulty is probably identification. Miniatures of the 18th century, numerous and often very clearly executed, rarely show any badges or numerals sufficient to establish the regiment represented, especially as there was no absolute distinction between regulars, fencibles, militia, and volunteers. With larger portraits, even oil paintings, it is often much the same. A long experience forces on one the conclusion that it is rarely known, correctly, whom they represent. Those old enough to remember the Naval Exhibition of 1891 may recall that a set of oil paintings of Admirals was lent by the Lords of the Admiralty. The opportunity was taken to clean them and therefore to remove them from the frames, which bore the names of the officers represented. It was then found that the names were also on the pictures, and that at some time, by some accident, a general shuffle had taken place, and that most of the admirals had been put into wrong frames. Similar effect seems to have often been produced, by misunderstanding and failure of memory probably, in the case of ancestral portraits; or they have changed owners and their history has been forgotten. Anyhow the attribution of many portraits is only a mystification. A "portrait of Lord Dash, in the uniform of the Guards" (obviously about 1780) is an officer of an infantry corps with white facings, and the name of Dash cannot be found in the Army List of that period. A sale catalogue submitted a "portrait of Colonel Blank, a Waterloo veteran." Colonel Blank, whose initials were given, could be traced. He was a subaltern at Waterloo, under 20 years of age. The painting, very interesting in itself, was of a man of about 35, in a powdered wig and costume, between 1750 and 1760 perhaps. Many similar instances have occurred. A mistake as to the corps rarely matters, as the picture speaks for itself; but the identity of

the sitters has really been lost, and even where it may possibly be correct one is afraid to trust the description. Still, such paintings will nearly always be useful as general information for the period, and may in some cases give more definite results.

Contemporary prints of battles and camp scenes do not often furnish good evidence, for, besides the usual difficulties of reproduction, they were mostly only intended to please the general public, and accuracy did not matter. A few, on the contrary, especially copies of pictures by prominent artists, were based on good information, and are valuable. But they must be pretty nearly contemporary, otherwise anachronisms get in. Colonel Crookshank's work supplies copious information as to this class of print.

Sketches by men serving, like diaries and letters, may still exist, which would be very useful, and even the weird "portraits" of non-commissioned officers and men, from 1830 to 1850 or so, occasionally met with, may give important hints.

5. Official Orders and Regulations are, of course, essential to the story of the evolution of uniforms. It should be realised, however, that orders have regularised changes already made quite as often as they have originated such changes. Official documents other than formal orders (reports, letters, &c.) frequently illustrate the real history of an alteration. It would be a great mistake, for example, to compare the Warrant of 1751 with that of 1768, and to suppose that from the latter year all infantry regiments changed from red breeches to white, from large cuffs to small ones, and from cloth caps to fur caps for their grenadiers. These changes had been creeping in for years before 1768, and had even received official sanction in the case of several regiments. To extract and arrange all the documents relating to dress and equipment would be the work of several lifetimes. Much has been accomplished, especially as to General Orders and Circulars, but probably many useful items still lie undiscovered in the vast unindexed hoards of the Record Office. The Rev. Mr. Sumner's notes from Inspection Reports, down to 1804, are known to the readers of this Journal. The writer examined all the later Cavalry Reports to 1830, but not many of the Infantry ones. It is, frankly, the most dreary work, but the few interesting facts which emerge are, at any rate, almost unquestionable. When a general officer reports that the fusilier regiment, which he inspected on the previous day, was wearing helmets, we are justified in believing that that was so.

The great desideratum for all who consult these official records, whatever the subject, is a serviceable index of some sort. The existing indices for the most part merely state the department or branch in which the papers were compiled. Few of the volumes or bundles have any index to their own contents. Even when the matter is of a routine and uniform character, such as Inspection Reports or Monthly Returns, it is impossible to find out whether (say) a particular battalion was inspected, or sent in its report for any specific period, except by requisitioning and searching the volume in which it ought to be. It may be there in its proper order, or it may be there but accidentally misplaced, or occasion-

ally it may have wandered into a wrong volume somehow, or it may not exist at all.

6. Unofficial documents, diaries, letters, &c., being in private possession chiefly, chance only can bring them to light. They are not liable to errors of description in the same way as portraits, as they mostly carry their own identification. The references to dress matters are generally casual. In published versions they may sometimes be eliminated by an editor, perhaps, as trivial. Yet an allusion to a "hat" or a "cap," the loss of an epaulette or a wing, whether the writer speaks of his "coat" or his "jacket," may give a sufficient indication of what a corps was wearing at a certain time, or on a certain occasion. It is often only from this source that any idea of the kits worn on active service can be gathered. When one is concerned with reminiscences, and not with matter written at the time, naturally the statements are occasionally mistaken, for memory is apt to confuse both facts and dates.

The state of our present knowledge of past uniforms, derived from all these sources of information, so far as they have yet been exploited, may perhaps be summed up as follows. Until 1740 only vague and general ideas can be arrived at, and save in very few instances, regimental variations and details are unknown, and likely always to remain so. From 1740 to 1760 or so (these dates are only approximate) there is considerable information as to the men's appearance, but not so much as to the officers. Between 1760 and 1768 the newly-raised regiments may have introduced a different type of dress (there is some reason to suppose so), which was gradually displacing the former style and was ordained for general use in the latter year. From 1768 to 1796 the general facts for both officers and men are fairly clear, and regimental differences tolerably certain in a broad sense, but the smaller details rather wanting. The next four or five years was a period of change, when the actual effect of a rapid succession of fresh orders upon any particular corps is necessarily obscure. From that time the records in tradesmen's books, already referred to, become increasingly available. For the whole of the 19th century we may be said to have a very adequate idea of what was worn, becoming more accurate and detailed, naturally, as the period advances. All the same, at every epoch there is something lacking to complete the story. Though the dress uniform may be certain, the various undress kits are often rather doubtful. The exact number of different patterns of schako ornaments and belt plates from, say, 1820 to 1855, is by no means ascertained for every regiment. Above all, the dress really worn in active service and on the battlefield, which would be so interesting, is difficult to discover. More information is needed as to the Artillery in the earlier times, and a great deal more about the Engineers.

Nothing has been said about the Indian army and the various kinds of Auxiliary Forces, but the corresponding information for these ought also to be preserved where possible, not only for their own interest, but also because their various badges are liable to be confused with those of the regular army unless we know what they were.

Finally, it may be asked, of what use is the more exact knowledge of the former costumes, when acquired? Of course the main purpose is to elucidate the truth for its own sake, because one is interested in what the bygone soldiers looked like, as well as in how they were trained, and what they achieved. And incidentally one may notice the interaction between armament, tactics, and accoutrement, and that many modern changes are repetitions in a way of changes of a century or more ago.

But there is one use to which this knowledge seems rarely to be put. If military portraits of the past show the uniforms, equally the uniforms test the old portraits. The misunderstanding which seems so frequently to exist, as to the identity of the persons represented, has already been referred to. It is a delicate matter, no doubt, to question such identity. Yet it is also a pity to print and publish, as the portrait of some past soldier, a picture which demonstrably belongs to a different period, or as a contemporary drawing one that is palpably of quite modern execution.

THE WILL OF CAPTAIN ROBERT KEAYNE, Founder of the Military Company of the Massachusetts.

WITH NOTES BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

Robert Keayne was born at Windsor in 1595, and became a Gentleman of The Artillery Garden, now known as The Honourable Artillery Company, in 1623, being a freeman of London and a Merchant Taylor. He was one of the earliest settlers in Boston, took a leading part in local government, and received one of the first grants of land made by the Government of the State.

The Military Company of the Massachusetts, now styled "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts," received a charter of incorporation on 13 March, 1638, and Keayne was its first Captain.

Herringshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Biography* says that Keayne "was frequently a representative to the Massachusetts State Legislature between 1638 and 1649, a liberal donor to Harvard, and left a legacy for the establishment of a free School at Boston, which is now the Latin Grammar School."

He died on 23 March, 1656, in Boston.

His Will, "written with my owne hands" at Boston, was commenced on 1 August, 1653, and the extracts which are here given show how he realised the necessity of voluntary military training in time of peace, and how vigorously he advocated what we should now term an Officers' Training Corps.

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As for my Buriall I shall not desire any great outward solemnitie

to be used further then that which shalbe decent & civill as becomes Christians knowing that extraordinary solemnities can nothing add to the peace or benefit of the deceased, yet haveing beene trayned up in Millitary Discipline from my youngr yeares, & haveing endeavoured to promote it the best I could since God hath brought me into this country & seeing he hath beene pleased to use me as a poore instrument to lay y^e foundation of that Noble Society of the Artillery Company in this place,* that hath so farr prospered by the blessing of God as to helpe many with good experience in the use of theire Armes & more exact knowledge in the Millitary Art & hath beene a nursery to raise up many able and well experienced souldiers that hath done since good service for their country, therefore to declare my affections to that exercise & the society of souldiers, I shall desire to be buried as a souldier in a Millitary way, if the time & place of my death and other occasions may suite thereunto which I leave to the discretion of my executors and friends.

And if a convenient fayre roome in one of the buildings before mentioned be sequestered & set a part for an Armory & the meeting of the Artillery if there it be thought convenient or if some other place be provided for that use more convenient, with the Officers of that Companys advice, I am not strict for the very place so they have content in it, though yet I thinke the very hart & securest part of the towne (& noe out or by place) is the most fitt for a Magazene for Armes because of the danger of surprizing of them, the place that they now use wilbe fitt, to scower & tend the Armes in & the other to lay them up & keepe them in, which wilbe a comely sight for straingers to see & a great ornament to the roome & also to the towne where the souldiers may arme themselves every time they goe to exercise, such a place being provided I give & bequeath five pounds for the encouragem^t of that Company to be layd out in Pikes & Bandal^s for the use of such souldiers of that Company that live in other townes, so farr as it cannot be convenient for them to bring there armes wth them, or if the Officers of that Company doe know any other thinge that the Company wants that wilbe more usefull for the generall good of the Company then what I have mentioned that will continue & not be spent or consumed in the use, then I am willing that the whole or any part of this legacy may be so disposed of takeing in the advice and consent of my Executor in the same.

Item I give & bequeath further to this Artillery Company of Boston five pounds more towards the erecting of a platforme plancked underneath for two mounted peeces of Ordinance to stand upon, a greater & a smaller, with a shead of boards raysed over it, to keepe them dry & p^rserve them from sunne and weather & this to be raised in the most convenient p^t in the Trayning place in Boston where it shalbe most fitt for that use & where at a convenient distance against some hill or rising ground there may be a good Butt or kinde of Bullwarke raised of

* In Boston.

earth that may receive the shott of these peeces & may be free from endangering any that may unexpectedly passe by or be behinde the butt in case they should overshooote, w^{ch} Butt may be cast up or digged at the bottome of a hill without any charge by the Company themselves, in two or three of their Trayning dayes and my ende in this is that the Company may be trayned up (or so many of them as desier it) in the use exercise & experience of the great Ordinance as they are in their musketts that they may learne how to traverse, lode, mount, levell & fyre at a mark & w^{ch} is as needfull a skill for a souldier as the exercise of their ordinary Armes, I suppose the Countrey will willingly lend the Company two such peeces for so good a use as this is, if the towne itselfe hath none such to spare & will give them a barrell of powder or two to incourage them, to begin a service that wilbe so singularly usefull for the country, the bullets wilbe most of them found & saved againe if the hill or butt against w^{ch} they shoote be not so low & narrow that they overmount* & shoote aside at randome, now as many of that company or others w^{ch} desire to learne that art of gunnere (soe needfull for every Captaine & officer of a Company to be experienced in) they may enter their names to be schollers of the great Artillery & to agree that every one that enters his name may give so much for entery & so much a yeare afterwards as you doe at the Artillery which money will serve to lay in provision of powder, shott, springes, Budg Barrels, † Cannon Basketes & some allowance to the Mr. Gunner that shall take paines to instruct them, if there cannot be some skillfull & sufficient man found, that will thinke the honnor of the place to instruct such a society in so noble a service recompence sufficient that they have an opportunitie not only to exercise their owne skill but to doe good to the countrey & to willing schollers that so thirst after experience as wee see the Capt & rest of the officers of ye smale Artillery doe freely expend their time to instruct others in the best skill themselves have attained, and looke at it as reward enough that their paines is accepted & the Company edified by it, besides there being many ship Mrs. & Gunners that resort to this Country who have good skill in this art, the

* *i.e.* pass over the top of it.

† "Budge-Barrels are small barrels well hooped, with only one head; on the opposite end is nailed a piece of leather to draw together with strings like a purse. Their use is for carrying powder along with a gun or mortar, as they are less dangerous and more portable than whole barrels; they are also used on a battery of mortars to contain meal-powder." An illustration of a budge barrel is appended (*Memoirs of the Marquis de Feuquieres*, 1735, 2 vols., with a military dictionary at the end of vol. ii.).

The term which had in the eighteenth century become restricted to barrels used for the artillery, was originally applied also to those of the infantry, as the following passage from Lord Orrery's *Art of War* (1677), p. 186, shows:—

"Once marching in Battalia in a plain Countrey to fight the Enemies Army, and as they marched in the like order to meet us, some Musketeers of ours running hastily to a Budge-Barrel to fill their Bandleers, and being careless of their Matches, the Budge-Barrel took fire, and blew them up; at which the Enemies Army *shouted*; and finding our Men did not answer them, I rid hastily to the next Squadrons and Battalions, and commanded them also to shout; which the rest of the Forces taking it from them, repeatedly did: soon after, the like Accident happen'd to the Enemies Army, and then our Men *shouted*, but were not answer'd; which I bid the next Troops to take notice of, as a sign they were disanimated, and a proof that their loss was considerable by that blowing up." (*Cromwell's Army*. C. H. Firth. Methuen & Co. 2nd edition. 1912.)

Company I doubt not upon there request might have there helpe sometimes & direction herein & he that is chosen to this place may have the title of ye Capt. of the great Artillery or Mr. Gunner & there may be a time appointed once in a weeke or fortnight for the schollers to meete & to spend two or three houres, either forenoone or afternoone for there instruction in it, Now all that meete cannot expect to make every one a shott, for that would prove to great a charge & expence of powder but every one must take there turne & two or three at a meeting to make one shott a peece or but one man two shotts at one time & the rest may observe as much by the manner of there pforming it as if they had done it themselves, and for further encouragem^t to helpe on this exercise besides the five pounds given before towards the Platforme & the other five pounds for Pykes &c.

I give and bequeath Two Heifers or Cows to the Capt & Officers of the first Artillery Company to be kept as a stocke constantly & the increase or profit of these Cows yearely to be layd out in powder or bullets &c. for the use of the exercise of the greate Artillery, only the stocke at no time or the valew of it not to be deminished and these to be delivered to the Capt that shall have the comand of that Company or whome himselfe and Officers shall appointe when the Platforme & Butt is finished, and two peecees mounted thereon, with all matterials thereto belonging fit to exercise with, when a Mr. or Capt of the greate Ordinance is chosen, a convenient company of souldiers entered for scholl^{rs} as betweene ten and twenty & all things settled in a good posture for the beginning & continuance of that exercise, but if the Artillery Company shall neglect to accomplish this before expressed above two yeares after my decease then these three legacyes viz^t both the five pounds & the two Cows to be voyd & to be to the use of my executor, but if the things before mentioned be accomplished & this new company doe goe on as I desire it may then my will is that the Capt with the consent of the Company may appointe some able man either of the Company or otherwise that shall give bond to my executors or overseers for these two Cows or the valew of them at the time of delivery that the stocke shalbe preserved & the increase or benefitt of them only to be disposed of for the use of this new Company & if this Company should breake off & not continue there exercise, then the two Cows to be returned to my executor or some of my Overseers for his use or the just value that they were worth at the time of there first delivery, now any man that shall have the Cows to keepe wilbe willing to give such a bond if the Company order it so, in case that exercise should fall to the ground, for the two first five pounds I desire no bond nor any returne of it though the Company should not continue very long I would make it my dying request to our first Artillery Company (if there shalbe such a Company in being when it shall please God to take me out of this misserable world) many knowes what my earnest endeavor^s & desires hath beene to promote & encourage what I could since the Lord hath brought me into this Countrey & my desires have not been altogeather frustrated for out of this smale Company the Lord hath rayseed up many a well experienced souldier that

hath done good service and have beene of good esteeme both here & in our native Country & therefore my greife is the more to see this sometime flourishing & highly prized Company that when the Country growes more populus this Company should grow more thin & ready to dissolve for want of appearance but some are weary & thus thinke they have gott experience enough so the most begins to neglect but my request is that the entries, quartridge & fynes for late & non appearance (w^{ch} last hath beene too long neglected) & will not be well with ye Company till it be taken up againe especially seeing the greatest pt of that Company consists now of men in our owne towne & wee never had better nor more constant appearance then when fynes were duely taken] may be p^rserved & kept in stocke to lay out in powder, Armes, Bandaleers for the use of the Company & in Canvas to make resemblance of Trenches, half moones,* redowts, fforts &c. Cannon Basketts & such like necessary implem^{ts} for some speciall military service y^t might be p^rformed once or twice a year, w^{ch} would be a singuler helpe to the ordinary exercise & would add much not only to the encouragem^t but to the experience both of officers & Souldiers in some military exercises w^{ch} without such helps as these cannot be taught nor p^rformed, and these moneyes would be farr better employed & to the greater satisfaction & content of the Company in such things then † to be wasted & spent in eating & drinkeing & needles invitations as it hath beene long a time both to my owne & to the greife & offence of sevall of the Company which hath occasioned some to leave the Company & others to be unwilling to pay their quartridge, seeing the whole stocke is still consumed & the Company rather in debt then otherwise w^{ch} hath beene a cheife thing to hinder many other profitable exercises for want of meanes to beare the charge of them & will in time be the overthrow & dissolution of the Company if it be not p^rvented, w^t hath made ye Artilliry Company in London so to flourish for so long a time togethr but the stocke of the Company well managed whereby they have done great things & have beene able to p^rforme many exercises (though chargeable) both for the delight of all behould^{rs} & ye great benefitt & experience of the souldiers & to the increase of there number, and indeed I had in my purpose sivall other legacies to have bestowede on this Company for there encouragem^t & the example of others & have them in a readines & of some consequence but the smale appearance of the Company & the declyning of it dayly (w^{ch} cannot be but a great discouragem^t to the Capt^t & Officers that comand them, as also to the Souldiers y^t doe appeare & causes a kinde of contempt instead of esteem in those that behould them) makes me feare the fynall dissolution of it & so all giftes will sincke with it & come to nothinge hath beene the cause of altering my resolution, though I know a skillfull comander though he have a body of men but 4 fyles 6 deepe which is but 24 souldiers, yea I would add further, if he have but halfe so many but two fyles 6 or 8 deepe, with them he may p^rforme such variety of

* An outwork with two faces which form together a salient angle, the inner ends of the faces bending in like a crescent.

† Than.

exercises, not only for the postures but the severall motions dubbings raceings counter marshes, wheelings yea such varietie of formes of Battells & severall kinds of fyreings & charges as should be not only delightful but very usefull & gainfull to those that are exercised & not only for two or three Trayning dayes, but have matter enough to exercise them for sevall yeares wch I should hardly have believed, did not I know it to be true & have seene it with myne eyes, yet notwithstanding what comfort or credit can a Capt. have to goe into the field with 6 or 12 souldiers & under the name of an Artillery or Military Company, it would be my rejoyceing if there could be any meanes thought on or used to increase & encourage this Company that is & may be so honorably & advantagious to the whole country, that it may remaine & continue still in splendor & esteeme increasing & not declyning, but all things have there changes.

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Books to be consulted for further information:—

THE HISTORIE BOOKE. Done to keep in lasting remembrance the joyouse meeting of the Honourable Artillery Company of London and the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of the Massachusetts in the Towne of Boston. A.D. 1903. Edited by Justin H. Smith. Privately printed at the Norwood Press. 1903. Medium 4to. pp. lvi. 176. *ports. ill.* (some coloured, some in text).

THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY. 1537-1926. By Major G. Goold Walker, D.S.O., M.C. (Major, Reserve of Officers), Secretary of the Company. John Lane, The Bodley Head Limited. London. 1926. 8vo. pp. xviii. 298. *ill. plans* (some coloured, some in text).

A REPORT OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF BOSTON, containing miscellaneous papers. Boston. 1886. 8vo. pp. 202.

ARMY INSPECTION RETURNS—1753 to 1804.

BY THE REV. PERCY SUMNER.

[For previous sections, see Vol. III. 227; IV. 23, 91, 104, 168; and V. 25, 66, 126.]

SIXTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT (*continued*).

1790. 14 June. Light Infantry caps of leather according to pattern.

1792. 12 June. 12 Drums. 9 Music. 5 under size.

1798. 24 October. Lately returned from West Indies. Had round hats.

SEVENTIETH REGIMENT OF FOOT.*

[THE EAST SURREY REGIMENT.]†

1768.

Facings of the rank and file. Black.

Officers' Hat-Lace. Gold.

Colour of the Waistcoats, Breeches and lining of the Coats. White.

Colour of the Lace. White, with a Narrow Black Worm Stripe.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1758. 30 May. 2 Fifers. White and marching gaiters.**1777.** 5 May. Officers' uniforms plain and genteel. An Handsome Band of Music genteelly dressed.**1788.** 3 June. Light Infantry in short gaiters. Men reviewed in linen waistcoats and breeches.**1789.** 22 August. Field Officers properly mounted. Men's hats not cocked or laced properly.

SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT.**

[DISBANDED.]

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1758. 30 May. Officers' uniforms quite new and very rich. Grenadier Company has 2 Fifers. No hangers for men (only 36 swords in list).**1759.** 26 May. White and marching gaiters.

SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT—INVALIDS.‡

[DISBANDED.]

* Raised in August, 1756, as the 2nd Battalion of the 31st Foot. (See Vol. IV. 168.) Became the 70th Foot in June, 1758. Page 125 of the Army List of 1766. Stationed in the Charibbee Islands.

In 1881, when the Territorial Organization of linked regiments was introduced, the 70th Foot, after an interval of 123 years, again became the 2nd Battalion of the 31st.

† Second Battalion.

** Raised in 1756 as the 2nd Battalion of the 32nd Foot (see Vol. IV. 169). Became the 71st Foot in June, 1758—p. 129 of Army List of 1763, in which year it was disbanded.

‡ Raised in June, 1758, as the 81st Foot, Invalids (Lindore's). Became the 71st Foot, Invalids, in 1763 (see Army List of 1763, p. 126). 'Broke' and formed into Independent Companies of Invalids in 1769.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1769. 12 May. Officers—red, faced and lapelled blue—laced gold—blue waistcoat and breeches.

SEVENTY-NINTH REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR CAMERONIAN VOLUNTEERS.*

[THE QUEEN'S OWN CAMERON HIGHLANDERS.]

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1795. 29 June. " Breastplates and hair rosettes " mentioned.

1799. 11 March. Men charged for blue trousers they now wear.

1799. 8 April. No Band of Music. Men were reviewed in white washing trousers, but wore bonnets as Highlanders.

Establishment—English 263, Scotch 239, Irish 55, Foreigners 7—564.

EIGHTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF (HIGHLAND) FOOT.**

[DISBANDED.]

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1778. 6 November. Officers—scarlet jacket and plaid—white facings and plain lapels—silver epaulette—white waistcoat—silver buttons.

1779. 20 October. Bonnets and hose according to order. Colours 1778.

1780. 25 May. Grenadiers and Light Company provided with caps since Review.

EIGHTY-FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT.†

[THE LOYAL REGIMENT (NORTH LANCASHIRE).]§

* Raised in August, 1793. Page 181 of the Army List of 1795. Two other Regiments bearing the number 79 had previously existed—1759 64, and 1778 84.

** Raised in 1777. Disbanded in 1783.

† Raised in 1793. Page 183 of the Army List of 1795.

§ 2nd Battalion.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1798. 2 August. Belts were originally too narrow, and the bayonet belt not correctly according to regulation. No Grenadier caps or Pioneers' appointments.

Officers—scarlet coats faced to waist with light buff—round cuffs—cross pockets—white buttons numbered, buff waistcoats and breeches—lace epaulette with silver fringe.

The Bayonet belts only 2 inches, and pouch belts 2¼ throughout the regiment.

1804. 2nd Battalion. Plymouth Dock. Accoutrements of black leather.

EIGHTY-FIFTH REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR ROYAL
VOLUNTEERS.*

[DISBANDED.]

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1760. 10 March. 1456 firelocks, &c.

Officers. Armed with fuses; have cross buff belts; wear their sashes round the middle; salute differently from the rest of the Army.

Officers' uniform—a red coat without lapels, with blue cuffs and capes, and silver loops, lined with white; double-breasted short waistcoats of white cloth and breeches of same; hats cocked in manner of King Henry VIII with a plume of white feathers.

Arms much lighter and shorter than those of the Infantry—Officers and men have hangers. Pouch-belt much narrower than what is used by the Infantry; the waist-belt worn cross the shoulder.

Men's uniform—red coat without lapels, with blue cuffs and capes and white loops, lined white; double-breasted short waistcoats of white cloth and breeches of same; hats cocked in manner of King Henry VIII with a narrow white lace, and a plume of white feathers. No white or brown gaiters, but a black leather gaiter comes half way up the leg.

NINETY-THIRD REGIMENT OF FOOT.**

[THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS
(PRINCESS LOUISE'S).]†

* Raised in July, 1759, and disbanded in 1763. This regiment had 2nd Lieutenants and no ensigns. Page 143 of Army List of 1760.

** Raised in 1800. Page 336 of Army List of 1801.

† 2nd Battalion.

INSPECTION RETURNS.

1801. 1 May. Officers and men wear hair in club, the form in use, I am told by Lieut. Col. Halkett,§ with the Highland regiments in Ireland. Want of proper regimental dress by the Officers. The Lieut. Col. has shown me a bonnet which he wears himself, of which pattern he has ordered those for the men—it differs from the National bonnet in shape and in having a leathern front like that added to the regulation cap of Infantry regiments. New colours have been received of the pattern ordered in consequence of the Union. 27 Pikes and 3 fuzils.

21 September. Plaids of 6 yards to last 2 years. Drummers had bonnets.

1802. 3 April. The whole of the coats are cut short in the body to a very unseemly degree, having only 8 buttons at equal distances in front, and being on an average from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches shorter than those of the rest of the Army.

A CORPS OF RIFLEMEN.*

[THE RIFLE BRIGADE (PRINCE CONSORT'S OWN).]

1800. 23 September. Had Buglers.

1803. 23 December. Serjeants had sashes—canes & strings—whistles. Rank & file powder-horns—powder-flasks & ball-bags.

HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT OF FOOT.†

[DISBANDED.]

1781. 17 October (letter). Facings deep buff, looped 2 & 2—lace white with a scarlet figure & sky blue stripe—coat lined with brown linen—with linen waistcoat & breeches, on account of its being destined for the East Indies—white metal button with “ 101 ”—hats to be laced with white linen tape, with black hair cockades.

HUNDRED AND SECOND REGIMENT OF FOOT.§§

[DISBANDED.]

1781. 1 November (letter). Facings pale yellow, looped 2 & 2. Lace white with 1 yellow & 2 scarlet stripes—white metal button with “ 102 ”—coat red, & lined with brown linen—waistcoat & breeches

§ Alexander Halkett, Lieut.-Colonel in this regiment.

* Raised in August, 1800. Designated '95th Regiment of Foot' in 1803, and in 1816 'The Rifle Brigade.'

† Raised in 1781; disbanded in 1783.

§§ Raised in 1781; disbanded in 1785.

linen—hats laced with white linen tape, with black cockades—Grenadiers to have hats, the same as the Battalion, instead of bearskin caps.

Raised in 1781; disbanded in 1785.

ROYAL STAFF CORPS.*

1801. 18 April. Firelocks so much smaller than the ordinary that a ball cartridge for the Army cannot be used—Had Buglers.—Fatigue dress—white jackets and pantaloons.

THE END.

THE 'CUMBERLAND' SOCIETY.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR GODFREY DALRYMPLE-WHITE, Bart., M.P.,
late Grenadier Guards.

On page 14, *ante*, an illustration and description of a medal are given, and it is stated, at the foot of the page, that "King George II ordered a gold medal for Culloden to be issued to all senior Officers."

This may, or may not, be correct, but it can be proved beyond doubt that the medal, as illustrated, was that of the "Cumberland" Society, which was formed at Inverness on the day following the battle, 17 April, 1746.

It was not a War medal; it was not conferred by the Sovereign; and some of the members of the Society were not soldiers.

The medal, of which I have a specimen, is thus described.



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

* Raised in 1798. Disbanded in 1815.

Obverse.—The bust of the Duke of Cumberland; above CUMBERLAND. Below, YEO. F. (Yeo fecit.).

Reverse.—Apollo, laureate, leaning upon his bow, points to the Dragon wounded by his arrow. *Legend*: ACTUM EST. ILICET. PERIIT. (The deed is done, it is all over, he has perished.) In *exergue*, PRÆL. COLOD. AP. XVI. MDCCXLVI. (The Battle of Culloden, 16 April, 1746.)

The medal has an ornamental border and a loop for suspension.

Ribbon—Pink, with green borders.

Most books on medals, or on collections of medals, fall into error in describing it as the 'Culloden' medal.

In the catalogue of the late Lord Cheylesmore's collection (1880) it is stated on page 119:—

"This medal (gold) was given to Officers who commanded regiments at the battle of Culloden, and was worn round the neck by a crimson ribbon with a green border.

"This medal belonged to Brigadier-General Fleming. He commanded the 36th Regiment at the battle of Culloden."

Tancred (1891) says on pp. 42-3:—

"For this battle George II ordered Gold Medals to be distributed to the senior officers.

Attached to the medal which belonged to Col. Howard, who commanded the Buffs at the battle of Culloden, is a much faded riband, 36 inches long, crimson with green borders, which might be taken as evidence that it had been worn suspended from the neck.

"The Medals of Colonel Fleming (36th Regiment) and Wren (46th Regiment) are both known to exist, the latter being in the possession of Captain Ridout, to whom it was bequeathed. At the Naval and Military Exhibition, at Edinburgh, 1889, another was exhibited by H. T. Munro, younger, of Lindertis, which was granted to General Harvey, A.D.C. to the Duke of Cumberland. Silver specimens have been sold at Sotheby's, one at the sale of Mr. Ashley, 1876, and another at the sale of Mr. Holmes, 1890, which brought £20, a bronze specimen at the same sale realizing £14."

Elvin (1893) and Hastings Irwin (1910) make the same mistake, but Mayo and Steward are not so emphatic.

James Fleming was Colonel of the 36th Foot, but was not a member of the 'Cumberland' Society. The member of the Society was Hezekiah Fleming, 34th Foot. Captain Jordan Wren belonged to the 37th Foot, not the 46th.

It is difficult to say what the silver and bronze medals were, but in the absence of any authoritative history of them I suggest that they are 'fakes,' invented by the makers of the many so-called 'regimental' medals.

The rules of the Society are contained in a large 4to. book, and, with the names of members, additional rules, etc., cover 18 pages of

ornamental writing, with head and tail pieces, some of the pages being signed ' Benjamin Webb.'

This book originally belonged to Lieut.-General Sir James Adolphus Oughton, K.B., Secretary of the Society, who died in 1780, then being Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. See ' D.N.B.'

He was an ancestor of mine, and the book and the Medal, with its original pink and green ribbon, are in my possession.

I have also the picture of Sir Adolphus which shows the medal, with its ribbon suspended around the neck.

R U L E S .

Agreed to by the Right Honourable and Honourable the President and Members of the Cumberland Society, which was instituted at Inverness the 17th day of April, 1746, in grateful Remembrance of the Service done our King and Country by his Royal Highness the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND in extinguishing the Rebellion at the Battle of CULLODEN.

- I. That the Society being free from all Partiality will give no Offence to any other Society, Body of People or Particulars.
- II. That the President shall continue in that employment during life.
- III. That the number of members shall not exceed the number of years of His Royal Highness the Duke's Age.
[H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, born 16 April, 1721, was 25 years old when the Society was founded, so that 25 Members could have been elected in accordance with Rule 3.]
- IV. That the Society shall meet every 15th of April being His Royal Highness's Birthday for the Election of a new Member, and filling up Vacancies.
- V. That the Election shall be by balloting, a single Black Bean, or Negative being sufficient to exclude a Candidate.
- VI. Whenever a Candidate is ballotted for, the Member, who proposes him is to put the Billet with his name into the Secretary's hat, which billett is not to be looked into till drawn by the President.
- VII. Each Member present is to propose a Candidate.
- VIII. It is strictly required of every Member of this Society, under pain of expulsion not to disclose the result of any balloting, by which a Candidate has been rejected, nor to take any notice of the opinion of any particular Member should it chance to be discovered.
- IX. No new Laws are to be made or Member elected, but in the presence of the President or by his Authority.

- X. In case of a Separation by foreign Service, the President is to appoint a Deputy by his Sign-manual, to act for him during that Separation.
- XI. A Medal of ten Guineas price to be struck for each Member in Honour of His Royal Highness the DUKE, and the Victory of CULLODEN, the Die of which to be constantly lodged with the President.
- XII. All Members of this Society, who are Military men are required to wear their Medals openly in day of Action and should any Member lose his Medal by falling into the Enemy's hands, the Society to present him with another at their expence.

[In the list of 24 Members here following, as recorded in the book, Regiments are referred to by the numbers which were subsequently allotted to them in the ' Clothing ' Warrant of 1 July, 1751.]

The Most Noble JOHN, Marquess of Granby, was appointed Perpetual President.

[Eldest son of John, 3rd Duke of Rutland, whom he pre-deceased. See ' D.N.B. ']

William Supple, Esq., Captain in Battereau's Regiment.
[Colonel John Battereau. This regiment was raised on 29 March, 1742, and broke in 1748. Supple appears as being on half-pay in the Army List of 1766, but not in that of 1767.]

Thomas Carter, Esq.,

Nicholas Price, Esq.

The Honourable Thomas Gage,
Esquire.

[2nd son of Thomas, 1st Viscount Gage. See ' D.N.B. ']

Mr. Joshua Pilot. Surgeon to Battereau's & to the Society.

[His name appears in the Army List, as on half-pay, until 1785, but not after.]

Rev^d. Mr. James Moore. Chaplain to the late MONRO'S and to the Society.

[This is the Regiment, which was later known as the 37th Foot. Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, 6th Bart., was its Colonel, appointed on 17 June, 1745. He was killed at the Battle of Falkirk on 17 December of the same year.

James Moore retained the Chaplaincy until 1765.]

Mr. James Adolphus Oughton. Major of Brigade and Secretary to the Society.

[The owner of the Book now described. He became Lieut.-Colonel of the 37th Foot on 7 August, 1749. See ' D.N.B. ']

- Thomas Buck, Esquire. Captain in late MONRO'S.
[Captain, 15 January, 1739/40.]
- James Kinnear, Esq.
[37th Foot. Ensign, 15 January, 1739/40.]
- The Right Honourable Lord Robert Sutton. Capt. in the Duke of Kingston's Horse.
[Robert Manners, 2nd son of John, 3rd Duke of Rutland. He assumed the surname Sutton on succeeding to the estates of his maternal grandfather, Robert Sutton, 2nd Baron Lexington, of Aram, in Nottinghamshire.]
- Evelyn Chadwick, Esq., Capt. in the Duke of Kingston's Horse.
- Richard Burton, Esq., Lieut. „ „ „
- Charles Mellish, Esq.
- Joseph D'Almeida, Esq.
[A person of this name died at Watford on 26 May, 1788. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1788. p. 563.]
- Sir William Middleton, Baronet.
[3rd Baronet. M.P. for Northumberland, 1722-57.]
- William Caulfield, Esq., Deputy Governor of Fort Augustus.
[Nephew of W. Caulfield, 2nd Viscount Charlemont. Ft. Augustus was 33 miles S.W. from Inverness.]
- George Howard, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel to Lieut.-General T[homas] Howard's Regiment.
[3rd Foot, The Buffs.]
- James Lockhart, Esq., Major in Cholmondley's Regiment.
[34th Foot. No ' Lockhart ' is shown in the Lists of 1740 or 1752.]
- Hon. Lieutenant Somerville. Excluded the Society, having signified his desire to quit it.
- The Hon. Alexander Brodie, Esq., Lord Lyon.
[King of Arms. Second son of George Brodie of that Ilk and of Asleisk; born 17 August, 1697, and succeeded as laird of Brodie upon the death of his elder brother James, in 1720. Was appointed Lord Lyon on 6 July, 1727. He was the first Lord Lyon who was not actually crowned at his inauguration, and did not receive the knighthood which had been immemorially associated with the Office. He assumed the prefix Honourable, applied to the other judges of the Supreme Courts in Scotland, in place of the prefix Rt. Hon.]

which had been used by the preceding Lord Lyons.

He attended the Coronation of GEORGE II, 11 October, 1727, and lived a good deal in London.

He was Lord Lyon at the time of the rising of 1745, and died on 9 March, 1754.]

Hezekiah Fleming, Esq., Major of Brigade.
[Captain, 34th Foot, 11 June, 1746.]

Benjamin Price, Esq., Captain in Conway's regiment.
[Colonel Henry Seymour Conway, 48th Foot. Price cannot be identified.]

John Roper, Esq., Major of Brigade. Killed at Laffelt.
[1st Lieutenant, 32nd Foot, 14 August, 1738. The battle of Laffelt, or Val, was fought on 2 July, 1747, N.S.]

Edward Sandford, Esq., Major of Brigade.
[There is a Lieutenant Edward Sandford, 36th Foot, in the Army List of 1740, but not in that of 1752.]

Hugh Morgan, Esq., Captain in Fleming's Regiment.
[36th Foot. Captain, 24 February, 1745.]

Camp of Bouwel. 11 June, 1747. [12 miles due E. from Antwerp.]

Edward Harvey, Esq., Captain in Cope's Dragoons. Elected in the room of the Hon. Lieutenant Somerville.
[7th (or The Queen's) Regiment of Dragoons (later Hussars). Major, 8 March, 1751.]

The Right Honourable Lord George Manners. Additional Member for this year.
[3rd Son of John, 3rd Duke of Rutland.]

Camp of Argenteau. 27 September, 1747.
[10 miles due S. from Maestricht, on the right bank of the Meuse.]

William Sparke, Esq., Captain in Conway's regiment. Elected in the room of Major Roper.
[48th Foot. Roper was killed at Laffelt. See *supra*.]

London. 3 February, 1748. Additional Members for this year.

The Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel to Lord George Sackville's Regiment.
[See *ante*, p. 11, 20th Foot.]

The Rt. Hon. Sir John Lewis Ligonier, Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, General of the Horse, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Governor of Guernsey, Colonel of His Majesty's First Regiment of Dragoon Guards.

[He was appointed Governor of Guernsey in 1750, which shows that this ' Cumberland Society ' record must have been ' written up ' at a date subsequent to actual events.

Ligonier was never Colonel of the 1st Dragoon Guards. He was Colonel of the 8th Horse (which became the 4th Horse in 1746) from 1720 to 1749, in which year he was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards.]

London. 16 April, 1750. Additional Member for this year.

The Right Honourable William Anne Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, Baron of Ashford, Groom of the Stole, Governor and Captain General of Virginia, Colonel of the Coldstream Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant-Genl. of His Majesty's Forces, Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, one of the Privy Council and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.

[2nd Earl. See ' D.N.B. ']

London. 16 April, 1751. Additional Member for this year.

Captain Joseph Hall.

[11th Dragoons. Captain, 11 April, 1750.]

London. 16 April, 1752. Additional Member for this year.

Captain Jordan Wren.

[37th Foot. Captain, 17 February, 1745/6.]

London. 16 April, 1753. Additional Member.

The Most High Puissant and Noble Prince, Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston, Marquis of Dorchester, Earl of Kingston, Viscount Newark, and Baron Pierrepont of Holme-Pierrepont; Major General of His Majesty's Forces, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

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London

The 16th of April 1753.

Additional Member.

The most high, puissant and Noble.

PRINCE,

Evelyn Pierrepont,

Duke of Kingston,

Marquis of Dorchester,

Earl of Kingston,

Viscount Newark

AND

Baron Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont,

Major General of His Majesty's Forces,

And KNIGHT of the most noble ORDER of the GARTER.

[2nd Duke. He was created K.G. on 20 March, 1740/1. He raised, at his own expense, a regiment of Light Horse in 1745, which did excellent service at the battle of Culloden. It was disbanded at Nottingham on 15 September, 1746.

The Duke died *s.p.* on 23 September, 1773, when the title became extinct.]

[This page of the book is reproduced in facsimile, slightly reduced. The Blazon is:—

Arms. Argent semée of cinquefoils gules a lion rampant sable.

Crest. A lion rampant between two wings erect argent.

Supporters. Two lions sable armed and langued gules.

Motto. Pie Repone Te. [Repose yourself piously.]

The motto is obviously a play upon the name Pierrepont.

The arms, crest, supporters and motto are now borne by The Earl Manvers.]

MINUTES AND RESOLUTIONS.

London. 27 April, 1758.

AT A MEETING OF THE CUMBERLAND SOCIETY.

Unanimously resolved, That every Member of this Society, who, being in Town, shall neglect to attend the Anniversary Meeting, be fined One Guinea.

(*sd.*) JAMES ADOLPHUS OUGHTON, Secretary.

London. 27 April, 1761.

AT A MEETING OF THE CUMBERLAND SOCIETY.

Unanimously Resolved, that a new Medal be given to Major William Sparkes

[Major, 48th Foot, 3 June, 1752. See *supra.*]

at the Expence of the Society, agreeable to the 12th Article of the Laws, his having been taken by the Enemy at the Battle of Monahongahela.

[In North America. 8 July, 1755. English force, Regulars and Provincials, commanded by General Edward Braddock, and the Enemy (French, Canadians, and Indians) by Captain Beaujeu.]

(*sd.*) JAMES ADOLPHUS OUGHTON, Secretary.

Members elected, 27 April, 1758.

Captain Thomas Shirley, of Lord Effingham's Regiment.

[34th Foot. Captain, 13 March, 1749/50; in army, 12 September, 1745.]

Additional Members for the Year.

General Bland.

[Lieut.-General Humphrey Bland, Colonel of the First King's Dragoon Guards.]

The *Hon.* Captain William Napier, of the Royal North British Dragoons.

[Captain, 9 March, 1757. Succeeded his father, as 7th Baron Napier, in 1773.]

The *Hon.* Lieutenant Colonel Blayney, of the Coldstream Regiment of Guards.

[Cadwallader Blayney. Captain and Lieut.-Colonel, 8 June, 1753. Afterwards 9th Baron Blayney.]

Captain James Hargreave.

[Captain-Lieutenant, 34th Foot, 28 March, 1751. His name, spelled Hargreaves, appears in the Army List of 1755, but not in that of 1756.]

27 April, 1761. Members elected.

Charles, Lord Viscount Brome.

[Charles Cornwallis, eldest son of Charles, 1st Earl Cornwallis, and brother of Edward C., see *supra*. His father was created Earl Cornwallis and Viscount Brome in 1753, and Charles, the eldest son, was known by the courtesy title, Viscount Brome. He succeeded his father in 1762, and was created Marquess in 1792. See 'D.N.B.']

Additional Members.

St. George Dalley, Esq., Captain of the Grenadiers in the 37th Regiment.

[Captain, 21 October, 1755; Lieutenant-Colonel, 9 August, 1771.]

Francis Gore, Esq., Captain in the 25th Regiment.

[Captain, 22 January, 1755.]

MINUTES AND RESOLUTIONS.

26 April, 1762. At a Meeting of the Cumberland Society, Resolved, That whereas this Society has no established Fund, so that all incidental Expences fall entirely on such of the Members as regularly attend the Anniversary Meetings, while the Absentees are totally exempted from them, every Member in Great Britain shall, for the time to come, pay into the Secretary's hands on or before each 26th day of April, the sum of Half a Guinea, which sums the Secretary shall enter regularly into a Book, together with all such Disbursements as he may make on the Account of the Society, and lay the said Accounts before the President

and Society at the Anniversary Meetings; and that the Secretary shall transmit copies of this Resolution to all the absent Members.

That from this time forward every Member, who shall be in London, or within a reasonable distance of it, and shall neglect attending, shall be fined TWO GUINEAS.

MEMBERS Elected in the Year 1762.

Colonel Sacheveril Poole.

[Edward Sacheverell Pole, of Radbourne, Derbyshire. Lieut.-Colonel, 23rd Foot (or Royal Welch Fusiliers), 9 January, 1756; Colonel in the Army, 19 February, 1762.]

Captain Thomas Buck.

Colonel Hamilton Lambert.

[Colonel of the 67th Foot, 29 May, 1761.]

MEMBERS Elected in the Year 1763.

Colonel William Pitt.

[Possibly William Augustus Pitt, Lieut.-Colonel, 10th Dragoons; Colonel in the army, 19 February, 1762.]

Joshua, Viscount Allen.

[5th Viscount. Title became extinct in 1845. Captain, 37th Foot, 27 August, 1756; Lieut.-Colonel in the army, 16 April, 1762.]

Lieut.-Colonel Robert Hall.

[Major, 37th Foot, 1 May, 1758; Lieut.-Colonel in the army, 25 October, 1761.]

Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Dickens.

[First Regiment of Foot Guards. Captain and Lieut.-Colonel, 9 December, 1758.]

Captain Wade Caulfield.

[Captain, 3rd Dragoon Guards, 19 February, 1760. Son of William Caulfield—see *ante*.]

MEMBERS Elected in the Year 1765.

Colonel John Litchfield.

[Lieut.-Colonel, 7th Dragoons, 14 October, 1761.]

Colonel Eyre Coote.

[Colonel, 4 April, 1765. See ' D.N.B. ']

Major Henry Hart.

[Late 34th Foot, Major, 3 March, 1750. Lieut.-Governor of Sheerness, 1757.]

Major William Alderton.

[Late 102nd Foot. Major-Commandant, 29 October, 1762.]

LONDON. 27 April, 1766.

ADDITIONAL MEMBER Elected this Year.

Captain John Ross, of the Thirty First, General Oughton's, Regiment.

[Of Balkail, Wigtonshire. Captain, 8 November, 1763. He was the father of Field-Marshal Sir Hew Dalrymple Ross, G.C.B., Royal Artillery.

Oughton was appointed to the Coloneley of the 31st Foot on 20 August, 1762.]

H.R.H The Duke of Cumberland died on 31 October, 1765. Beyond the election of Captain Ross in 1766 there are no records. Information is desired as to any later Proceedings of the Society.

REVIEW.

A BRITISH FUSILIER IN REVOLUTIONARY BOSTON. Being the Diary of Lieutenant FREDERICK MACKENZIE, Adjutant of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, January 5—April 30, 1775. With a letter describing his voyage to America. Edited by Allen French, Author of *The Day of Concord and Lexington*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. Foolscap 4to. pp. xii, 84. *port. map.* Price 15s.

This very interesting diary of a British Officer in America at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, is prefaced by a letter to his father—June, 1773—giving an account of his voyage to New York. The Editor, Mr. Allen French, the author of *The Day of Concord and Lexington*, in his explanatory notes, preserves the same very fair and impartial attitude as to the British and American aspects of the commencement of the momentous contest between the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon nation which characterises him in the above-mentioned work.

In his preface to the diary he explains that the diary he is dealing with is one only out of a series kept by Mackenzie between 1748 and 1791. All previous to this one have been lost, as well as the portion immediately succeeding it, so that his doubtless very interesting and valuable remarks

on the Battle of Bunker Hill and the evacuation of Boston are not available.

Frederick Mackenzie was commissioned as 2nd Lieutenant in the 23rd R.W.F. on 31 October, 1756, becoming, in due course, 1st Lieutenant on 3.10.57 and Captain on 22.11.75, so that he had nearly 20 years' service when the events mentioned in this part of his diary took place.

Promoted to Major on 9.8.80, he was employed as D.A.G. in New York. In October, 1787, he became Lieut.-Colonel in the 37th Foot. He died in 1824, leaving three sons, two of whom served in their father's old Regiment—the Royal Welch Fusiliers.

The Diarist—with his wife and family of one boy and two girls—left Plymouth on 25 April, 1773, and moored alongside a New York Wharf at 11 p.m. on 9 June. It must have been rather an uncomfortable voyage, as a deal of bad weather was encountered, and the accommodation was very cramped, even for those days. Mrs. Mackenzie and her two daughters shared a cabin 7 feet square and 7 feet high with another lady, her daughter and maid—"a little dirty, Scotch girl," and Mackenzie explains at some length the way they were all fitted in.

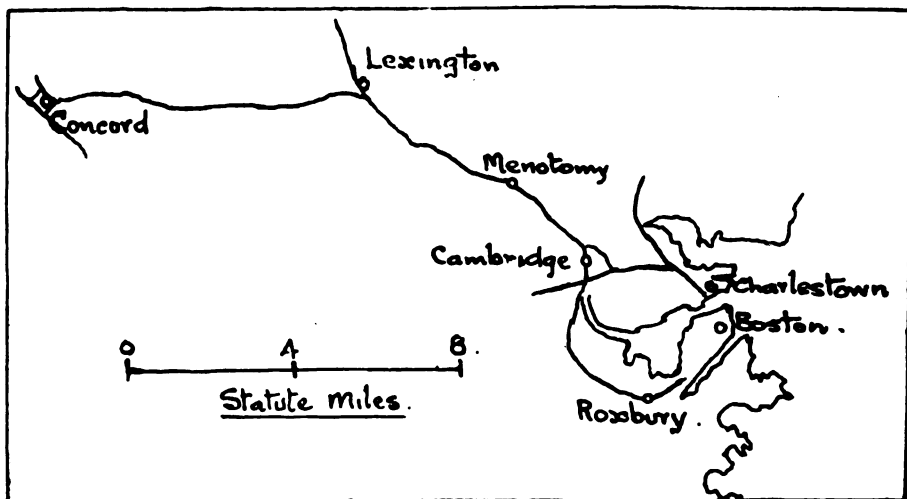
The Officers taking passage had, apparently, to arrange for their own provisions and messing. "We agreed at Plymouth, that if it cost the Single Men £10 each, the Married were to pay £15,—and if it came to more to be divided equally"—p. 21. They laid in a large stock of provisions at prices which would make the mouth of a housekeeper of to-day water, and had a fair amount over at the end of their seven weeks' crossing.

Mackenzie gives a short but vivid account of New York and of their quarters and their furnishing—the latter bearing a very strong resemblance to that of our own day, viz.: "a table, 2 chairs, fire irons and an ash box."

In August, 1774, the R.W.F., on account of the growing tension between the people of Massachusetts and the British, were transferred to Boston, where Mackenzie's Diary begins on 5 January, 1775, with a very ordinary item about working parties. The Troops at this time seem to have been preparing for the possible outbreak of hostilities by making cartridges and "firing with ball at marks," and marching out to exercise the men and give their officers some idea of the surrounding neighbourhood. The relations between the troops and the townspeople were not of the happiest nature, and we find General Gage issuing a warning as to the conduct of certain officers. The inhabitants of Boston on their part were—with the exception of a certain number of loyalists—doing all in their power to send out ammunition and information to the Provincials who were engaged in collecting arms, ammunition and military stores in various depots in the surrounding country, which they endeavoured to keep secret but which the British generally got wind of. It was the attempt made by General Gage to capture and destroy these rebel depots which was the immediate occasion of the outbreak of hostilities. It had become known that a considerable amount of arms

and ammunition was hidden away in and around Concord, a township 15 or 20 miles distant from Boston. Gage decided to pay this depot a surprise visit at daybreak of 19 April, but laid his plans with such an environment of mystery that—as Mackenzie points out—more attention was drawn to the project than if more ordinary methods had been pursued. The expeditionary force consisted of the Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies of 9 Line Regiments and the two Battalions of Marines—22 Companies in all—under the command of Lt.-Col. [Francis] Smith, of the 10th Foot, and Major [William] Pitcairn, of the Marines, they being “first for duty, and the Senior of each rank.”

Although great caution was observed in the issue of orders to the troops, who were to be ferried across from the west side of the town to the main-land—an unusual route—about midnight, the preparation of boats and provisions on board the men-of-war and transports was bruited abroad early in the day, and when a detachment of mounted officers was observed by many watchful eyes that afternoon riding in the direction of Concord, the Provincials had little difficulty in putting two and two together, so that far from surprising Concord the expedition found a number of local Militiamen drawn up on the green at Lexington, five miles short of their objective. Which side fired the first shot on that momentous occasion will always be a matter of argument, but in any case it does not concern Mackenzie's Diary, since he was not present.



When matters became threatening, Colonel Smith sent back for reinforcements, with which Mackenzie went out. These consisted of the 4th, 23rd, 47th Foot, and the 1st Battalion of Marines, forming the 1st Brigade, under General Earl Percy. It was half-past 8 before it marched off, owing to the careless delivery of orders from Head Quarters. (Three hours were lost because the orders for the Brigade-Major were left at his house in his absence, and he was not told of their arrival on

his return, and another hour because the same thing happened with regard to Major Pitcairn, who commanded the Marines, though it must have been known that he was away with the Flank Companies.)

With the Brigade went two Field pieces, though Mackenzie does not mention them. However, without them the retreat might have been disastrous, for he says of the pursuing Rebels that "whenever a Cannon shot was fired at any considerable number, they instantly dispersed." The Brigade advanced viâ the Neck, Roxbury, Cambridge and Menotomy. "Few people were to be seen," writes Mackenzie, "and the houses were in general shut up." In the neighbourhood of Lexington the retreating flank companies were met, "fired upon by the rebels, who took every advantage the face of the country afforded them."

The reinforcing Brigade drew up in line on the Boston side of Lexington, and "the flank companies now retired and formed behind the brigade," which at once came under fire from the rebels. "We also advanced a few of our best marksmen, who fired at those who shewed themselves"—p. 55.

The whole body now commenced to retire towards Boston, followed and flanked by the rebels all the way. Mackenzie's regiment, which formed the Rear-Guard "for near 7 miles, and expended a great part of its ammunition, was then relieved by the Marines, which was the next Battalion in the Column"—p. 56.

As the brigade approached Cambridge the firing became hotter and hotter, and Lord Percy thinking that the bridge there over the Charles River "might either be broken down"—(which indeed was the case)—"or require to be forced," took the resolution of returning by way of Charlestown, which was the shortest road, and which could be defended against any number of the rebels. During the march the Marines had been relieved in the duty of forming the Rear Guard by the 47th Regiment, and that regiment by the 4th.

"As soon as the troops had passed Charlestown Neck the rebels ceased firing"—p. 58.

After remaining drawn up on the heights above Charlestown, the Flank Companies were sent across to Boston, followed, as boats were available, by Lord Percy's Brigade. The first boats "returned with the Picquets of the 2nd and 3rd Brigades, the 10th Regiment, and 200 of the 64th," so that Charlestown Neck must have been occupied in considerable force.

Mackenzie gives a list (p. 61) of casualties, which totalled 68 Killed, 167 Wounded and 22 Missing, not including Officers, who lost 17 wounded—2 mortally. The remarkable point in this list is the very heavy losses among the Marines—3 Officers wounded; other ranks, 31 killed, 38 wounded, and 2 missing. The 4th Regiment came next with 2 Officers wounded—one of whom (Lieut. Joseph Knight) died the day following—and of other ranks 7 killed, 25 wounded, and 8 missing.* There is nothing in the various reports and narratives of the fighting

* See *ante*, pp. 127-8.

which throws any light upon this, but it may be surmised that the reason for the heavy loss of the Marines was due to the fact that they acted as Rear Guard in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, where the fighting seems to have been fiercest and where they probably had to cover the change of direction of the main body to Charlestown Neck, almost at right angles to the previous line of retreat.

Mackenzie adds the narrative of an officer of one of the Flank Companies that were engaged at Concord and Lexington, which is of considerable interest—pp. 62-8. The remainder of the Diary contains principally routine Garrison Orders, which call for no particular comment.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS OF SOLDIERS IN THE LONDON CITY CHURCHES.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

(Continued from Vol. IV. p. 149.)

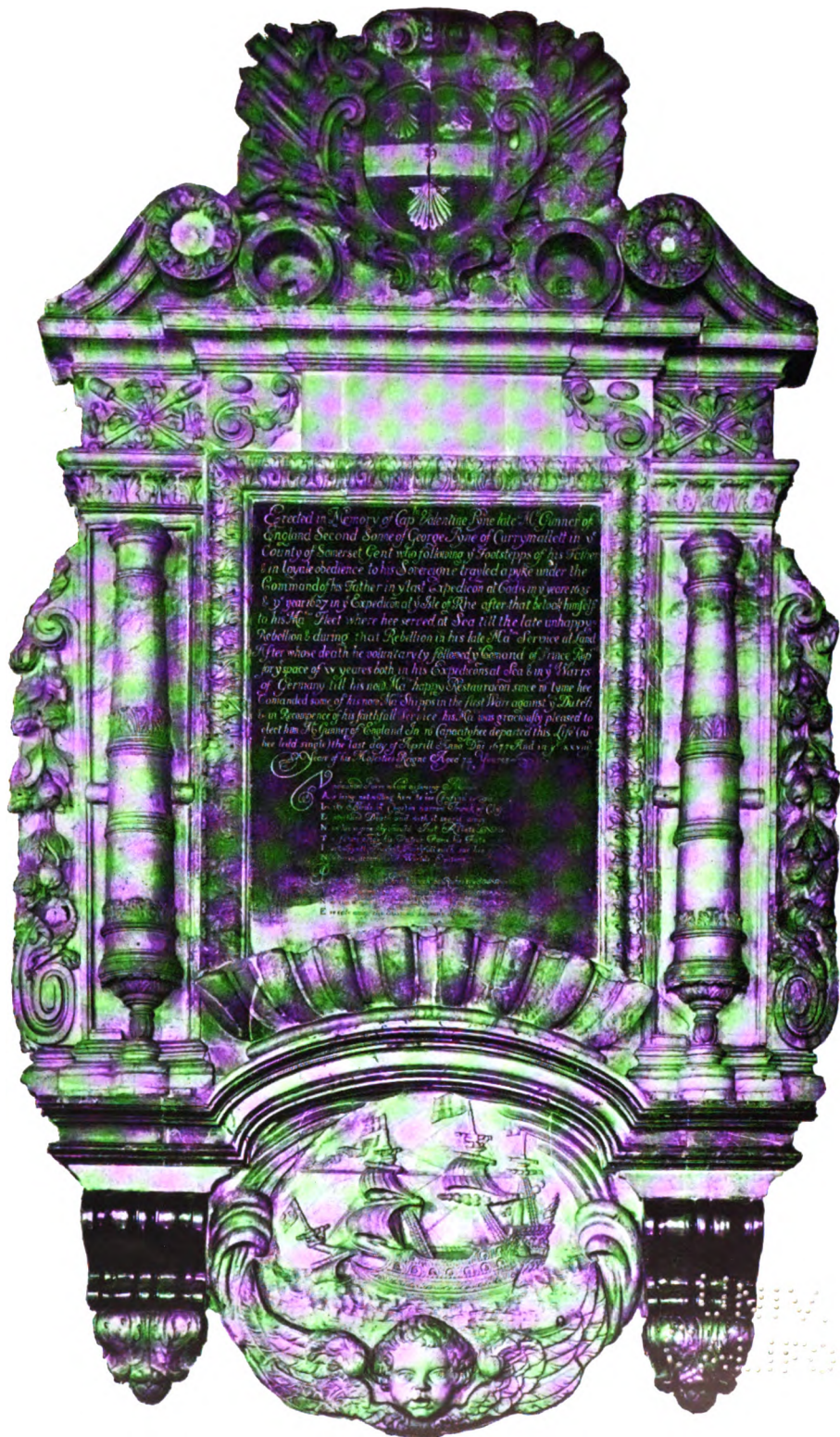
The Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, in The Tower.

Valentine Pyne, Master-Gunner of England.

The illustration here given is of a mural tablet on the N. wall of this Church in the Tower of London, close to the organ; strictly speaking it is *not* a 'City' Church.

The inscription on the tablet is:—

Erected in Memory of Capt^m Valentine Pyne late Mr. Gunner of / England Second Sonne of George Pyne of Currymallett, in ye / County of Somerset Gent who following ye Footstepps of his Father / & in loyale obedience to his Sovereigne trayled a pyke † under the / Command of his Father in ye last expedicon at Cadis* in ye yeare 1625 / and ye year 1627 in ye expedicon at ye Isle of Rhe † after that betook himself / to his Maies Fleet where hee served at Sea till the late unhappy / Rebellion, & during that Rebellion in his late Maies Service at Land. / After whose death he voluntarily followed ye Comand of Prince Rupert / for ye space of XV yeares both in his expedicons at sea & in ye Warrs / of Germany till his now Maies happy Restauracon since wch tyme hee / Comanded some of his now Maies Shippes in the first Warr against ye Dutch / & in Recompence of his faithfull service his Matie was graciously pleased to / elect him Mr. Gunner of England in wch Capacity hee departed this life



Erected in Memory of Cap^t John Curlew one of the
England Second Sonnes of George, Duke of Cornwall in
County of Somerset Gent who following the Footsteps of his Father
in Loyall obedience to his Sovereign travell'd a pike under the
Command of his Father in y^e last Expedition at Cadix in y^e year 1622
& y^e year 1623 in y^e Expedition of y^e Duke after that he took himself
to his Maj^{ty} Fleet where he served at Sea till the late unhappy
Rebellion & during that Rebellion in his late Maj^{ty} Service at Land
After whose death he voluntarily followed y^e Command of France
for y^e space of 11 years both in his Expeditions at Sea & in y^e Parts
of Germany till his death in y^e happy Restauration since in time he
commanded some of his own Maj^{ty} Ships in the first War against y^e Dutch
in y^e Revenge of his faithfull Service his Maj^{ty} was graciously pleas'd to
elect him Cap^t of y^e Countess of Arundels Ship in y^e year 1666 he was
killed in the last day of y^e Battle of Sole Bay y^e 29th of May 1666
Aged 45 years



(weh / hee ledd single) the last daye of Aprill Anno Dni 1677
And in ye XXVIIIth / Year of his Majesties Reigne aged 74
Yeares.

V ndaunted Hero whose aspiring mind
A s being not willing here to bee confin'd
L ike birds in cage, in narrow Trunk of Clay
E ntertain'd Death and with it soar'd away
N ow hee is gone why should I not Relate
T o a future Age his Valour, Fame, his Fate
I ust, Loyal, Prudent, Faithful, such was hee
N atures accomplished worlds Epitomic.

P roud hee was not and though by Riches tryd
Y et virtue was his safe his surest guide
N or can devouring Tyme his rapid Jawes
E re eat away those Axioms hee made Lawes.

‡ To carry a pike in the right hand in an oblique position with the head forward and the butt nearly touching the ground.

The phrase 'to trail a pike' is archaic, meaning to 'serve as a soldier.'

* Under the command of Admiral Edward Cecil, created Viscount Wimbledon in 1626. The expedition was a miserable failure. See 'D.N.B.'

† Under the command of the Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers), Lord High Admiral. The Isle de Rhé is situated on the W. coast of France, opposite La Rochelle. This expedition was a complete failure. (See 'D.N.B.')

The tablet, the bottom of which is 7' 6" from the ground, is 8' 10" in height and 5' in width, at the widest part.

The following description of the tablet has been kindly furnished by Mr. F. E. Pearce Edwards, F.R.I.B.A.:—

"This mural monument consists of a central panel containing the inscription, with enriched moulded surround, flanked by panell'd pilasters with moulded bases and enriched capitals forming part of the architrave. Each pilaster contains a cannon placed vertically, with swags of fruit and foliage springing from volutes on outer sides.

"The entablature over comprises moulded cornice and carved frieze, showing crossed artillery sponges and ribbon ornament above the pilasters: the centre portion of the frieze, supported by scrolls and slightly projecting, is left plain, and may have been intended for an inscription or motto. The base is formed by a moulded string, elliptically arched in centre, and crowned by a bold gadroon ornament.

"The monument is supported on carved and moulded consoles, the space between being filled by carving in relief, of a galleon in action, framed by palms of victory springing from a winged cherub's head. The entablature is surmounted by a shortened pediment, finished with carved rosettes, and shield with arms and mantling."

The Arms are those of Pyne of Curry Mallet. The Blazon is:—
Azure a Fess between Three Escallops Or.

[Fess. One of the Ordinaries, formed by drawing two horizontal lines across the field. It should contain $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the shield.]

Pyne belonged to an old Somersetshire family, seated at Curry Mallett, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.W. from Ilminster. See 'D.N.B.'

He was appointed Master-Gunner "as well within our Tower of London as within our Kingdom of England and elsewhere," on 15 February, 1665/6, in the room of James Weymes, deceased. [P.R.O., Patent Roll, No. 3098. 16.]

The duties of the Master-Gunner as laid down in a Royal Warrant, dated 25 July, 1683 (P.R.O., W.O., 55/1790) were:—

"PROPER Dutys of Our Master Gunner of England."

- 1st To profess and teach his Art to Our Under-Gunners in the Exercise of Shooting of Great Ordnance, Morter Peeeces &c. in such Publique Place or Places as by the Master of Our Ordnance shall be allotted and appointed for y^t Purpose and therein to Exercise them once a Moneth in Winter and twice ev'ry Moneth in Sommer.
- 2dly To Certify to Our Master of Our Ordnance, or Our Principall Officers the Ability of any Gunner or Scholler by him Instructed and not to recomend any but such as Hee knows to be Sufficiently Qualified and Experienc'd In the Art of Gunnery or have done Service Abroad and thereby rendred themselves Capable to be Entertained by Us, to be preferred by the Master of Our Ordnance to Our Service, Nor to recomend any Person that shall Continue a Clerke to any of Our Officers, or a Serv^t to any other Person to the Fees of any of Our Establish'd Gunners.
- 3dly To keep a Register of all the Gunners that receive any Fees from Us, Their Names, Persons, Professions, Places of Aboad, and to Exhibitt the same att the Board of Our Office there to be kept by the Clerke of Our Ordnance that soe Quarterly Musters may be made And none Entered upon the Quarter Bookes of Our Office but such as shall appeare to Our said Clerke of the Ordnance to be really & Actually employed in Our Service.
- 4thly To keep Likewise an Exact List or Register of all Our Great Guns as well Brass as Iron belonging to any of Our Ships, Forts, Castles, Blockhouses or Garrisons, Or Remaining in any of Our Magazines, Expressing their Severall Natures, Weights, Lengths, and Dimensions of Mettle att the Base, Trunions, and Muzle and the same to have in readyness to be presented to the Master of Our Ordnance Or to Our Principall Officers at their Board whensoever itt shall be required.
- 5thly Lastly the said Master Gunner is hereby Strictly Comanded, and Required not to take, demand, or receive any Fees other than the Ordinary, Ancient, and Usual Fees following, Viz^t.

| | |
|---|---------------|
| For the Examination Tryall & Certificate of any Gunner | s. 00. 10. |
| For taking the Oath & for the Copie thereof | 00. 5. |
| For Admittance and Entry upon the Muster Roll | 00. 02. 06. |

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Sir,—I am desirous of finding new material on the beginning of the American Revolution, from the outbreak of Lexington and Concord—April, 1775—through the battle of Bunker Hill, to the end of the siege of Boston. As an American, I am familiar with the American side, but need a knowledge of the facts as seen by the British, and a sympathetic understanding of the British point of view, in order that a book which I am projecting on the subject shall be fair. I have the usual access to public documents, but desire to find private papers, letters or diaries, which give an intimate view of the experiences and opinions of British participants in the events.

I have found and published a part of the diary—January to April, 1775—of Frederick Mackenzie, of the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers, and should much like to discover the whereabouts of the remainder. Can anyone inform me where are the early letters of Gen. Sir Martin Hunter, or of the first Lord Harris? Letters of William Souter (Marines) are known to me: can anyone tell me of others?

These are but examples of men who are known to have written; many others must have done the same whose letters or diaries may still be existent. Some of these may even have been printed, but privately, and so have not come into general knowledge. I am now in England on this quest for the third time, and will be glad to correspond with anyone with a view to getting knowledge of the subject from sources such as these.

ALLEN FRENCH.

Care of Brown, Shipley & Co.,
123, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, and REPLIES to Questions will be greatly appreciated by the Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Falmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

142. REVEILLE. (Vol. VI. p. 118.) An earlier instance of the use of the word Réveillé is found in LAWES and ORDINANCES OF WARRE, by Algernoun, Earl of Northumberland, published in 1640.

Para. 3 in the section "Of Victuallers" reads:—

"No Victualler shall entertain any Souldiers in his house, tent, or hutt, after the warning-peece at night, or before the beating of the Ravalee in the morning."

The "Lawes and Ordinances" of 1639 do *not* contain this clause.

143. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. (Vol. II. 150; III. 56; IV. 59, 144; V. 208; VI. 58, 113.) A novel form of punishment is mentioned in Sir James Turner's *Pallas Armata*—p. 147—published in 1683.

"Several transgressions were punished by diminishing the offenders wages, by making them march with the Baggage, winter in the field, both out of Town and Camp, to dig Ditches, more than their Companions did, to stand a whole day before the Generals Pavilion, and sometimes with turfs on their heads; and as I observed before, it was no small punishment for a Horseman to have his Horse taken from him, and be made to serve on foot, and this was called *Militiæ mutatio*."

144. THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY. (Vol. II. 151; IV. 1; V. 92.) The following letter, which appeared in *The Times* of 18 May, 1927, will, it is hoped, effectually preclude any further use of the quite meaningless title "N.E.D.":—

Sir,—It is now many years since the Delegates of the Press, conscious that the novelty of the Dictionary had ceased to be its most salient quality, and that, moreover, "New English Dictionary" is not adequately descriptive without the rest of the formula ("on Historical Principles"), permitted the hope that the shorter "Oxford Dictionary" might ultimately gain acceptance. It was not possible to exorcize the old name; continuity and uniformity compelled its retention on title-pages and bindings, and the convenient abbreviation "N.E.D." was entrenched in many learned works. But "O.E.D." has been popularized by the works of the brothers Fowler; and it is O.E.D. in Dr. Craigie's new pamphlet on American English published by the S.P.E.

It is sometimes assumed that a book can bear one title only; and "O.E.D." has even been described as "erroneous" by a writer in the "Literary Digest." But *habent sua fata libelli*; the edition of Shakespeare by the late W. Aldis Wright and others, published by Messrs. Macmillan in 1863-6, has long been known universally as "the Cambridge Shakespeare"; and the play of natural forces may surely be allowed on a book of which the growth covers three-quarters of a century.

Perhaps it may be added that the prediction of publication in 1927, made by the writer ("An Old Member of the Staff") of your articles published on May 5 and 6, is too hopeful. But the Delegates believe that 1928 will see the publication of the 20th and concluding half-volume.

R. W. CHAPMAN, Secretary to the Delegates.

Clarendon Press, Oxford, May 16.

J.H.L.

145. THE HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY (CITY OF GLASGOW REGIMENT). (Vol. VI. p. 118.) The small painted figures, showing types of uniform worn by this regiment at various periods, reproduced as a coloured plate, appear to show the details of dress fairly accurately, so far as can be seen, *except* for the figure of a corporal in 1812. In this figure the shako is shewn too low, more resembling the pattern introduced many years later. The shako of that period (or "bonnet" as it was called in the regiment) was a tall cylindrical affair, with high diced band of the usual red, white and green ("fesse chequy"), with blue top. This figure is also shewn wearing trousers of tartan, whereas, from 1803 to 1828, the ordinary Light Infantry uniform was worn, with grey, later blue-grey, trousers (white in summer). The musket depicted is more like that carried by the French at the time (*i.e.* with bands round barrel and stock), than the familiar "Brown Bess."

I. H. MCK. S.

146. THE BRITISH GRENADIERS. (Vol. VI. pp. 23-30.) I do not agree with Captain Oakes-Jones's suggestion that 'beating' a march was the same as 'playing' a march. A single drum could only 'beat' *one note*, or *tap*,

and in the references quoted on p. 29 no mention is made of 'playing' by fifers, or by any other kind of instrumentalist, until 1768.

In George Farquhar's comedy *The Recruiting Officer*, produced in 1706, the first stage direction in Act I is:—"Enter Drummer, beating the 'Grenadiers' March.'" Later in the same scene Captain Plume says "By the Grenadier March, that should be my drum," referring to the Drummer who had just made his exit 'beating the Grenadier's March,' prior to Plume's entrance.

These stage directions point to the fact that the Grenadier March was *beat* on a drum. The word 'play' is never used in the sense of 'beat.'

The Epilogue also refers to the march:—

EPILOGUE.

All ladies and gentlemen that are willing to see the comedy, called the *Recruiting Officer*, let them repair to-morrow night, by six o'clock, to the sign of the Theatre-Royal in Drury lane; and they shall be kindly entertained.

We scorn the vulgar ways to bid you come,
Whole Europe now obeys the call of drum.
The soldier, not the poet, here appears,
And beats up for a corps of volunteers:
He finds that music chiefly does delight ye,
And therefore chooses music to invite ye.

Beat the Grenadier March.—Row, row, tow!—Gentlemen, this piece of music, called *An Overture to a Battle*, was composed by a famous Italian master, and was performed with wonderful success at the great operas of Vigo, Schellenberg, and Blenheim; it came off with the applause of all Europe, excepting France; the French found it a little too rough for their *delicatesse*.

Some that have acted on those glorious stages,
Are here to witness to succeeding ages,
That no music like the grenadier's engages.

Ladies, we must own, that this music of ours is not altogether so soft as Bononcini's; yet, we dare affirm, that it has laid more people asleep than all the *Camillas* in the world; and, you'll condescend to own, that it keeps one awake better than any opera that ever was acted.

The Grenadier March seems to be a composure excellently adapted to the genius of the English, for no music was ever followed so far by us, nor with so much alacrity; and, with all deference to the present subscription, we must say, that the Grenadier March has been subscribed for by the whole Grand Alliance: and, we presume to inform the ladies, that it always has the pre-eminence abroad, and is constantly heard by the tallest, handsomest men in the whole army. In short, to gratify the present taste, our author is now adapting some words to the Grenadier March, which he intends to have performed to-morrow, if the lady who is to sing it should not happen to be sick.

This he concludes to be the surest way
To draw you hither; for you'll all obey
Soft music's call, though you should damn his play."

Grose, in his *Military Antiquities*, 1788, ii. 253, mentions amongst "the present different Beats of the Drum for Infantry" the "Grenadiers' march: beat only to that company."

It should be remembered that the Grenadiers' march was a *Slow March*, whereas the "The British Grenadiers" is a quick-step. In the Ceremony of Trooping the Colour they are both played, and we find on p. 136 of that interesting War Office publication, entitled "Ceremonial," edition of 1919, that "the Lieutenant will form the escort to the left, and march off in slow time, preceded by the band playing the 'Grenadiers' March.'"

In Playford's "The Dancing Master"—a book of Dance Tunes, with dance figures described, 4th edition, 1728, there is 'The Foot-guard's March: Or, Boatswain Williams's Delight.' This is written in common time and is a dance, pure and simple.

147. COURT MARTIAL—1668. There are several points of interest in this Warrant—P.R.O., W.O. 71/121—for the assembly of a Court-Martial in 1668.

a. Few such warrants have been printed, and the fact that a court-martial still derives its authority from a warrant gives the matter a certain practical value.

b. The warrant gives the number of members as six commissioned officers.

c. The president is mentioned by name, as is the case now-a-days.

d. The expression "life and limb" is used, as it still is in the preamble to the *Army and Air Force Annual Act*.

H. BULLOCK.

Being informed that there has been a quarrell betweene John Garard and John Pinkney Troopers of the right hoble the Earle of Oxfords owne Troope in his Majties Regiment of Horse undr his Lps Comand when they were at Reading in a party of Horse web guarded some of his Majties Treasure to London, In regard whereof I have given order for sending for the said twoe Troopers to London to answer for the said offence before a Court Martiall. These are therefore to authorize and require you to call a Court Martiall consisting of Six Comission Officers of his Majties three Troopes of Horse Guards and of the said Regiment of Horse besids Sr Phillip Howard Knight who is to bee President of the said Court Martiall, Web Court Martiall is hereby authorized and required to examin the said offence by the oathes of witnesses, and thereuppon to proceede to heare the said twoe Troopers, And according to the nature of the offence to give sentence thereuppon according to military discipline and to cause such sentence to bee putt in execution Provided that the same shall not extend to the taking away of life or Limbs. Given under my hand at the Cockpitt the third day of July, 1668.

(Signed) ALBEMARLE.

To Doctor Samuuell Barrowe,
Judge Advocat to his Majties forces.

148. THE TAKING OF QUEBEC—1759. (Vol. VI. pp. 37—42.) About 38 years after the first battle of Quebec, 13 September, 1759, Laurie and Whittle published the amazing print which is reproduced in No. 23 of *The Journal*—facing p. 37.

Assuming that there was a ready sale for the picture, it shows that:—

1. The people of England were eager to learn something of the daring attack on Quebec, even 38 years after the event.

2. No reliable information of the detailed action was forthcoming.

3. As a result of 1 and 2, dubious descriptions and fanciful legends gathered and multiplied around the taking of Quebec. Homer, Gray, and the talented author of *Three Blind Mice* were laid under contribution to provide stories of the close of a great man's life. Pot-boiling artists were not less active in displaying their admirable genius for invention. It is not therefore surprising to find that a vividly coloured diagram of troops being landed during a moonless period of the night found favour with a confiding public.

If the print is compared with the plan of Quebec given in Baedeker's *Canada* it shows one accurate point which is worth notice. It will be seen that the present public Park given by the Dominion Government to the City of Quebec, in 1901, has no connection with the site of the battle. It may be that Abraham Martin's property is not included, either wholly or in part, in the boundaries of the Park.

The battlefield is covered now by streets or houses. The line of SALABERRY Street gives the position of the two armies, when the French broke and retreated. The widely spread confusion is due apparently to Hawkins's picture of Quebec, *circa* 1834, which shows the site of the present Park as the scene of the action.

It may be added to the note on page 37, *ante*, that on 28 April, 1760, General James Murray, in command of the remnant of four thousand men, marched out of Quebec to meet the overwhelming forces of the Chevalier de Lévis.

19



Hamilton delin.

Grainiger sculp.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE AT THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

Published as the Act directs, Decr. 18, 1802, by

J. Stratford, No. 112, Holborn Hill.

The taking of Quebec, Drawn on ye spot by Henry Smyth Aid de Camp to
Genl. Wolfe.

The second battle of Quebec (or St. Foy) resulted in a defeat to English arms more disastrous, comparatively, than that of Almanza. All the guns, 20 or 22 in number, and about a third of the English available troops were lost. Lévis's losses were greater (in men), and though he gained a tactical victory, the action delayed his advantage, and enabled the arrival of the Fleet on 15 May, to raise the Siege.

The part played by the Fleet in the taking of Quebec is forgotten too often. The names of Admirals Saunders and Holmes are perpetuated rightly in the descriptive panel, attached to the Quebec shield—see *ante*, pp. 37-8. It should be borne in mind that for every soldier with General Wolfe, there were three sailors with Admiral Saunders. The Navy left nothing undone that could be done to help the Army.

When the Fleet sailed from Quebec in anticipation of the closing of the River, all stores that could be spared were handed over to the Army. As no money had been sent from England for current expenses, a private loan was subscribed by Naval Officers to meet the military needs of Quebec. The Government had failed for a second time to send out any money for the military chest. F.M.L.

149. PICTURES OF THE DEATH OF WOLFE. (Vol. VI. p. 30.) The illustration facing this page, though not published until 1802, is believed to have been made from a drawing done in 1760 from the description of an eye-witness.

The taking of Quebec, Drawn on ye spot by Henry Smyth Aid de Camp to Gen^l. Wolfe.



It seems to me that this drawing may well have been the source upon which Edward Penny based his picture. After his 1763 design—see *ante* p. 31—he may have discovered that there were not many people in the vicinity when Wolfe died, so that he either re-drew his picture in 1764, making it nearer to the original sketch, or, having made a replica, painted out all the figures in the background, save one, with rocks, trees, etc. This painting—"B"—so far as one can judge from re-production, gives the impression that the latter theory is the more likely to be correct.

Another print is of interest from the statement that it was "drawn on the spot," by Wolfe's A.D.C. It may have formed the basis of the coloured print published in 1797 by Laurie & Whittle—see *ante*, p. 37. I have a copy of this print coloured by hand, but the title below is:—

"A View of the Taking of CALVI in the Island of CORSICA, by
LORD HOOD, Augt. 10th, 1794."

Published 5th November, 1794, by LAWRIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London.
C.F.

Dr. J. G. Webster, of Shediack, New Brunswick, Canada, has just published *Wolfiana, a potpourri of facts and fantasies, culled from literature relating to the Life of James Wolfe*, to mark the 200th anniversary of Wolfe's Birth.

Under the heading 'Death of Wolfe'—pp. 38-9—he writes:—

"In a survey of the literature relating to the last moments of Wolfe after he received his fatal wound, nothing is more remarkable than the variations in the dying utterances attributed to him. I have found at least thirteen different versions.

"With regard to those who gave assistance to the General, I have collected an equal number of claimants to this honour.

"As might be expected, artists who painted the death scene let their imaginations run riot in many instances. The most notorious example is the best known painting of all, viz., that of Benjamin West, exhibited first in the Royal Academy in 1771. It was highly melodramatic and grotesquely false, and should have been laughed out of existence. But it caught the fancy of the public, who knew nothing of historical accuracy; they were captivated by the popular story picture, chiefly because the central figure was a great popular hero.

"It was copied by engravers in all civilised countries, and achieved a greater success than any other picture in British art.

"The picture which is now accepted by historians as most nearly representing the facts is that painted by Edward Penny in 1764; this picture is now owned by Lord Leconfield. It has also been engraved in two forms.

"The little known painting by James Barry, 1776, now owned by Sir Lees Knowles, Bart., is also a good representation; it has, unfortunately, never been engraved.

"One of the most remarkable paintings is in my possession, and was executed by a Frenchman in the latter part of the eighteenth century. It is a splendid composition, but the central group, in front of which Wolfe lies dying, is composed of British cavalry. (It is scarcely necessary to state that there wasn't a horse in the British Army at Quebec.) Moreover the French artist has freely stolen various figures from West's painting." J.H.L.

150. THE LOYAL AND FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF THE BLUE AND ORANGE. The Medal worn in the 'unidentified portrait'—see *ante* pp. 13-4— is the Badge of "The Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blew and Orange," a

Society established by the King's Own 4th Regiment of Foot,* in commemoration of the Revolution of 1688 and of the accession of the House of Hanover, 1 August, 1714, to the throne of England.

* About 1727.

The description of the Badge is as follows:—

A gold badge, measuring 1.75" × 1.25", with loop for suspension. The illustration is twice the actual size of the Badge.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

Obverse. A drum-shaped block on which a sheaf of arrows is placed vertically, with a Royal Crown superimposed. On either side of the Crown are two scrolls, inscribed *VIS UNITA* and *FORTIOR*. Within the ornamental border on a circular scroll the words *QUI INVIDET MINOR EST*.

Reverse. An eight-pointed star, with garter superimposed and inscribed *GLO: PRI: AUG:*, i.e. The Glorious First of August, the date of the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne of England. On a shield within the garter the White Horse of Hanover. Below, a hexagon-shaped block inscribed on the top *NON DEFICIT ALTER*, and on two of the faces, *QUA DI* and *NOV*, meaning the 4th day of November—the birthday of King William III, who landed at Torbay on 5 November, 1688.

Ribbon. Judging from the portrait this appears to be orange, with dark blue borders.

The Rules and Constitution of the Society are contained in Egerton MSS., No. 2346, British Museum, and will be given in full in the next number of the Journal, with a list of members.

J.H.L.

151. THE BATTLE OF WARBURG. (Vol. VI. p. 106.) It is probable that the first line of the last verse of the ballad should read:—

“ Here’s a health unto DAULHAT ”—

instead of “ delight.” Major Peter Daulhat, 33rd Foot, led the left infantry column, which comprised the flank companies of the

| REGIMENT. | DESIGNATION IN 1927. |
|---------------------------|---|
| 5th Foot. | The Northumberland Fusiliers. |
| 8th (or the King’s) Foot. | The King’s Regiment (Liverpool). |
| 11th Foot. | The Devonshire Regiment. |
| 24th „ | The South Wales Borderers. |
| 33rd „ | The Duke of Wellington’s Regiment (West Riding). |
| 50th „ | The Queen’s Own Royal West Kent Regt. |

Major Daulhat later—2 August, 1760—became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 51st Foot.

Major John Maxwell, 20th Foot, also mentioned in the Ballad, commanded the right column, composed of the flank companies of the

| REGIMENT. | DESIGNATION IN 1927. |
|--|--|
| 12th Foot. | The Suffolk Regiment. |
| 20th „ | The Lancashire Fusiliers. |
| 23rd (or Royal Welch Fusiliers) Foot. | The Royal Welch Fusiliers. |
| 25th Foot. | The King’s Own Scottish Borderers. |
| 37th „ | The Hampshire Regiment. |
| 51st „ | The King’s Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. |

The battle-honour “ Warburg ” has been conferred upon several Cavalry Regiments, but the Regiments of Foot above named have received no recognition, presumably because only their flank Companies were present.

The Infantry casualties, nevertheless, were *more than double* those of the Cavalry.

| | CAVALRY CASUALTIES. | | INFANTRY CASUALTIES. | |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|
| | Killed. | Wounded. | Killed. | Wounded. |
| Officers ... | 2 | 2 | 2 | 10 |
| Other ranks ... | 52 | 116 | 94 | 241 |

Surely recognition is deserved.
(See *Battle Honours of the British Army*, by C. B. Norman. 1911.)

G.O.R.

152. EARLY ARTICLES OF WAR. (Vol. IV. p. 167.) The list here following is supplementary to that given in Vol. IV. :—

| YEAR. | WHERE LOCATED. |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1643 (Scotland) ... | <i>Harleian Miscellany</i> . Vol. VII. p. 475. |
| 1644 ... | Terry’s <i>Army of the Covenant</i> (Scottish History Society). |
| 1718* ... | <i>Commons’ Journals</i> , Vol. 18, p. 708. |
| 1719 ... | P.R.O., W.O. 72-2. |
| 1721 to 1740 [†] ... | “ ” “ |
| 1743 ... | “ ” “ |
| 1744 ... | “ ” “ |
| 1747 ... | W.O. Library. |
| 1748 ... | P.R.O., W.O. 72-2. |

Also “ Troops in Foreign Parts ” (only). 1742 to 1745. . . . Contained in P.R.O., W.O. 72-2. W.Y.B.

153. THE DEATH OF MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WOLFE. Vol. VI. p. 30.) The letter which here follows is reprinted, by permission, from Vol. XII (1807) of *The English Historical Review*.

* “ 4 Feb. 1717 ” (O.S.), i.e. 1718; given in error as 1717 in former list.

† Except 1738.

It was written by Ensign James Henderson, 28th Foot, within a month from the events which he describes, and may certainly be looked upon as 'best' evidence.

It is generally recorded that in 1759 Henderson "joined the Louisberg Grenadiers as a volunteer," but this is proved to be wrong by his letter, in which he says that when he reached Louisburg on 16 April, 1759, "I found that our Regt. was not to go up the river." This was the 22nd Foot (in 1927, The Cheshire Regiment), commanded by Colonel Edward Whitmore, to whom he refers three lines later in the letter as having granted him "Liberty to go with our Graniders," *i.e.* the Grenadier Company of the 22nd Foot, which shows that Henderson had joined that regiment as a Volunteer, and that when the Expedition against Quebec was undertaken, he was sent with the Grenadier Company.

The miscalled "Louisburg Grenadiers" were actually a composite battalion of the Grenadier Companies of the three regiments—22nd, 40th and 45th—which happened to be at Louisburg at the time. If they had been described as the "Grenadiers from Louisburg" no misapprehension on the point could have arisen.

Henderson was granted a commission as Ensign in the 28th Foot on 25 September, 1759. This is also mentioned in his letter.

The letter is addressed by Henderson to his Uncle, and is dated at Quebec, 7 October, 1759:—

Honourd Sir,—I now have the Pleasure of Writing to you from Quebeck Which Place is in His Britanick Majesteis Posesion. As to Our Proceeding During the Seige I Shall not Trouble you With As you Will See It At Large in the Publick Papers. But Will Acquaint you With My own Proceedings Which I hope Will Give you Satisfaction. Notwithstanding All the Expedition I Could Use it Was the 16th of April Before I Arrived At L[ouis]burg. On my Arivell there I found that our Regt^t Was Not to go Up the River. But upon Mr Wolfe's Arrivel he Brought An Order for the Graniders of the Garrison to joyn him Which Graniders, Consisting of three Companys, Was Formed into A Batalion under the Command of Colnel Murray. I then Applied to Gen. Whitmore* for Liberty to go With our Graniders, Which he Granted me And Recommended me Strongly to Genarel Wolfe. There Was no service During the Campain that Required Courage And Ressalut(i)on But What Wee Were Sent on. And Honrd Sir, I have the Satisfact(i)on to Acquaint you that God Enabled me on Every Ocassion to Do my Duty to the Satisfaction of All My Commanding Officers And in Particular on that Ever Memorable Day the 13th of Sept. When the two Armys Was Drawn up, in Line of Battle Within A Small Distance of Each Other. Our Company of Granrs Was the Right of the Line Upon the Genarl viewing in the Possition of the two Armys he took Notice of A Small Rissing Ground Between our Right & the Enimeys Left, Which Consaled there Motions from Us on that Quarter Upon Which the Genarl Did me the Honour to Detach me With a few Graniders to take Possion of that Ground And Maintain it to the Last Eextremety Which I Did. Till Both Armys Was Engaged And then the Genrl Came to Me And Took his Post By me. But Oh, How Can I tell you My Dr Sir, Tears flow from Eyes Whill I Write. That Great, that Ever Memorable Man Whos Loss can never be Enough Regreted Was Scarce A Moment With me till he Received his Fatal Wound. I my Self Received At the same time two Wounds for I Was Close to him, one in the Right Shoulder & one in the thigh. But My Consern for him Was so Great that I Did not At that Time think of them. When the Genrl Received the Shot I Caut Hold of him And Carried him of the Feild, he Walked About one Hundred yards And then Beged I Would Let him Sit Down, Which I Did. Then I Opened his Breast, And found his Shirt full of Blood At Which he Smiled And When he Seen the Distress I Was In, My Dear, Said he, Dont Grive for me, I Shall Be Happy In a Few Minutes, take Care of your Self As I see your Wounded. But Tell me O tell me How Goes the Battle their, Just then Came some Officers Who told him that the French had given Ground & of Our

† The 22nd Foot.

* Edward Whitmore. Colonel of the Regiment, 11 July, 1757.

troops Was pursuing Them to the Walls of the town, he Was then Lying in my Arms Just Expirin That Great Man Whos Sole Ambition Was his Country Glory Raised himself up on this News And Smiled in my Face. Now, Said he, I Die Contented, from that Instant the smile never Left his Face till he Deided. I thought in him I had Lost All my Intrest But It Pleased God to Rease me up Friends in All the Surviving Genl Officers, And in Particular in Gen. Monckton* Who, upon his First Taking the Command, Inquired for the Volinter that Distinguished him Self So Much on the 13th Sepr With Gen. Wolfe As he thought it A Duty Incombant on him in Honour to Gen. Wolfe's Memory to Provide for that Gentelman. And In A Few Days he sent me My Commission By Colnel Welsh† Who Is My Col. in the 28 Regt Commanded By Gen. Bragg§ Which is one of the Finest Regt in the Service, And What Gives me the Greatest Pleasure is that I am Particularly Liked By Both My Col. & Major. We are Single Officers, that is, only one Livetenant to A Company And Out of Any Danger of A Breach. I Belive At the Opning of the Next Campain I Shall be Neir the Head of the Ensigns As their is A Great Many of Our Officers Goiing out of the Regt that Was Wounded. Dr. Sir I Belive It Will Be Scarce Possable for you to Read this, But you Must Excuse me As it is With Great Pain I Now Write A sthe Wound in my Arm is not ye[t . . .] Honr Sir, I thought Nothing Should Excuse Me fr. . . . Duty to you And my Friends At Home. Dr Sir . . . this Reaches you Be so Kind As to Acquaint my Dr . . . And Sister With my Good Fortune And take My Ex. . . . Writing to them in Particular. My Dr Sir I beg . . . Write to Me By the first Ships that Comes out. . . . As Nothing in the World Will Give More Pl. . . . Hear What Situacion my Dear Mother & Sister Wife, I Am, My Dr Honr Sir, With My Sincere Love To All My Friends, your Ever

Loving Nephew,
Jas Henderson.

P.S.—My Dr Sir, I must Again Beg that you Will Write to Me And Direct to me Ensign in the 28th Regt At Quebeck.

The original letter is in the British Museum. Press mark 41063, but not yet catalogued. J.H.L.

* Robert Monckton, Colonel-Commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the 60th or Royal American Regiment of Foot. See 'D.N.B.'

† Lieut.-Colonel Hunt Walsh.

§ Lieut.-General Philip Bragg. He had been Colonel of the Regiment since 1734.

QUESTIONS.

256. PASSELUNTE. In Sir James Turner's *Pallas Armata*, published in 1683, the following paragraph occurs on p. 302:—

"If Garrisons be kept in Towns, Forts or Castles, where Clocks are, the Sentinel may be reliev'd, as the hour strikes and so save Match; but if in the Fields or Leaguers, where no publick Clocks are, or in besieged Towns, where ordinarily Clocks do not strike, nor Bells ring, then the Caporals are to have allowance of March, which they call *Passelunte*, whereby they regulate themselves to relieve their Sentinels, when six, seven, eight or nine inches of it are burnt."

What are the meaning and derivation of *Passelunte*?

Y.Z.

257. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. 'PASSING THE PIKES'; 'HEAD AND HEELES TOGETHER.' In a pamphlet published in London in 1612, under the title *For The Colony in Virginia Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*, &c., there is a section on *The Summarie of the Marshall Lawes*, clause 24 of which is:—

"He that shall abuse and iniurie the Sericant Maior, the prouost Marshall, either by worde, or deede, if hee bee a Captaine hee shall be casscird, if a Souldier he shall passe the pikes."

What was the ceremony of 'passing the pikes'?

Another not too pleasant form of punishment is mentioned in clause 41.

"No Souldier shall unprofitably waste his powder, shot, or match, by shooting it idly away, or at birds, beasts, or fowle, but shall giue an account vnto his Corporall of the same, who shall certifie his Captain vpon peril for his first fault so comitted, to be comitted to prison, there to lie in Irons head & heeles together eight & forty hours, for the second to be condemned sixe moneths to the Gallies, and for the third offence to be condemned two yeares to the Gallies."

Were the heels tied in front of or behind the head?

J.H.L.

258. VOLUNTEER. What was the official status of a so-called 'Volunteer' in the army—*circa* 1760—and under what terms were men permitted to serve as such?

It is generally understood that young men served in regiments on active service with a view to obtaining an officer's commission as vacancies occurred. Were there any Regulations on the subject?

In Note 153 (p. 189), mention is made of "the Volinter that distinguished 'himself so much on the 13th Septr. with General Wolfe.'" Q.F.

259. A GRENADIER CAP OF 1782. The Grenadier Cap here illustrated is taken from a picture engraved by Sherwin, after Stothard, representing the Death



of Lord Robert Manners on board H.M.S. "Resolution" in the action off Dominica on 12 April, 1782. The head and shoulders are all that can be seen over the hammocks protecting the break of the poop in the back of the picture. I feel sure that such a cap was never worn by the Marines, but the figure may represent a soldier of the 69th (now the Welch Regiment), some of whom served in this action.

The cap is apparently made of white fur, and I suppose the triangular piece at the back would be of cloth. The facings seem to be of white, but would be "willow green" in the original painting, if of the 69th Foot.

Can any member of the Society throw light on this unusual type of Grenadier Cap? C.F.

REPLIES.

236. DYENNE. (Vol. VI. p. 118.) This word is a variant of 'Dian,' meaning

'A trumpet call or drum-roll at early morn.'

The Oxford English Dictionary gives three examples of its use:—

1591. Even until the Diana be sounded through all the Campe.

1652. I warn them with the first sound of the trumpet . . . but if, after this Diansounding, etc.

1678. The bee through these known allies hums

Beating the dian with its drums.

In Italian the word was *Diana*—a kind of march sounded by trumpeters in a morning to their general and captain (1598), and the same word in Spanish is defined as meaning—A beating of the drum at day-break.

In Sir James Turner's *Pallas Armata*, published in 1683, the following paragraph occurs on p. 302:—

In Camps and Garrisons, Drummers are to beat *Taptoo* at night, and in the morning *Revallie*. This word *Zapzu* or *Taptoo* is High and Low Dutch, and signifies, no more drink to be tapp'd or sold; and is not, as some fancy, to advertize the Guards to place their Night Sentinels, but to acquaint Sutlers to sell

no more drink, and Souldiers to go home to their Lodgings, and who is found out of their quarters after it, ought to be punish'd. It should be beat constantly at one hour Summer and Winter, and ten a clock at night is a proper time for it : But By-Guards (as they are call'd) and Night Sentinels are to be put to their Posts when day-light is well near spent, and this in Winter will be about four, and in Summer about ten a Clock at night; neither ought the last Night Sentinels to leave their posts till the *Dian* or *Revallie* beat, which cannot be done at one constant hour (as the *Taptoo*) for in Winter it may be eight, and in Summer three or four in the morning; and beat it should not, till the Captain of the Watch gives order for it, and he is not to take up his measures by day-light, but by the clearness, darkness, or mistiness of the morning, the Night Sentinels being to continue on their duty, till they can discover all the Fields about them : When by order of the Colonel or Captain of the Watch, the *Dian* is beaten at the Head Watch, all the Drummers of the rest of the Guards ought immediately to beat, and then the Night Watches, and Sentinels come to their several Guards. It is then also, that the Souldiers (who have been in their quarters or huts all night) and either Towns-men or Countrey people who are ordered to work at the Fortification either of Town or Camp, are to go to their work; and therefore this beating of the Drum in the morning, I think, is more properly called *Travaille* than *Revallie*.

On page 219 of the same book we find :—

“ Two Drummers are universally allowed in every Company of one hundred men, and more (as also of the *Corporals*) according as the Company is strong. They ought to be skillful to beat a Gathering, a March, an Alarm, a Charge, Retreat, *Travaille* or *Dian*, and the *Taptoo*. If they can do that well, and carry a message wittily to an enemy, they may be permitted to be Drolls; for to be graduated Doctors, is a thing not at all required in their hands.”

And on page 224 :—

“ There is another inconsiderable Staff Officer in most Armies, yet necessary enough in all Regiments of Foot, and that is the Drummer-Major, the *French* call him Colonel-Drummer : He is to receive his directions from the Major of the Regiment at what hour he is to bear to the watch, when the *Dian*, and when the *Taptoo* wherewith he is to acquaint the several Drummers of companies, and appoint them by turns for these Beatings; he is also to order them in what divisions each of them shall beat when the Regiment marcheth; and they are to obey all his directions punctually. In some places he gets a third more of pay than other Drummers, but here at home we acknowledge no such Creature.”

237. TOWNS, ETC., NAMED AFTER REGIMENTS. (Vol. VI. p. 122.) In the North West Territories of Canada, Mackenzie District, there lies (Long. 107° 30'—108° 30', W., Lat. 62° 50'—63° 25', N.) Artillery Lake, so named by Captain George Back, R.N., who was exploring in those parts in 1833-5. In his *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition*, etc., published in 1836, he records that he named this “ Artillery ” Lake, “ out of respect to this distinguished Corps [i.e. the Royal Artillery] to which some of my crew belonged and from a grateful remembrance of the deep interest manifested by its Officers for the success of the Expedition, and of their friendly courtesies to myself.” J.H.L.

238. UNIFORMS WORN IN 1745-6. (Vol. IV. p. 22.) The Duke of Kingston—Evelyn Pierrepont—raised a regiment of Light Horse in 1745.

The men were “ mounted upon light horses of various colours, with swish or nick'd tails; their whole accoutrements were as light as possible, of every sort and species; their arms were short bullet guns or carbines, shorter than those of the regiments of horse, and slung to their sides by a moveable swivel to run up their shoulder belt; their pistols upon the same plan, as they used both carbines and pistols on horseback indiscriminately; their swords very sharp, and rather inclined to a curve.” (*The Discipline of the Light Horse*. By Captain R. Hinde. 1778.)

The illustration of a Light Trooper, facing the title-page of Hinde's book, was reproduced in Vol. IV. of the Journal—facing p. 16. J.H.L.

A REVIEW AND HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL J. C. DALTON, R.A.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. By the late William S. Stryker. Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph.D. Princeton. Princeton University Press. London. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 1927. Medium 8vo. pp. x. 304. *ill.*

In *The Journal* of the Society of Army Historical Research for July, 1924 (Vol. III. p. 163), I reviewed a somewhat similar work by Mr. Wertenbaker, entitled *The Princeton Battle Monument*, published in 1922, which dealt with the battles of Trenton and Princeton, December 26, 1776, and January 3, 1777, which were two minor—though none the less damaging—successes obtained by the strategic genius of George Washington over the Hessian and British (in the absence of Generals Sir William Howe and Charles, Earl Cornwallis), whilst cantoned on the Delaware.

Before entering upon a notice of the book now under review, it will be as well to remind our readers of a few main facts and dates relating to the state of affairs on the N. American Continent leading up to the events treated of by Stryker.

Owing to the absence of maps to illustrate the work, one has been prepared on a small scale to give an idea of the relative positions of the chief places mentioned in the text.

The "Continental Congress" of America adopted a "Declaration of Independence" on 4 July, 1776. Washington had already been some thirteen months Commander-in-Chief of the "Continental forces," and had been present at the battle of Bunker (or Breed's*) Hill, 17 June, 1775.

Having been forced to quit New York, Washington retreated through New Jersey in the autumn of 1776 and crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. Wertenbaker's book (above alluded to) relates how he surprised the Hessian allies of the British on Xmas night, 1776, gaining the two successes of Trenton and Princeton. He then moved N. to Morristown for winter quarters, whilst his opponent, General Howe, fell back on his base at Brunswick.

In the summer of 1777, Howe, intending to march to Philadelphia, and finding Washington in front of him, embarked his army and sailed up the Chesapeake, and on September 11, Cornwallis encountered the American General Sullivan, gained the sanguinary battle of Brandywine Creek, and entered Philadelphia on 26 September. Sullivan met with another reverse at Germantown on 4 October, and then, after the fall of the strong Delaware Forts, Washington retired, with his battered forces, to Valley Forge on the Schuylkill River for winter quarters, and to recuperate.

Here we find him at the opening of Stryker's narrative, which leads up to and includes the "Battle of Monmouth."

* So called by Henry Lee in his *Memoirs*—1869.

The Editor, Mr. Myers, mentions that General Stryker died some 27 years since, just after completing his exhaustive work, and that his widow entrusted him (Myers) with the MS. to deal with as he chose. There can be no doubt that Mr. Myers has faithfully and ably dealt with his difficult task.

The position at Valley Forge was strategically strong, and it was here that Washington was to remake, recruit and train an army capable of meeting his redoubtable foe who was safely in occupation of Philadelphia, bent, unfortunately, far more on the winter revels and frolics of a merry pleasure-loving and loyal city than in keeping up stern discipline and military training; also, apparently, gaily ignoring the significance of the fact that, on 17 October, Burgoyne and 6,000 men had surrendered to General Gates at Saratoga.

The sufferings endured by Washington's men at Valley Forge during the winter of 1777-8 are painful reading, and nothing less, under Providence, than the marvellous personality of their great leader, could have brought them through it, as Stryker says, "cold, naked and hungry, without pay, provisions, or rum dire adversity sickness death-rate increasing" Compulsory requisitions had to be enforced, often at the point of the bayonet. Added to this, Washington became aware of intrigues in favour of General Gates, spurred on by jealousy of Washington's popularity. However, he decided to stay on at Valley Forge, and later (May, 1778), the "Continental Army" took by Washington's orders the new Oath of Allegiance—p. 13—decreed by Congress.

A curious incident happened on this occasion. When it came to the turn of General Charles Lee (an ex-British officer), it was noticed that he withdrew his hand from the Bible, and—though treated lightly at the time—it was remembered later when doubts of his loyalty had arisen.

Burgoyne's surrender led largely to the all-important result that it confirmed France in her sympathy and desire to throw in her lot with the patriotic party in America, and she entered the lists as an ally of the "Continental Congress and Army" against England, a "Treaty of Amity" being signed and ratified by Congress which caused great encouragement at Valley Forge. War was declared between France and England, the gallant Marquis Lafayette arrived to give his services (unpaid) to Washington, and a French fleet under D'Estaing, with an army, sailed from Toulon.

Smollett in his *History of England* gives a lively description of what he called "the licentiousness and profligacy of the British garrison in Philadelphia," as contrasted with the Spartan discipline being drummed into Washington's army at Valley Forge, steadily improving under the talented General von Steuben, Chief of the Staff, a veteran of the Great Frederick's wars. Meanwhile Burgoyne's defeat and the intervention of France led the British Government to make diplomatic advances towards conciliation, but these were vigorously opposed by Washington, who demanded nothing short of independence.



S. G. S. del.

CHARLES LEE, Esq.

MAJOR GENERAL of the CONTINENTAL ARMY in AMERICA.

Painted on the 17th June 1777, by S. G. S. del.

(1777)

the world
is a stage
and we are all
actors in it

The British force in Philadelphia in March, 1778, was 19,530 strong, including Hessians and Provincials, and General Howe is much criticised for his failure to move out with this efficient force—which had a strong fleet at the back of it—to fall upon Washington at Valley Forge, only a day's march off. In General Henry Lee's *Memoirs* he expresses surprise on this head. Howe in a letter to a friend ascribed his reason to be the want of green forage for his army and the strongly intrenched position at Valley Forge! He was, however, ordered home to report, and was virtually superseded by General Sir Henry Clinton, who arrived in May to relieve Howe, with peremptory orders to evacuate Philadelphia, embark everything for New York, and there await the issue of the negotiations for conciliation.

Clinton decided that, not having enough transports to take all his force and impedimenta by sea, he would march through New Jersey. Accordingly, on June 8 and 9, General Leslie embarked non-effectives of the British Army and some mutinous Hessians for New York, and Howe having sailed for England in May, Clinton gave orders on June 16 for the evacuation. On the day following he crossed the Delaware in transports on his march north, protected by the British fleet under Lord Richard Howe, Knyphausen's and Genl. Grant's commands leading. In this way some 17,000 men were disembarked on their march to New York, ostensibly viâ Brunswick, and reached Haddonfield that evening.

Washington made no attempt then to interfere with them, but was biding his time. The peace efforts had fizzled out, Congress, who were much heartened by the French alliance, refusing to negotiate.

The force at Valley Forge was rapidly forgetting its hardships, brightened by the advent of genial weather, and, under the skilled training of General Von Steuben, had begun to make a brave show. It had also received a useful reinforcement from New England and had the advantage of the co-operation of the New Jersey Militia under General Dickinson, who were ordered to harass the British march, destroy bridges, etc.

On hearing of the evacuation of Philadelphia Washington at once sent a small garrison to occupy the city, and on 24 June, 1778, he could count on a fairly efficient force of 10,650 men in addition to the advanced New Jersey troops of about 2,400. He had also been joined in April by General Charles Lee, who had been exchanged as a prisoner of war and had arrived from the British Camp. Though Washington received him with all honour, he nevertheless did not fully trust him or value his advice.

Clinton leisurely pursued his march which was much hampered by the N.J. Militia, and he had been reinforced by Lord Cornwallis—an approved commander—General Knyphausen with the Hessians and with the baggage, forming the Advance.

On June 17 Washington held a Council of War before whom he placed five alternative courses for consideration (see Chap. VII), but whilst these were being cogitated by his Generals the news suddenly arrived of the evacuation of Philadelphia, which soon settled the question.

Lee's advice was disregarded, and it was decided to hang on to the rear of the retiring British force and harass and impede it to the utmost. Washington's orders omit no details and are given in full. He was fully alive to the want of war experience of most of his Generals—except Lee whom he distrusted—so would leave nothing to chance.

Washington gave Lee, Mifflin and Lafayette the command of the first, second and third Divisions respectively. He discarded all superfluous baggage so as to march light.

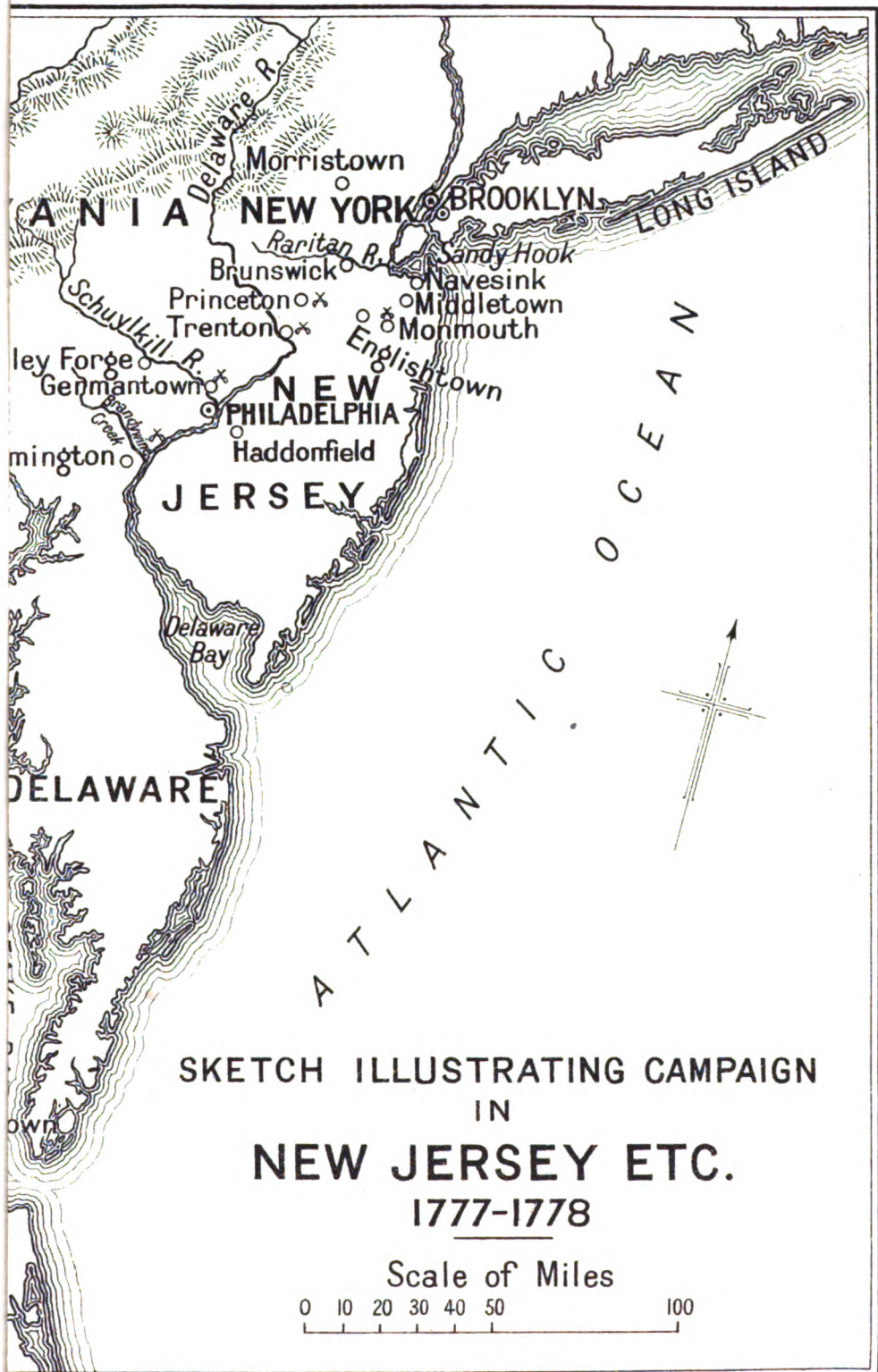
On 20 June, having ordered General Arnold to garrison Philadelphia with 4,000 men, Washington arrived at Buckingham, 33 miles from Philadelphia, and reported his arrival by letter to General Gates. He here received a useful reinforcement under Brig.-General Cadwallader and a supply of cartridges. Von Steuben was ordered forward as Intelligence Officer. On 25 June, Washington was 5 miles N. of Princeton.

Meantime Clinton was, on 23 June, plodding on, with Cornwallis on his left, the vanguard under Leslie with the Cavalry, and Knyphausen on the right, terribly hampered with 12 miles of road taken up with 1,500 wagons, many loyal camp followers and a lot of women. It was now that Clinton changed his objective from Brunswick and the Raritan (the direct route) to Middletown and the Navesink hills, further eastward.

Clinton's intelligence arrangements were defective, and he imagined that General Gates was in front, behind the Raritan. Washington now had the advantage of moving on interior lines and kept continually harassing his opponents, who suffered from the intense heat—which led to the men straggling—and from a plague of mosquitoes. Lafayette was only about five miles behind, when the British, on the 26th and 27th, had arrived at the Monmouth Court House, near Freehold, and he had been directed by Washington to attack the British with his Division. This excited Lee's jealousy, and his protests led Washington, reluctantly, to order Lee to reinforce Lafayette and then to assume command of the operations as senior officer. Washington, who was at Englishtown, seven miles off, promised to support.

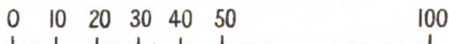
Clinton's object was, undoubtedly, to cover Knyphausen's march with the baggage to the coast, and he had with him some of his best troops. Therefore on the 27th he decided to check Washington's advance, and ordered Cornwallis to attack Lee next day. Lee, in an obstinate mood, disregarded Lafayette and acted on his own account, thinking that by a retirement he would draw Cornwallis on. Dire confusion ensued, and Lee's retirement developed into a retreat.

This state of affairs reached Washington's ears at Englishtown, and he hurried post-haste to the scene of action and demanded angrily of Lee what was the meaning of this retreat. Lee answered him back, was ordered to the rear, and Washington in person took command, rallied the retreating troops, turned the tide of affairs, and desperate fighting ensued—often hand to hand—in which the gallant and greatly loved Colonel The *Hon.* Henry Monckton, 45th Foot, fell. The American Artillery greatly distinguished itself. Night put an end to the conflict,



SKETCH ILLUSTRATING CAMPAIGN
 IN
NEW JERSEY ETC.
 1777-1778

Scale of Miles





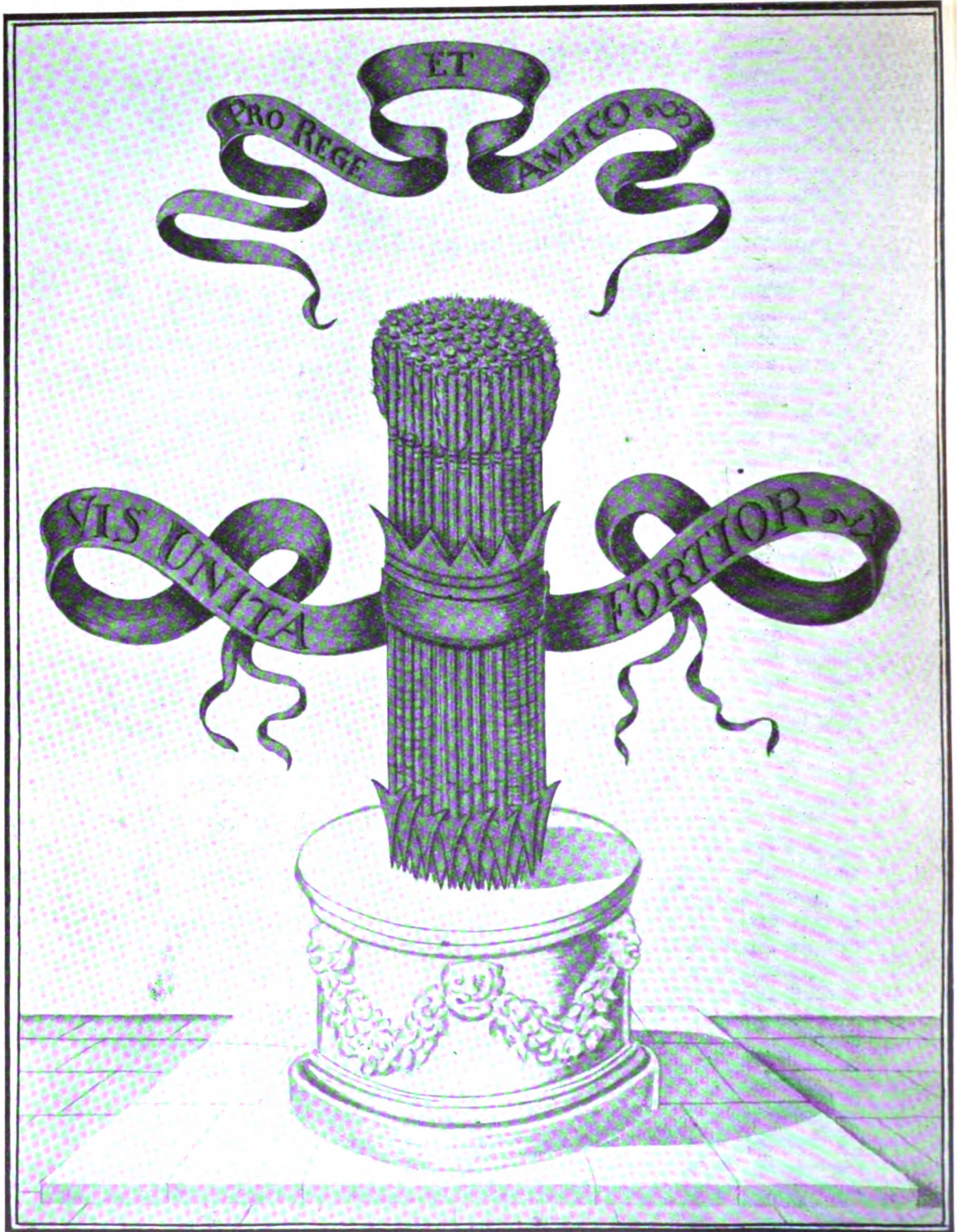
both sides remaining on the field. Clinton, however, slipped off during the night, leaving his dead on the field and a few too badly wounded to be taken on, whom he entrusted, with apologies, to his chivalrous opponent, and hurrying on, overtook Knyphausen on the heights of Middletown and embarked the whole of his force "without losing a waggon." The Army reached New York safely on 5 July, narrowly escaping the French fleet, which arrived off the Capes of Delaware on 8 July.

Washington reported having buried 249 British on the field. He did not make any attempt to pursue or further harass the British, and retired to the Hudson River. General C. Lee's action in the Monmouth battle, which was severely condemned by Washington, led to his trial by Court Martial, which is fully gone into in the Appendix of Stryker's book. He was found guilty of certain of the charges and sentenced to a year's suspension of his command, which virtually ended his varied and adventurous career. General Henry Lee (no relation), in his valuable *Memoirs*, condemns the sentence. A clever review of Stryker's book appears in the Literary Supplement of *The Times* of 7 July, 1927, under the heading "General Charles Lee." The writer is not satisfied that Stryker's strictures on Lee are justified, so far as any clear evidence of deliberate treason is concerned, but he confirms the author's narrative as to Lee's obstruction, jealousy of Lafayette and bad leadership, which would have caused a disastrous defeat had not Washington personally relieved him of the command and rallied his troops to victory.* We cannot but agree with *The Times* (and also with General Henry Lee in his *Memoirs* above alluded to), that if it is, perhaps, hardly correct to allude to the Monmouth fight as a victory, since Clinton was left free to carry out his plans, it was nevertheless of great value from a moral standpoint and gave an impetus to subsequent operations with fluctuating success, but culminating in Cornwallis's surrender at York Town in September, 1781.

As a help to the student of military art and history the book is far too involved and diffuse, and is rendered almost unintelligible from the absence of maps. The only attempt at a map appears opposite p. 116, evidently a reproduction from the modern Government survey, as the Pennsylvania Railroad runs diagonally across it, through Englishtown and Freehold, and across the battlefield. But there are very few names, neither orientation nor scale, which may be estimated, very roughly, as under 2 miles to the inch.

The book itself is devoid of a Table of Contents, and Chapter headings, and has a very meagre index. The student of Washington's and other campaigns in the Southern Department of the U.S.A. would do well to read General Henry Lee's *Memoirs* (Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1869). His masterly summaries of all the campaigns treated of are sufficient of themselves, but can be supplemented for minor details of the Battle of Monmouth by Stryker's volume if required. The Appendix is valuable both for British and American details.

* See 'D.N.B.' and pp. 280-1 of Stryker's book.



This is practically a reproduction of the Obverse of the Medal of the Order—see p. 194. The sheaf of arrows, the encircling crown and the letters are coloured in gold, the scrolls being sky-blue. Actual size—8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

THE LOYAL AND FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF THE BLEW AND ORANGE.

[See *ante*—page 186.]

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H. LESLIE.

In the Egerton MSS., British Museum, there is a manuscript Book—No. 2346—with the above title, a full description of which is here given.

It measures by inches and contains 9 folios. As will be seen from some of the folios which are reproduced to illustrate this article, the contents are of a highly ornamental character. The words and decoration are executed in a variety of colours.

The "Constitution," folio 3, shows that the Society was formed by "Several Officers of the King's Own Regiment of Foot." The title "King's Own" was conferred in 1715 by H.M. King George I, when the regiment was quartered at Windsor, and in adjacent villages.

In the Army List of 1740 it is merely styled "Lieutenant-General Barrell's Regiment of Foot."

In the Royal Warrant of 1 July, 1751 (P.R.O., W.O. 26/21), the Regiment is styled the "4th, or The King's Own Royal Regiment," the first record of it being called 'Royal.'

In the MS. List of 1752 (P.R.O. Index, No. 5348), however, it is styled "4th, or King's Own Regiment of Foot," and "Royal" does not appear again until 1865.

Its present title is

The King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster).

In this article it will be referred to as the "4th, King's Own," and other regiments which are mentioned will be called by the numbers which were given to them in the Royal Warrant of 1 July, 1751, and by which they were known until the introduction of 'Territorial' titles in 1881.

The date of the foundation of the Society is not recorded, but from internal evidence I reach the conclusion that it was formed between 1 November, 1733, on which date Lieutenant James Thorne, who was the first "Register," *i.e.* Registrar, was promoted to that rank, and 3 March, 1735/6, when Captain George Walsh, one of the original Wardens, was promoted to the rank of Major.

The 9 folios have been renumbered in modern times, apparently due to the fact that some of the folios were not originally numbered at all.

Original folios 1 and 3, are now 3 and 5 respectively.

The present arrangement of the MS. is here shown.

Folio 1. Facing this page.

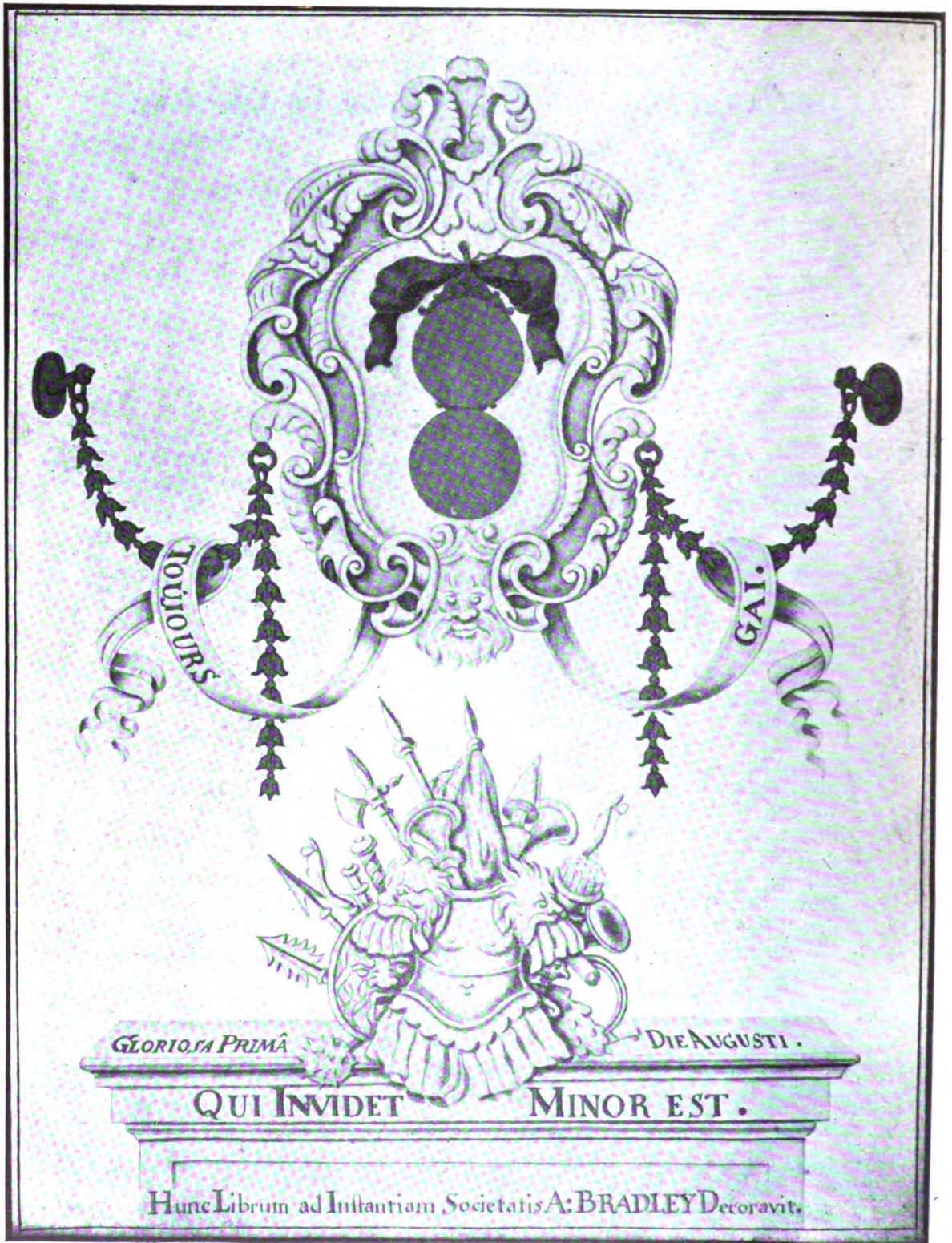
2b. See page 200.

3. Originally 1. See page 202.

4b. List of original Members. See page 204.

5. Originally 3. See page 206.

6 and 7. Members of the Society, continued. See page 207.



'Toujours Gai' is in gold, upon a scroll of light grey. The chains of

Folio 8. Picture. See page 210.

9. Anniversary Song. See page 210.

Folios 1*b*, 2, 3*b*, 4, 5*b*, 6*b*, 7*b*, 8*b*, and 9*b* are blank.

Note.—The *b* folios are all verso and the numbered ones recto, so that folio 1*b* faces folio 2, 2*b* faces 3, and so on.

Folio 2*b* is reproduced, facing this page.

The artist, A. Bradley, has omitted to place the accent over the last letter of 'Gloriosâ' on the top of the plinth.

The sentence—'On the Glorious First of August'—refers to the day on which King George I came to the throne of England.

'Qui invidet Minor est' means 'Whoso envies is of small account.' This is the motto of the Earl of Cadogan.

The two medallions, coloured in gold, suspended from a blue ribbon, are blank, and were intended to represent the obverse and reverse of the medal, as mentioned in Rule V.

The medal is here illustrated and described.

A gold medal, measuring 1.75" × 1.25", with loop for suspension. The illustration is twice the actual size of the Medal.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

Obverse. A drum-shaped block on which a sheaf of arrows is placed vertically, with a Royal Crown superimposed. On either side of the Crown are two scrolls, inscribed VIS UNITA and FORTIOR. Within the ornamental border on a circular scroll the words QUI INVIDET MINOR EST.

Reverse. An eight-pointed star, with garter superimposed and inscribed GLO: PRI: AUG: . *i.e.* The Glorious First of August, the date of the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne of England. On a shield within the garter the White Horse of Hanover. Below, a hexagon-shaped block inscribed on the top NON DEFICIT ALTER, and on two of the faces, QUA DI and NOV, *i.e.* Quartâ die Novembris—the birthday of King William III, who landed at Torbay on 5 November, 1688.

[Folio 3—originally 1.]

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
LOYAL AND FRIENDLY SOCIETY,
OF THE
BLEW AND ORANGE.

LOYALTY to our PRINCE and FRIENDSHIP to each Other, are the / distinguishing Characteristicks of the Members of this Sublime Order.

SEVERAL Officers of the King's own Regiment of Foot had the Honour of Forming this / Society and the Intent of its Institution is a gratefull Remembrance of King William the Third / our glorious Deliverer from Popery and Slavery and a just Regard to the Inestimable / Legacy That Monarch Bequeath'd to these Nations in Setling the Succession of the Crown in the / Illustrious House of Hanover.

WHEN we Reflect on the many Blessings deriv'd from the Revolution and / continued to us by the Succession of his Late and Present Majesty it becomes our Inclination as / well as Duty to preserve a gratefull Memory of the glorious AUTHOR of them And an Inviolable / Attachment to our GRACIOUS KING upon the Throne.

LET other Orders boast a more ancient Date whilst none can Vie with this in the Noble Subject of it's INSTITUTION.

FOR
LIBERTY IS OUR BASIS,
AND
LOYALTY and FRIENDSHIP are our grand SUPPORTERS.

BY these Motives We are therefore Induced to Unite together in the strictest Bonds / of Friendship and for the Regulation of our Society DO CONSTITUTE and ORDAIN THE / following Articles as enter'd in Folio Three.*

* Now folio 5. See page 198.

[Folios 3*b* and 4 are blank.

Folio 4*b* contains a List of the 'Original Members'—as on page 204. The names are here transcribed, with notes, giving, as far as possible, the dates of commissions held, etc., but it is difficult, in the absence of an index to Army lists, to say who some of these people were. Membership was, apparently, not restricted to Officers of the Regiment, or even to the Army.

The names of Officers of the 4th, King's Own, are printed in italics.

Further information about any of the Members is asked for, which will be published in a later No.

* In List covering the years 1719 to 1727 in C. Dalton's *George the First's Army*. 1912. Vol. II. pp. 281-2.

† In the Army List (printed) of 1740.

‡ In the Army List (MS.) of 1752. (P.R.O., Index No. 5438.)

§ In the Army List (printed) of 1754.

S. = Superior.

W. = Warden.]

*† S. *Lieut.-Colonel John Lee*.

[Captain, 4th Dragoons, 22 October, 1717; Lieut.-Colonel, 4th, King's Own, 4 April, 1730; Colonel, 44th Foot, 11 March, 1743.]

*W. *Captain Thomas Shrimpton*.

[Captain, 6 March, 1720/1.]

*†‡§W. *Lieutenant James Thorne*, Register.

[Ensign, 6 May, 1720; Lieutenant, 1 November, 1733; Major, 22 August, 1749; Lieut.-Colonel, 22 January, 1754.]

*†W. *Lieutenant William Williams*.

[Lieutenant, 26 December, 1726.]

W. The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Glencairn.

[William Cunninghame, who had succeeded to the title, as 13th Earl, in 1734.]

W. *Lieutenant William Trelawny*.

[Ensign, 26 November, 1713; not in 1719-27 List. Brother of Sir Harry Trelawny, 5th Baronet.]

*W. *Cornet Robert Leigh*.

[Was commissioned in the 4th King's Own, as Ensign, 29 October, 1722; Cornet, 3rd Dragoons, 6 October, 1733.]

W. *Joseph Richardson*, Esq.

[Ensign, 5th April, 1718. His name does not appear in the 1719-27 List. It is possible that he had retired before the formation of the Society, seeing that he is entered as "Esq."]

*†W. *Lieutenant John Emmenes*.

[Lieutenant, 23 February, 1710/1, in Lord Paston's Regiment of Foot—disbanded in 1712, when he was placed on half pay. Lieutenant, 4th King's Own, 17 December, 1724.]

Original Members



OF THE

LOYAL and FRIENDLY

SOCIETY.

Coll: In: Ver.
 w Cap: Tho: Shrimpton.
 w Lieut: Ja: Thorne Register.
 w W: A: Williams.
 w The R: H: y: Earl of Glencairn.
 w W: A: Irelandy.
 w Corn: Rob: Leigh.
 w Do: Richardson Esq:
 w W: In: Emmenes.
 w Cap: W: A: Newton.
 w Cap: Rich: Woren.
 w Cap: Rob: Hepbourne.
 w Cap: Doleph Cleale.
 w Hen: Whitfield. M.A. Chaplain.

w Cap: W: A: Pgle.
 w The W: Cap: Willmot Vaughan.
 w Tho: Mattson Jun: Esq:
 w Tho: Doughty Esq:
 w W: A: Gush.
 w Hum: Leigh Esq:
 w Tho: Mattson Esq:
 w Rob: Hutchings Esq:
 w Cap: Geo: Wallh.
 w The W: Cap: Rob: Douglas.
 w Tho: Gury Esq:
 w Cap: In: Carney.
 w Arthur Bradley Gent:
 w Ent: In: Fuller Register.

*W. *Captain William Newton.*

[Lieutenant, 27 February, 1712; Captain-Lieutenant, 11 June, 1720.]

†W. *Captain Richard Coren.*

[Ensign, 2 January, 1706/7; Lieutenant, 23 August, 1711; Captain, 3 March, 1735/6. Lieut.-Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 25 January, 1749.]

W. *Captain Robert Hepbourne.*

[Lieutenant in Colonel Sir Robert Braidshaigh's Regiment of Foot, 5 July, 1712—disbanded in 1713. Captain-Lieutenant in Colonel James Tyrrell's Dragoons, 22 July, 1715—disbanded in 1718. Captain in 11th Dragoons, 13 May, 1735.]

W. *Captain Joseph Veale.*

* *Henry Whitfield, M.A., Chaplain.*

[Chaplain, 7 March, 1723/4.]

*W. *Captain William Ogle.*

[Captain in 3rd Dragoons, 16 January, 1721/2.]

*W. *The Hon. Captain Willmott Vaughan.*

[Captain, 10th Foot, 13 April, 1723. Succeeded his brother as 3rd Viscount Lisburne, 15 January, 1740/1.]

W. *Thomas Wattson, Junior, Esq.*

W. *Thomas Younghusband, Esq.*

*W. *Lieutenant William Bush.*

[Ensign, 13 April, 1709; Lieutenant, 11 June, 1720.]

W. *Humphrey Leigh, Esq.*

W. *Thomas Wattson, Esq.*

Robert Hutchings, Esq.

*†‡W. *Captain George Walsh.*

[Ensign, 1709; Captain, 19 May, 1720; Major, 3 March, 1735/6; Lieut.-Colonel, 22 August, 1749.]

W. *Captain The Hon. Robert Douglas.* W. *Thomas Bury, Esq.*

*W. *Captain John Carney.*

[Captain, 26 December, 1726.]

W. *Arthur Bradley, Gent.* [Artist and Designer.]

* *Ensign John Fuller, Register.*

[Ensign, 11 June, 1720.]

[Folio 5—originally 3.]

RULES (referr'd to in the First fol:) † to be OBSERV'D
 BY THE
 MEMBERS of the LOYAL and FRIENDLY SOCIETY
 OF THE
 BLEW AND ORANGE.

FIRST, This Society is to consist of A SUPERIOR, Eleven Wardens, A Register, And as / many Members as may from time to time be Admitted.

SECONDLY, That on every Fourth Day of November a new Superior, Wardens, and / Register, be Elected by the then present Superior, Wardens, and Register.

THIRDLY, That no Person be admitted a Member but by the unanimous Consent of all / the Members then present, And that no less a Number than Four Wardens and Five Members have a / Power of admitting any new Member.

FOURTHLY, That in case any new Member may be thought after admittance / unworthy of the Order such Member may be expell'd by the Votes of Thirteen Members Five whereof / being Wardens But by no less a Number.

FIFTHLY, That the whole Society Do wear a Blue Ribbon in their Shirt Collar and / a Medal of Gold fastned by a Blue* Ribbon to a Button-hole of their Wast-coat of the same Sise and having / the Device and Mottos as nearly engraved thereon as possible according to the Specimen thereof Represented / in the Frontispiece ‡ of this Book And that such Medal be never omitted to be Worn by each Member on every / 4th Day of November every 1st Day of August on the Day of his Majesty's Accession to the Crown And at all / Public Meetings Unless some sufficient Reason on the contrary. †

SIXTHLY, That as 'tis reasonable to Suppose the greater Number of the Members will allways be / with the Regiment 'Tis therefore Agreed That whoever is Chosen Superior or Register may in their Absence Depute / any Member with the Regiment to Act for Them.

SEVENTHLY, That Whoever is Desirous of being Admitted a Member of this Society must Present / his Petition by one of the Members to the Superior &c. at least a Week before such Person be Admitted.

EIGHTHLY, That the Strictest Rules of HONOUR and FRIENDSHIP be observ'd by each Member and / should any Difference or Quarrel arise between any of the Members The whole Society is to Exert their utmost to / make up such Difference so that the Character of either Party may not Suffer.

* The words 'and orange' are inserted in writing.

† At the end of this clause are inserted in writing the words 'And 1st of July—the 16th of Aprl.' ‡ Now folio 3.

NINTHLY, That when any new Member is to be Admitted the Register DO SUMMONS all the / Members within 5 miles to Attend And whoever does not Obey such Summons is liable to the Censure of the Society.

AND TENTHLY, That on the Admittance of every new Member such Member Do make the follg: / DECLARATION Laying his right hand on the Medal and distinctly Repeating it after the Register.

I, A: B: DO SOLEMNLY PROMISE & DECLARE, That I will allways have a just / regard for the Honour Dignity and Welfare of this Loyal and Friendly Society and will Defend it's / Constitution to the utmost of my Power against all Opposers thereof And will from time to time conform my / Self to the Articles now Read unto Me as I shall hereafter Answer to this Society.

[Folio 5.b is blank. Folio 6 contains the List of Members, continued.]

MEMBERS
OF THE
LOYAL AND FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF THE BLEW & ORANGE,
Continued.

†W. Colonel the *Hon.* Thomas Herbert.

[1st Foot Guards. Captain and Lieut.-Colonel, 23 February, 1729/30. 3rd son of Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke. Died 25 December, 1739. Name shown in Army List of 1740 as 'Thomas Herbert, *dead.*' No prefix of 'Hon.']

S. The *Rt. Hon.* Robert, Lord Walpole.

[Created 1723. Eldest son of Robert, 1st Earl of Orford. Died, 1751.]

S. The *Rt. Hon.* Sir William Yonge, *Bart.*, K.B.

[Succeeded as 4th Baronet, 18 July, 1731. See 'D.N.B.']

W. Sir Francis Henry Drake, *Bart.*

[4th Baronet. Died 26 January, 1739/40.]

†W. *Brigadier-General William Barrell.*

[Captain, 27 March, 1698; Colonel of the Regiment, 8 August, 1734; Major-General, 1734; Lieut.-General, 1739, and Governor of Pendennis Castle. Died, 9 August, 1749. See *ante*, I. 21, 23, 85-9.]

†W. *Lieutenant Robert King.*

[Ensign, 23 August, 1711; Lieutenant, 20 March, 1729/30.]

Lieutenant William Pyll.

James Keigwin, Esq.

† *Lieutenant Thomas Collier.*

[Ensign, 26 February, 1712/3; Lieutenant, 2 August, 1734.]

† *Ensign Henry Balfure* [Balfour].

[Ensign, 11 July, 1735.]

Major William Caulfield. John Aitkine, Esq.

† Lieutenant John Barnard [? Bernard].
[23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers; Ensign, 13 March, 1718/9;
Lieutenant, 25 November, 1731.]

† Captain Roger Lort.
[23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers; Lieutenant, 11 April, 1708; Captain,
16 July, 1730.]

† *Captain Henry Delabenc.*
[Captain, 2 November, 1737.]

The *Rt. Hon.* Lord John Johnston.
[Eldest son of the 1st Earl of Hopetoun.]

S. The *Rt. Hon.* Lord Southwell.
[Thomas, 2nd Baron. Died, 1766.]

† *Ensign William Neilson* [Nelson].
[Ensign, 9 July, 1736; Lieutenant, 25 January, 1740/1.]

Peter Davenport, Esq. Henry Baynes.

S. The *Rt. Hon.* Earl of Effingham.
[Thomas, 1st Earl. *d.* 12 February, 1742/3.]

† Captain Robert Blakeney.
[31st Foot, 23 April, 1720.]

† Lieutenant John Felton.
[Independent Invalids, New York; Lieutenant, 12 November,
1733.]

† Lieutenant Theodore Hoste.
[Royal Horse Guards; Lieutenant, 7 May, 1734.]

† Major John Waite.
[23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers; Major, 4 September, 1739.]

†§W. Cornet Lucy Weston.
[3rd Dragoon Guards; Cornet, 10 April, 1733; Captain, 19 June,
1752; 1754, A. List, p. 62.]

W. Samuel Long, Esq. W. William Fortesque, Esq.

†§W. Captain Richard Bendish.
[23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers; Ensign, 17 September, 1721; Captain,
1 November, 1733; Major, h.p., 1 May, 1745.]

Robert Foulkes, Esq., LL.D.

† *Ensign Charles Minzies* [Menzies].
[Ensign, 15 April, 1734; Lieutenant, 19 January, 1739/40.]

William Weston, Esq.

Captain Thomas Cokayne.

[13th Foot. Ensign, 15 June, 1716; Captain, 5 July, 1735.]

Nute Veal, Esq.

Captain Nathaniel Tucker.

† *Ensign Thomas Lee.*

[Ensign, 2 August, 1734.]

The *Hon.* Major-General Moyle.

Ensign Edward Colston.

† Ensign Robert Moyle.

[Ensign, 12 June, 1736. 1st Lieutenant in Colonel the *Hon.* Lewis Ducie Moreton's Regiment of Marines, 3 December, 1739; Captain, 7 April, 1741. This regiment was raised on 22 November, 1739, and 'broke' on 10 November, 1748.

There were no Ensigns in Marine Regiments, but 1st and 2nd Lieutenants.]

Robert Walkinshaw, Esq.

[10th Dragoons; Cornet, 29 July, 1723; Lieutenant, 21 May, 1733.]

† *Ensign Sheldon Walters.*

[Ensign, 8 February, 1737/8.]

† *Captain [John] Romer.*

[Captain, 19 January, 1739/40.]

† Cornet Thomas Dawson.

[3rd Dragoons; Cornet, 1 February, 1737/8.]

James Burnett, Gent.

The *Rt. Hon.* Thomas Lord Howard.

† Lieutenant John Mereer.

[Royal Horse Guards; Cornet, 27 January, 1717/8; Lieutenant, 9 July, 1739.]

† Cornet John Needham.

[Royal Horse Guards; Cornet, 10 May, 1732.]

† Lieutenant John Powlett.

[Royal Horse Guards; Cornet, 2 October, 1731; Lieutenant, 10 December, 1739.]

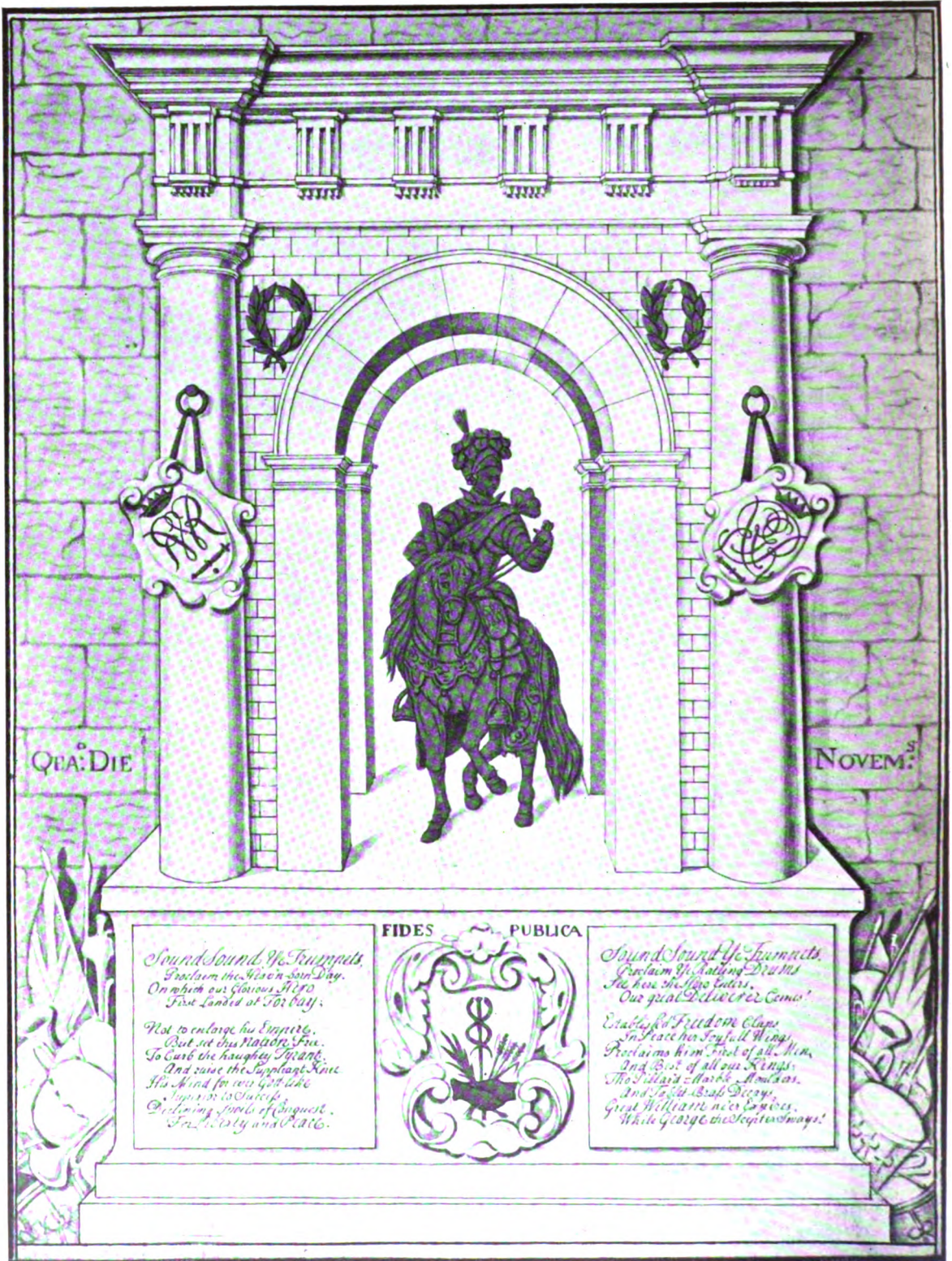
Lieutenant Thomas Rood [? Rodd].

[41st Foot; Ensign, 24 December, 1720. 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers; 3 September, 1739.]

[Folio 6.b is blank. Folio 7 concludes the List of Members.]

† *Ensign William Scott.*

[Ensign, 25 January, 1739/40; Lieutenant, 13 June, 1744. From this it seems that the second List must be dated *prior* to June, 1744.]



QVA: DIE

NOVEM.^S

FIDES PUBLICA

*Sound Sound Ye Trumpets,
Proclaim the News on soon Day,
On which our glorious King
First landed at Torbay;*

*Not to enlarge his Empire,
But set this Kingdom free,
To curb the haughty Spaniards,
And raise the Suppliant Knee
His Hand for ever like
Supreme to obey;
Performing words of Prophecy,
That he should by and 1666.*



*Sound Sound Ye Trumpets,
Proclaim the halting Drums
The News the Ships bring,
Our great Deliverer Come!*

*Etiaht his Freedom Claps
In Peace his Joyfull News,
Proclaim him First of all Men,
And Best of all our Kings,
The valiant Mark, Anthonis,
And the great Crab Decoy,
Great William, near Exeter,
While George the Septimsays!*

- †‡§ Lieutenant William FitzThomas.
[3rd Dragoon Guards (Wade's Horse). Lieutenant, 24 April, 1728;
Captain-Lieutenant, 25 April, 1741; Major, 31 January, 1751.]
- Kyffin Williams, Esq.
- †‡ Lieutenant William Thomson.
[1st (King's) Dragoon Guards; Cornet, 26 April, 1726; Lieutenant,
20 January, 1735/6; Major, 24 April, 1746.]
- †‡§ Lieutenant Henry Midgett.
[Royal Horse Guards; Cornet, 17 May, 1725; Lieutenant, 18 July,
1737; Captain-Lieutenant, 18 February, 1745.]

[Folio 7*b* is blank. Folio 8 is reproduced, facing this page. It is a highly ornate affair and is, apparently, intended to represent the entry of King William III into England, 4 November, 1688, painted entirely in gold, with the monogram, W.R., on the holsters.

The design in the centre of the face of the plinth displays two clasped hands, behind which is a wand surrounded by two serpents entwined, a palm branch and three ears of corn, all in gold.

The two wreaths at the top corners of the archway are in gold, as also are the monograms and crowns on the two plaques, suspended on the pillars. The suspending cord on the left is orange, and that on the right blue. QUA^o should be QUARTA. The artist is at fault in his gender. The actual size of the illustration is 9" by 12".

The doggrel poem on the face of the plinth is here transcribed; the name of its author is discreetly withheld.]

Sound! Sound! Ye Trumpets,
Proclaim the Heav'n-born Day,
On which our Glorious Hero
First Landed at Torbay.

Not to enlarge his Empire,
But set this Nation Free,
To Curb the haughty Tyrant
And raise the Suppliant Knee.
His Mind for ever God-like,
Superior to Success,
Declining Spoils of Conquest,
For Liberty and Peace.

Sound! Sound! Ye Trumpets,
Proclaim! Ye Ratling Drums,
See here the Hero Enters,
Our great Deliverer Comes!

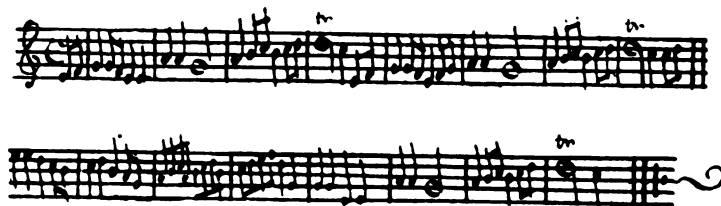
Established Freedom Claps
In Peace her Joyfull Wings,
Proclaims him First of all Men,
And Best of all our Kings:
Tho' Pillar'd—Marble moulders,
And Tablet—Brass decays,
Great William ne'er Expires,
While George the Scepter Sways!

[Folio 9, measuring 8½" by 12".

The words of Verse I, being somewhat offensive, are omitted.

The music is reproduced in facsimile.]

ANNIVERSARY SONG
IN MEMORY OF
GLOPRIAUG.



II.

Old Sr Lewis* held it out,
 Many a 1st of August;
 Tho' Plagu'd with a Fistula, Pox and Gout,
 Many a 1st of August;
 But the unexpected News that Day,
 Stuck to his Heart and Wore him away,
 And left all Europe bound to Pray,
 For the GLORIOUS 1st of AUGUST.

III.

Great GEORGE has giv'n us Cause to Bless,
 This Glorious 1st of August;
 Let's DRINK to his MEMORY we can't do less,
 This Glorious 1st of August:
 And he that Denies it, May he be,
 From Chains and Slavery never free,
 But thus Tormented! Live to See,
 Many a 1st of AUGUST.

The Society is mentioned occasionally in Diaries, etc., a few extracts from which are here given.

Lieutenant John Barker, 4th King's Own Regiment, records on 18 January, 1776, at Boston, Massachusetts, where the Regiment was then stationed:—

“ Being the Anniversary of the Queen's Birthday, it was celebrated by firing a Royal Salute from the Artillery in Town at 12 o'clock, at which time the Picquets of the Army were march'd to King street and fired three volleys; the Ships of War also fired at 1 o'clock. The Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange met and dined at the British Coffee House some days previous to which they had a meeting to admit new Members and to appoint Stewards; many of the Loyal and Publick Toasts were accompanied by the discharge of a Volley from 23 Grenadiers of the King's Own, agreeable to the custom of the Society; there were sixty eight members present. I was prevented being among them by being on Guard.” [*The Atlantic Monthly*. Vol. XXXIX. April, 1877.]

The following entries are taken from the Journal of General William Dyott, published by Archibald Constable and Company, Ltd., in 1907.

Dyott belonged to the 4th King's Own, his commissions being:—

Lieutenant. 28 December, 1784.

* Louis XV, King of France.

Captain. 25 April, 1793.

Major. 103rd Foot. 19 May, 1794.

Lieut.-Colonel. 25th Foot. 11 November, 1795.

Colonel in the army. 1 January, 1800.

1785. 3 April. Dublin. I had the honour of being admitted a member of the Blue and Orange Society.

4 November. [Dublin.] Our great Blue and Orange Day. In the morning the regiment fired three rounds, and the Duke* promised to return to dine with the Society, as he was chose Superior of the Order; but he was delayed by unavoidable business; notwithstanding the disappointment we had a most joyous day, and sat till after five o'clock in the morning.

1787. [Charles Fort, near Kinsale.] On the 16th April we had a very joyous meeting of the Blue and Orange; dined upwards of forty, and of course got a good deal inebriated.

Tuesday [6 November. Halifax, Nova Scotia.] He [H.R.H. Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV.] came on shore about twelve, and was made a member of the Loyal and Friendly Society of the Blue and Orange, and dined with the Society at our mess-room. All our officers were members and invited the Governor, the Commodore, the Commissioner, and Major [George] Vesey, of the 6th regiment, to meet the Prince. We gave him a very good dinner and he was in very good spirits.

Saturday. 10 November. [Halifax.] We had a meeting of the Blue and Orange, as His Royal Highness gave a dinner to the Society that day at our mess-room, and was chosen Superior of the Order. . . . He desired to dine at half-past three. He took the chair himself and ordered me to be his vice. We had a very good dinner, and he sent wine of his own; the very best claret I ever tasted. We had the Grenadiers drawn up in front of the mess-room windows to fire a volley in honour of the toasts.

1788. Tuesday. 26 August. [Halifax.] His Royal Highness intended landing this day as a Prince of the Blood, to meet the Loyal Society of the Blue and Orange at dinner, as their Royal Highnesses, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, were to honour the Society this day by being admitted members. About half an hour after three a Standard was hoisted in his Royal Highness's barge. . . . We sat down twenty to a very good dinner. His Royal Highness presided as Superior, and I had the honour of being his vice.

Monday. 1 September. He gave a dinner at our mess-room to the Blue and Orange Society; it was as handsome a thing as ever I saw.

1789. 16 April. We had a jolly meeting of the Blue and Orange.

* Charles, 4th Duke of Rutland; Lord Lieutenant, 1784-7.

1801. 1 August. [Egypt. Near Alexandria.] This day is a gala day with the Blue and Orange Society; all the members serving in this army dined with General Finch,* who is of long standing in the Order, and had a jolly day.

After this no reference to the Society has been discovered, though probably there are many records of its activity and of its final disappearance.

THE STRATEGY OF HAROLD HARDRADA IN THE INVASION OF 1066.

BY G. A. AUDEN, M.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.

The course followed by Harold Hardrada and Tostig during their invasion of Northumbria in September, 1066, raises certain questions of strategy which have not hitherto been satisfactorily solved. Harold's eastward march to Stamford Bridge, after the successful opening of the campaign by his victory at Fulford and the consequent capitulation of York, appears at first sight unintelligible, seeing that it apparently led him away from his ships, and his reserves, and left him open to attack from the rear.

But Harold Sigurdson was a soldier of wide military experience, gained in many successful expeditions under the most renowned military commanders of the time, and, therefore, it is but reasonable to suppose that this movement eastwards was part of a definitely thought out plan.

The campaign has often been described, with careful collation of the numerous more or less contemporaneous descriptions which have come down to us, but never with sufficient attention to the physical configuration of the country over which it was carried out. Professor Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest*, has discussed it with his usual insight and descriptive power, but although, when engaged upon this work, he made two visits to the scene of the final act of the tragedy, he appears to have overlooked several points in the local geography, which must undoubtedly have had an important bearing upon the course and the results of the struggle. He hazards the conjecture that possibly the ancient royal palace of the Northumbrian Kings at Aldby, some three miles higher up the river from Stamford Bridge, may have offered a motive for the move. But this conjecture does not appear to have much weight, since it is difficult to believe that the mere sentimental object of

* Major General the Hon. Edward Finch, Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards.

seating himself, or Tostig, on a regal throne could have induced a veteran soldier like Harold Hardrada to make a move which was not dictated by what appeared to him sound strategy, apart from the fact that there is no evidence whatever that at the date in question Aldby was still a royal residence. Nor does the suggestion made in the *Cambridge Modern History* (Vol. V. p. 499) that it was his intention to plunder Harold Godwinson's Manor of Catton, near Stamford Bridge, appear a more likely conjecture.

The City of York, as the seat of the Northumbrian King, was the prime object of the campaign. This City stands upon the northern of two great crescentic ridges of morainic material which mark the furthest southern extension of the great York glacier, a tongue of the ice-sheet which had its origin in the region of Shapfell in Westmoreland. These crescentic moraines sweep across the vale of York, and form two natural causeways at a height of fifty to eighty feet above the level marshy flats (which are but little raised above sea-level), which stretch southwards from York to the Humber.

The two morainic crescents are connected at their mid-point by a gravel ridge of the type known to Geologists as an Esker. This and the two moraines are traversed by ancient roads, which in all probability date back to the pre-Roman, if not to the Neolithic, period.

The City of York stands at the nodal point where the Ouse, and its tributary the Foss, cut the more northern of the elevated crescents where this is joined by the gravel ridge just described. Upon this ridge runs the ancient road from the south, and on this road lie the villages of Fulford, Escrick and Riccall.

The road from York eastward to the coast, which formed at this date the only means of communication between east and the west, runs along this natural causeway, dropping to the valley in order to cross the river Derwent at Stamford Bridge before rising up the steep slope of the Wolds at Garrowby Hill to pursue a direct course to the sea at Bridlington. At Stamford Bridge it is joined by another ancient road which passes at the foot of the Wolds through Full Sutton and Fangfose to Pocklington, where it unites with the road from Market Weighton, and which was continued to cross the Humber at Brough into Lincolnshire by the so-called Ermine Street. This latter main road, however, runs a more direct course towards York, crossing the Derwent at Kexby some six and a half miles from York, and joining the Stamford Bridge road at Grimston, three miles nearer the City.

It has been supposed by some writers that at this crossing stood the pre-Roman town described by Ptolemy as *Derventio*, though this place may with perhaps greater probability be represented by Elvington some two miles further down the river.

There is no doubt that at this time a considerable traffic passed along one or other of these roads; for York, as the capital of Northumbria, was certainly a great merchant emporium, at which the trade of the interior met with that brought overseas. It will thus be seen that by these two roads York was placed in direct communication with the open

water, a fact which is of vital importance to a proper understanding of the movements of Harold Hardrada and his Expeditionary Force.

The City is placed in communication with the higher lands of the West Riding by the old road following the moraine ridge past the Askham Bog, which still retains the characteristic features of the low-lying land before this was drained and taken into cultivation. At Tadcaster, ten miles S.W. from York, this road meets the Old North Road, which was the main Roman and pre-Roman highway from the South.

A glance at the map will show that the Riccall-York ridge forms with the two moraines the base of an isosceles triangle, at the apex of which is situated Stamford Bridge, just where the Derwent enters it to pursue a meandering course till it breaches the southern moraine below Elvington. The interior of this triangle is occupied by low-lying flat lands traversed only by winding irregular country lanes, and is even now, after centuries of drainage, in many places lush and marshy meadowland. It would be difficult, therefore, even at the present time, to transfer any large body of troops with speed across it, and at the time of Harold's invasion quite impossible.

From York the Ouse flows southwards to cut the southern crescent near Stillingfleet, where it is joined two miles north of Riccall by Stillingfleet Beck. One mile lower down it unites with the river Wharfe, some ten miles below Tadcaster, which is situated on that river. About a mile and a half below York the Ouse is joined by a small stream, which crosses the Riccall-York road immediately south of Fulford. At this point the river makes a sharp bend in a south-westerly direction towards Bishopsthorpe. Here the battle of 20 September, 1066, took place.

The course of events which led up to the Norwegian invasion may be shortly summarised. In the Spring of 1065 a revolution had broken out in Northumbria, when the insurgents seized the weapons in the Arsenal at York, massacred the household of Tostig, the Earl of Northumbria, brother of Harold Godwinson, and declared him deposed and outlawed. In his place they elected Morkere, whose sister became the wife of Harold Godwinson. After negotiations with the rebels, King Edward ("The Confessor"), recognising the deposition of Tostig as a *fait accompli*, confirmed Morkere in his Earldom. Tostig, however, anxious to win back Northumbria, secured the help of Harold Sigurdson, King of Norway, more generally known by his nickname "Hardrada," who doubtless had his own ambitions to serve in the attempted conquest of England. Collecting a large fleet, Harold sailed first to the Orkneys and thence along the coast of Scotland, increasing his fleet as he went, to join forces with Tostig at the mouth of the Tyne. The combined forces harried Cleveland and burnt Scarborough. Thence they continued their southward voyage and landed at Holderness, where, after some fighting, they were joined by a number of the inhabitants who rallied to Tostig.

Their combined fleet then sailed up the Humber, and the Ouse, driving before it many Northumbrian vessels, which took refuge in the Wharfe, where they were still lying when Harold Godwinson reached

Tadcaster on 24 September. (“*Com Harald Engla cyning to Tada and baer his lid fylcade.*”) The Norwegian fleet was a large one, for the Chronicles speak of 300 ships, though this was probably an exaggerated estimate. It is, however, stated that William the Norman used nearly 700 transports in his simultaneous invasion of England. (*Camb. Modern Hist.*, Vol. V. p. 498.)

According to Florence of Worcester, Radulf de Diceto and Symeon of Durham, the invaders cast anchor at Riccall. “*In loco, qui Richale dicitur, applicuerunt.*” From the physiographical features of the neighbourhood, the place of debarkation was admirably chosen. The sharp bend in the river brings it close to the highroad to York, while the rise of the tide, which here begins to lose its power, and ceases altogether at Naburn, six miles higher up the stream, would doubtless be a very material help. At the same time, however, a fleet anchored here would be in a very vulnerable position, for the river is narrow, and a surprise attack upon ships crowded together, as these must have been, between the high banks, would have been easy. On *a priori* grounds, therefore, it seems highly probable that as soon as the debarkation of the troops was completed the crews would utilise the ebb-tide and make for more open water.

The Norwegian chronicles state that in the course of the battle at Stamford Bridge reinforcements arrived from the ships, but it was manifestly impossible for Harold to send messengers from that place to Riccall, and for the supports to march from Riccall to the battlefield in a single day. Moreover, as has been already pointed out, the only road available was that from York, which was already held by the English army, and the total distance to be covered would have been nineteen miles. No other alternative route presented itself, since the river Derwent formed an impassable barrier, and was too narrow for any effective fleet to navigate it.

If, therefore, the Norwegian chronicles are to be taken as based on facts, Harold Hardrada's ships cannot have been in the Ouse.

No time seems to have been lost after the landing at Riccall, before moving on York. And it is clear that Harold's intention, on September 19, was a surprise attack. A march of not more than ten miles would have brought him to the walls of the city. Two miles, however, from their objective, they found themselves in touch with the defending forces under Morkere and his brother Edwin.

It is Symeon of Durham who gives the site of the ensuing battle as “*in borcali ripâ Usac fluminis apud Fulford non longe ab Eboraco.*”

Henry of Huntingdon places it nearer York “*juxta urbem Eoverwic cujus pugnae locus in australi parte urbis adhuc ostenditur,*” while the Orkney Saga makes the fight actually within the city itself. Professor Freeman seems to follow these latter historians and fixes the actual site of the engagement considerably nearer the city than Fulford, on the spot now occupied by the Infantry Barracks. This identification is not, however, supported by the physical features so clearly described by the Norwegian

chronicler, whose description of the course of events is so detailed and tallies so closely with the actual geography that there seems no reason to doubt that he was actually present at the engagement, or that he received a first-hand account from one who took part in it. This point is indeed noted by Freeman, who contrasts the full account of the battle of Fulford with the loose statements and ignorance of the local configuration which are so patent in the story of the subsequent fight at Stamford Bridge.

It has been already mentioned that on the southern side of the modern village of Fulford, the road dips into a shallow depression caused by the small Fulford Beck, which here flows into the Ouse, draining the marshy land east of the road, which is known as the Tilmire, and the Outgang, part of which still remains uncultivated.

Here, too, the Ouse takes the sharp bend to the West, leaving a well-marked gravel ridge, now occupied by Fulford Hall.

The Tilmire and Outgang, therefore, may well have been "the deep and broad bog full of water," upon which Hardrada rested the right wing of his army, while his left was upon the river, which here approaches within 150 yards of the road, on which he himself took his station, and raised his standard.

Edwin and Morkere, advancing along the road from York, naturally first came into contact with the right wing "near the ditch" (*i.e.* the Beck as it issued from Tilmire), and apparently forced it to fall back, and allow the York troops to seize and cross the stream. But Harold, raising his war-cry, rushed his body guard with his standard "The Land Ravager" to strengthen his left wing, and by so doing forced the Northumbrian troops back upon the marsh and the stream till they broke and retreated in disorder to the city.

It may indeed be poetic licence which sings that the slaughter here was so great that the Northmen were able to cross dryshod over the bodies of the slain, but under the circumstance, since the main issue of the battle was decided at this spot, some such incident may well have occurred. Indeed we may accept the incident as an actual fact, so strong was the impression it evidently made upon contemporary imagination, for the story of it is told by the Norwegian chronicler and by Henry of Huntingdon. In any case their main attack having failed, Morkere's troops found themselves enveloped between the advancing horns of a crescent and the river, the banks of which are at this spot both high and perpendicular, composed of stiff glacial clay, and many of them must have been literally driven into the river and drowned.

This Battle of Fulford, fought upon Wednesday, 20 September, was so decisive that Edwin and Morkere, together with the citizens of York appear to have at once concluded that further resistance was hopeless. The City at once capitulated. On the following Sunday, September 24th, Harold and Tostig made a state entry to receive the formal surrender, but it is certain that the intervening days were not wasted in inactivity on the part of the army, while the necessary negotiations and choice of hostages was being carried out.

The historical records of this period of the campaign are so fragmentary and confusing that we are compelled to reconstruct it in the light of general considerations and to infer that Harold, following the traditional strategy of all the earlier Danish invasions, after landing his force, had commandeered all the horses he could find, and sent the greater part, at least, of his fleet to some convenient open roadstead. Such a move would explain the silence of the Chronicles as to the fate of the transports, and their statement that the survivors were allowed to return to Norway in twenty ships.

With the occupation of York, and the delivery of a large number of hostages, named doubtless by Tostig from among the most prominent men in Northumbria, and those who had taken a leading part in opposing him, the object of the invaders was achieved, and that in a much shorter campaign than the most sanguine hopes of the invaders could have expected. Meanwhile, Harold's position at York was manifestly insecure, and a new series of problems presented itself. He could not for a moment close his eyes to the fact, that in an expedition of this kind, success must depend on rapidity of movement. His blow had been successful, but he well knew that sooner or later Harold Godwinson would be able to put into the field against him a force far superior in numbers to his own. He was well aware, moreover, that two routes converging upon York were open from the south, either or both of which could be used by the advancing enemy. Strategy, therefore, clearly taught him the danger of risking a decisive engagement, or remaining in the neighbourhood of York.

In the oaths of fealty, taken by the Northumbrians, and still more in the possession of a large number of prominent men as hostages, Hardrada possessed a safer means of attaining his ends. He would retreat to the sea, and thence to Norway, while he had the opportunity.

We have already adduced reasons for supposing that the fleet would not remain at Riccall longer than was necessary for debarkation. In addition there is the fact that, should Harold Godwinson choose the Doncaster-Selby road, the Norwegian fleet would find its way to the sea blocked. It seems, therefore, clear that, had the ships remained at Riccall, Harold Hardrada's subsequent march eastwards would be totally inexplicable. But if we conclude that immediately after the landing of the soldiers the larger ships had at once sailed for the Humber, we can see an adequate reason for the direction in which he began to march.

It appears quite reasonable to suppose that, immediately after the decisive battle at Fulford, and while negotiations were taking place with the citizens of York, the invading army began to prepare for its immediate return in order to secure the available roads leading to its base of operation, which was the sea, and the open roadsteads of the Humber.

The route by Kexby to Hull is the shortest and most direct, but the existence of the bridge at Stamford was the probable cause for the choice of the more circuitous road. At Kexby the river is not fordable, and therefore must have been crossed by a ferry. It is, however, possible (and

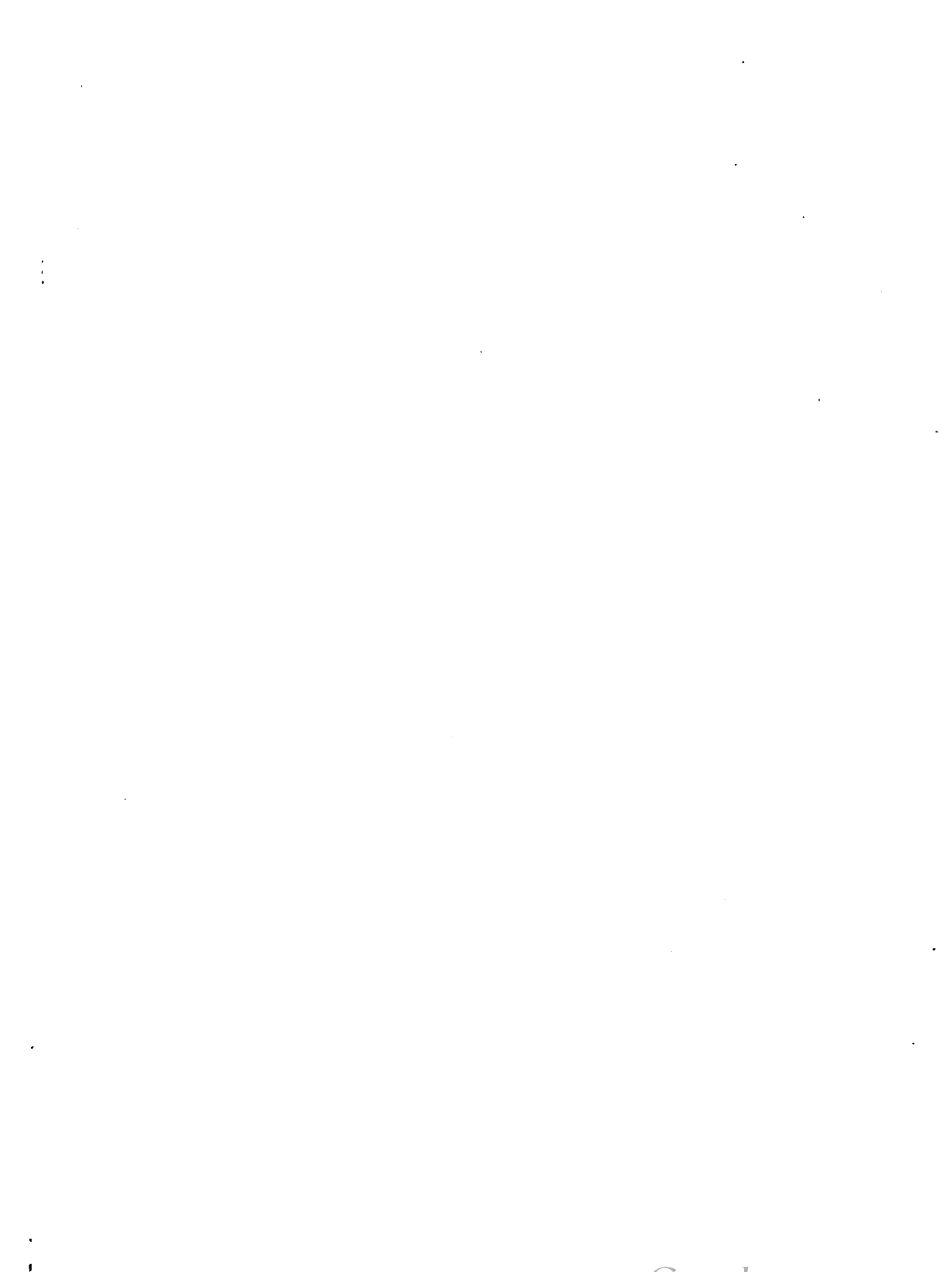
Freeman himself acknowledges the reasonableness of the conjecture) that a number of the smaller craft, of shallow draft, may have proceeded up the Derwent to this spot, while the larger vessels proceeded on their way to the Humber. Such a proceeding would bring the main army once more into touch with the separated details of the expedition, and would serve as a readier means of keeping the prisoners safe from any sudden attempt at desertion or rescue. The presence of a small number of ships at Kexby might also account for the statement that in the course of the battle of Stamford Bridge a call for reinforcements was sent, and that these arrived "blown" and breathless from their hurried march and too late to turn the scale of victory. It is, however, a possible conjecture that these reinforcements, under the command of Eistein Gorcock, were a detachment guarding the crossing of the river at Kexby, which is only four miles distant from Stamford Bridge,—and connected thereto by a road.

Harold Godwinson's forced march from the south apparently surprised Hardrada before he had had time to develop his plan of campaign. The Orkney Saga definitely states that he had taken up his position at Stamford Bridge to receive the Northumbrian hostages.

It is worthy of mention that this road from York eastwards is the only one which an army, marching from Fulford, can reach without passing through the City. The present Hull road for the first mile has left the lines of the Roman road, which, however, still exists as a narrow lane, known as "Thief Lane," and in its continuation the "Heslington Road," which, following a direct line, joins the Fulford road, to enter the city at the foot of the artificial mound, afterwards crowned by the Norman Castle. The age of this road is attested by the fact that both the parish boundary and that between the North and East Riding follow it for the greater part of its length. And it was along this route that Egil Skallagrimsson rode to York when his ship had been broken up on the sandbanks at the mouth of the Humber (Egil Saga; ch. 62). Further the Orkney Saga states that Olaf, the son of Hardrada, with the survivors from the slaughter of Stamford Bridge received permission from Harold Godwinson to leave England, and sailed from Ravenser, which was situated near the mouth of the Humber, and would be reached by the same route from Stamford Bridge.

The English army reached Tadcaster on Saturday, Sept. 23, having followed the Ermine Street route to Lincoln, and thence by Pontefract and Aberford. Here, as already mentioned, Godwinson reviewed the ships which had taken refuge there, and then, by a short march on the following day, appears to have reached York, shortly after the Norwegian army had withdrawn.

At this period of the year, the sun rises a few minutes before six, and it would be hardly possible for the English troops to get into marching order much before that time. Leaving the City probably by the gate near the Castle, known in later times as the "Stone Bow," it would possibly cover the seven miles which separated the two armies in



two and a half hours. Such rapid marching seems to have taken the Norwegian King by surprise, and the opposing forces were at once engaged. For the accounts of the battle show that issue was joined in the early part of the day while the invaders were actually crossing the bridge, which here spanned the Derwent. Henry of Huntingdon says in his record that the struggle continued till mid-day [“*a summo mane usque ad meridiem.*”]

The capture and holding of the bridge-head was clearly the objective of the opposing armies, and there is little doubt that such possession would give Hardrada the opportunity of withdrawing his men to the comparative safety of the high ground on the further bank to fight a rearguard action till he could accomplish a reunion with his ships. The chronicle definitely states that he had intended to wait at Stamford until the delivery of the hostages, and it is probable that he had relied too confidently upon the difficulties which Godwinson would experience in assembling his fyrd to his standard for such an extended march from their homes.

It is pathetic that Harold Hardrada, able strategist and experienced soldier as he was, having accomplished with such seeming success what he had set out to do, should fail in the end. Perhaps he trusted Tostig, now on his own ground, and therefore better acquainted with the possibilities of the local geography, and committed to him the conduct of the retreat to the seaboard, and this over-confidence in his colleague resulted in his whole force being caught in a trap. Perhaps, too, his own intelligence department was at fault. Whatever may have been the causes of his failure after so striking an initial success, it is idle to suppose that he had no clear idea of the military situation, and marched without foresight and without a plan. In this paper we have attempted to reconstruct, and so render intelligible, the strategy which underlay his movements.

No memorial marks the spot where fell King Harold Sigurdson, the “man of wise counsel” (Hardrada)—one of the most experienced soldiers of his time, whose campaigns had taken him from Norway, (where in the battle of Stiklestad he was seriously wounded), to Russia, to Constantinople, to Palestine, Egypt and Sicily. Outside Athens he left his name, carved in runes,* upon the marble lion which had stood since the time of Pericles beside the harbour of Piræus. The Venetians carried the lion to Venice, where it still stands before the Arsenal to celebrate the capture of Athens from the Turk in 1687. What more fitting memorial to Harald and his army could be devised than a copy of this monument. The site of his death was probably in the neighbourhood of the present railway station at Stamford Bridge—a commanding position which overlooks the scene of the battle, and is splendidly situated for such a memorial.

* Inscription runique du Piree. C. C. Rafn. *Konnlige Oldskriftselskab*. Copenhagen. 1856.

CROMWELL'S REGIMENTS.

By SIR CHARLES H. FIRTH.

(Continued from page 146.)

It is tolerably easy to trace the history of the regiments which served in England or Scotland, especially if they formed part of the New Model. In two papers printed in *Notes and Queries* for 18 November, 1893, and 3 March, 1894, I attempted to show in the first the succession of colonels in the various regiments of the New Model, and in the second the succession in the case of about 29 regiments formed later.

The history of the Irish regiments is more difficult. In the case of the 24 English regiments comprised in the New Model Army the list of officers in 1645-6, printed at the end of Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva*, and reprinted in Peacock's *Army Lists of Roundheads and Cavaliers*, furnishes a secure starting point. At the conclusion we have the lists of regiments and their officers approved by the Long Parliament in 1659, printed in the *Commons' Journals* (vol. vii.) or in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, for 1659, and brought up to 1660 by the MS. list of Commissions granted by Monck, which is amongst the Clarke MSS. in Worcester College Library, Oxford.

But for the Army which served under Cromwell's command in Ireland there are no such lists either at the beginning or the end of its life. Its history must be put together from fragmentary evidence of various kinds. There is, however, one useful list, that is a statement of the money paid to the different regiments in Ireland from July, 1649, to November, 1656. It is printed by Mr. Robert Dunlop in his *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 1913. ii. 638-642. The list of officers to whom commissions were delivered in October, 1659, at p. 715 of the same work, elucidated by the report of the committee for the nomination of officers in 1659, in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, for 1659-60 (p. 12), furnishes a second basis. Supplementing these by notices in newspapers, letters, and accounts it is possible to put together a meagre, but fairly accurate, history of the regiments which followed Cromwell to Ireland.

On 15 March, 1649, Cromwell was offered the command of the army which it was proposed to send to Ireland, and on 30 March he accepted. (Gardiner. *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I. 24, 27; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 52, 54.) He was to be Lord Lieutenant as well as commander-in-chief (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-50, p. xlv.).

The expeditionary force was to consist of 12,000 men, and it was to include a regiment of horse and a regiment of foot, of which he was to be colonel, as well as a life-guard.

The object of this paper is to trace the history of those regiments. When Cromwell returned to England at the end of May, 1650, they stayed in Ireland, and he continued throughout the Protectorate to be their nominal colonel. The life-guard also remained in Ireland, becoming

the personal guard of successive governors or commanders-in-chief. The corporate existence of these different formations ended at the Restoration, but many privates continued to serve in the ranks of the reorganised army, and many officers acquired estates and founded families in Ireland.

The regiment of horse was a new one, specially raised for this expedition. Four regiments of the standing army in England had been selected by lot to go to Ireland on 20 April, 1649. Those of Ireton, Scroope, Horton, and Lambert were thus designed for the expedition, but about a fortnight later the revolt of the Levellers took place. It was headed by Colonel Scroope's regiment, and all Ireton's regiment except one troop joined in the mutiny. The result was that after the suppression of the revolt by Cromwell at Burford on 14 May, 1649, Scroope's regiment was disbanded, and Ireton's entirely reorganised, or, as it was termed, 'remoulded,' before it went to Ireland. Furthermore, as Lambert's regiment could not be spared from its post in the North of England, Horton's was the only one of the four selected regiments which actually went to Ireland. Hence it became necessary to supply the place of Lambert's and Scroope's regiments in the expeditionary force, and the expedient adopted was to raise a regiment of double the ordinary strength for the Lord-Lieutenant. 'Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell,' announced a newspaper, 'is to have a regiment of horse for Ireland consisting of 14 troops, and a lieut.-col. and two majors to be designed for the regiment' (*Perfect Diurnal*. May 28-June 4, 1649).

A regiment of this size was an unusual expedient. The only precedent was Cromwell's own regiment in the army of the Eastern Association, which began as six troops in the spring of 1643, and had risen to fourteen by April, 1645, when it was incorporated in the New Model, and made into two regiments. The double regiment which Cromwell took with him to Ireland in July, 1649, is described as organised in two divisions, and was no doubt from the first intended to become two regiments. One of these divisions was already formed. *Perfect Occurrences* for May 25-June 1, 1649, announces that 'Major Shelburne's regiment is nigh ready, which perhaps may be for Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell' (*Cromwelliana*, p. 58).

Major Thomas Shelburne (or Shilbourn) was a Buckinghamshire man who had done good service in the first civil war (Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Portland. i. 166, 320), and in 1648 was in command of the Aylesbury troop. The Committee of Accounts for Buckinghamshire wished to prevent him from going to Ireland, on the ground that his accounts had not been passed by them, and were severely rebuked by the Council of State for obstructing the public service (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1648-9, p. 168; 1649-50, p. 254). Cromwell now made him lieut.-col. of the double regiment, and at the end of 1649, or the beginning of 1650, when the regiment was made into two, he became colonel of one part of it. A letter of Cromwell's dated 2 April, 1650, speaks of Col. Shilbourn and his regiment as stationed in the county of Wexford (Carlyle's *Cromwell*. Letter 130).

Shelburne died at Carlow 'of a flux' on 18 April, 1651. (*Several Proceedings*, 1-8 May, 1651, p. 1282). The petition of his widow,

Elizabeth, was considered by Parliament in November, 1651, but it was evidently many years before she received the pay due for his services (*Commons' Journals*. VII. 38; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1654, p. 74; 1657-8, p. 103). Henry Pritty, or Pretty, Shelburne's major, succeeded to the command of the regiment. He had been a captain in Ireton's regiment from 1645 to 1649, became governor of Carlow about 1652, kept his government and his regiment throughout the Protectorate, and was confirmed in both commands by Ludlow and the republican commissioners in 1659. In the divisions amongst the Irish officers in December, 1659, he adhered to Ludlow's party; Carlow was surprised by Col. Edmund Temple, and Pretty was arrested, and deprived of his command (Ludlow. *Memoirs*. ii. 189, 474). After the Restoration he was regarded as a dangerous man: it was proposed to except him from the Act of Indemnity, but the proposal was dropped. However, a petition shows that he was arrested, and that it was doubtful whether he would keep the estate he held (Carte. *Ormond*. IV. 53; 8th *Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 536).

Some officers of the regiment were more fortunate. Captain Sampson Towgood, disbanded in 1653, and Captain William Bolton, disbanded in 1655, kept the lands they obtained for their arrears and founded families (Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 36; Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 218). Captain Henry Aland, or Alland, who had obtained lands in Tipperary, and was sheriff of that county and Waterford in 1656-7, adhered to Ludlow's party in December, 1659 (Dunlop, p. 35; Ludlow ii. 193). He was arrested in 1662 on the charge of plotting against the government. Another officer, Major Francis Bolton, was drowned at sea in August, 1659, with part of a troop of the regiment in coming from Ireland (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 113, 449).

Colonel Pretty's regiment was paid between July, 1649, and November, 1656, the sum of £77,608 6s. 6d. (Dunlop, ii. 641).

As to Cromwell's division of the regiment its original major seems to have been Hierome Sankey or Zanche, a Cambridge man made a Fellow of All Souls by the parliamentary visitors of Oxford in 1648, and proctor in 1649 (Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis*, i. 1312). He left the regiment about January, 1650, when he succeeded to the command of Col. Horton's regiment, Horton having died in October, 1649 (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter 112). Daniel Redman became major in Sankey's place. H.H. the Lord Protector's regiment of horse appears in the pay list of November, 1656, as having received £94,185 7s. 8d. since it came to Ireland (Dunlop. *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 641). Redman sat in Cromwell's second Parliament in 1656 as member for Kilkenny and Carlow.

The history of the regiment from 1656 to 1659 is obscure as the evidence is defective. What seems to have happened is this. In 1657 the command of one of the six regiments of horse on the Irish establishment became vacant owing to the death of Sir John Reynolds (5 Dec.). After a delay of some months Redman was appointed its colonel, a promotion to which his seniority and long service probably entitled him. At the same time Henry Owen, major of Reynolds's regiment, was

transferred to the post Redman vacated, and became major of the Protector's regiment.

Both Redman and Owen were strong Cromwellians, and so in the summer of 1659, when the army was purged by the republicans, Redman's regiment was taken from him, and given to William Allen, a republican of extreme views who had been displaced by the Protector (*Clarke Papers*, i. 432). Cromwell's regiment (which had no doubt passed on Oliver's death to the Protector Richard Cromwell) was given in July, 1659, to Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow, and it was proposed to remove Major Owen, and put Nicholas Kempson, Ludlow's brother-in-law, in his place (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1659-60, p. 13 *cf.* Dunlop, ii. 714). Kempson had been lieut.-col. of an infantry regiment in the New Model, but had left the army in 1647 (Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ed. 1894, ii. 444-6). Owen had been serving in Ireland ever since 1649, and the only reason for his displacement was his support of Kingship in 1657, when he was one of the members representing Ireland in Parliament (*ib.* i. 262, 270; ii. 26; Dunlop, ii. 624). Redman also lost his command for 'zeal to the usurpation of Cromwell,' as Ludlow puts it (*Memoirs*, ii. 203). But he had an opportunity in the winter of 1659-60. A brigade of 500 horse and 1,000 foot drawn from various regiments in Ireland, had been sent over to England in August to assist in the suppression of Sir George Booth's insurrection. In the following December the question whether this Irish brigade would support Monck or Lambert was one of great moment. Parliament at the end of December sent Redman to the north to assume its command, and it submitted to his orders. Doubtless the 500 horse contained a troop or two of his old regiment.

Monck praised him, in a letter to the Speaker, for his prudence and faithfulness, and added: "He was unjustly put from his regiment in Ireland by the instigation of Colonel Barrow and Colonel Axtell, and Adjutant-General Allen (no good friend of yours) appointed to have it. I desire you will be pleased to restore him to his regiment, and give him some further mark of your favour, for you have few better horse-officers in your service, and he is sober and well principled" (*Clarke Papers*, iv. 252; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, ii. 239). Redman saw that the restoration was coming, and was promised, if he served the King vigorously, to have a good title given him for the lands he held in Ireland, or to receive adequate compensation (*Life of John Barwick*, pp. 161, 187, 223, 231, 496).

Other officers who served in this regiment were Captain John Hardman, who died in Ireland before 1651 (*Commons' Journals*, VII. 39), and Captain William Burden, who died about 1652. On behalf of Burden's widow Cromwell wrote a letter to the Committee of Wiltshire asking for a pension (Waylen, *House of Cromwell*, p. 276, ed. 1880). Two other captains whose names appear in the accounts in 1650 were Edward and Abel Warren. Edward Warren as a lieutenant had distinguished himself at the battle of Glascarrig, in November, 1649 (Carte, *Life of Ormond*, iii. 502), and in 1659 was major in the regiment which had once been Fleetwood's horse (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1659-60, p. 13).

Both the Warren's signalled themselves in the winter of 1659-60 by their activity against Lieut.-Gen. Ludlow, in whose Memoirs they are frequently mentioned (ed. 1894, ii. 147, 185-6, 195, 202, 210, 471). Both were concerned in plots against the Irish government after the Restoration, but while Abel escaped arrest, Edward was tried and executed in 1663 (Carte, *Life of Ormond*, IV. 137-140. ed. 1851).

CROMWELL'S REGIMENT OF FOOT IN THE IRISH ARMY.

The regiment of foot of which Cromwell was colonel in Ireland was not a new regiment, but one of the four regiments of the standing army selected by lot to go to Ireland on April 20, 1649 (*Clarke Papers*, ii. 209). In the New Model it had been the regiment of Col. Thomas Rainsborough (or Rainborowe), and fought under his command at Naseby, and at the sieges of Sherborne, Bristol, Oxford, and Worcester (Spriggs' *Anglia Rediviva*). On Sept. 27, 1647, Rainsborough, in view of his experience at sea, was appointed Vice-Admiral of the fleet, and he was consequently obliged to give up the command of the regiment. His successor was Richard Deane, who had been Comptroller of the artillery in the New Model. As Deane's regiment it served during the campaigns of 1648, fought under Cromwell at the siege of Pembroke and the battle of Preston, and was one of the regiments which occupied London in December, 1648 (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letters 59 and 64; *Clarke Papers*, ii. 65). On 23 February, 1649, Deane was appointed one of the three 'generals at sea,' and consequently vacated his command in the army, and it was therefore natural that the regiment should be given to Cromwell after it had been chosen to go to Ireland.

There is no list of the officers who were serving in the regiment when it landed at Dublin in August 1649, but a few names are mentioned in accounts. Its Lieut.-Colonel was Henry Bowen, who held that rank since 1645, and had distinguished himself by his courage at the storming of Bristol (Sprigg, p. 126). But in the summer of 1652 he seems to have lost his commission. 'Lieut. Col. Bowen,' says a letter of that date, 'is become a professed atheist, and is shortly to come to his trial for the same.' (Gilbert. *Aphorismical Discovery*. iii. 373.) The names of Major George Drury and Captain John Jewell, paid for their services in the regiment in 1650, appear in November, 1651, in a list of officers deceased in Ireland whose widows are to be provided for (*Commons' Journals*. VII. 39). Drury had been a captain in the regiment during 1645-6.

The summary of the payments made to the forces in Ireland from July, 1649, to November, 1656, credits 'Oliver Cromwell's after Henry Cromwell's regiment of foot' with receiving £80,616 14s. 9d. (Dunlop. ii. 639). The Command probably passed to Henry Cromwell in 1655 when he came to Ireland as commander-in-chief.

Two years later Henry Cromwell had a violent quarrel with Alexander Brayfield, who appears to have been lieut.-colonel of his

regiment. Brayfield had been a captain in Hewson's regiment in 1648, when he was employed in guarding Charles I at Windsor (Clarke Papers. ii. 142). He came to Ireland as major of Axtell's regiment, and was a lieut.-colonel in 1653. Axtell's regiment was disbanded in 1655, and either then or earlier Brayfield appears to have been transferred from it to H. Cromwell's.

In September, 1657, Henry Cromwell had Brayfield tried by court-martial and cashiered. He regarded him as one of the *cabal* headed by Col. Hewson which intrigued against him in the interest of the Anabaptists and extreme Independents. (See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*. ii. 127.) 'In brief,' wrote Henry Cromwell to Thurloe, 'the man was always taken notice of as a busy and turbulent person, kept correspondence with all others of the like temper; a promoter of seditious papers, and who laboured to revive and justify that letter of Col. Hewson's, etc., which I had publicly declared against, always taking too great a liberty in censuring the government and governors of these nations. This gentleman, amongst other of his excursions this way, compares in his frequent and familiar discourses the present times to those of David and Absalom; insinuates that H.H. liked well the letter which I discountenanced, and consequently that I (as Absalom) being otherwise affected, was now drawing and stealing away the hearts of the people, etc. This was proved by witnesses without exception, at a court of the best reputation for number, quality and temper (as being composed by all parties) that hath been known, called not only by advice of several chief officers, but at his own instance likewise' (Thurloe, VI. 505). Brayfield was sentenced by the court to be cashiered, but it was generally thought that he was too severely treated, and Henry was urged to pardon and reinstate him. Secretary Thurloe urged this, and Lord Broghil's influence as a mediator was employed (Thurloe. VI. 527, 552, 563, 568, 599). The Protector himself, writing on 13 October, 1657, disapproved of his son's course. He said he would either not have tried Brayfield or would have restored him afterwards. He thought Brayfield a good man. 'I would not believe two carnal men against one such protesting innocency—in a case concerning myself where it is in my power to pardon without injustice. I am afraid you have erred in this. If you can, I pray you give a remedy for my sake, and let the poor man be handsomely restored' (Carlyle. *Cromwell*. ed. Lomas. iii. 498).

But Henry Cromwell had not the large generous nature of his father, and remained unforgiving. In 1659 the Committee for the nomination of officers removed Henry Cromwell from his command, together with various officers supposed to be rather Cromwellian than republican. The lieut.-colonel and major of Henry Cromwell's regiment were both displaced. The former seems to have been John Gorges, who was no doubt a brother of Dr. Robert Gorges, Henry Cromwell's secretary. The major's name was Read, probably John Read (Dunlop. ii. 398). The Committee appointed Edmund Ludlow to be colonel, and proposed to make either Brayfield or Solomon Richards lieut.-colonel. But finally Brayfield was given a regiment of his own, and Solomon Richards made

lieut.-colonel. As major they appointed Thomas Rawlins (Cal. S.P. Dom. 1659-60, p. 12; *cf.* Dunlop. ii. 715). Very likely he was the man Cromwell had recommended to Fairfax in 1645 for a commission in the New Model (Carlyle's Letter 28). Major Rawlins was drowned on his way over to England with the brigade sent from Ireland to help in the suppression of Sir George Booth's rising (August, 1659; Ludlow. ii. 110, 113, 447). Richards, who was governor of Wexford, supported Ludlow in the struggle between the Irish officers in the winter of 1659 (*Memoirs.* ii. 189, 193). His later career was chequered. He lost his estate near Wexford after the Restoration, was for a time imprisoned and kept for several years under strict surveillance (9th Report. Hist. MSS. Commission. ii. 141, 150, 164). But when James II was courting the Nonconformists he gave Richards the command of a regiment of foot (Dalton. *Army Riots.* ii. 170). With this regiment he was sent to reinforce the garrison of Londonderry by William III, allowed himself to be persuaded that the place was indefensible, and therefore not to land, and was cashiered for not carrying out his orders. (See Ludlow. *Memoirs.* ii. 193 *note*). However, he contrived to be buried in the North Cloister of Westminster Abbey on 6 October, 1691. (Chester. *Westminster Registers*, p. 229.)

Colonel Gorges, whom Richards had succeeded, took the other side in December, 1659, and secured Londonderry for Sir Charles Coote. (Bridges. *Perfect Narrative.* p. 11.) He also signed the declaration of Coote and other officers on 16 February, 1660, for a full and free Parliament. (*Leyborne-Popham MSS.* p. 152.)

REVIEW.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY. By J. Loughlin, Army Education Corps. Gale & Polden, Ltd., Aldershot, 1927. Crown 8vo. pp. x. 70. *ports. ills.* Price 1s. 6d.

The writer of the 'Foreword' to this book describes it as a "very readable little volume." It may be readable, but it is *certainly* not history. History should be a true record of facts. This book contains many mistakes.

Apparently the author does not realise that The Royal Scots is *the only Regiment* in our Army which bears the title "The Royal Regiment."

The story of Captain Bull's Troop of Horse Artillery at the Battle of Fuentes de Oñoro—May, 1811—is again served up with the old mistakes and a few new ones. *Only two* guns, under 2nd Captain W. N. Ramsay, were concerned in the galloping "incident." The author ends his description of the affair in these words:—

"The extent of the gallantry of such an action, can be gauged when it is realised that the guns, being in action, had to be limbered up, and the Battery, at full gallop, with guns behind, overtake the unfettered enemy cavalry, now some distance ahead."

A reader would gather from this that Ramsay was pursuing the French cavalry, whereas the exact opposite was the case. He was trying to get his two guns away, and he succeeded.

A *most* inexcusable 'mistake' occurs on page 38, where it is stated that in 1857, at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, the Artillery of the Hon. East India Company was "organized by Officers transferred from the R.A., and was spread over the three armies of Madras, Bengal and Bombay." Nothing could be further from the truth. Has the author never heard of the cadres of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Artillery?

THE MYSTERY OF WALKER'S EAR.¹

A STORY OF THE 28TH REGIMENT OF FOOT IN 1764.

BY PROFESSOR A. L. BURT.

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About nine o'clock on the evening of Thursday, December 6, 1764, Thomas Walker, a merchant and magistrate of Montreal, was sitting at supper in the hall of his house in Montreal, with his wife Martha, his clerk John Lilly, and a friend, Miss Hurd, when the front door was burst open, and half a dozen armed and disguised men rushed in. Mrs. Walker escaped through the kitchen into the yard, shrieking, "This is murder," and took refuge in the cow-house, where she was joined by Miss Hurd and a couple of negro serving-maids. William Fontaine, a servant who had been waiting on the table, was chased up into the gallery, whence he leaped into the yard, unharmed except for his coat-tail, which was cut off by a pursuer's sword. Lilly, more valiant, rushed to his master's rescue, but a couple of blows on the head sent him dashing out of the street door. Walker himself pushed through his assailants into the parlour, with the object of reaching his arms, which lay in a bed-chamber beyond. He received, however, so many blows on his head and shoulders that when he reached the few steps leading up to the chamber he could go no further. So he affirmed in his deposition a week later. Still, according to the same deposition, he had plenty of fight in him. With his fists he drove two of his enemies to the far end of the room, and he fought with the other four for some time. Though he got one of them by the throat, he was downed by a cut on the head, which he "believed to be his death wound." On the floor he continued the struggle until "he received a stab under the right ear, which he then thought to be a mortal wound, and fetching a deep groan he stretched out his limbs as in the agonies of death having no longer any hopes or attempting any resistance." Lying motionless and holding his breath, he heard voices, "The villain is dead," "Damn him, we've done for him."²

¹ The printed sources which have been used in the preparation of this essay are *The Trial of Daniel Disney* (Quebec, 1767), the files of the *Quebec Gazette*, the Canadian Archives Report for 1888, and Wallace (ed.), *The Maseres Letters* (Toronto, 1920). Apart from these, all the references are to documents in the manuscript room of the Public Archives of Canada. For this reason, these documents are referred to by designating merely the series in which they are to be found, without any further reference to the Archives.

C.O. refers to Colonial Office Records, in the Public Record Office.

² C.O. 42, 2, pp. 164-170 (B, 8, pp. 158-162), Deposition of Thomas Walker and Mr. Walker's further Information, Dec. 14, 1764, Deposition of Martha Walker, Dec. 24, 1764; *Trial of Daniel Disney*, pp. 14, 22.

The whole incident did not last more than three minutes, the time of Mrs. Walker's sojourn in the cowhouse. The purpose of the assailants seems not to have been to kill Walker, but to cut off an ear as a mark of disgrace. His struggling saved him half his ear at the price of a slice off his cheek. His body was so badly beaten that it was "as black as a hat, and so swelled up that you barely can know the remains of his face or the colour of his skin."¹ The only internal injury, however, was to his pride.

Few incidents of such a nature have been historically so important as this Walker outrage. It was the turning point of Murray's period of government in Canada. The culmination of previous troubles, it was the immediate cause of most of the troubles which followed. It threw the newly conquered colony into a great turmoil, and was responsible for the recall of its first English governor. This was largely due to the cloud of mystery which quickly gathered around the crime, for all the attempts to discover and punish the culprits were completely foiled.

It is easy to understand why the attack was made. The friction between the civilian and the military authorities in the early days of Canada reached its greatest height in Montreal, and there Walker was the leader of the civilian faction. He seems to have assumed this position from his arrival in the colony in 1763. In September of that year he behaved most insolently in the military court of Montreal, when he was being sued by his clerk. The latter won his case, but Walker defied the court. Immediately upon the arrival of Burton,² who succeeded Gage³ as military governor in October, Walker presented the new governor with a petition against his clerk. Ignorant of what had passed, Burton ordered the dispute to be laid before the military court. This evoked a second petition in which Walker used "many indecent and even insolent expressions against the military court," and stated that "it appears as if a veil had been drawn on purpose over the truth"—an attitude similar to that which he adopted a year later, when seeking satisfaction for his stolen ear. Overlooking the insult, Burton granted the appeal and reheard the case. Though the amount that he had to pay was this time reduced from sixteen pounds to seven pounds and some shillings, Walker was still contumacious. Even Burton's remonstrances were in vain. Only the issue of a warrant for his arrest forced the merchant to pay the paltry sum. To Burton this seemed significant. On February 1, he wrote, "Ever since, there has been among the British merchants an appearance of dislike and disapprobation of the proceedings of the courts established here." In the same letter he refers to Walker as talking much about "the laws and privileges of Britons," and as assuming the leadership of the merchants.⁴

The quarrel, which had been simmering for some months, came to a head in the autumn of 1764. This was due to two things. The first was

¹ C.O. 42, 4, p. 86, Ainslie to Murray, Dec. 13, 1764.

² Major-General Ralph Burton.

³ Major-General the *Hon.* Thomas Gage. See 'D.N.B.'

⁴ C.O. 42, 1, pp. 180-190, Burton to Lords of Trade, Feb. 1, 1764, and enclosures.

the establishment of civil government on August 10, which reversed the tables as between the soldiers and the civilians. The new magistrates, of whom Walker was one, were selected chiefly from the merchant class, who now, instead of being inferior, were superior to the military. The temptation to pay off ancient grudges at once led to charges against the late military authorities of illegal exactions and arbitrary imprisonments.¹ In this wordy war over the past, Walker was of course a leader. The second cause was the billeting situation. The absence of barracks and the presence in Canada of a garrison larger than that in any other colony created a problem which was soluble under only the military régime. As in most of the other colonies, the army was necessarily billeted upon private houses. Under military rule this had caused little difficulty, but now it was decried as illegal. Trouble was inevitable, and Walker, recently appointed a justice of the peace, was quite in his element. The factious attitude of the magistrates grew more and more serious as the winter drew nigh. Having been in the country from its conquest, the soldiers knew by experience that comfortable quarters were necessary. Bedding, firewood, candles, and apparently the use of the kitchen and cooking utensils, had been included in the billets from the beginning. To withhold these would have made the soldiers' life unbearable. But this very thing was now threatened by the magistrates under colour of strict adherence to the letter of the law.

The beginning of the trouble was the arrest of Captain [B. Charnock] Payne of the 28th regiment. He was placed in a billet just vacated by another officer. But a merchant and magistrate, who had quarters below, claimed to have hired the rooms, though he had never been in possession of them. He called upon Payne the morning after the latter's arrival, and told him to get out or else he would be put out. As he paid little attention to this threat, the unfortunate officer was in a few hours marched off to prison under a warrant signed by Walker and four other magistrates. Walker's motive was malicious. He was counting on military resistance to the civil warrant, but he was disappointed by polite submission. Fearing that he was ensnared, he tried to squirm out by legal quibbles and a tortuous message to the governor.² This incident was popularly regarded as the immediate cause of the outrage.³ In the light of all that followed, however, this appears to be a narrow view. A month elapsed before the crime. It was a month filled with irritating incidents. In almost all of them, Walker's officious hand was at work. One or two illustrations may suffice. On November 23, an officer seeking

¹ Murray Papers, 2, p. 203, Murray to Capt. Fraser, Sept. 11, 1764; Quebec *Gazette*, Sept. 20, Oct. 4, 18, and Nov. 15, 1764.

² C.O. 42, 2, pp. 230-236, Walker to Murray (no date); *ibid.*, p. 209, Payne to Mitchelson, Nov. 6, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 214, Fraser and Mitchelson to Murray, Nov. 7, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 184-186, Livingston's Papers relative to complaint against Mr. Walker, Dec., 1764; *ibid.*, p. 213, Livingston to Fraser, Nov. 6, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 212, 214, Warrants, Nov. 6, 1764.

³ "There is no doubt but that the affair of Capt. Payne occasioned the combination of the military against the civil power, in consequence of which the 28th Regt. have carried their resentment to the most unjustifiable lengths," *i.e.* the outrage (C.O. 42, 2, p. 178, Justice Lamb's Account). Maseres in his address to the jury in the trial of 1767 took the same view (*Trial of Daniel Disney*, p. 10).

his billet was given a room without firewood, fireplace, bed, or any convenience, and was informed by his landlord that it was "by Mr. Walker's advice and directions." The men suffered equally with the officers. One can see the gathering of the storm that was to break on Walker's head. The trouble continued right up to the outrage. On the evening of December 4, a corporal was evicted by his landlord apparently on Walker's orders, and his mate would have suffered the same fate had not his commanding officer arrived just in time. The situation was so bad that the commander of the 28th regiment complained to Burton, who passed the complaint on to Murray with a number of letters on the subject. Indeed, Murray was so bombarded with complaints that he felt the necessity of some serious action. Accordingly, on November 27, by order of the council, two outsiders were despatched to Montreal to serve as justices of the peace there, while Walker and three other Montreal justices were summoned to Quebec for an investigation on December 13. This investigation never took place, for the army's hatred of Walker reached such a pitch that it exploded two days before he was to depart.¹

So far there is no mystery. That begins with the crime. Who committed the crime, and why did the culprits escape? The identity of the culprits may be sought in either of two quarters. One of these has received considerable attention; the other has been neglected. The favourite quarter has been the trial of Captain Disney and others in Montreal early in 1767. There had been a clean sweep of the broom. Murray had been recalled, and both Chief Justice Gregory and Attorney-General Suckling had been dismissed. Their successors, Carleton,² Hey, and Maseres, came out to Canada with a firm determination to settle once and for all, if possible, this miserable affair which had thrown the whole colony into a ferment. Walker, who had carried his cause in person to England, returned at the end of May, 1766, having lost none of his zeal. Surely everything might seem auspicious for a final settlement. What happened? Early in November, George McGovack, who had been a soldier in the 28th, appeared before Chief Justice Hey and made a deposition purporting to give an account of the crime. Upon this information, Hey issued warrants for the arrest of six Montreal men, Captain Fraser, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Captain Campbell of the 27th, Captain Disney of the 44th, St. Luc Lacorne, Lieutenant Simon Evans of the 28th, and Joseph Howard, a merchant. These persons were arrested in what seems to have been an unnecessarily brutal manner. Soldiers with fixed bayonets surrounded their houses, and took them from their beds between one and two o'clock in the morning. As five of the six were married, their wives received a

¹ C.O. 42, 2, pp. 226-227, Schlack to Burton, Nov. 21, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 200-202, Depositions before C. Guzy, Dec. 8, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 188-190, Livingston's Papers, Dec., 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 223-225, Mitchelson to Burton, Nov. 21, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 227, Burton to Murray, Nov. 22, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 236-239, Acts of the Council, Nov. 27, 1764; Q, 2, p. 383, Murray to Lords of Trade, March 3, 1765. The commanding officer who prevented the ejection of one of his men was Captain Campbell of the 27th, who was arrested in 1766.

² Major General Guy Carleton. See 'D.N.B.'

rude shock. Though Hey repudiated any responsibility for the "severity and indelicacy," this appears to have been the natural result of the government's strong determination to shut every avenue of escape. Much indignation was aroused in Montreal by this rigorous procedure, for the accused were some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. The prisoners requested to be conducted to Quebec where they might be admitted to bail. When they arrived, feeling in the capital also ran high. A considerable crowd gathered at the house where they were to be confined—the gaol not being in a condition to receive them. As they had applied in vain for bail, a petition was started among the people of Quebec to move the chief justice to grant their request. He took offence at this tumultuous pressure upon justice, and threatened to commit any who shared in getting up the petition. Carleton was then appealed to that he might use his authority. The movement was very general, for every member of the council present in Quebec was involved. But Carleton was likewise unbending. He actually removed Colonel Irving and Adam Mabane from the council for their activities in the matter. Every consideration was given to Walker. This whole dispute over bail was provoked by deference to him. Hey had offered to bail the prisoners if Walker would give his consent, which he refused.¹ The trial took place at Montreal in March. At the beginning, by throwing out the bill against Evans, the grand jury drew upon itself a violent attack by Walker in open court. Only Chief Justice Hey's firmness and wisdom placated the jury and persuaded them to continue with their task. They thereupon rejected the bill against St. Luc Lacorne, but brought in a bill against Disney, who was then put upon his trial. The trial lasted thirteen hours, but the jury took hardly half an hour to decide Disney's innocence.² This acquittal discouraged Walker from pushing the prosecution against the remaining three. Accordingly, all were discharged.³

There is no clue here to the mystery. It is fairly certain that the government was following a false scent. McGovack, whose information was the basis of the trial, was an abandoned rogue who knew nothing except that he wanted the money offered as reward.⁴ He had been caught in the act of robbery, had been gaoled for rape, and had deserted from the army.⁵ That his character was utterly bad was argued as a reason for bailing the prisoners arrested on his accusation. Though Hey denied

¹ Murray Papers, 3, pp. 188-190, McCulloch to Murray, Nov. 24, 1766; *ibid.*, pp. 191-195, Mabane to Murray, Nov. 30, 1766; C.O. 42, 6, pp. 10-16, Hey to Shelburne, Dec. 7, 1766; *ibid.*, pp. 100-103, Reasons why the Chief Justice refused bail (no date); Q, 3, p. 391, and Q, 4, p. 40, Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 24, 27, 1766; Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 1-8, Memorial of prisoners with accompanying documents.

² Barely sufficient to read over their notes of the depositions of the various witnesses (Quebec *Gazette*, March 23, 1767).

³ Murray Papers, 3, pp. 203-207, Walter Murray to Gen. Murray, March 15, 1767; Q, 4, pp. 103, 108, Carleton to Shelburne, March 5, 15, 1767; *ibid.*, pp. 106, 129, Shelburne to Carleton, May 26, June 20, 1767; Shel. MSS., 64, pp. 237-260, Fraser to Shelburne, April 1, 1767, Journal of the Assizes, S. McKay, foreman of the grand jury; *Trial of Daniel Disney*; Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 8-14, Report of Chief Justice Hey, April 14, 1767.

⁴ He actually got part of it before the trial (Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 1).

⁵ As soon as he was acquitted on the charge of perjury, the privilege he enjoyed from the civil courts expired and he had to escape lest he be arrested by the military authorities as a deserter (Wallace, ed., *The Maseres Letters*, pp. 76-77).

the reason, he implied that he admitted the fact.¹ At the trial the defence proved it in order to destroy McGovack's evidence.² That the latter knew nothing of the affair was demonstrated by his own evidence and cross-examination. Though he lived with Walker before and even during the trial,³ and had thus every opportunity to make his story water-tight, he utterly neglected that prime requisite of the successful liar. In the court he told an impossible story and contradicted everybody, including himself, in the most important details.⁴ It has been suggested that an attempt to poison McGovack in prison substantiates his accusations and throws a doubt upon the injured innocence of the prisoners.⁵ But was he poisoned? The fullest information concerning this incident is to be found in several numbers of the *Quebec Gazette* of the time.⁶ An examination of these induces a different conclusion. McGovack's statement, the only account of the supposed poisoning, is of itself suspicious, and it is contradicted by the other evidence. He said that a stranger outside the gaol handed him the poison through the window. This was proven to be impossible, as the sentries on duty at the time swore that no one came near the window. Moreover, McGovack's sickness, which did not come on for some little time, appears to have been some stomach or intestinal trouble, the symptoms of which he greatly exaggerated. Using this convenient indisposition, he seems to have fabricated the story of the poisoning, which indeed caused some stir, in order to bolster up his weak evidence against the accused in Montreal, or perhaps only to increase his own importance.

Against Evans alone was there any evidence. It was enough to cause both Hey and Maseres to be surprised by the grand jury's rejection of the bill against him, but it was really very slight. One witness said that he saw Evans with the other ruffians emerge from Walker's home armed and disguised. Another declared that he used to write Evans's "French letters to the lady to whom he is now married and she having reproached him in one of hers with being concerned in Mr. Walker's affair, he replied that it was a *coup de jeunesse* and ought not to prejudice him in her opinion."⁷ This is all and it is worthless. Both witnesses appear to have been no better than McGovack.⁸ Moreover, Mrs. Wade, formerly Miss Hurd, and Lilly, both of whom were present, said that it was impossible to recognize anybody. The second witness also ignored the fact that the idea of having a hand in the affair of Walker, who was hated by the French, would probably stand Evans in good stead in his quest for a French bride. There is no trace of any connection of Evans's name with the case until McGovack came along nearly two years after the crime. Certainly the grand jury were wrong in trenching upon the jurisdiction of the petty jury, but they were probably right in their

¹ Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 1, 4.

³ Shel. MSS., 64, p. 239.

⁵ Wallace (ed.), *The Maseres Letters*, p. 17.

⁷ Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 9.

⁸ "All Walker's evidence was three deserters greater scoundrels than himself if possible" (Murray Papers, 3, p. 203, W. Murray to Gen. Murray, March 15, 1767).

² *Trial of Daniel Disney*, pp. 36-37.

⁴ Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 12-13.

⁶ Jan. 26, 1767, and following numbers.

judgment of Evans. Against Disney there was nothing except the assertion of Walker and his wife that they recognized his features through the crêpe he was wearing.¹ This is quite offset by the statements of Mrs. Wade and Lilly, by the depositions of both Walker and his wife taken shortly after the crime, in which they named other officers but said nothing of Disney, and finally by their notorious readiness to suspect any officer. Disney's alibi, that he spent the evening at a dance until summoned by Burton after the crime,² was vainly challenged by Mascres on the ground that two of his witnesses were wives of the accused and that the other two were interested parties. The new attorney-general apparently believed in the guilt of the accused, but Chief Justice Hey was perfectly satisfied with Disney's acquittal. There is no reason to suspect the other four, although it has been suggested that Disney's "was the only case it was safe to allow to go to trial."³ No bills were even preferred against Fraser, Campbell, and Howard, because Walker felt that it would be hopeless to proceed against them when Disney was acquitted. Hey's summing up of the whole business of this trial is unquestionably sound: "Walker's violence of temper and an inclination to find people of rank in the army concerned in this affair, has made him a dupe to the artifices of a villain whose story could not have gained credit but in a mind that came too much prejudiced to receive it."⁴ The sequel to the trial was the presentation by the grand jury of McGovack, of Walker, and of his wife for wilful perjury.

The other quarter, which has been overlooked, is the group of men who were accused at the time of the crime. Before investigating this, it is essential to examine carefully into the character and doings of a man, originally unconnected with the crime, who came to figure prominently in the case and perhaps bedevilled the whole affair.

William Conyngham, who arrived in Canada in the summer of 1764, was an intimate of the incompetent Chief Justice Gregory. Through this connection he was made coroner and clerk of the peace for the district of Quebec on September 1, 1764. The first recorded feat of his remarkable Canadian career is in accord with what followed. The grand jury which returned the famous presentment of October, 1764,⁵ was the creation of this man operating behind the scenes. The deputy provost marshal, whose duty it was to summon grand and petty juries, had just arrived in Canada and was an entire stranger. Conyngham, clerk of the

¹ Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 12.

² Disney was town major.

³ Wallace (ed.), *The Mascres Letters*, p. 16.

⁴ Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 13. One other feature of this trial should perhaps be noted—the behaviour of the jury. Hey's account of this, if taken by itself, might arouse suspicion of the accused. But the explanation lies in Hey's earlier reference to the prisoners: "They carried with them a pretty general opinion of their innocence and a persuasion in the minds of very many different persons that Mr. Walker (in combination with a profligate soldier whose object was the reward) was only meditating to disgrace, by the ignominy of a charge which he did not hope to support, all those towards whom he had been known to live, at the time when the dissensions between the civil and military ran very high, with any notorious degree of unkindness—unhappily what has since fallen out, has given too much occasion to justify the opinion" (Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 8).

⁵ Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, 2nd ed., p. 212.

peace, whom later evidence shows to have been a very plausible man, came to his rescue, presenting him with a list of men to be returned as grand and petty jurors. At the top of the first list "were the malcontents from not having been made magistrates and a few others whose want of understanding and whose situation in life rendered them the fit tools of the resentment of the former." Conyngham was one of the first to sign the address of thanks to the grand jury for their scandalous presentment. The same grand jury drew up a bill against a certain Claude Panet and sent it to the petty jury, who straightway found it. The presiding justices, seeing the danger of such a frivolous proceeding, ordered the conviction to be quashed. But it was not quashed, for the clerk, Conyngham, ignoring his orders, did not endorse the bill or make any minute in the court books. After a short period the case was consequently revived, and it dragged on to cause more difficulty, with Conyngham, now as attorney, as chief trouble-maker. About the same time, "under the countenance of the Chief Justice," Conyngham prosecuted three poor Frenchmen for a common assault on the servant of a British merchant. They had no one to plead for them and were condemned to prison, where they were terrified by their prosecutor into a composition for an exorbitant sum. Murray had his eye on Conyngham, and described him as "the most thorough paced villain who ever existed."¹ The justices made various complaints to the governor against his malpractices, and finally he was discharged from his post as clerk of the peace.² "The Chief Justice was again and again solicited to abandon a man whose rapacity, chicanery and impudence was a disgrace to his profession, and whose intimacy with the Judge made people believe he was encouraged in those unwarrantable proceedings," but it was in vain.³

To return to the crime, there were four men arrested for it just after it was committed, two sergeants, James Rogers and John Mee, and two private soldiers, James Coleman and John McLaughlan. Some suspicion also rested upon four other privates, Thomas Donnelly, Daniel Ashman, James Roseborough, and Philip Castles; and gossip connected the names of Lieutenant Syngé Tottenham and Captain Payne with the affair. All the above were of the 28th regiment. It is clear that a certain amount of evidence against some of these, evidence which was on record at the time, has since been lost. But enough remains to work upon. The most comprehensive piece of evidence was collected last, the deposition of Thomas Parry of the 25th before Murray and his council. Parry's story runs as follows: "Sometime before the assault, Sergeant Mee told me

¹ Murray Papers, 2, p. 189, Murray to Cramahé, Nov. 17, 1764.

² C.O. 42, 2, p. 248, Acts of the Council, Jan. 22, 1765. He was also dismissed from the office of coroner on April 19, 1765 (C.O. 42, 3, p. 156). The reason for this is unknown. The only reference to the incident is in an advertisement in the *Quebec Gazette*, April 25, 1765, where the "scandalous aspersions" thrown out against the late coroner for his conduct in an inquest over a negro's body were denied by the members of the jury.

³ C.O. 42, 3, pp. 300-311, Memorial of George Suckling to Governor Murray, May 3, 1765. It might be well to note that, although Murray first classed Suckling with Gregory (Q. 2, p. 378), his opinion of these two was modified as time passed by. The former rose while the latter sank in his esteem.

he was to do something to some person in town, but never mentioned the person's name. He was kept duty free for a long time as I believe for this purpose, and to the best of my opinion was relieved from being orderly that day it happened or thereabouts. . . . The Sergeant Major used frequently to come to Sergeant Mee's house, and always had some frivolous excuse." "I happened to be at Sergeant Mee's house . . . on Thursday the 6th day of December from the hours of about 7 till near 9 at night, during the half of which time or thereabouts I found something was going forwards of no good, as I saw Sergeant Rogers in a disguise having a handkerchief tied around his head and to the best of my memory having a short blanket coat on, and in the back room of Sergeant Mee's house I heard several people talking together till near about eight o'clock at night, at which time I believe they left the house but am almost positive they did not go through the room where I was sitting, there being windows at the back side of that room through which they might possibly pass to the side of the rampart behind. . . . Sometime after this affair I happened to be at one Corporal Yarrow's home, of our Regiment, who lived out in Quebec suburbs, who I believe was something in liquor, who whispered to me he knew the persons concerned in this affair and repeated their names, and further said after it was over they came to his house and washed their faces. Here follows the names he told me. Sergt. Mee, Sergt. Rogers, Thos. Donnelly, James Coleman, Jno. McLaughlan, Danl. Ashman."¹ Cross-examined at that and a subsequent session of the council, Parry produced further piecemeal information which will be noted presently. Parry's list begins with the names of the four arrested for the crime. The others may be ignored for the present, as these four deserve special attention.

Rogers, between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the crime, called upon Lewis of the 44th, who was living with Walls, a tailor lately discharged from the army. Walls, his wife, and Lewis were all present. Rogers drew Lewis out of the room and asked for the loan of his sword, to be deleivered to him without the knowledge of the two in the room. When they returned, Lewis brought out his sword and left it in the corner by the door for Rogers to take away with him. The latter, evidently concerned because Walls and his wife had seen it, departed without the weapon. Ten minutes later someone else called in at the door that Lewis was wanted downstairs by a man from Oswegatchie. Apparently Lewis thought this a ruse of Rogers to get the sword. After a few minutes, he descended with it, met Rogers, and delivered it to him. At ten o'clock the house was visited in the general search which followed the crime. An hour later, Rogers returned in an excited state. He said that he feared he would be summoned to the provost marshal's in the morning. When asked why, he replied that "such an accident had happened (this

¹ Q, 3, p. 43, Deposition of Thomas Parry, Nov. 30, 1765. Parry's time seems a little early. But Parry, not possessing a watch, could not be accurate and nearly a year had elapsed since the crime. This small discrepancy is adjusted by his further statement that on returning home half an hour later he heard of the assault. Mee's house was only three hundred yards from Walker's (Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 13).

was the way in which he referred to the assault), and that if his borrowing the sword were known he might be suspected." He was greatly concerned to know if this had been disclosed. Being reassured, he exclaimed, "For God's sake, say nothing about it, do not take away my life." He promised to return the sword in the morning, which he did at daybreak. What was his reason for borrowing the sword? He told Lewis at the time that it was to help a friend carry off a girl. A month later, at his own examination, he said that it was because he was going out of town next day to visit a friend. He admitted the deception of Lewis, but added "that he would have told him anything to get the sword."

There are other important details beside the sword. When he first called on Lewis, Rogers was wearing a soldier's plain coat, but he had nothing on his head. When he got the sword, he had "something of a dark colour like a black collar or handkerchief tied about his head," or, according to his own description, "a chequered handkerchief." He said that he was wearing the same clothes when he returned at eleven o'clock without the sword, but both Lewis and Walls swore that he was then dressed in his sergeant's uniform. On the evening after the crime, Justice Lamb produced a soldier's plain coat stained with blood. Walls and Lewis recognized it as the one Rogers wore when he borrowed the sword, and even Rogers himself admitted it to be the coat he had worn the day before. With the coat, there was produced some bedding, likewise stained with blood, which Rogers also admitted to be his. Where the coat and bedding came from is not on record.¹

Mee, according to Rogers, was the owner of the fatal coat; but he strongly denied that he had lent this or any other coat to Rogers at any time within several months. However, Mee's wife, who ought to have known, swore that he did lend a soldier's plain coat to Rogers a day or so before the assault.² Philip White, a soldier who lodged with Mee, also recognised the coat as Mee's. White's evidence on this point is strengthened by the fact that he tried to shield Mee. He swore that he retired at nine o'clock in his room at the door of the house and that "no person could come in or pass out thereof without his knowledge and that no person did come in that night . . . that Sergeant Rogers was not in the house during the said night and that Sergeant Mee, his wife, the deponent and his wife and three of Mee's children, being the whole of the family, were in bed sometime between nine and ten." It may be observed that he referred to the door but not to the windows. But Mee's own statement shows that he could not have been in bed at that time and admits that Rogers was present in the house.³ Three days after the crime, an un-

¹ C.O. 42, 2, p. 159 (B, 8, p. 163), Deposition of George Walls, Dec. 24, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 155 (B, 8, p. 165), Deposition of William Lewis, Jan. 8, 1765; B, 8, p. 169, Examination of James Rogers, Jan. 9, 1765.

² At the Three Rivers trial she accused Lamb, before whom she made the statement, of forcing her to tell more than the truth (C.O. 42, 3, p. 330, Deposition of James Shepherd, July 26, 1765).

³ C.O. 42, 2, p. 176 (B, 8, p. 168), Deposition of John Mee, Dec. 25, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 177 (B, 8, p. 172), Deposition of Susanna Mee, Dec. 25, 1764; B, 8, p. 176, Deposition of Philip White, Dec. 26, 1764.

known soldier dropped a letter signed "Matthew Gospel," which stated that "they were all dressed that night at Sergeant Mee's." If the anonymous author spoke the truth, Rogers was the man who cut off Walker's ear.¹

Coleman was the only other person mentioned in this letter. He was referred to as "one of the rogues." This, however, does not seem to have been the immediate cause of his arrest, for the warrant to apprehend him was not signed until ten days later,² It is probable that some further evidence against him was procured at the time, but if so all of it is lost. After he was imprisoned he admitted having been at Mee's house about six o'clock and having been out of his quarters between eight and nine. But he swore that he was in the market-place at the time of the assault. More serious was a remark he let slip after his arrest, something about the hanging of others before he would hang. This he tried to explain a few days later, in his examination, by the statement that "if he did say such a thing, as he does not know but he did, [it] was in a joke."³ He was of course in Yarrow's list as reported by Parry. The latter, in his examination before the Council, also brought out that Coleman was reputed to have refused his discharge, the inference at the time being that he knew how to get it and transportation to any other colony whenever convenient—by turning King's evidence.⁴

McLaughlan was the fourth who was arrested, but nothing survives of the evidence which must have caused him to be taken into custody. According to Parry, McLaughlan "frequently refused to mount guard or to go to exercise while at Quebec, and the whole regiment talked of it. McLaughlan was never punished for his refusing, because they dare not confine him. . . . Once last summer when McLaughlan was drunk at Sergeant Pearson's, when Sergeant Rogers and he had a quarrel some time before in the barracks, several N.C.O.'s in the regiment feared McLaughlan would make the discovery and whispered to one another to that effect." It may have been on this information that Murray wrote home to Secretary Conway that Coleman and McLaughlan, if secured, might turn King's evidence.⁵

These four, Rogers, Mee, Coleman, and McLaughlan, were all guilty according to the gossip of the day. McGovack, who obviously had no other source of information, worked them into his story. Chief Justice Gregory, who presided over all the legal proceedings concerning them, said at the close that "he and all thinking men were convinced that they were by no means innocent."⁶ But there is more damning evidence still. It arises out of Conyngham's connection with the affair.

Conyngham, the accomplished scoundrel, was retained by the 28th regiment to defend the accused. At Quebec early in February, he appeared for the prisoners and secured their discharge on bail.⁷ It was

1 C.O. 42, p. 89.

2 B, 8, p. 150.

3 B, 8, p. 169, Examination of James Coleman, Dec. 25, 1764.

4 Referring to the terms of the reward offered by the authorities.

5 Q, 3, p. 41, March 31, 1766.

6 Q, 3, p. 41, March 31, 1766.

7 C.O., 42, 3, pp. 254-260, Proceedings of the Superior Court.

not, however, until about the first of March, when he went up to Montreal, that he became very active in the affair. Then he assumed a double rôle which at first seems baffling. The attorney for the soldiers became also the confidential adviser of Walker, their enemy. The council, at a session in Montreal, on January 3, had decided that it was unnecessary to hold a court of assize there, according to the ordinance of September 17, 1764, and that the King's bench in the capital would suffice, "especially as there are not at present more than sixty protestant householders in that district."¹ Suspecting that this might defeat justice in his case, Walker extracted a promise from Murray of a trial in Montreal.² Unfortunately, about the beginning of March, the governor felt obliged to go back on this promise. It was pointed out to him that every one of the few Protestants in Montreal was openly committed on one side or the other. This, as Walker insisted on a Protestant jury, precluded a fair trial in that town.³ Consequently an ordinance was issued on March 9, fixing the trial at Quebec for the latter part of the month. Conyngham, through the chief justice, received a copy of this ordinance before Walker learned of it. He went straight to the latter's house, and there in a little company read it out. The inflammable Walker at once exploded. He swore that he would not go down to Quebec, but would enter a protest against the government's action. Conyngham spurred him on, saying that he was quite right and promising his assistance. Walker thanked him and made an appointment with him for the next morning.⁴ In the protest drawn up by Conyngham and signed by Walker, the latter attacked the decision of January 3, and impugned the recent ordinance on the ground that it violated the ordinance of September 17, 1764, establishing civil courts, the proclamation of October 7, 1763, offering the protection of English laws, the principle of a local trial, fundamental in English law at home or in the colonies, and finally the governor's repeated promise. He described the ordinance as being "tantamount to a suppression of a prosecution," because of the expense of himself and family going up to the capital and the danger to their lives from the 28th regiment then posted there. The trial at Quebec did not, therefore, take place. Walker, his witnesses, and the jurors of the Montreal panel would not go. It was public knowledge that this was the result of Walker's stubbornness, backed by Conyngham's intrigues.⁵

Why should Conyngham have adopted the course he did? At first sight, it looks as though the old political malcontent had obscured the soldier's attorney. Conyngham appears as Walker's real friend

¹ B. 8, p. 105, Acts of the Council.

² C.O., 42, 2, p. 392 (B. 8, p. 80), Murray to Walker, Feb. 10, 1765.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 305 (B. 8, p. 93), Murray to Lords of Trade, June 24, 1765; Murray Papers, 2, pp. 276-277, Murray to Oswald, Nov. 11, 1765.

⁴ B. 8, pp. 109-110, Gridley's evidence before the Council, April 25, 1765.

⁵ C.O. 42, 2, pp. 376-386 (B. 8, pp. 68-76), Walker's Protest, March 14, 1765; C.O. 42, 3, pp. 215-222 (B. 8, p. 152), Suckling to Murray, April 22, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 305, Suckling's Memorial; B. 8, p. 44, Murray's reply to charges; *ibid.*, p. 116, Acts of the Council, May 3, 1765.

because he intrigued with him to force the trial to be held in Montreal, whence the regiment had been removed, and where a jury of British merchants, inflamed over the whole affair, would most likely condemn any soldier against whom there was the slightest suspicion. But this is impossible. When in the latter part of May Conyngham was broken as an attorney,¹ the officers were almost exasperated and petitioned for his reinstatement. The officer commanding the 28th, Major Browne, made it his particular business to get him readmitted to the bar.² Why should the military have done this for a lawyer who had deserted them to join the very man against whom he was really hired? He must have been very effectively looking after the interests of those he was engaged to defend. Walker was his dupe. Only one explanation is possible. Conyngham knew his clients to be guilty. Seeing that a fair trial would lead to their condemnation, and being a clever rogue, he used every device to obstruct the even course of justice. This was the only way he could get them off. Coming on top of the other evidence against the accused, his trickery is fairly conclusive of their guilt.

Now there were more than four men concerned in the crime. Six, perhaps seven, entered Walker's house, and several remained on guard. Of those who were suspected but never formally accused, Donnelly, Ashman, and Roseborough compromised themselves in a mysterious incident which occurred nearly six weeks after the crime. Late in the afternoon, two days before the 28th was to leave Montreal, a crowd of soldiers entered the prison and released Mee, Coleman, and McLaughlan,³ and tried to carry them out of the town. The prisoners were quickly brought back; but some time around midnight there was another, a quieter rescue, and they vanished without any trace. Early in the morning they turned up at Chambly in the company of Donnelly, Ashman, and Roseborough. There are three accounts of this midnight rescue, no two of which agree. Weir, the deputy provost marshal, said that some soldiers got over the prison wall, bolted the guard in the guard room, where they were all asleep, opened the prison door, released the trio, and bolted the door again on the remaining prisoners. Coleman asserted that one or two people came to the door of the gaol, and that one of these told them not to come out immediately, but threatened them with violence if they did not come out in half an hour and make the best of their way to Chambly. Accordingly, he continued, "a little time after the said persons who came to the gaol door were gone," they came out and made their escape. The third account is Roseborough's. He entered the gaol with the prisoner's supper between seven and eight o'clock. Then someone on duty, he said, wanted to go out, and asked him to remain until his return—which he did, in the same room with the

¹ For his part in the above protest. *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 120, Acts of the Council, May 9, 21, 1765.

² C.O. 42, 4, p. 120, Memorial of officers of the 28th to Murray, May 29, 1766; *ibid.*, pp. 126, 133, Capt. Payne to Col. Walsh, June 28, July 11, 1765. Conyngham was also Payne's lawyer in a suit against Walker for false imprisonment, and Payne likewise memorialized the governor (*ibid.*, p. 122).

³ Rogers had been removed to Quebec some time earlier.

prisoners. While he was waiting there, some unknown persons, without any warning, came to the prison door, ordered the prisoners to turn out and forced him out with them. The latter then asked him to go with them to Chambly. According to him, Donnelly and Ashman joined them in the street.¹ Coleman's and Roseborough's stories are suspicious. The rescue was managed so quietly that it was unknown until after the birds had flown. The five other prisoners sleeping in the same room did not hear the escape. Moreover, Coleman refused to give his statement on oath, and in it he said nothing about the three who accompanied them. He was evidently trying to shield the friends who rescued him. Coleman and Roseborough disagreed about the warning. Roseborough's long wait with the prisoners until about midnight, the time of the rescue, is very strange. What of the other two who went on the excursion to Chambly? Donnelly stated that he retired at eleven o'clock and did not stir out that night, but he refused to support this with his oath.² He thus denied any connection with the business, though both Roseborough and the officer at Chambly³ swore that he came to the latter place with the prisoners. It will be remembered that while Roseborough does not appear on Yarrow's list, yet Donnelly is there with Ashman. Ashman, a rough character according to Parry,⁴ said that he was busy drinking when he heard a noise in the street, and that on coming out he met the prisoners. He admitted accompanying the trio to Chambly to see that they delivered themselves up "in a proper manner." But as Donnelly had uttered a complete denial, Ashman considerably swore that beside himself and Roseborough there was a third man of the same unit whom he did not know.⁵ So Ashman tried to shield Donnelly, Roseborough to shield them both and to excuse himself, while Coleman tried to shield all three. The temptation is strong to fit these three into the deputy provost marshal's story and make them the rescuers. Moreover, why did they go all the way to Chambly? Was it a case of the guilty who had been caught being protected by those who were just as guilty, but not caught?

Of the remainder who were suspected, there is little to be said. Castles was with Rogers when the latter received the sword, when he visited Lewis after the assault, and again in the morning when he returned the weapon. He also delivered a tomahawk to someone in the mysterious back room of Mee's house.⁶ Lieutenant Tottenham, the adjutant of the 28th, was certainly not present at the crime, but he may have been an accessory. Immediately after the assault, two of the disguised culprits burst into his room and threw the freshly severed ear on his table "for his supper," so it was reported to the governor.⁷ Though he was

¹ C.O. 42, 2, p. 262, William Weir to Goldfrap, Jan. 17, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 284 (B, 8, p. 176), Examination of James Coleman, Feb. 7, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 282 (B, 8, p. 174), Examination of James Roseborough, Feb. 8, 1765.

² *Ibid.*, p. 278 (B, 8, p. 173), Examination of Thomas Donnelly, Feb. 5, 1765.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 277 (B, 8, p. 185), Information of Arthur Cole, Feb. 8, 1765.

⁴ Q. 3, p. 49.

⁵ C.O. 42, 2, p. 281 (B, 8, p. 177), Examination of Daniel Ashman, Feb. 8, 1765.

⁶ Depositions of Rogers, Lewis, and Parry cited *supra*.

⁷ C.O. 42, 4, p. 87, Thomas Ainslie to Murray, Dec. 13, 1764.

present in the room, he seems to have made little effort to follow and apprehend his strange visitors.¹ In September, 1765, he went home to Ireland in the same transport as Coleman and McLaughlan. It may have been a mere coincidence, yet Parry, in his examination on this point, said that while they were not his servants they "would be found near him, he supposed." All these five suspected persons, in addition to the four arrested, were drawn by McGovack into his tale. But this only reflects the opinion of the day. Payne and a few others, who need not be named, were mentioned at the time by Walker and his wife, but no evidence whatever against them can be traced to-day.

To sum up, there can be little question that Rogers, Mee, Coleman, and McLaughlan were guilty and that Donnelly, Ashmore, Roseborough, Castles, and Tottenham were very probably associated with them.

Why the guilty escaped is not so difficult to determine. It was not due to laxity of the government. In addition to a reward of £300 raised by subscription in Montreal, the government offered £200 and, if the informer was a soldier, a free discharge and transportation to any other colony. This offer was published every week in the *Quebec Gazette* from December 13 to February 7. General Burton was publicly thanked by the merchants of Montreal for his eagerness to discover "the assassins."² On December 14, the attorney-general was ordered up to Montreal, and three days later the governor with the unanimous consent of his council decided to go up with them in a body.³ For nearly three weeks the governor and his council remained in Montreal doing everything that seemed possible. Beginning on Christmas day, they devoted five days to taking depositions and making examinations. When Walker demanded a trial in Montreal, Murray promised it. When the latter found that this would defeat the ends of justice he had the trial transferred to Quebec. When Walker and the Montreal jurors refused to come, Chief Justice Gregory told the former that it was his duty to come, and, on the advice of the council, corresponded with the Montreal justices to explain away the jurors' scruples. The 28th regiment was even ordered out of Quebec during the trial.⁴ When the trial there failed to come off, and the prisoners were released because the grand jury refused to return any bill against them, Murray had them immediately rearrested. As Walker still refused to come to Quebec, the governor compromised on the place of the trial, which was then fixed at Three Rivers for July 1. This time greater pains were taken to overcome any possible scruples.⁵ The trial at last took place, but the prisoners all got off. The whole of

¹ C.O. 42, 2, pp. 170-172, Depositions of Ensign Welch, Dec. 8, Mr. Baker, Dec. 8, and Lieut. Tottenham, Dec. 17, 1764. The last is also in B, 8, p. 184.

² C.O. 42, 4, p. 59 (B, 8, p. 143), Petition to Murray, Dec. 12, 1764.

³ B, 8, pp. 103, 104, Acts of the Council, Dec. 14, 17, 1764.

⁴ C.O. 42, 3, p. 285, Gregory to Walker, March 25, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 291, Gregory to the Montreal Justices of the Peace, March 25, 1765.

⁵ Murray Papers, 2, p. 217, Murray to Major Browne, June 27, 1765; B, 8, p. 119, Acts of the Council, May 9, 1765; C.O. 42, 2, p. 507, Goldfrap to the Montreal Justices, May 11, 1765; C.O. 42, 3, p. 37, Goldfrap to Walker, May 11, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 39, Walker to Goldfrap, May 23, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 40, Goldfrap to Walker, May 27, 1765.

Murray's correspondence breathes a tremendous anxiety to have the miserable business cleared up. Those under him were likewise assiduous. The attorney-general did his utmost, and the chief justice did more than is usually expected of such an official.

The explanation must be found elsewhere. The original cause was the motive behind the crime, which, instead of satisfying it, only intensified it—the army's bitter hatred of Walker. It seemed to weld the army together in a great conspiracy to baffle every effort at discovery. No one claimed the reward, though this must have been very tempting to many a poor soldier. The anonymous author of the "Matthew Gospel" letter and Parry, who did not come forward for nearly a year, were the only informants. The atmosphere in Montreal after the crime must have been terrible. "A stranger entering the town, from what he heard and saw, might reasonably have concluded that two armies were within the walls ready to fight on the first occasion."¹ With the exception of Burton, every officer and man in the army was regarded by the civil faction as more or less guilty. On the other hand, the zeal of the civil magistrates was interpreted by the army as persecution. Officers refused to allow men to be examined by the magistrates except in their presence, and, so it was said by one of Walker's friends, openly encouraged and assisted soldiers arrested by the civil authorities.² When Rogers was placed in a dungeon to prevent his forcible release, which the civilians said was likely, a mutiny was just avoided.³ Such a general condition prevented much evidence being collected in the beginning.

But this was not all. Why did not Conyngham's duplicity help clear up the mystery at the time? Strange as it may seem, no one even observed it. Walker was too hysterical to see anything, and all the rest were diverted by the attorney-general. At the attempted Quebec trial, he found some flaws in the way the jurors had been summoned and at once began to throw up a cloud of words and legal dust which obscured the villain Conyngham. He did this first in court, then in long letters to the governor, and finally at greater length in the *Quebec Gazette*. He actually created the impression at the time that it was his legal quibbling which caused all the trouble.⁴ By the time this storm had subsided, Conyngham's double rôle had ceased. Some weeks before the Three Rivers trial, where other difficulties attracted attention, he was dismissed from the bar.⁵

But there is a greater reason still for the escape of the guilty. Walker, more than any one else, was responsible for letting the criminals get off. His blind rage blocked his own revenge. From the beginning, his notorious readiness to accuse any officer prejudiced his case. Much more serious was his attitude toward the government, which was doing

¹ Q. 2, p. 386, Murray to Lords of Trade, March 3, 1765.

² C.O. 42, 2, p. 180, Justice Lamb's account (no date).

³ B. 8, p. 147, Mitchelson to Burton, Dec. 10, 1764.

⁴ C.O. 42, 3, p. 273, Proceedings of the Superior Court, April 15, 1765; *ibid.*, pp. 215-222 (B. 8, p. 152), Suckling to Murray, April 22, 1765; *ibid.*, pp. 300-311, Suckling's Memorial, May 3, 1765; *Quebec Gazette*, May 23, 1765.

⁵ Cf. *supra* p. 242.

the utmost possible to ferret out the crime. Instead of coöperating heartily, he obstructed most obstinately, so that the situation assumed the aspect of a three-cornered struggle between Walker, the government, and the army. He could not help it, for he seems to have been a born malcontent. His suspicion that the government was trying to shield the criminals mounted almost to a mania. It was this which allowed him to fall a victim to Conyngham's wiles. It began perhaps over the council's decision on January 3. It was distinctly aroused by three untoward incidents. The first was that the two men who put up £1,000 each for the bail of Rogers and Coleman on February 4 were Thomas Dunn, a member of the council, and Lieutenant Carleton, of the troublesome 28th, who had testified to Walker's unruly behaviour in the military court of September, 1763.¹ The second was his quarrel with Ainslie, which occurred immediately afterward. Ainslie, as a particular friend of Walker, was despatched by Murray to tell him what had been done in the Supreme Court in Quebec. A reference to the holding of the trial in Montreal precipitated a violent quarrel, which ended with Ainslie informing Walker that he was entirely unworthy of the governor's solicitude.² Then came the third incident, the publication of the ordinance of March 9, from which Walker never recovered. His contumacy prevented the Quebec trial.³ Then came the Three Rivers trial in July. Though warned that the prisoners would have to be discharged finally should this trial not come off, Walker was still obstinate. He and his wife hid themselves to avoid the legal summons, and his clerk Lilly, though properly summoned, refused to appear.⁴ Walker's stubbornness undoubtedly affected the psychology of the guilty. It was suggested then, and it seems likely now, that this lucky turn of events convinced them either of Walker's and the council's ignorance of their guilt or of some protection in high quarters, and so deterred any of them from turning King's evidence.⁵ The acquittal of Rogers, against whom there was the most evidence, cleared him of the crime⁶ and made it useless to proceed against the others. So all the accused were discharged. In a few months they were all out of the country, some having gone home, the rest departing with the regiment for New York. There was yet one more chance. When McGovack came forward with his story in the following year, an attempt was made to secure them once more and bring them back to Canada. True to his rôle throughout, Walker again acted against his own interests. He applied to the new chief justice to have

¹ C.O. 42, 3, pp. 254-260, Proceedings of the Superior Court; Dartmouth Papers, 1, pp. 56-67, anonymous letter dated Feb. 20, undoubtedly by Walker.

² Walker's protest and Ainslie's evidence, cited *supra*.

³ B. 8, pp. 115, 116, Evidence of Travers before the Council, April 29, Acts of the Council, May 3, 1765.

⁴ C.O. 42, 3, pp. 326-328, Attorney General's Report to Governor Murray on the Assizes of Three Rivers, July 12, 1765. Walker was fined £500 for not appearing (C.O. 42, 6, p. 12, Hey to Shelburne, Dec. 7, 1766).

⁵ Shel. MSS. 64, p. 301, Irving to Murray, Aug. 23, 1766; *ibid.*, p. 310, Mabane to Murray, Aug. 26, 1766.

⁶ Walker, when in England, sought to have him tried again, but the law officer of the Board of Trade declared this impossible (Shel. MSS., 64, p. 265).

the trial postponed until September to allow time for the men in New York and the Jerseys to appear. Whether they would ever have come is uncertain, for the magistrates there not only refused to commit but even offered to go bail for them. But Walker would not give them even this doubtful opportunity to come. When Hey agreed to postpone the trial as desired, he said that he would have to let the prisoners out on bail. This determined Walker. Sooner than let them be bailed, he insisted upon their earlier trial, where of course he had none of the guilty.¹

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

This exploit, as related by Professor Burt, is believed to be the origin of "Slashers," as a nick-name of the 28th Foot. But some further evidence on the subject is available.

On 18 June, 1850, at Portsmouth, new Colours were presented to the Regiment by Lady Augusta FitzClarence, wife of the then Lieut.-Governor, Major-General Lord Frederick FitzClarence.

The following extracts from his ceremonial address to the Regiment on the occasion, give a somewhat broader view as to the origin of the nick-name, and show clearly that 'Slashers' was widely known.

Lord Frederick, referring to some action, probably in the Peninsular War, when the Battalion was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel John Frederick Brown, said:—

"On one occasion when the 28th, in line, were opposed to a body of the French, he [Lieut.-Colonel J. F. Brown. ED.] came in front and said 'Ho, slashers!' You know your name, my men; for it was owing to your conduct in former days that such havoc and execution were made among the enemy, and from thenceforth you were called ever afterwards 'Slashers!' This old Colonel, when you were in line before the enemy, said, 'Look at those rascals before you in front; if you don't kill them, slashers, by Heaven they'll kill you!' With that, and a cheer, the Slashers followed, and down went the enemy like nine-pins."

"And there is one thing more, Slashers, I have to request of you, and which I feel assured you will do with all ardour and devotion—join me and your Officers, heart and soul, in three cheers for our dear Sovereign, and long may she live!" (*Jones's Woolwich Journal*. July, 1850—page 107.)

¹ Shel. MSS., 64, p. 239, Frase: to Shelburne, April 1, 1767; Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 9.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES.

NOTES, QUESTIONS, AND REPLIES TO QUESTIONS will be greatly appreciated by The Editor, whose name and address are:—

Lieut.-Colonel J. H. LESLIE, 8 Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

NOTES.

154. ARTICLES ON MILITARY SUBJECTS, RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

a. Irish Knights of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresa. By Lieut.-Colonel Cavenagh. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. LVI. p. 95. (December, 1926.) The Article commences thus:—

“THE Imperial Order of Maria Theresa was founded on 18th June, 1757, as a reward for officers distinguished in war. It originally consisted of two classes: Knights Grand Cross, and Knights. The Emperor Joseph II. in 1765 added a third class, Knights Commander.

“The Badge is an enamelled white cross, *pattée*, edged with gold; in the centre the arms of Austria (gules, a fesse argent), enamelled, with wide fillet inscribed “FORTITUDINI.” This was worn pendant from a broad ribbon across the right shoulder by Knights of the Grand Cross, and from a ribbon round the neck by Commanders. The Star represents the badge altered to the form of a cross moline of silver resting on a laurel wreath. This was restricted to Knights of the Grand Cross and was worn on the left breast. The ribbon, white with two broad red borders.¹

“The list, herewith, of those recipients of Irish lineage is taken from an Austrian pre-war Service book, to which brief memoirs are added from Hirtenfeld's History of the Order and other sources.”

¹ This Order is not to be confused with that of Elizabeth Christina, founded in 1750 by the widow of the Emperor Charles VI for Officers selected from the grades of Colonel to General. It was renovated in 1771 by the Empress Maria Theresa, daughter of the foundress.

The names of the recipients, as given, are:—

Lieutenant General Baron Thomas Plunkett.
 General of Artillery, Count William O'Kelly.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Francis Nangle.
 Colonel Chevalier Hume Caldwell.
 Field Marshal Count Francis Maurice Lacy.
 Lieutenant-General Count Philip George Browne.
 General of Artillery Count John Sigismund Maguire.
 General of Artillery Count Richard D'Alton.
 Major-General Baron John Baptist Purcell.
 Lieutenant-General Count John O'Donnell.
 General of Cavalry Count Charles Claud O'Donnell.
 Lieutenant-General James Robert Nugent.
 Lieutenant-General Count Patrick Oliver Wallis.
 Major-General Count Henry O'Donnell.
 Lieut.-Colonel Count William Lacy.
 Lieutenant-Colonel James Patrick O'Mulrian.
 Colonel Baron James Bernard MacBrady.
 General of Artillery Baron Thomas Brady.
 General of Artillery Count John George Browne.
 Colonel Count William Mahony.
 Major Chevalier John Wilson.
 General of Cavalry Count Andrew O'Reilly.
 Field Marshal Count Laval Nugent.
 Major Chevalier Peter Martyn.
 Major-General Baron John O'Brien, Count Thomond.

b. The Taranaki Regiment (New Zealand). [*The Die-Hards*. The Journal of The Middlesex Regiment (Duke of Cambridge's Own). Vol. II. No. 7. February, 1927. p. 409.]

The Taranaki Rifle Volunteers, raised at New Plymouth in 1858, was the first British Volunteer Regiment which ever went into action against an enemy. It is now The Taranaki Regiment (Dominion of New Zealand)—allied to The Middlesex Regiment.

c. Notes on some Irish Regiments in the service of Spain and of Naples in the Eighteenth Century. By The Marquis MacSwiney of Mashanaglass. [*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Volume XXXVII. Section C. No. 9. January, 1927. pp. 138 to 174.] J.H.L.

155. FISHGUARD, PEMBROKESHIRE—1797. A French armed force of infantry, composed chiefly of released convicts, landed at Fishguard on 22 February, 1797, and without firing a shot, surrendered.

The letter here following was written by John Mends, a resident at Haverfordwest, to his son, five days after the landing, and gives a good contemporary account of the affair, although the Pembrokeshire Yeomanry Cavalry is not mentioned by him as having been present—the only Regiment which bore the battle-honour 'FISHGUARD' on its standard. The grant of this 'honour' was approved by H.M. Queen Victoria, on 28 May, 1853, but did not appear in the Army List until November, 1903. This Regiment is now represented by the 102nd (Pembroke and Cardigan) Field Brigade, R.A., Territorial Army, whose Headquarters are at Tenby.

The original letter is the property of Sir James Seabrooke, K.C.I.E., by whose kind permission it is now printed, as some writers on the Fishguard invasion have expressed doubts whether the story of the part played by red-cloaked Welsh women can be supported by contemporary evidence. J.H.L.

Haverfordwest. 27 February, 1797.

Dear Son,

Since my last to you I have the pleasure to inform you that the French soldiers have all surrendered themselves and laid down their arms. There are several causes assigned for their surrender; the first is their ships of war which left the coast immediately after they landed the troops and left them on the shore with only two days' victuals and without any tents—the second cause was owing to the vigilance, alacrity and spirit of the Welch, who came running from all quarters of the country to oppose them, and in about 48 hours they amounted to about 7 or 8 thousand men of all sorts, some well armed, others with long pike-staffs, others with sythes (*sic*) straightened—a desperate weapon—others with pitchforks, and above all about 400 poor women with red flannel over the shoulders, which the French at a distance took for soldiers as they appeared all red. This, with a prospect of no more victuals to be had, intimidated the French soldiers so much that they sent a flag of truce to our Gentlemen with terms of surrendering themselves, which was accepted. The terms was only to desire good usage and to keep their cloaths (*sic*) on their backs, which was agreed to. They then advanced forward in ranks and laid their arms on the ground. They are all in Haverfordwest now to the amount of 18 hundred soldiers, all lusty fellows, and about 200 missing, supposed to be straggling about the country in search of something to eat, as they are half starved, and early this morning their arms arrived in 30 carts, amounting to about 19 hundred musquets and bayonets, with the same number of belts and cartouches, each containing 19 rounds of cartridges and balls, and several kegs of gunpowder and boxes of musquet balls, with about 18 brass drums and some flags with the Tree of Liberty painted on them. Their fleet had some Irish Pilots on board that conducted them to Fishguard Road out of the reach of the Battery erected there.

This appears to be one of the most Glorious Conquests ever performed by a parcel of country people, and no soldiers amongst them but 2 or 3 halfpay officers who conducted the whole. It was the Lord God's doing, and blessed be his name for it. The Lord be thanked and praised for ever and ever. Amen.

Since I wrote the above there is arrived in Haverfordwest from Fishguard 16 carts loaded with kegs of gunpowder which the French hid in the caves of the rocks there, and our people says there is as much hid there which will be brought in to-morrow, and about 2 thousand stand of arms hid in the sand in chests, which will be brought in also to-morrow. These arms and ammunition was intended to arm all the country people that would join the French, who says they was promised before they left Brest to be joined by some thousands of Welch people. How it was promised nobody knows or by whom, but this fact as to the concealment of the arms and ammunition, but to what purpose is unknown at present. The common soldiers prisoners goes off this evening and to-morrow, in different convoys.

This is all the intelligence and news that prevails at present in Haverfordwest.

Dear Son John, my earnest blessing attend you and your small family, and am your most affectionate Father

(Sd.) JOHN MENDS.

156. THE DEATH OF WOLFE. (Vol. VI. pp. 30, 186.) With reference to Dr. J. C. Webster's statement that he has collected a large number of claimants to the honour of having assisted the dying General before Quebec, it should be recorded that even John Company's Army can produce one.

A tombstone in the churchyard of Warham All Saints', Wells, Suffolk, records that beneath lies ". . . Captain Isaac Eyles Warren, who spent 24 years of his life in the Honble. East India Companies' Service. He was a Volunteer in the siege of Quibec, and it was his solemn task to support on the rock and witness the last moments of the Immortal Wolfe. For the last 23 years of his life he retired to this village, where he lived respected and beloved and died lamented on the 16th of October 1809 in the (illegible) year of his age. . . ."

The burial register has the following entry:—" Captain Isaac Eyles Warren (married man), October 20th, 1809. age 72."

His obituary notice in the *Monthly Magazine* vol. xxviii. (1809), p. 642, after giving the substance of his memorial inscription, adds the picturesque touch:—

" He was presented with one of the rifle balls which gave that great soldier his death wound."

Warren entered the Bengal Artillery as a Cadet in 1762, became a Captain on 4 March, 1770, and resigned his commission on 18 January, 1772.

Information as to his service as a Volunteer at Quebec, and as to his parentage, is desired.
V. H.

157. A SOLDIER'S SONG. 'WHY! SOLDIERS, WHY.' *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, Vol. VI., p. 321, says " that the words of the song, 'Why, soldiers, why?' are in a manuscript book of poetry in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, dated 1712, under the title of *The Duke of Berwick's March*." Unfortunately the Librarian of the National Library of Scotland (formerly the Advocate's Library) has not been able to trace it, although " all the manuscript collections of songs which seemed at all likely to contain these verses " have been examined.

Popular Music of the Olden Time, by Wm. Chappell (London, 1855-9), says (Vol. II. p. 669):—

" How Stands the Glass Around"

" This is commonly called General Wolfe's song, and is said to have been written by him on the night before the battle of Quebec; but this tradition is sufficiently disproved by a copy of the tune, under the title of ' Why, Soldiers, why?' in *The Patron, or The Statesman's Opera*," performed at the little theatre in the Haymarket, in 1729.

"The words and music are contained in *Vocal Music, or The Songster's Companion*, ii. 49 (1775), and were introduced by Shield in *The Siege of Gibraltar*. In *Vocal Music* they are entitled 'A Soldier's Song.'"

[The Patron: or The Statesman's Opera, of Two Acts, As 'tis Acted by the Company of Comedians at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market. By Mr. Odell. To which is added the Musick to each Song. London: Printed by W. Pearson, for John Clarke at the Bible under the Royal Exchange, Cornhill. (No date.)

Brit. Mus. Reading Room Catalogue gives "(1729.)"

A stage direction on p. 1 is "sings to the tune of Why, soldiers, Why."]

Rather slowly and firmly.

How stands the glass a - round? For shame, ye take no care, my boys! How
stands the glass a - round? Let mirth and wine a - bound. The trum - pets . .
sound, The co - lours they are flying, boys, To fight, kill, or wound: May we still be
found Con - tent with our hard fare, my boys, On the cold, cold ground.

Why, soldiers, why
Should we be melancholy, boys?
Why, soldiers, why?
Whose business 'tis to die!
What! sighing? fie!
Damn fear, drink on, be jolly boys!
'Tis he, you, or I;
Cold, hot, wet, or dry,
We're always bound to follow, boys,
And scorn to fly.

'Tis but in vain,
(I mean not to upbraid you, boys),
'Tis but in vain,
For soldiers to complain:
Should next campaign
Send us to Him who made us, boys,
We're free from pain;
But should we remain,
A bottle and kind landlady
Cures all again.

In *The Vocal Magazine*, Vol. I, published in Edinburgh in 1799, G. F. Handel is stated to be the composer of Song, No. 101—"How stands the glass around."

Dr. Webster mentions the song in *Wolfiana*—see Note 149, p. 186—and very properly and justifiably writes:—

"There is no foundation whatever for the attribution of authorship to Wolfe. . . . That Wolfe even sang the song the day before the battle is highly doubtful."
J.H.L.

158. 'LOBSTER.' That 'Lobster,' as a nickname for a soldier, took its rise in 1643 and that it then had no connexion with the colour of a soldier's coat, is made abundantly clear by the following extract from the Clarendon MSS., Vol. 23, No. 1738 (4)—June-July, 1643, containing an account of Sir Ralph Hopton's campaign in the West of England.

It is recorded that a Royalist force stayed about 10 or 12 days at Wells to refresh their troops, "Sir William Waller [Parliament Army] in the meane time holding his quarter about Bathe, whither there came to his assistance Sir Arthur Haselridge with a verie strong Regiment of extraordinarily arm'd horse (by the Royalists surnamed the Lobsters because of the bright iron-shell with which they were all couvered)."

["Six gallant troops of horse went to him from London the last week under the command of Sir Arthur Hazlerigg." *Weekly Intelligencer*, 13 to 20 June, 1643. (King's Pamphlets. E.55, No. 8.)]

In the *Harleian Miscellany*, Vol. V. (1810), there is an article (pp. 69-74) entitled "The Qualifications of Persons, declared capable by the Rump Parliament, to elect, or be elected, Members to supply their House." Printed in the Year 1660.

Qualification XX commences thus:—

No man shall be admitted to sit in this house as a member thereof, howsoever duly qualified and elected, except before excepted, until he hath taken the following oath upon the holy evangelists.

THE OATH.—'I, A.B., do swear, in the presence of Almighty God, and by the contents of this book, to be true and faithful to this government, as it is now unestablished, and to the keepers of the liberties, unsight unseen: whether they are of an invisible and internal nature, as fiends, pugs, elves, furies, imps, or goblins: or whether they are incarnate, as redcoats, lobsters, corporals, troopers, or dragoons.'

This shows, I think, that 'lobsters' and 'red-coats,' as nicknames, were quite distinct from each other, though possibly later on, when armour was discarded, 'lobster' came into use as a nickname of the 'red-coat' soldier.

Henry Teonge, Chaplain in H.M.S. *Bristol*, records in his Diary (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1927.) that on 2 June, 1678, "In the afternoon half a company of soldiers come on board us," and continues:—

3 June. And more this morning. At 3 we are under sail, and for the coasts of Scotland . . . all freight with lobsters, viz. 'red-coats.'

5 June. . . . At 2 o'clock, one of our lobsters standing by the hatch-way gazing about him with his can in his hand, fell backwards into the hold.

In the 14th Report of the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Appendix 2, page 505, the following extract is given from a letter, George Follet to Robert Harley, dated 20 October, 1692.

"The seamen on Tower Hill, attending the Navy office, 'gave some jealousies of disorder amongst them' lately. My Lord Lucas drew out his Tower Guards upon the Hill and fell into an unconcerned way of exercising them. The seamen grumbled and asked 'what a devil those lobsters did there.' Whilst the soldiers were exercising his Lordship went and held familiar chat with the seamen, and hitting their size chanced to give them great content."

The Country Journal or The Craftsman, of 12 April, 1740, contains "A Conversation between Mr. John Tar, Mariner, and Mr. Thomas Lobster, a Foot Soldier in one of his Majesty's Royal Regiments of Guards."

An Editorial Note explains that "We have just received a Dialogue, the substance of which we are assured is genuine and authentick, between two old Friends,

one a soldier at home, and the other a sailor lately arrived from the West-Indies, with Captain Rentone in one of the Prize-Ships, taken by Admiral Vernon at Porto-Bello." (North coast of Panama, about seventy miles from that city. Was captured from the Spaniards on 21 November, 1739.)

In *Household Words* of 24 September, 1853, p. 75, we find—"A soldier [is called] a swaddy, a lobster, a red-herring."
J.H.L.

159. A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PUNCH BOWL. A very interesting specimen of old English Delft pottery was discovered this year in Devonshire—a punch bowl, 12" in diameter, decorated in a brilliant blue upon a white tin enamel, with troops on the march, musketeers and pikemen, led by an officer, with ensign and drum. Illustrations 1, 2, and 3 show every detail in proper sequence. The soldiers depicted may be those of the Duke of Monmouth prior to the battle of Sedgemoor—6 July, 1685.

The bowl itself was probably made some ten years later, and certainly not after 1700. It is a product of the Brislington Delft factory, which flourished in the latter part of the 17th century. Pottery of this type was first made in Holland about the year 1600 to take the place of the old lead-glazed brown ware and to imitate and compete with the Chinese porcelain which was being imported into the country. The admixture of tin in the glaze gave the necessary opaque white surface which was really an enamel. There had been potters at Brislington (a suburb of Bristol) for many years prior to the taking over of the works by Edward Ward, shortly before 1680, and about this latter date the first tin-glazed pottery was made in the West of England, though it had been made in London, at Lambeth, as early as 1640. On August 8th, 1689, Edward Ward took as apprentice a young man who had been brought by his father from London to settle in the neighbourhood—Thomas Frank—and he turned out to be the most brilliant pupil of all those who learned their craft at this factory. This bowl is an example of his work. He was the only ceramic artist at that date in the West of England who could have accomplished such fine work, except Edward Ward himself.

The interior of the bowl shows a post-war visit to the battlefield. The bowl is in almost perfect condition, a tiny hair crack at one side being the only blemish. How it came into existence is a matter of speculation.

After more than two centuries, during which its existence could have been known to but few, this contemporary document has emerged from its hiding place to interest and charm us by its superb workmanship and historic interest.

A point of interest to military men may be mentioned. The costumes of the troops look Dutch in appearance, but those who study the subject of dress will know that in 1660—1700 the costumes of English soldiers and those of the Dutch town-guard were almost identical. The bowl is in the possession of the writer, who will be pleased to permit any readers who are interested to see it.

LOUIS GAUTIER, 79 Glebe Place, S.W. 3.

QUESTIONS.

260. AN OFFICER'S MARRIAGE AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. In a copy of the Official Army List for 1814, in my possession, there is written in ink at the top of the page headed, "Casualties since last publication," the following sentence, without reference to any name:—

"Barrack Master at Cork—placed on retired list in October, 1840. He was married at the Cape by the Duke of Wellington, being the only person ever married by His Grace."

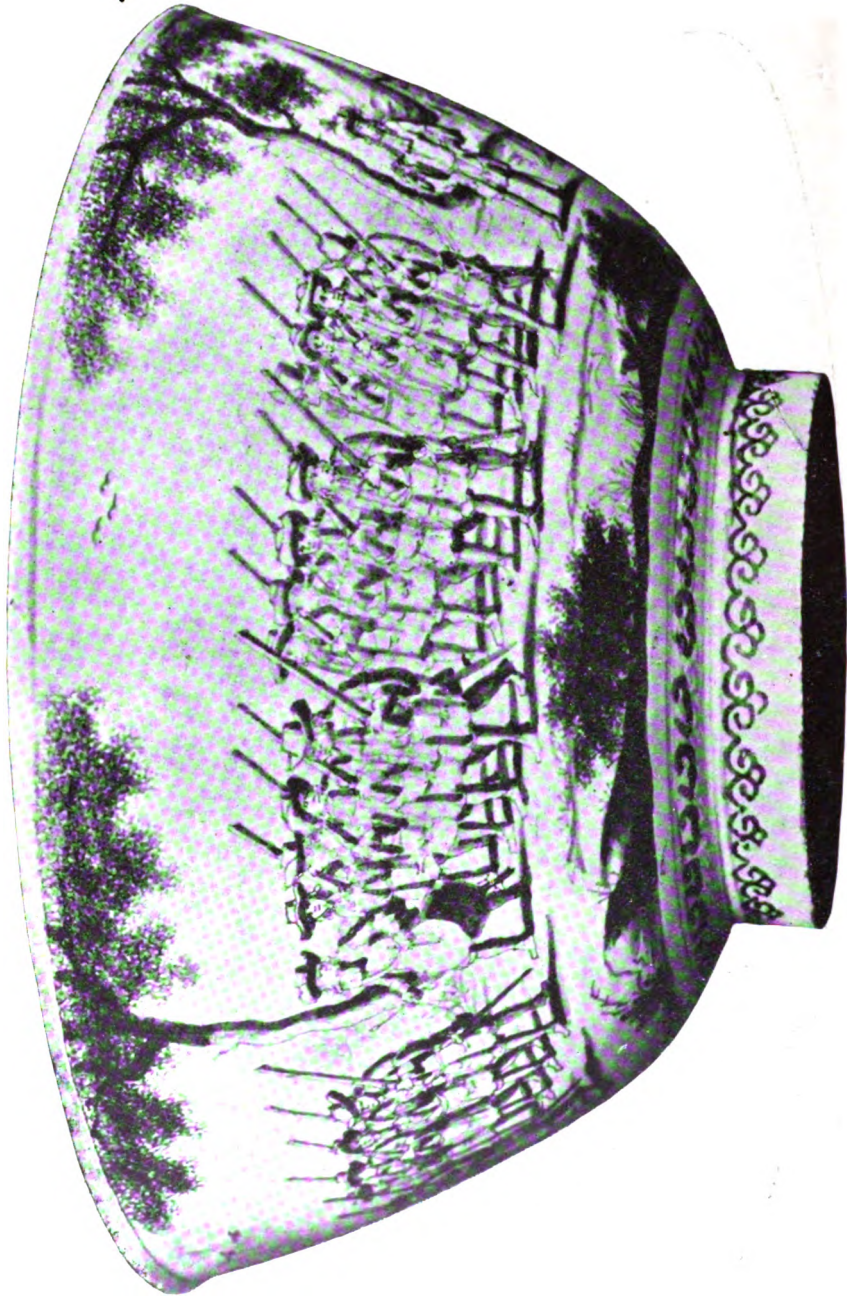
The remark, probably, refers to Lieut.-Colonel Francis Ralph West, of the 33rd Foot, whose retirement from the army is notified on this page.

He was appointed Barrack-Master at Cork in January, 1825. His name appears in the monthly Army List of October, 1840, as still holding this appointment, but not in that of November.

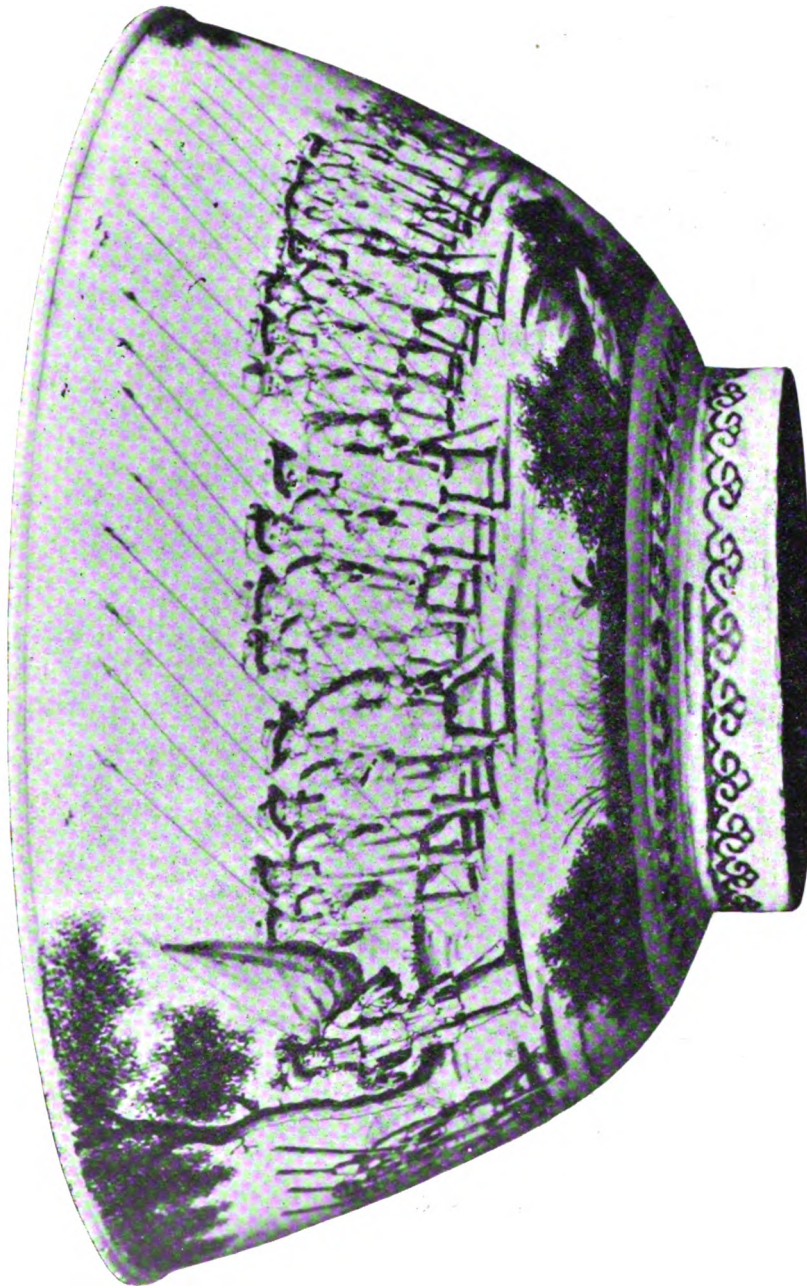
Is anything known as to this alleged marriage being performed by the Duke of Wellington?
J. H. LESLIE.



SEE NOTE 159.



SEE NOTE 159.



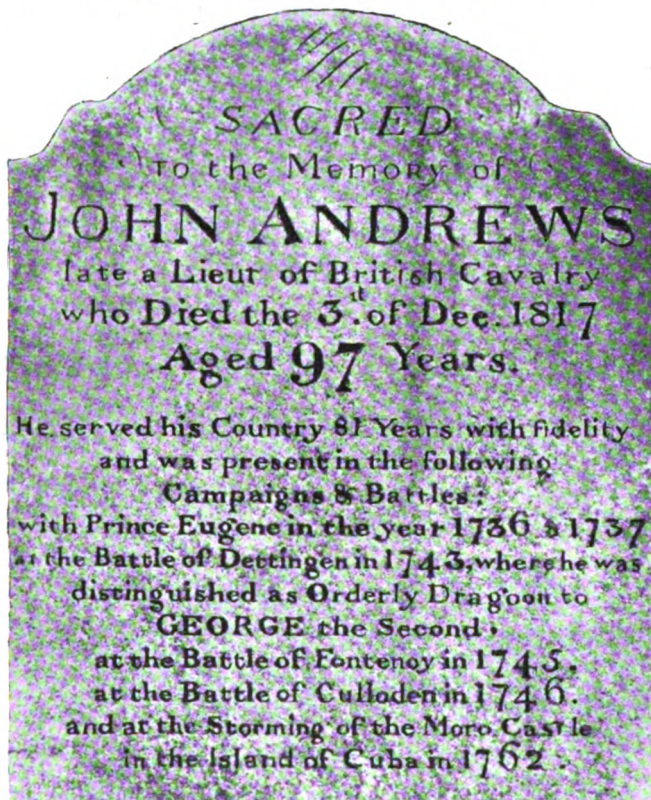
SEE NOTE 159.



SEE NOTE 159.

261. LIEUTENANT JOHN ANDREWS, OF COLCHESTER. In the churchyard of St. Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester, lies buried an old soldier, the epitaph on whose tombstone, here illustrated, explains itself:—

Sacred / to the memory of / John Andrews, / late a Lieut. of British Cavalry, / who Died the 3^d. Dec., 1817, / aged 97 years. / He served his Country 81 years with fidelity, / and was present in the following / Campaigns & Battles: / with Prince Eugene in the year 1736 & 1737 / at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743, where he was / distinguished as Orderly Dragoon to / GEORGE the Second; / at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745, / at the Battle of Culloden in 1746; and at the Storming of the Moro Castle / in the Island of Cuba in 1762.



Information is desired about him, and about the Regiment or Regiments in which he served. It is probable that he was given a commission from the ranks. G.O.R.

262. ROBERT ARMIGER. When, in 1758, the 2nd Battalion of the 12th Regiment became the 65th Regiment of Foot, Robert Armiger, then a Captain and Lieut.-Colonel in the 1st Foot Guards, with army rank as Colonel, dated 28 May, 1756, was appointed to be its Colonel.

He died on 18 March, 1770, aged 68 years, then being a Lieut.-General.

Is a portrait of him known to exist? and, if so, where? A.A.P.

The Annual Register for 1770 announced his death in the following mysterious terms:—

DEATH.—March 18. Lieut.-General Robert Armiger, Governor of Land-guard Fort, aged 68. He married a young Lady overnight, and died next morning. J.H.L.

263. THE DUKE OF KINGSTON'S LIGHT HORSE. This regiment was raised in 1745 and disbanded in 1746.

In *A Compleat History of the Rebellion, 1745-6*, by James Ray, of Whitehaven, published in 1754, it is recorded—pp. 376-8—that after the disbandment of the regiment their Standards and Trophies were “set up in the Town-Hall [Nottingham], with the following motto” :—

These Military Standards, / Lately belonging / To the Light Horse / Com-
manded / By the most Noble, and most Puissant Prince / EVELIN, DUKE of
KINGSTON, / Raised among the First / By the County of NOTTINGHAM. /
Out of Love to their Country, / And Loyalty to the Best of Kings, / In the Year
1745. / Are here dedicated / To the perpetual Fame, and immortal Memory / of
their invincible Bravery, / In the Skirmish of CLIFTON MOOR, / The Siege of
the City of CARLISLE, / But especially, at the memorable Battle, / Fought at
Cullogen in the Highlands / OF SCOTLAND / On the 16th Day of April, 1746. /
Where, amongst others. / They perform'd many and Glorious Exploits / In
Routing, and entirely Subduing / The Perfidious Rebels / Stird up, and supported /
By the French King; / An implacable Enemy / Of the Protestant
Religion / And Publick Liberty. / God save our ever AUGUST KING : / Long
may the County of NOTTINGHAM / Flourish. /

The whereabouts of these Standards and Trophies is not now known nor has the Town Clerk of Nottingham been able to find any record of their disposal, or of their ever having been hung in the Town Hall.

Information about them is asked for.

J.H.L.

264. GUARD-MOUNTING AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE—*circa* 1749. The letter here following, addressed “To the FOOL,” appeared in *The London Gazetteer* in March, 1751, or 1752.

Information is desired as to the “new French Exercise” therein referred to.

“The Fool” was the *nom de plume* of a writer of ‘Essays and Epistles’ which appeared in the *Gazetteer*.

SIR,—As I was crossing the Parade in St. James's Park To-day, I saw the Guards relieving; and hearing a Person near me say, That they had just learned the new French-Exercise, and was to perform it at St. James's for the first Time, the Curiosity of it led me thither, where I was most agreeably entertained as follows, viz. The relieving Guard no sooner entered the Court, but the Three Officers of each Party greeted each other with Three low Bows to the Ground; then the Musick striking up a grand Minuet-March, the Two Colonels led each other by the Hand, and were followed by the Two Lieutenants and Two Ensigns, who all danced a Minuet in a very grand Manner, with flying Colours; which being ended, the Musick then played a brisk Country-Dance, to which all the Soldiers danced Three Hayes.

[Haye. A country dance having a winding or serpentine movement, or being of the nature of a reel.

‘To dance the haye or hayes,’ as a phrase, means to perform winding or sinuous movements (around or among numerous objects); to go through varied evolutions like those of a dance. *The Oxford English Dictionary*.]

Col. D—— the Field-Officer [This blank space has been filled in in ink with the name ‘Drury.’ Alexander Drury, or Dury, was Lieutenant-Colonel in the First Regiment of Foot Guards—commission dated 27 April, 1749.] directed the Ceremony, the Adjutant assisting: In short, the Whole had a very fine Effect, and was much admired by the Royal Family, who looked on; and the same is to be continued constantly every Morning at Ten.— This is the new Exercise so much talked of Abroad, which is sent you as a Piece of News by

SIR,

Your Humble Servant, MARY LOUNGER.

7 March.

P.S. I shall be there To-morrow and next Day again, and should be glad of your Company there.

265. CADET GUNNERS AND CADET MATROSSES. 2 Marching Companies of Artillery were established by Royal Warrant, dated 26 May, 1716. P.R.O., W.O. 55/406.

In the establishment for these two companies dated 11 June, 1720, there appear in each, 5 " Cadet Gunners " and 5 " Cadet Mattresses "—20 in all. This is the first mention of these ranks.

They were abolished by Royal Warrant, dated 30 July, 1744—P.R.O., W.O. 55/360.

What were the duties and conditions of service of these Cadets? Q.F.

REPLIES.

239. FIELD MARKS AND FIELD WORDS. (Vol. IV. pp. 10, 60, 222; V. 137, 141, 210.) In Sir James Turner's *Pallas Armata*, published in 1683, the following passage occurs—p. 304 :—

" All these things (i.e. preparations before a battle) being done, the Word and the Sign should be given, and these are quickly carried through the Army by the Major Generals and the Adjutants. At suce a time the Word is ordinarily a Sentence, (for Souldiers are no Grammarians) as, God with us, For God and the King, Our trust is in God, and *Vivat* such a Prince, and the like. The Sign may be a Handkerchief on the Hat, or a piece of Linnen on the right or left arm, a twig of a Birch, an Elme, an Oak, or a Sycamore, or it may be a Fur, or what else the Prince or his General pleaseth. The Word and Sign are given both to Officers, Common Troopers and Souldiers; and sometimes they are alter'd in the time of Battel, if there be any ground or suspicion that the Enemy hath got them, or any of them. I remember, when the *Imperialists* had lost the Battel at *Oldendorpe* in *Germany*, in the year 1633, the Prisoners (who were all *Roman* Catholicks) pretended they had been beaten by the just Judgement and Revenge of the Blessed Virgin, in regard, before the Battel began, the Word was *Sancta Maria*, and in the time of the Fight, it was changed (for the reason I spoke of) to *Viva Ferdinando*."

Paragraph 6 of the Section headed " Concerning Captains and Souldiers duties in particular " in The Lawes and Ordinances of Warre of 1639, refers to Field-words and Field-marks :—

" No Officer or Souldier shall goe upon service without the *word*, and some other *marke* to be knowne by from theemie (especially in *night services*) upon paine of fine and imprisonment."

In " A Diary of the Siege of Colchester by the Forces under the command of General Fairfax " in 1648, an entry of 13 June, describing the fight which took place on that day outside the town, says :—" The word of the King's Forces at the Fight was *Charles*; the ground they fought upon, *Mary's*; ours, *God's our help*." (Brit. Mus. 2390. (1.))

J.H.L.

240. ' BULLETS IN THEIR MOUTHES.' (Vol. III. 9; IV. 223.) In a pamphlet published in London in 1612—*For The Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lavvs Diuine, Morall and Martiall*—' bullets in the mouth ' are mentioned twice in *Instructions of the Marshall for the better enabling of a priuat soldier, to the executing of his duty in this present Colonie, June 22, 1611.*

" When his Corporall shall appoint him forth for Centinell, he shall shoulder his peice, both ends of his match being alight, and his peice charged, and prined, and bullets in his mouth, there to stand with a carefull and waking eye, vntill such time as his Corporall shall relieue him, and to let no man passe nor come vp to him, but to force him stand, and then to call his Corporall."

" Two houres before day he must be ready in arms with his peice charged & prouided, & a match alight at both ends and bullets in mouth, there to attend the command of the Corporall vntill further directions be given, and at the time appoynted for the exercise of his armes, he shall be tractable and obedient to his officers executing such commands as they shall impose upon him, that he may be the better trained and inhabled to offend his enemy, and to defend himselfe."

J.H.L.

241. HANOVERIAN TROOPS IN SCOTLAND, 1746-56. (Vol. III. 200; IV. 18; and V. 142.) James Ray in his *Compleat History of the Rebellion (1745-6)*, published in 1754, records (pp. 272-80) that when he "was at Edinburgh" in February, 1746, then being a 'Volunteer' in Cumberland's Army, "the 6,000 Hessians in British Pay, were arriv'd there; they made a fine Appearance, and observ'd a good Discipline, and the Men in general were very handsome; but their Women are quite the Reverse; which made me think they were given them for a Curse, as ours are for a Blessing; at least theirs might be reckon'd as an Antidote against that Love and Respect which ours justly merit. Their Horses were pretty neat Things, with long Tails and Manes, it being customary to indulge all the Hair that grow on those Parts. Those Troops march'd to Perthshire, where they were joined by some British, in order to stop the Western Passage, in Case the Rebels should attempt to return to England again." Q.F.

242. VOLUNTEER. (Vol. VI. p. 191.) The following extracts from *London Gazette* show that the term "Volunteer" was looked upon as some sort of rank:—

London Gazette. 10-13 February, 1781. No. 12161.

War Office. 13 February, 1781. *84th Regiment of Foot, 2nd Battalion.*

Volunteer Duncan Campbell to be Ensign vice James Robertson.

London Gazette. 5 August, 1815. No. 17048.

War Office. 5 August, 1815. *1st Regiment of Foot.*

Volunteer Pultney Poole Sherburne to be Ensign without purchase, vice Frederick, whose appointment has not taken place. Dated 27 July, 1815.

Passages from books are here given referring to Volunteers, though nothing in the way of official regulations has, so far, been discovered.

Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ed. 1852, records (p. 1477) that Robert Weir, whose regiment was disbanded after the siege of Limerick in 1691, "was fain to do service in that of Sir Henry Bellasi's as a Volunteer."

"Voluntiers. Gentlemen, who without having any certain post, or Employment, in the Forces under Command, put themselves upon warlike Expeditions, and run into dangers only to gain Honour, and Preferment." *A Military Dictionary*. London. 1704.

James Ray in his *Compleat History of the Rebellion (1745-6)*, published in 1754, served as a 'Volunteer' in the Royal Army, and records that in March, 1746 (pp. 287-8) "I had very agreeable Quarters at Montrose; there were four Troops of Lord Cobham's Dragoons* at this Time in Town, and when on the March with the Army, I being a Volunteer, was always put to Gentlemen's Houses to quarter; so at this Time I was billeted on a most agreeable young Lady, whose Parents were lately dead, but she had a great Regard for Charley; and at Breakfast, there being no other in Company, she, with a pretty innocent freedom, ask'd me, If I did not think that P— C— was the Right Heir to the Crown? To which I answered, Madam, you cannot think that I am of that Opinion, when you consider how far I have gone to bear arms against him, and in the Station of a Volunteer. Pretty Miss replied, that was the only convincing Reason which could be given; for had you bore a Commission, continued she, I should have doubted your Sincerity, and think it strange you should be so much biass'd in your Judgment. Had this Discourse proceeded from one of my own Sex, I should have been out of Humour; but from so agreeable a Person, nothing could come amiss. I told her, That I had endur'd a great deal of fatigue in the Government Service, during the Time of the Rebellion, receiv'd no Pay, nor got any Plunder; but that if I could get so pretty a Rebel Lady as she was, to carry with me to England, I should be fully recompenced for all my Trouble. To which Miss replied, That Gentlemen on their Travels don't like to be troubled with Ladies; and that she thought she might rather seem to be a Plague, to torment me, for the Sins I

* Field-Marshal, Richard, Viscount Cobham. The regiment in 1927 is designated '10th Royal Hussars (Prince of Wales's Own).'

had committed, in rebelling against a lawful Prince. In this Manner we sat about two Hours at the Tea-Table; at which Time I was as much in Love with her agreeable Company, as she was with her Mock Prince."

Later (pp. 330-1) we read:—

"As I had the Honour of being a Volunteer under his Royal Highness, and of Consequence at Liberty to chuse my own Station, I had taken Post in the Front of Lord Cobham's Dragoons; when the Lord Ancram* was pleased to ask me, If I charged there to Day? as knowing that I had at several Times before joined the Duke of Kingston's Horse. I told his Lordship, That I intended to take my Chance with that Regiment To Day. His Lordship then wished me good Success. . . . He desired me to take Care how I came up to that House, for as I did not know what Number of Rebels might be in it, I was in Danger of being shot; but as I was a Volunteer, he said, he would not hinder me to proceed."

Again, on page 390, we find:—

"This inspires a Soldier in the Day of Battle with true Courage and Fortitude, being not only engaged in the Service of the Government, but that of the Ladies, our Mistresses, or our Wives, which are the better Part of ourselves: He that does not act under those Principles, is divested of that Honour due to the Dignity of a Volunteer."

In *Wellington's Army, 1809-1814*, by Sir Charles Oman (1912), we read (p. 196):—

"In addition to the officers regularly commissioned, a battalion had often with it one or two "volunteers" young men who were practically probationers; they were allowed to come out to an active-service battalion on the chance of being gazetted to it without purchase, on their own responsibility. They carried muskets and served in the ranks, but were allowed to wear uniforms of a better cloth than that given to the rank and file, and messed with the officers."

James Grant relates in *The King's Own Borderers*, chapter xxviii, that

"A volunteer is a poor devil who is too proud to enlist, and is too friendless to procure a commission; who has all a private's duty to do, and has to carry a musket, pack, and havresack, wherein are his ration-beef, biscuits, and often his blackball and shoebushes; who mounts guard and salutes me when I pass him, and whom I may handcuff and send to the cells or guardhouse when I please; who is not a regular member of the mess and may never be; who gets a shilling per diem with the chance of Chelsea, a wooden leg, or an arm with an iron hook if his limbs are smashed by a round shot; who is neither officer, non-commissioned officer, nor private—neither fish, flesh, nor good red-herring (to use a camp phrase)."

This phrase is first found in a collection of proverbs by John Heywood in 1546. Q.F.

The following extracts are taken from Chambers's *Cyclopædia* of 1738:—

"The *soldier* is he who takes pay; the *vassal* he who is obliged to serve at his own expence: the *Volunteer* he who serves at his own expence, and of his own accord."

"*Cadet*. A young gentleman soldier, who to attain to some knowledge in the art of war, and in expectation of preferment chuses to carry arms as a private man in a company of Foot. *Cadet* differs from volunteer, as the former takes pay, though only that of a private man, whereas the latter serves without pay."

A. M. H.

243. PASSING THE PIKES. (Vol. VI. p. 190.) In *The Academy of Armory*, by Randle Holme, 1688, Book III, chapter XIX, printed for the Roxburghe Club, in 1905, the following passage occurs on page 218:—

Cowardice and its Punishment. To forsake the ranks, or to abandon the ensigne, or faine sicknesse: to leaue his standing on the wall or forsake the trench

* William Henry Kerr, Elder son of William, 3rd Marquess of Lothian. He commanded the Cavalry of the left wing at Culloden, being at that time Lieut.-Colonel of the 11th Dragoons, of which his brother, Lord Mark Kerr, was Colonel.

in tyme of assaults, to goe from the watch or office of scout, is by most nations punished with death and the greatest favour to run the pikes (of some termed running the gauntlet) that is to be slashed and whipt throwe two files of men, 60 or 100 deepe. Y.Z.

244. UNIFORMS WORN IN 1745-6. (Vol. IV. p. 22; VI. .) The description here following of the Hussars of Prince Charles Edward's army—1745-6—is found in *A Compleat History of the Rebellion*. By James Ray, of Whitehaven. Published in London, in 1754.

Ray was a "Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland" during the campaign, and had also ridden in one of the King's troops as a Volunteer in 1715, when but 15 years of age (p. 450). He writes (p. 119):—

"Their Hussars were most of them young men, dress'd in close Plaid-Waist-coats, and large Fur-Caps; but having very bad Horses, it occasion'd them to exert all their Vigour in bringing them to a Gallop, tho' very often the poor Beast, notwithstanding the Severity used by their Riders, would drop that Speed, and take one more suitable to their Age and Infirmities."

Is anything further known of Ray?

G.O.R.

245. GRENADIER CAPS. (Vol. VI. p. 191.) In Millan's 'Succession of Colonels,' edition of 1748, the Earl of Loudoun's regiment—there numbered 64th—is shown as having "Furr caps to Grenadiers." This regiment was raised in April, 1745, and 'broke' in 1748.

The Royal Warrant for the clothing of the Army, dated 1 July, 1751—P.R.O., W.O. 26/21—contains this provision:—

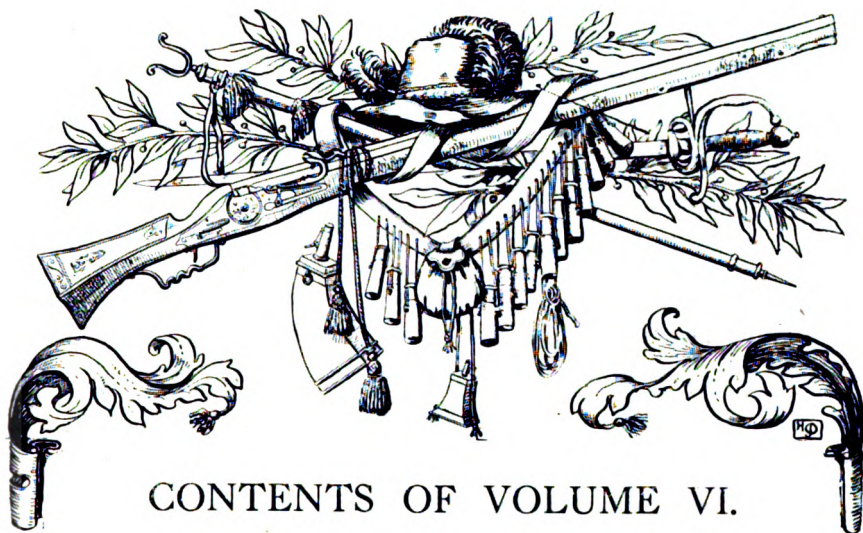
"The Grenadiers of the Highland Regiment are allow'd to wear Bear-skin Fur Caps, with the King's Cypher and Crown over it, on a red Gound, in the Turn-up, or Flap." J.H.L.

246. MEDICAL CARE OF SOLDIERS (Vol. IV. pp. 58 & 219; VI. p. 59.) In Sir Walter Besant's *Life of Gaspard de Coligny* [Chatto and Windus. 1894. p. 50.] the following remark is made in regard to his disciplinary reforms in the French Army:—

"He (Coligny) intended, and would have carried out his project but for the disaster of St. Quentin (10 August, 1557) to supplement the establishment of military discipline by the formation of a surgical service, and the establishment of a military hospital provided with carts for the wounded, to follow the camp."

A.C.W.

247. THE 12TH ROYAL LANCERS. (Vol. III. p. 56.) "It is said that the playing of the Vesper Hymn originated in one of the officers' wives presenting the regiment with a new set of instruments on condition that the hymn was played every night after the 'Last Post.' The playing of the Spanish Chant is declared to be a penance for the sacking of a convent during the Peninsular War. No reason is assigned for the playing of the Russian National Anthem." (*Notes and Queries*. 10th Series. Vol. X. p. 457.) A. S. W.



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Errata in Vol. VI.

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97. In line 16 for "Ulster" read "Ulster."
 118. Note 141. In line 1 for "Handhill" read "Handbill."
 190. Question 256. In line 7 for "March" read "Match."

Note for Binding.

- The loose portrait of Sir John Sinclair, issued with No. 25, should be bound up to face page 96.
 That of Major-General James Wolfe, issued with No. 24, should face page 30.

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Section III.—REGIMENTS.

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- d. Militia.
- e. Volunteers.
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| Berkshire. | 49 and 66. | Middlesex. | 57 and 77. |
| Black Watch. | 42 and 73. | Munster Fusiliers. | 101 and 104. |
| Border. | 34 and 55. | Norfolk. | 9. |
| Bucks. | 43 and 52. | Northamptonshire. | 48 and 58. |
| Bufs. (East Kent.) | 3. | Northumberland Fusiliers. | 5. |
| Cameron Highlanders. | 79. | Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. | 45 and 95. |
| Cameronians. | 26 and 90. | Oxfordshire & Bucks. L.I. | 43 and 52. |
| Canadians, Royal. | 100 and 109. | Queen's. | 2. |
| Cheshire. | 22. | Royal Fusiliers. | 7. |
| Connaught Rangers. | 88 and 94. | Royal Highlanders. | 42 and 73. |
| Cornwall's L.I., Duke of. | 32 and 46. | Royal Regiment. | 1. |
| Derbyshire. | 45 and 95. | Royal Scots. | 1. |
| Devonshire. | 11. | Scots Fusiliers. | 21. |
| Dorsetshire. | 39 and 54. | Scottish Borderers. | 25. |
| Dublin Fusiliers. | 102 and 103. | Seaforth Highlanders. | 72 and 78. |
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| Durham L.I. | 68 and 106. | Sherwood Foresters. | 45 and 95. |
| Essex. | 44 and 56. | Shropshire L.I. | 53 and 85. |
| Gloucestershire. | 28 and 61. | Somerset L.I. | 13. |
| Gordon Highlanders. | 75 and 92. | South Wales Borderers. | 24. |
| Green Howards. | 19. | Staffordshire (North.) | 64 and 98. |
| Hampshire. | 37 and 67. | „ (South.) | 38 and 80. |
| Herts. | 16. | Suffolk. | 12. |
| Highland L.I. | 71 and 74. | Surrey (East.) | 31 and 70. |
| Inniskilling Fusiliers. | 27 and 108. | „ (West.) | 2. |
| Irish, Royal. | 18. | Sussex. | 35 and 107. |
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| Irish Rifles. | 83 and 86. | Volunteers, Prince of Wales' Own. | 40 and 82. |
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| „ (West.) | 50 and 97. | Welch. | 41 and 69. |
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| „ (South.) | 40 and 82. | Worcester. | 29 and 36. |
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 New Brunswick Regiment, The. 1793-1802.
 iii. 106.
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 12.

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|--|-------|---|
| I. | 23. | Footnote 7, line 1. For 'Huw,' read 'Hew.' |
| | 34. | Line 27. For 'Ropal,' read 'Royal.' |
| | 48. | Last line but one. For 'fencibles,' read 'Fencible.' |
| | 54. | Line 6. For 'spent,' read 'spelt.' |
| | 121. | Note 5, line 3. For 'Apeley,' read 'Apsley.' |
| | 124. | Last line. For 'hands,' read 'lands.' |
| | 125. | Line 1. After 'FIRING' enter—" (i. 32.) " |
| | 126. | Reply 11, line 1. For 'p. 125,' read 'p. 122.' |
| | 214. | Under '1700,' line 2. After 'Horse,' for '1,' read '2.' |
| II. | 26. | Line 14. For 'No. 3,' read 'No. 2.' |
| | 58. | Question 93, last line but one. Omit last four words, " as it still has." |
| | 64. | Line 21. For 'Handimand,' read 'Haldimand.' |
| | 84. | Para. 3, last line. For 'Purden,' read 'Purdon.' |
| | 101. | Last line but 4. For 'Compnay,' read 'Company.' |
| | 106. | Question 107. Insert as title—' MARCH-STEPS OF LIGHT INFANTRY.' |
| | 107. | „ 112. Lance. At commencement of line 2, insert 'in.' |
| | 115. | The three lines of the heading should be deleted and the following substituted in their places:— |
| <p>SHORT BIOGRAPHIES.</p> <p>No. 1.—GENERAL SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, G.C.B.</p> <p>Compiled by Lieut. Colonel R. B. CROSSE, D.S.O.</p> | | |
| | 157. | Delete Question 135. |
| | 163. | Reply 87, last line but one. The three last words should read, 'Turner, <i>Pallas Armata</i> .' |
| | .. | Reply 88, line 10. For 'Ordinance,' read 'Ordnance.' |
| | 176. | Footnote. For '116,' read '115.' |
| | 180. | Line 1. For 'Strathlonge,' read 'Strath Tongue.' |
| III. | 99. | Note 57. Para. 3, line 4. Delete the last five words, and delete line 5. |
| | .. | Para. 4, line 1, should read ' the 75th, now 1st Battalion,' etc., and the second line should read ' the 85th, now the 2nd Battalion,' etc. |
| | 112. | Para. 3. Colonel Henry Disney's Regiment should read ' 20th Foot,' and not ' 26th.' |
| | 200. | Question 176, line 1. For 'p. 136,' read 'p. 106.' |
| | 207. | In line 12, for 'J. H. Tyrrell, Lieut.-Colonel,' read 'F. H. Tyrrell, Lieut.-General.' |

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| IV. | 15. | Para. 3, line 5. For 'Iaval,' <i>read</i> 'Naval.' |
| | „ | Footnote 3. For '60th,' <i>read</i> '69th,' and after '1782' add 'now (1925) represented by the 2nd Battalion, the Welch Regiment.' |
| | 58. | Footnote 3. For 'Traille,' <i>read</i> 'Traill.' |
| | 60. | Reply 159, line 2. After '102' insert ' ; iv. p. 10.' |
| | 71. | 'Armed and trayned Companies.' In last para., line 1 of Note, for 'IX' <i>read</i> 'L.II.' |
| | 128. | Footnote 4. For 'Hampshire,' <i>read</i> 'Worcestershire.' |
| | 138. | Reply 164, line 1. For 'Vol. II,' <i>read</i> 'Vol. III.' |
| | 228. | After 'Firelocks' insert 'Field-Marks and Field-Words. 10-1.' After 'Lace-Royal' insert 'Marks, Field. 10-1.' |
| | 229. | After 'Whitster,' insert 'Words, Field. 10.' |
| V. | 36. | Note 99, line 1. After 'II,' <i>delete</i> '29.' |
| | 68. | Fifty-third Foot. In line 2 of title <i>delete</i> 'OWN.' |
| | 141. | Reply 207, line 2. Insert inside end of bracket ' : v. 137.' |
| | 142. | Note 209, line 2. Add at end ' : iv. 18.' |
| | 144. | Reply 213, line 1. At end of bracket for '105,' <i>read</i> '195.' |
| | 218. | Red-hot shot. Insert '144,' before '206.' |
| | 219. | Badges. Add at end '137, 210.' |
| | „ | Colours to distinguish, etc. Add at end, '137, 210.' |
| | „ | St. George's Cross. For '136,' <i>read</i> '137.' |
| VI. | 51. | Note 125, para. 2. In last line but one, and in line 3, para 3, for 'Coldstreams' <i>read</i> 'Coldstream.' |
| | 97. | In line 16, for 'Ulster,' <i>read</i> 'Ulbster.' |
| | 118. | Note 141. In line 1 for 'Handhill,' <i>read</i> 'Handbill.' |
| | 190. | Question 256. In line 7, for 'March,' <i>read</i> 'Match.' |
| | 266. | Insert after 'Head and heeles together,' 'Henderson, Letter of Ensign James, giving account of General Wolfe's death. 1759. 188.' |

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