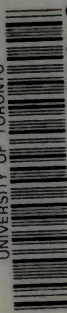


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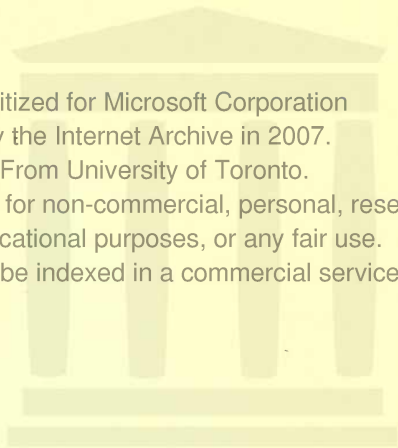
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NAPOLEON
AND THE INVASION
OF ENGLAND VOL. I



PLAYING at BUBBLES

GEORGE III AND NAPOLEON. THE HEROES OF THE GREAT TERROR

5633n

NAPOLEON AND THE INVASION OF ENGLAND THE STORY OF THE GREAT TERROR



BY H. F. B. WHEELER & A. M. BROADLEY
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS FROM
CONTEMPORARY PRINTS, CARICATURES, ETC.
EIGHT IN COLOUR. TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I

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TO
SIR GEORGE WHITE, BART. ;
OF COTHAM HOUSE, BRISTOL,
THE ROYAL AND FREE CITY
AGAINST WHICH
THE ATTACK OF THE "BLACK LEGION"
PLANNED BY HOCHÉ AND LED BY TATE
IN FEBRUARY, 1797,
WAS ORIGINALLY DIRECTED,
THESE VOLUMES
ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY THE AUTHORS
LONDON
JUNE 18TH
1907

INTRODUCTION

THE probabilities and possibilities of a successful foreign invasion of England by sea have afforded abundant occupation for political and polemical writers, as well as naval and military experts, ever since the first rumours of the approach of the Armada, called Invincible by its vainglorious contriver. If one takes the incursions of the two Stuart Pretenders in 1715 and 1745 out of the category of foreign invasions, very few of the many projected descents on our shores went further than the stage of preparation, while signal victories like that of La Hogue put an end for a lengthy period to what was looked on almost as a standing menace. During the first nine decades of the eighteenth century Louis XIV, XV, and XVI and their advisers were in turn, directly or indirectly, responsible for the hostile designs of 1708, 1718, 1722, 1745, 1755, 1756, 1759, 1779, and 1782, although Sweden, Spain, and Holland were in some instances adroitly made use of to further the aggressive policy of France. Tradition has, almost from time immemorial, played an important part in French diplomacy, and the invasion of England had come to be regarded in that light long before the birth of Napoleon or the first inception of those grandiose and elaborate plans of conquest which culminated in the Great Terror of 1796-1805. Defence associations, volunteering,

the calling out of the *posse comitatus*, camps of observation, and stirring appeals to arms, both in prose and verse, are in reality an inheritance of the Great Terror of 1588. They figure in the history of the greater part of the eighteenth century. Ralph Allen of Bath, the friend of Pope, whose favourite niece Gertrude Tucker had married Bishop Warburton, organized a local volunteer corps when the menaces of Louis the Well-Beloved and his *protégé* the Pretender took the place of the threats of Louis the Great.¹ Badges given by the commanding officers as rewards for efficiency are occasionally to be found in the cabinets of collectors, and equally interesting are the medals of the loyal associations formed for the

¹ "We hear that Ralph Allen Esq. of Widcomb near this City, intends to raise One Hundred Men, at his own Charge for the Service of his Majesty and the Nation, at this critical Juncture, when we are threatened with a powerful Invasion from abroad, and disturbed by a Rebellion at home. On Wednesday last Sixty Men (for the Purpose above mention'd) were sworn before John Cogswell, Esq: our present Mayor; And we are credibly informed that several Young Men in the neighbourhood intend to offer themselves, voluntarily, to compleat the body of Men the said Gentleman proposes to raise: They will be cloath'd, arm'd, and maintain'd at Mr. Allen's own Expence; their Cloath's to be Blue, turn'd up with Red, and they are now learning their Exercise, a Person of Experience, being lately come from London for that purpose." [*Bath Journal*, Monday, February 3, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$.]

And again:—

"On receiving the News Yesterday Morning of the precipitate Retreat of the Rebels from Stirling, on the Approach of the Army under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland the Mayor order'd the Bells to be immediately rung; about One-o'clock our Cannon were fir'd, and in the Evening some curious Fire Works were play'd off, on the Parade by order of Mr. Nash, amidst a very great Concourse of People. The Corporation assembl'd in the Evening at the Guildhall (which was illuminated) and drank several Loyal Healths. There was likewise a Ball at Mrs Wiltshire's for the Ladies and Gentlemen, and the Night concluded with great Joy among all Degrees of People.

"Mr. Allen's House at Widcomb was finely illuminat'd, a large Bonfire was made near it; and his Men, lately rais'd, fir'd several Vollies on the above Occasion." [*Bath Journal*, February 10, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$.]

defence of the country and the support of the House of Hanover at the critical epoch when France was actively aiding the Stuarts, and England and Austria were allied in the war occasioned by the dispute concerning the succession to the imperial throne. "Where Hearts are right, let Hands unite," is the inscription on the reverse of those tokens, while on the obverse one reads, "These banners spread are Gallia's dread." The heraldic supporters and colours of Austria and England appear on either side of an oval charged with a figure of St. George in the act of slaying the dragon, surmounted by that of Britannia, with the words "For our Country" on a scroll below. Within the first device are full-length portraits of the two monarchs with clasped hands. A superb enamel badge of this kind, elaborately set in exquisite paste, is still in existence, and was in all probability worn by the president of the Association.

We have, however, no present concern with the invasions of England attempted or projected prior to the Revolution, which, by the irony of fate, made the heirs of our would-be invaders our fast friends and allies, while their former subjects became our relentless foes. It is merely essential to correct the popular error which makes Napoleon the *fons et origo* of the invasion idea, which originated nearly two centuries before he saw the light, was rampant when he was still in the cradle, recurred in an acute form long after his death, and has a certain actuality at this very moment, when the revival of the Channel Tunnel scheme has already brought a new defence association into existence.

The story of the Great Terror, which for a whole decade turned "Merry England," Scotland, and Ireland

into one vast camp, has found little favour with English historical or military writers. Although dealt with incidentally and superficially in a vast number of works, no book devoted entirely to the subject has ever appeared. In 1852 the excitement born of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* was evidently responsible for Sir E. S. Creasy's *The Invasions and the Projected Invasions of England from the Saxon Times, with Remarks on the Present Emergencies*. Of the 312 pages it contains, only 61 tell the story of those eventful years when the "Corsican Ogre" was our national bogey. In 1876 appeared two bulky volumes by Captain H. M. Hozier, entitled *The Invasion of England; a History of the Past, with Lessons for the Future*. Ninety pages were deemed sufficient to dispose of the protracted duel between Napoleon and Nelson for the mastery of the sea, and they include a narrative of the three abortive expeditions to Ireland, and the landing at Fishguard in 1797 of Colonel Tate at the head of a band of felons and galley-slaves, dubbed by Wolfe Tone "La Légion Noire." Both books wholly lack an index of any kind, and their self-confessed and transparent incompleteness presents a striking contrast to the monumental work—a veritable *magnum opus*—which Captain Édouard Desbrière has given to France and the world at large under the title *1793-1805 Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques*. The five volumes from the pen of Captain Desbrière contain an aggregate of 2636 pages. Their publication under the direction of the "Historic Section of the French Staff" began in 1900 and ended in 1902. The illustrations are confined to a few plans and diagrams, and notwithstanding the graceful lucidity of the author's style, the mastering of the contents of these five closely printed

volumes is a task of considerable difficulty. Captain Desbrière has had access to official archives both in London and Paris, and his knowledge of English is supposed to have specially qualified him for an undertaking which was evidently a labour of love. It must be confessed that the text contains frequent and perplexing errors, many of which are doubtless attributable to the carelessness or inexperience of the proof-reader; but it is sometimes evident that the author himself lacks system and clearness, which is much to be regretted in what is beyond question a great and valuable contribution to the history not only of France, but of Europe at large. Proper names and place-names are frequently mutilated beyond recognition—e.g. we have Frey-Harock for Grays-Thurrock and Green-hill for Greenhithe; totals of troops refuse to tally—on one page it is a half-brigade, on the next the half has dropped out and the brigade paradoxically has become a whole one; and dates are often wrongly given owing to the puzzling intermixing of the Gregorian and Revolutionary calendars. An index should certainly have been provided for each volume. As it is, Desbrière, like Creasy and Hozier, has committed the capital error of dispensing with it altogether; but even this does not prevent our gratefully acknowledging the colossal industry, the patient research, the sound judgment, and the shrewdness of observation displayed by him during his four years' toil. Captain Desbrière always writes of England in a spirit of courtesy and conciliation.

The absence of English textbooks relating to the Great Terror is more than atoned for by the richness of other sources of information, many of them hitherto unknown and unexamined, from which the writers have endeavoured

to reconstitute as it were the political, military, naval, and social history of the crises of 1797-8, as well as those of 1801 and 1803-5. From the beginning of 1797 until the end of 1805 (if we except the brief respite given to men's minds on both sides of the Channel by the Peace of Amiens) the "to be or not to be" of the invasion was the all-absorbing and all-pervading topic of correspondence and conversations, and that from the palace to the cottage. It was an age of letter-writing, diary-keeping, and pamphleteering, and Napoleon's projects are constantly mentioned in the journals of women like Fanny Burney, then the wife of one of the French *émigrés*, Mary Berry, Hannah More, Hester Lynch Piozzi, and others. Elizabeth Montagu was alive in 1797, but her reign as Queen of the Blue Stockings was over. Bishops at their visitations; judges on the bench; politicians in both Houses of Parliament; preachers in their pulpits; dramatic authors in their plays; poets in their verses; actors on the stage; Freemasons in their lodges; magistrates at their county meetings; merchants on 'Change; shopkeepers at their counters; and labourers at the plough all held the same language as to the common danger. If some dissentient voices were heard in 1797-8 when the aftermath of the Revolution still lingered in the land, there was increased enthusiasm in the patriotism of 1801, and burning ardour coupled with absolute unanimity in that of 1803-5.

The writers have had access to many unpublished letters of the period, in which the great subject of the hour is discussed or alluded to by Fox and many of his English and French contemporaries. It has long been the fashion to decry the intelligence of George III, who at the time when the invasion cloud appeared most

threatening had passed the meridian of life, and was already subject to frequent attacks of the mental disease so soon to become permanent. During the Great Terror George III showed himself to be every inch a patriot, and he may fairly be credited with having personally suggested some of the most practical measures of defence. Neither he nor the Queen nor their sons and daughters ever tired of attending the reviews and military parades, which, between 1797 and 1805, were often of daily occurrence. Never did George III show the smallest sign of fear, although it was felt that his visit to Weymouth and excursions in the Channel were attended with personal risk, on account of the possible proximity of some of Napoleon's cruisers. His Majesty's letter to Bishop Hurd, dated Windsor, November 30th, 1803, only came to light in 1849, and is quite worth reprinting as one of the human documents of the later phase of the Great Terror. It runs as follows : " We are here in daily expectation that Bonaparte will attempt his threatened invasion ; the chances against his success seem so many that it is wonderful he persists in it. I own I place that thorough dependence on Divine Providence that I cannot help thinking the usurper is encouraged to make the trial that the ill-success may put an end to his wicked purposes. Should his troops effect a landing, I shall certainly put myself at the head of my troops and my other armed subjects to repel them.¹ But as it is impossible to foresee the events of such a conflict, should the enemy approach too near to Windsor, I shall think it right the Queen and my daughters should cross the Severn, and send them to your Episcopal Palace at Worcester ; by this hint I do not the least mean they shall

¹ George III was now in his sixty-sixth year.

be any inconvenience to you, and shall send a proper servant and furniture for their accommodation. Should this event arise, I certainly would rather have what I value most in life remain, during the conflict, in your diocese and under your roof than in any other place in the island.”¹ In May, 1797, three months after the Fishguard incident, an attempt was made to shake the loyalty both of the regular troops and the militia by the widespread distribution of a seditious circular.² At this juncture the King was in daily communication with his son the Commander-in-Chief,³ who also displayed the greatest activity in grappling with a danger, traced to the act of foreign emissaries. The following are examples of the numerous unpublished letters⁴ written by the King during this particular period of agitation.

“WINDSOR, *May 28th*, 1797.

m p^t A.M.

“MY DEAR FREDERICK,

“I highly approve of your attention in having wrote to me that Woolwich continues quiet and consequently no reason occurred for detaining the Coldstreams beyond the limits of this Field day.

“The idea of Marquis Cornwallis to remove one of the discontented Companies from the Barracks seems very proper provided it can be to some place where their conduct can be properly watched. Sir Charles Grey’s presence at Sheerness cannot be but proper and M. G. [Major General] Fox’s returning to Chatham where his presence

¹ Richard Hurd (1720–1808) had been preceptor to the Prince of Wales and Duke of York from 1776 till 1780. From 1774 till 1781 he held the bishopric of Lichfield, and in the latter year was translated to Worcester. In 1783 he declined the primacy. George III and Queen Charlotte visited him at Worcester in 1788. He was an intimate friend of both and enjoyed their entire confidence. ² See *post*, p. 203. ³ Frederick, Duke of York.

⁴ Mr. Broadley’s collection of MSS. relating to the Great Terror.

is necessary not less so ; in which case Colonel Fisher may have the momentary command at Sheerness. Major General Sheriff as he is well thought of by some Generals may undoubtedly be added to the staff in Sir W^m Pitts' district.

“ I ever remain

Your most affection father

“ GEORGE R.”

“ WINDSOR, *May* 29, 1797.

$\frac{m}{40}$ p^b 7 A.M.

“ MY DEAR FREDERICK,

“ I am happy to find things remain quiet at Woolwich, tho as yet no real confidence can be placed in it, and this must not abate the Attention of the Officers.

“ The having sent Colonel Nesbitt to Gravesend is a proper precaution, but undoubtedly he ought to have some Guns to command the passage of the River, without which he cannot ensure examining suspicious ships, that come up the River, or prevent the Lancaster from falling down to the Nore.¹

“ I ever remain,

Your most Affectionate Father

“ GEORGE R.”

Eleven months later the volunteer associations are in process of rapid formation. The King is busy signing warrants, but he again takes an opportunity to make suggestions, on this occasion to the Prime Minister.

“ I have lost no time in signing the warrants prescribed by Act of Parliament for the Defence of the Kingdom ;— these being drawn up in general words I think perfectly right, as otherwise with some to whom they are addressed enumerable [*sic*] correspondence would have arisen on

¹ The Mutiny of the Nore had broken out two days previously.

every trifling alteration the necessity of the Service might occasion. The Instructions which accompanied the Warrants seem judiciously drawn, as also the private instructions to the Board of Admiralty.

"It occurs to Me it would be highly necessary the Commanding General in each District should be informed as nearly as possible of the Naval force on his Coast, as the concurrence of the Navy might be frequently highly essential.

"GEORGE R.

"QUEEN'S HOUSE,

April 8th 1798 $\frac{m}{48}$ p^t 8 A.M."

I have lost no time in signing the Warrants prescribed by Act of Parliament for the Defence of the Kingdoms; these being drawn up in general Words I think perfectly right, as otherwise with some to whom they are a disagree'd, unnumber'd correspondence would have arisen on every trifling alteration the necessity of the Service might occasion. The Instructions which accompanied the Warrants seem judiciously drawn, as also the private Instructions to the Board of Admiralty.

It occurs to Me that it would be highly necessary the Commanding General in each District should be informed as nearly as possible of the Naval force on his Coast, as the concurrence of the Navy might be frequently highly essential.

Queen's House on 8th 1798. G. R.

Here is certainly a proposal of some real value. For a man of mature age, King George was at his desk at an unusually early hour.¹ The King throughout this interesting correspondence showed a keen appreciation of the relative value of every officer about whom he wrote.

Three years later he thus conveys a timely hint to the Commander-in-Chief as to the inexpediency of a proposed "command" for his nephew and future son-in-law, Prince William of Gloucester, the "Silly Billy" of contemporary satirists:—

"WEYMOUTH, *Sept.* 25, 1801.

"MY DEAR FREDERICK,

"The usual papers came this morning and the recommendations to vacant Commissions, which I approved of.

"Your statement in favour of Brigadier Scott makes his appointment to the Command of the Royal Somerset Regt^t of Fencibles on the death of Colonel Forbes very proper.

"I cannot say I very willingly would put Prince William in any Command where much tallents [*sic*] were required, but there is little probability of any attempt on the North West District that he will there be most out of the way.

"My dear Frederick,

"Your most affectionate Father,

"GEORGE R."²

Between the 17th and 20th September, 1805, Pitt had an interview with King George at the Royal Lodge, Weymouth. It is with this, the latest phase of the Great

¹ Another of his letters to the Commander-in-Chief at this juncture is dated "35 p 9 P.M.," and a third "50 m p 7 A.M."

² The correspondence between George III and the Duke of York, 1797-1805, was only quite recently sold pell-mell to various autograph dealers. Another letter of great importance bearing on the acute crisis of 1804 will be found in Vol. II, chap. xv.

Terror, that Thomas Hardy opens the first part of his wonderful dramatic poem *The Dynasts*. With rare skill he depicts the events which occur in rapid succession in Wessex, London, Paris, and Boulogne. The meeting at Weymouth of Pitt and the now purblind King is thus related:—

KING.

We've had alarms
Within this few weeks past, as you may know,
That Bonaparte has landed close hereby.

PITT.

Such rumours come as regularly as harvest.

KING.

And now he has left Boulogne with all his host.
Was it his object to invade at all,
Or was his vast assemblage here a blind?

PITT.

Undoubtedly he meant invasion, Sir,
Had fortune favoured. He may try it yet.

On the 4th October, a fortnight later, the Royal Family left Weymouth, and returned to Kew. The King no longer wrote legibly as he did in 1798, and even in 1803. Four days before Trafalgar he thus writes to Lord Mulgrave:—¹

“KEW, *October 17, 1805.*

“The information by the mail just arrived is so important that Lord Mulgrave has judged very properly in instantly communicating it, though at an irregular hour. The violence of Bonaparte is highly advantageous to the good cause, and probably has effected a decision in the line to be pursued by the King of Prussia that will be more efficacious than the interview with the Emperor of Russia would have produced without it.

“GEORGE R.”

¹ The three letters are in Mr. Bradley's collection of MSS.

Dear October 17. 1805.

The information received by the Mail just arrived is so important that Lord Malborough has judged it proper to communicate it through me to you. The victory of Bonaparte is highly advantageous to the good cause and probably has effected a division in the heart of the Emperor by the loss of Prussia that will be many thousands of men. The interview with the Emperor of Prussia would have produced without it.

George

Only a few hours later Mack signed the capitulation of Ulm; four days afterwards Nelson died at Trafalgar, having by a great naval victory once again saved England from the possibility of invasion in the near future, and virtually freed her from the shadow of the Great Terror.

Many of the unpublished letters which are referred

to in the text are scarcely less interesting than those of King George. We have Richard Cumberland composing a song to stimulate the patriotism of the volunteers, Charles James Fox discussing the real object of Bonaparte's movements with his brother the General, Mrs. Piozzi giving her views as to the remuneration of our naval protectors, and Bruix making an appointment for the purpose of examining a torpedo newly invented by Fulton, and so forth. It is but quite recently that the Fishguard despatches of Lords Milford and Cawdor were found in the shop of a Birmingham curiosity dealer. They will be reproduced in the chapter which relates the almost farcical prologue to the ambitious dreams of Bonaparte and the later evolutions of the Army of England.

By far the most important source of information, now utilized for the first time, is the MS. *Memoirs on the Defence of Great Britain and Ireland*, compiled in 1803 and 1804 by General Charles François Dupérier Dumouriez, in many respects one of the ablest and most far-seeing statesmen and soldiers whose latent powers were developed by the exigencies of the French Revolution. Although Dumouriez outlived Napoleon, he was thirty years his senior. If they had been contemporaries, the course of European history might have been very different. As it was, few Frenchmen hated "the Corsican upstart" more intensely than the man who was Governor of Cherbourg while the future Emperor was still a child. Dumouriez broke with the Convention in the very year which witnessed the arrival in France of Bonaparte and the other members of his family as unknown and obscure Corsican refugees. There was little in Napoleon's leadership of his ultra-democrat compatriots against the Paolists to betoken the prowess

he was to display a few months later as Commandant of the Artillery of the Army of the South. The two men were never fated to meet face to face in the arena of practical politics. If they had ever come in contact, a death-struggle for the supreme power between the victor of Jemappes and the winner of Marengo and Austerlitz would have been inevitable. Born at Cambrai in 1739, Dumouriez endured for some years the tortures which in those days fell to the lot of a rickety child. He was released from the heavy metal frame used to support his emaciated limbs only just in time to save his life. Before he reached man's estate, however, he could bear any amount of fatigue, and he became as robust in body as he was alert in mind. He had won name and fame in the Seven Years' War, and had seen a whole decade of active service before in 1768, the year which immediately preceded Napoleon's birth, he went through the Corsican campaign under Marshal de Vaux, whom he regarded not only as his leader, but as his friend and patron. In 1772 a suspicion of secret relations with Poland and Hamburg entailed on Dumouriez a lengthy period of detention in the Bastille. During the years 1774, 1775, and 1776 he was the head of an official mission to examine and report upon the Channel harbours and their defences. In 1775 it was Dumouriez who selected Cherbourg in preference to Havre as the great naval centre of the future, and he was almost immediately entrusted with the superintendence of the necessary works there. In 1777 he was appointed Commandant of Cherbourg, and in the following year entered on the active discharge of his functions in that capacity. It was at this juncture that he planned hostile expeditions against the

Channel Islands and the Isle of Wight. In 1790 Dumouriez became an active politician, and joined the ranks of the Girondists. His published pamphlets were as bellicose and highly flavoured as his speeches, but speedily led to promotion, and the dashing captain of the Seven Years' War became first Minister of Foreign Affairs and then Général en Chef des Armées Françaises. Over the death of the king Dumouriez fell out with his former political friends, who denounced him as a traitor. Shortly after the battle of Neerwinden—his only defeat—he went over to the Austrians, and never more set foot on French soil. In 1794 the *Vie Privée et Politique du Général Dumouriez, Pour servir de suite à ses Mémoires* was published at Hamburg, where six years later he met Nelson on his way to England. Between 1793 and 1803 he wandered from Court to Court as the propagandist of Bourbon restoration. That he was a philosopher and deep thinker as well as a born general and one of the greatest military experts of the warlike age in which he lived is abundantly evident from his numerous published works, and still more so from the MS. commenced late in 1803 and completed in May, 1804. In the pages of this MS. the author frankly alludes to himself as a former "Commander of Cherbourg," an "Overseer of the Harbour Works of Cherbourg," an officer of the French army under Louis XV and XVI, a protégé of the Marshal de Vaux, an Assistant Q.M.G. under Marshal de Vaux in 1779, a refugee in England in 1803, and "a counsellor to the English Government and Adviser to the Staff." In 1804 no other man alive in any way answered to these detailed and explicit indications but Charles Francis Dumouriez.

Some three years ago a thick octavo volume of carefully written MS., bound in stout vellum and provided with a metal clasp, found its way into the shop of a well-known London second-hand bookseller. The description given of it in the catalogue was insufficient and somewhat misleading, but the present owner has no difficulty in identifying it with the work for the preparation of which the author received for just twenty years a pension of at least £1000 per annum from the British Government. From the first word to the last the MS. is, without the shadow of a doubt, in the peculiarly characteristic and easily recognizable handwriting of Dumouriez, which varied little during the last forty years of his life, and of which numerous specimens are available for the purpose of comparison. The calligraphy of the *Memoirs*, begun probably under the auspices of Addington and finished after the return to office of Pitt, is absolutely identical to that of a very remarkable letter written to Nelson by Dumouriez, in English, from Altona on the 20th April, 1801, which was sold by Messrs. Sotheby on the 8th July, 1905. Dumouriez was a linguist of no mean order, and the missive in question demonstrates the fact that he possessed a very sufficient knowledge of our language before he began his twenty years of continuous residence on British soil. "My dear and glorious Nelson," wrote the illustrious exile, "Victory is ever bounded [*sic*] to your name, as my friendship to your character. I hope the Peace with the Northern Powers will give another turn to your constant successes, more profitable for the public cause. Paul's foolish brain destroyed our hopes, they revive with the successor. If you have the charge of the Mediterranean Sea, we can together deliver Italy and France of the democratic

Conclusion.

25

Au reste il est temps de couper le cheveu qui tient le glaive de Buonaparte suspendu sur l'Angleterre. Il est temps de faire cesser cet état d'anxiété qui concentre dans cet empire d'immenses moyens de guerre, qui comprime l'énergie nationale, qui la laisse exposée en spectacle à l'inquiète curiosité des puissances continentales, sans amener aucun résultat utile sans déterminer la fin de cette guerre.

Rien n'est plus dangereux qu'une perpétuelle défensive. Rien n'offre un champ plus vaste aux attaques de toute espèce, rapprochées, ou éloignées, de la part de l'ennemi. On veut bien croire que chaque année ajouterait un degré de perfection, s'il était pas dans la nature de l'homme de décroître en énergie, lorsqu'elle a été d'abord poussée au plus haut point, et lorsqu'elle se mouisse par une trop longue attente.

Mais au bout du compte, quand on aurait perfectionné les mesures prises pour la sûreté de la Patrie, à quoi aboutirait cette éternelle guerre défensive, dont la longueur pourrait endormir, ou attédir l'énergie nationale, et qui continuerait à donner à l'Empire Britannique l'attitude humiliante d'une place assiégée par une armée moins forte que sa garnison? Quelle confiance pourraient reprendre les puissances du Continent, si ce système, qui ressemble à la peur, se prolongeait, si cet armement exagéré et ruineux ne devenait dangereux.

tyranny. I desire nothing else. After that, take your leave, and spend the remnant of your life in the calmness shadowed with the laurels you for yourself implant'd. Farewell, dear Nelson, and be constant in friendship as you are in triumphing of [over] internal foes and external enemys."

Seven years before John Gillray had portrayed the future friend of Nelson and "Counsellor of England" as dining at St. James's Palace on May 15th, 1793, the *plat de résistance* being the head and battered crown of Louis XVIII served up by Fox and Sheridan, both wearing Phrygian caps adorned with tricolour cockades. The founder of Cherbourg had evidently been held responsible for one of the earliest post-French Revolution invasion panics. In 1803 and 1804 Dumouriez, Fox, and Sheridan were all three to be found amongst the most eloquent and stalwart champions of English national defence and war to the knife with the "democratic tyrant" now on the high road to the imperial throne.

References will be frequently found in the text to the remarkable essay of Dumouriez, who during the time he was compiling it was constantly in communication with the Duke of York and Lords Melville and Camden. It is hoped, however, that the whole of the MS. will, as it richly deserves, be carefully translated and edited for publication as a supplemental volume to the present work. The high character, transcendent ability, and exceptional position of Dumouriez demands it, and assuredly there is no other instance in history of the Foreign Minister of one country, and that within twelve years of his having held the office, living to draw up in every detail a scheme for the defence of the country of which he

once planned the invasion. Sir John Bowring, who was Dumouriez's literary executor and the composer of the Latin epitaph in Henley Church, so unpardonably misquoted by the General's German biographer, tells us¹ that "Dumouriez died on 2nd March, 1823, at Turville Park, aged eighty-four, his last days having been made comfortable by an allowance from the Duke of Orleans, which enabled him to keep a carriage. The General had, I believe, a pension of £1000 a year from the British Government, with whom he was in intimate communication, and *for whom he drew up a plan of defence against the menaced French invasion. At his death his papers were purchased by the Government from his executors.*" As far as can be ascertained, there is no trace of another copy of the whole or any portion of the MS., to which the author made additions in 1805, 1806, and 1808, either in the Record or War Offices.² Shrewdness and common sense are the characteristics of Dumouriez's deductions and observations. Much that he writes is prophetic, and, like his anticipation of Napoleon's attack on Austria, strangely verified by subsequent events. It was in May, 1804, that Dumouriez wrote: "It is time for England to cut the thread that holds the sword of Bonaparte above her head. Nothing is so demoralizing as an everlasting defensive. It may be thought that every year would add to the perfection of the measures taken, but it is in human nature to grow less and less energetic, seeing that the first enthu-

¹ *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring, with a brief Memoir of L. N. Bowring*, pp. 307 *et seq.* London, 1877.

² Fragments of Dumouriez's memoranda on the defence of England exist in the library of the Secretary of State for War. See *Napoleonic Studies*, by J. Holland Rose, Litt.D. London, George Bell, 1904.

siastic effort always calls forth the highest degree of that energy. Unless England proceeds to attack she will present the spectacle of a place beleaguered by a weaker force than its own garrison. This will be tantamount to cowardice, and could not inspire the continental powers with confidence. The defensive power is unwieldy, costly, and even dangerous. It will not make Bonaparte abate one jot of his pretensions and projects; it is out of proportion with the danger of the invasion, which 200,000 men could repel with the help of a Navy which alone can meet all the navies of the world collected together. No doubt England had to reach the offensive *viâ* the defensive, but let it be clearly understood that if from this year [1804] an attack does not supersede defence, then his chances will be very much increased." It was to some purpose that Nelson strongly impressed on the British Government the wisdom of utilizing the knowledge of Dumouriez.

In the *Histoire de la Caricature sous la République, l'Empire et la Restauration*, by Champfleury,¹ ample justice is done to the powerful influence on English public opinion exercised by such artists as Gillray and Rowlandson throughout the Great Terror, although, curiously enough, comparatively little notice is taken of the elder Cruikshank, Woodward, and the other artists, great and small, who made the Corsican Ogre and his flotilla the target of their satire. It was to James Gillray that Napoleon owed the *sobriquet* "Little Boney," which will be remembered when the innumerable abusive and depreciative epithets so freely bestowed on our redoubtable adversary are forgotten. "Gillray fut," observes the French historian of caricature, "un véritable excitateur, un remueur de fibres

¹ Vol. IV, pp. 247-397. Paris, n. d.

patriotiques, et son nom devrait être donné à une des rues avoisinant la place où se profile la statue de Wellington." The phrase is so particularly happy and appropriate that it would lose half its force by translation. Champfleury places Gillray above Rowlandson, who so frequently defeated the object he had in view by gross exaggeration of form and features. There are comparatively few French invasion caricatures in existence,¹ but the German artists, it will be seen, showed Napoleon little more mercy than Gillray and Rowlandson. For the last two decades of the eighteenth century and the first two of the nineteenth the caricature was a national institution in England. Throughout the Great Terror the satiric prints exhibited in the shop windows of Humphrey in St. James's Street, Fores in Piccadilly, Ackermann in the Strand, and Holland's Museum in Oxford Street, and freely lent out in portfolios for inspection at evening parties, served to intensify the general detestation of our foreign foe and stimulate the spirit of patriotism and dogged determination to resist *à l'outrance* which animated every class of the community. If one learns much of the political side of the Great Terror from Pitt, Rose, Fox, Windham, and the rest of the statesmen of the period, for its side-lights and social aspect, one must go to the pages of Wright and Grego and private collections like that to which the present writers have had access. The ballad and the broadside proved quite as useful in the same direction as the caricature; and, as might be expected, the invasion had its own songs, song-books, and song writers, as well as its own jests, toasts,

¹ One of these, however, not only foreshadows the invasion by tunnel idea of 1883, but that by aeroplane as foreshadowed in 1907.

and sentiments.¹ If it has been reserved for the namesake of one of the sturdiest sailors of Trafalgar times to describe in dramatic form, but with true poetic feeling, the fall of the curtain on Napoleon's cherished dream of conquering England, most of the poets of the period made use of the menaced invasion to "improve the occasion," although the birthday and New Year odes of "Poet" Pye and the additional verses to the National Anthem and "Rule Britannia," thoughtfully provided by Miss Anna Seward and others, have long since lost their savour. These remarks will explain the *raison d'être* of the chapters in which the popular literature in prose as well as in verse and the pictorial satire both of the earlier and later phases of the Great Terror are dealt with at length.

The works of Creasy and Hozier on the subject of the invasion of England were each written at a time when the question of national defence was pre-eminently the topic of the hour, although we were neither in 1852 or in 1876 once more singing—

Thou Who rul'st sea and land,
Stretch forth Thy guardian hand,
Potent to save !
Lead forth our monarch's host
And proud invasion's boast
Crush on our warlike coast—
God save the King.

¹ *Account of Gillray's Caricatures*, by Wright and Evans, London, 1851 ; *England under the House of Hanover*, by Wright, 1849 ; and *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, by Joseph Grego, 1880. The two elder Cruikshanks, both of them volunteers, were already hard at work in the early days of the Great Terror. George Cruikshank's earliest works appeared in 1803, but (see *post*, p. 244) he published in 1860 a crushing retort to General Sir W. Napier's animadversions on the old corps as "Mimic Soldiers."

The pamphlet of General Sir Charles Napier on *The Defence of England by Corps of Volunteers and Militia*, which appeared in the same year (1852) as Sir E. Creasy's book, was the signal for an avalanche of ephemeral brochures emphasizing in some shape or other Coleridge's saying: "If men could learn from history, what lessons it might teach us." Captain Hozier placed on the title page of his first volume the words, "The cry is still they come"; while on that of the second he inscribes the lines: "Happy England!—happy with a special reference to the present subject in this, that the wise dispensation of Providence has cut her off by that streak of silver sea." If he had chosen he might have substituted Coleridge's charming lines—

And Ocean, 'mid his uproar wild,
Speaks safety to his island child.
Hence for many a fearless age
Has social quiet loved thy shore;
Nor ever proud invader's rage
Or sacked thy towers, or stained thy fields with gore—

for the more prosaic prose of the *Edinburgh Review*.

The centre of menace may now have shifted itself from Paris to Berlin, but this has only been since the accession of King Edward VII. At the commencement of the century the invasion tradition of the Bourbons and the Bonapartes still held good at the Quai d'Orsay, along with certain other hereditary diplomatic dogmas which it may now be devoutly hoped have been finally cast aside. The immediate consequences of the revival of the Channel Tunnel project, however, abundantly show that the possibilities of an invasion of England from the Continent are still very much within the sphere of practical politics. The reopening of the controversy laid to rest in 1883 is no

sooner mooted than the war of words becomes fiercer than ever. Sir James Knowles once more unfurls the standard of uncompromising resistance, which, like William Pitt's map of Europe, has been rolled up "these ten years"; all sorts and conditions of men and women, from Lord Wolseley to Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake, sound the shrill note of alarm; and while the shareholders of one great railway company applaud the idea as a benefit to the human race, those of another denounce it as dangerous and destructive to England's safety. One has only to read the issue of *The Nineteenth Century and After* for February last to realize the extent and intensity of the interest centred in everything which relates to the inviolability of our territory. Indeed, if the cry about the unprotected condition of our northern and eastern coasts may be taken as an indication, it seems likely that the question of the sufficiency or otherwise of our home defences will arrest public attention as urgently in 1907 as it did in 1807 and indeed in 1707. There is something strangely reminiscent of Napoleonic times in the verses now quoted from a poem which lately appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

When men stood anxious at their posts,
 Whilst women sobbed alone ;
 When Fear gazed darkly o'er our Land,
 The Fear we dared not own :
 The windward sandbanks did their task,
 The shoals upon their lee—
 Who saved us from the Corsican ?
 They !—and our sullen Sea !

Loud roars the Watcher of our shores,
 The Stiller of Alarm !
 The narrow, sand-strewn, storm-swept Straits
 That guard us from all harm !

Spirit of sandbank, surf, and spume,
 And spindrift driven free—
 Save us this day, from those, we pray,
 Who would betray our Sea !

During the Great Terror Charles Dibdin was the laureate of the people. The important post now held by Mr. Alfred Austin was occupied by Mr. Henry James Pye, who rarely failed to introduce the subject of the invasion into his official odes. The following may fairly be taken as a specimen of his art. Quoth the "British Muse":—

Go forth, my sons, as nobler rights ye claim
 Than ever fann'd the Grecian patriot's flame,
 So let your breasts a fiercer ardour feel,
 Led by your Patriot King, to guard your country's weal.

Her voice is heard—from wood, from vale, from down,
 The thatch'd roof village and the busy town,
 Eager th' indignant country swarms,
 And yours a people clad in arms
 Num'rous as those whom Xerxes led,
 To crush devoted Freedom's head ;
 Firm as the band for Freedom's cause who stood,
 And stained Thermopylee [*sic*] with Spartan blood ;
 Hear o'er their heads the exulting Goddess sing :
 These are my fav'rite sons, and mine their warrior King.

The rhyming inanities of those days have long since become things of the past. They have disappeared as completely as the flat-bottom boats and the rest of the complicated machinery which was intended to bring Napoleon and his army—"Gallia's hosts," in the language of Mr. Pye—across the Channel. Although there is no longer a demand for the verses which taxed so severely the resources of Cibber, Whitehead, Warton, and Pye, and the

skill of the unfortunate composers who had to set their effusions to music, the Poet Laureate is still occasionally called upon to strike his lyre. This has already happened as far as the Channel Tunnel is concerned, and Mr. Alfred Austin disposes of the whole matter by repeating three lines written by him just a quarter of a century ago:—

Nay, England, if thy citadel be sold
For lucre thus, Tarpeia's doom be thine,
And perish smothered in a grave of gold.

Be the ultimate decision what it may, it is evident that the story the writers have to tell possesses an interest which regards the present and the future quite as much as it does the past. They prefer, however, to leave the reader to draw his own deductions from the facts which they venture to think throw a new light not only on Napoleon's projected invasions of England, but on the social and political life of the age to which they belong.

The writers desire to express their gratitude to Sir George White, Bart., of Cotham House, Bristol, for permission to use a contemporary water-colour sketch and MS. song of the Bristol Volunteers of 1797 as well as a rare broadside relating to the military history of the city at that period; to Dr. J. Holland Rose, the latest and greatest of Napoleon's biographers, and Commander Robinson, R.N., the author of *The British Fleet*, for many valuable suggestions; to Mr. H. H. Raphael, M.P., for access to the magnificent collection of engraved portraits formed by him in illustration of the *Memoirs of Barras*; to Mr. Clement Shorter for placing at their disposal his interesting series of invasion handbills, carefully preserved more than a century ago by Madame Tussaud; to Mr.

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NAPOLEON
AND THE INVASION
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NAPOLEON AND THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

EARLY PROJECTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC FOR THE
INVASION OF THE BRITISH ISLES, 1793-7—ENGLAND
ON THE DEFENSIVE

“He that would England win
Must with Ireland first begin.”—OLD PROVERB.

AN inveterate and exceeding bitter hatred of England was for generations the legacy of every son of France. It was the one connecting link between the *ancien régime* and its successor which was never severed. Napoleon Bonaparte, the apotheosis of the Revolution, in whose person was summed up that vague political creed which set human life at naught and regarded Europe as one great battle-field, was no exception. And yet to England the future Emperor owed accidentally his first step to fame. At the siege of Toulon she gave him a golden opportunity which he grasped, but ever after she dogged his footsteps on land and sea. The genius of England always stood on his threshold, be it palace or camp; she was always in the way.

Given an island and a narrow sea separating it from a continent, the instinct of the soldier on the larger territory prompts its invasion. The precedent set 55 B.C. by Cæsar,

who embarked his legions at Portus Itius, supposed by some historians to be Calais, and by others Wissant, between that port and Boulogne, was followed down the centuries by other enterprising individuals representing both official and private interests. Perhaps a modern Froissart will yet pen the chronicles of the innumerable expeditions fitted out with the object of plundering the British Isles. Suffice to say that Louis XVI had contemplated invasion, and that before the infant French Republic declared war against Holland and England in 1793, Monge, the Minister of Marine, sent a note to the Jacobins of all countries and to the inhabitants of the seaports of France urging them to a final effort. Ireland was grumbling over her numerous real or fancied grievances; the storm which ended in the Rebellion of '98 was brewing. "Already these free men show their discontent," writes Monge on the last day of 1792. "Well, we will fly to their succour. We will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren; the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea."¹

Plant, plant the tree, fair freedom's tree,
Midst dangers, wounds, and slaughter;
Each patriot's breast its soil shall be,
And tyrants' blood its water.²

¹ Quoted by Pitt in his speech in the House of Commons on February 1st, 1793.

² Chorus of a song used by those who had republican tendencies, and which took the place of "God save the King." It will be found in the Appendix, No. XXVII, to the Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the Irish House of Commons, presented by Lord Castlereagh on the 21st August, 1798.

Dumouriez, that impetuous, but able and far-sighted, soldier of fortune, who was in turn Constitutionalist, Girondist, Jacobin, and supporter of the British Ministry, having conquered Belgium after a brilliant campaign, was the man of the moment in Paris. He had already prepared plans for the invasion of England in the winter of 1777-8,¹ consequently his ideas on the proposed expedition carried considerable weight. He saw that by subjugating Holland her naval resources would be at the disposal of the Republic. So glittering a prospect could not be resisted. On January 13th, 1793, the Convention accordingly ordered the armament of thirty ships and the construction of twenty-five more, while the total number of troops was to be increased to half a million, 227,000 of whom, consisting of the armies of Belgium, the Moselle, the Rhine, and of "England," were to act on the offensive.² There was at first no plan for coast defence. Later some twenty thousand men were assigned for the purpose, for it was thought not unlikely that the British might turn the tables on them and land soldiers on French soil. With the breaking out of the Vendean rebellion faded away all

¹ The objective was to be the Isle of Wight, which was then in a poor state of defence, the greater part of the English army being in America. Several thousands of French troops were to be concentrated at Cherbourg, and on a dark November night embark on two hundred *chasse-martees*, thirty of which were to be armed with 24-pounders. French or English smugglers would pilot them across the Channel. This expedition was but the beginning of a general campaign, for in 1779 the Spanish and French fleets were to join forces and proceed to Portsmouth with seventy thousand men, who would either land there and march on London, leaving the original force to attack the naval arsenal, or sail round to carry out the great plan of "a descent on Rye." The preparations for carrying out these schemes are said to have cost eighty million francs.—Dumouriez MS., pp. 27-37.

² *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques*, Vol. I, p. 21, by Édouard Desbrière.

chances of putting the idea to a practical test. The troops which had marched to the coasts for that purpose were promptly sent to the recalcitrant provinces.

Hostilities between France and Great Britain had now begun, war being declared against the latter Power and Holland on the 1st February, 1793, closely followed by equally drastic measures against Spain on the 7th March. Pitt, who had just completed the tenth year of his unbroken spell of office, shortly afterwards entered into an alliance with Russia, followed by others with Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Prussia, the Empire, and Portugal. Revolutionary France had not a single friend, Denmark and Sweden remaining neutral. It was the policy of the British Minister to set a seal on the friendship of foreign countries by paying heavy subsidies when necessary, the allies fighting in the interior of Europe, aided by whatever troops the non-military Power could put in the field, and her navy narrowly watching the seas. At the beginning of the war which was to be waged so relentlessly, England had a hundred and fifteen sail-of-the-line and France seventy-six;¹ Spain also had seventy-six, of which twenty were the worse for repair; Holland boasted forty-nine; Portugal had six, and Naples four.² This array would appear very formidable and imposing, but the navies of Spain and Holland were in a condition of decay, both as regards seamen and actual material strength. There was also an appalling lack of morale in the French service. Mutiny was frequent; everything was in a deplorable state, men and ships, stores and administration. Money was lacking as well as provisions and clothing. Chaos reigned supreme, the wages

¹ *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, Vol. I, p. 75, by Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

of systematic neglect. The mad frenzy of the people for equality had removed many of the best officers, and the opinion of the ordinary seaman carried almost as much weight as that of the commander. The dry rot which set in was not entirely eradicated under the influence of Napoleon, and for years the French navy continued to pay the price of a purely theoretical belief that patriotism was the alpha and omega of statesmanship.

The defeat of the fearless Royalist peasants of La Vendée at Savenay¹ encouraged the Convention to an expedition against the Channel Islands, but the smoking flax of civil war was not quenched, and soon broke into flame again. English squadrons also appeared off the coasts and a small engagement took place near Havre. It remained for General Hoche,² Bonaparte's most formidable rival, to propose and organize a definite and infinitely more comprehensive plan of action. This was in 1796, by which time the Batavian Republic³ [Holland], Prussia, Sweden, and Spain had come to terms with France, to be followed in October by Naples; Pitt had also made overtures for peace, but without success. Three years before, Hoche had approached the Committee of Public Safety with an offer to carry over an army to England in trading vessels.

¹ December 23rd, 1793.

² Hoche, Lazare (1768-97), the son of the keeper of the royal staghounds at Montreuil. Having successfully pacified La Vendée and Brittany, and proved successful at Quiberon, he was appointed to the command of the expedition against Ireland (see *post*, p. 7) which left Brest on December 15th, 1796. His victories over the Austrians in the spring of the following year were only arrested by the peace of Leoben (April 19th, 1797). Five months later he died at the age of twenty-nine.

³ On the conquest of the United Provinces by France in 1795, the Stadholder took refuge in England, and the country was constituted the Batavian Republic. The States-General at once formed a close alliance with France.

“I want neither place nor rank! I’ll be the first to tread the soil of these political brigands!”¹ In this later and saner effort the protection of the coasts by means of gun-boats constantly cruising to and fro was to be his first care, followed by an attack on Jersey and Guernsey, and a *chouannerie* carried on in England. Hoche’s attention was again diverted, and it was not until he had earned for himself the title of “the peacemaker of La Vendée” that he was able to give further attention to the matter. By this time General Humbert² had taken up the cause of Irish independence, which Hoche supported enthusiastically. They went apace with the preparations. Six small vessels and a similar number of transports were placed at their disposal, and arms were provided for several hundred jail birds whom they proposed to release from the prison at Brest. An “independent legion” of fifteen hundred men was also recruited, but at the last moment the newly elected Directory cancelled everything, and turned a more willing ear to the proposal of Lieutenant Muskeyn, whose experience in the navigation and strategy of small craft such as might be of service in crossing the Channel was considerable. By birth a Fleming, he had seen service as naval lieutenant with the Swedes in their war against the Russians.³ He repaired to Dunkirk and set about forming a flotilla. Yarmouth and Newcastle were to be the objec-

¹ Desbrière, I, p. 31.

² Jean Joseph Amable Humbert (b. 1767) was the son of a small farmer. He became a volunteer at the outbreak of the French Revolution, and eventually secured the command of his regiment. He was appointed General of Brigade in 1794. After considerable experience in La Vendée he became senior officer of the “Legion of France” which sailed with Hoche in the Bantry Bay Expedition of 1796. — See *Studies in Irish History and Biography*, pp. 257-8, by C. Litton Falkiner.

³ Desbrière, I, p. 71.

tives in this new plan, with the Humber¹ as an alternative should it be more easy of access. Beginning with some likelihood of success so far as actually leaving port was concerned, it gradually dropped out like the rest. Twenty-two gunboats were built, and eight troopships secured for the transport of five thousand infantry, but so great was the repugnance of the soldiers to the voyage in small boats that in two days no fewer than six hundred men deserted. An attempt to get under weigh was certainly made, but in such unpropitious weather that one of the vessels sank in sight of the shore.

His rival's preparations having ended so ignominiously, Hoche again came forward, and was able to enlist the sympathies of Truguet, the new Minister of Marine. On June 23rd, 1796, the General was informed by the Directory that it relied upon him to put the plans previously matured into execution. The despatch of a relief expedition to the Irish patriots was to be the signal for an armed rising by them, the arrangements being in the hands of the Society of United Irishmen, the leaders of which, having formed themselves into a Junta (Directory), had entered into negotiations for French assistance to enable the thousands of men they represented to cast off the English yoke.² The communication averred that the independence of Ireland would cause England to lose her naval supremacy, but it frankly admitted that the French

¹ "Rivers are difficult and dangerous for landing, because they can be easily defended, and the land is less open and gives scope for more batteries. The wind which brought a flotilla would also allow the defenders' squadron to sail up."—Dumouriez MS., p. 8.

² The Society of United Irishmen was formed at Belfast in 1791. The Junta consisted of five members, Lord Edward FitzGerald, O'Connor, Emmet, McNeven, and Bond.

Marine was still under a cloud, and three small expeditions only could be fitted out. A flotilla was to take five thousand picked men and land them on the coast of Connaught, if possible in Galway Bay, and then proceed at once to the East Indies. This force was to sail in six weeks, and ten thousand muskets were to be stowed away for the use of the Irish. By the 1st September, 1796, a second expedition was to be ready at Brest, with a complement of six thousand independent troops, including some ex-Chouans and a sprinkling of "undesirables"; while a third expedition from Holland, with a force of five thousand men, chiefly foreign deserters under French officers, was to augment the former.

So vague a method of warfare did not appeal to Hoche, who drew up a more business-like scheme after a conference with Wolfe Tone and E. J. Lewens, the accredited agents in Paris of the Irish Junta. Experiencing some discouragement, the General finally went to Brest and found the ships there in a disgraceful condition. Lorient was little better, and Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, who had been appointed Naval Commander of the fleet, Hoche being in supreme authority, was forced to leave three ships out of five in that port when he wished to take them to Brest. Villaret-Joyeuse still looked upon the Irish part of the cruise as a mere episode, and prepared for a voyage to the East Indies, which Hoche most vigorously opposed, and he soon secured the Admiral's dismissal. He was succeeded by Admiral Morard de Galles, whose previous record would have fitted him well for the task had he not been both aged and infirm. Almost on the eve of departure the Directory decided that as a British squadron of fifteen sail-of-the-line under Admiral Colpoys was cruising

in the Channel, it would be wise to make use of five ships which had recently returned to Rochefort from North America. These were brought to Brest under the command of Admiral Richery, but were in so rickety a condition that two only were found to be serviceable, and even these needed repairs. Villeneuve was expected with five ships from Toulon, and Spanish help was also anticipated, but neither was utilized.¹ The total military force under Hoche now consisted of some fourteen thousand men, forming a vanguard, a main body, a rearguard, and a supplementary body. With the vanguard sailed Admiral Bouvet in the frigate *Immortalité*, with Grouchy in military command, and included Richery's two ships. Hoche and Admiral Morard de Galles went with the main body in the frigate *Fraternité*. The rearguard was under Admiral Nielly. Seventeen sail-of-the-line, thirteen frigates, five corvettes, six transports, and two "flutes" comprised the French fleet—a notable armament had the crews been of full strength and the officers well trained.

The day before sailing Hoche issued a proclamation to his troops.² It contains less rodomontade than is to be found in the addresses of most Republican generals, but it is worthy of note that he had previously circulated "official" statements to the effect that his troops were destined for Portugal, copies of which were in the hands of the British authorities and put them off their guard. The following was printed at Pau, nearly two hundred miles from Brest.³

¹ Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 348. By the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, signed on the 19th August, 1796, Spain concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with France. In the following October Spain declared war against Great Britain.

² *Popular Songs, Illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland*, part iii, p. 13, edited by T. Crofton Croker (Percy Society, 1847). ³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

*“To the French Army destined to Assist the Irish
Revolution.”*

“Republicans,

“Proud of having made you victorious on many occasions, I have obtained permission from Government to lead you to fresh successes. To command you is to be assured of victory.

“Eager to give back liberty to a people worthy of it, and ripe for revolution, the Directory sends us to Ireland with the object of assisting the revolution that some excellent republicans have just undertaken.

“It will be a splendid task for us, who have conquered the myrmidons of the kings armed against the Republic, to break the fetters of a friendly nation, and to help it to recover the rights usurped by the odious English Government.

“You will never forget, brave and faithful companions, that the people amongst whom we are going are the friends of our country, that we must treat them as such, and not as a conquered people.

“On arriving in Ireland you will find hospitality and fraternity; soon thousands of its inhabitants will come to increase our battalions. Take good care then never to treat any of them as an enemy. Like ourselves, they have to be avenged on the perfidious English; the latter are those alone on whom we have to wreak a striking revenge. Be sure that the Irish sigh no less than you for the moment when, together, we shall march to London to recall to Pitt and to his friends what they have done against our liberty.

“By friendship, by duty, by the honour of the French name, you must respect the persons and the property of the country to which we are going.

“If by constant effort I provide for your needs, be sure that, jealous of preserving the reputation of the army which I have the honour to command, I will severely punish whoever neglects that which he owes to his country. Laurels and glory will be the portion of the Republican soldier; death will be the price of rapine and of pillage.

“You know me sufficiently to believe that, for the first time, I will not fail in keeping my word. I have duly warned you, fail not to remember.

“GENERAL HOCHÉ.

“BREST, the (blank in text) year of the Republic.”

A start was made on the 15th December, 1796, and by the following day the ships were moving towards the open sea. Fate dealt unkindly with the expedition, which began and ended with disaster, for the *Fougueux* (74) and the *Indomptable* (80) collided, while the *Séduisant* (74) struck a reef and foundered. It would have been well if the orders cancelling the whole plan which the Directory had sent to Hoche had been delivered, but they arrived too late. The bad weather caused the various divisions to part company at the very outset, and they were never completely reunited. It was only by the merest luck that Bouvet, Richery, and Nielly came together on the 19th December. Hoche, with one sail-of-the-line and three frigates, on being informed that his scattered fleet had preceded him in getting away from Brest, crowded on all sail, and missed Bouvet's division owing to a dense fog. On the morning of the 21st, by which time his force had been reduced to one sail-of-the-line, the *Nestor*, and the

Fraternité, the Commander-in-Chief gazed on the Irish coast with eager eyes, and drew near to Bantry Bay. During the night the lights of numerous vessels were observed, which he surmised were British, whereas they belonged to his own missing fleet. A storm arose and played havoc with the frigate, and two days after the *Fraternité* had lost her consort. The *Romaine* came in sight for a short time later and disappeared. On the 28th Bouvet's *Immortalité* was reported, and on the following day Hoche knew that the expedition which he had planned with so much care had turned out a fiasco. Two ships remained to tell the tale, the *Scevola*, which was rapidly sinking, and the *Révolution*, which was engaged in rescuing the crew of the former, although she herself was in an almost disabled state owing to a collision.

Meanwhile the other admirals had arrived off the Irish coast on the 21st December with thirty-five sail.¹ Unfavourable weather again precluded them from keeping together, and on the 22nd Bouvet anchored at Bear Haven with eight sail-of-the-line and seven other vessels. The remainder were afterwards blown to sea.² The admiral and Grouchy held a council of war, the former being of opinion that a search should be made for Hoche ; but Grouchy, who as military commander-in-chief was supreme once the fleet was at anchor, gave orders that the 6500 troops under him should be landed at Bear Island,³ and then altered his plans, making Bantry his objective. Bouvet, however, made not the slightest attempt to carry out the command, and Grouchy did not enforce it as he

¹ Mahan, Vol. I, p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, 356.

³ In Bantry Bay, thirteen miles west of Bantry. The remains of several martello towers, erected after Hoche's expedition, may still be seen.

ought to have done, for which negligence censure has been justly passed upon him. Bad weather again set in that night, and on Christmas Day Bouvet sought the open sea, whither Nielly and Richery followed him, and made for Brest. Bedout's vessels, on board of which were some four thousand men, still remained. Not until he and the military officers with him had discussed the situation, and decided that a landing would serve no useful purpose, did they set sail for Brest, which was reached on January 1st, 1797. The *Trajan* waited off the mouth of the Shannon in the hope of forming a junction with Hoche, and on her captain being told that the *Fraternité* had been seen off the Irish coast on December 26th, he made for Bantry Bay once more. On the 7th January the solitary vessel was sighted by two British sail-of-the-line and two frigates, and a thirty-six hours' chase began, the *Trajan* managing to effect an escape.¹ A division under Commodore Linois had left Bantry Bay the day before. On the 13th it reached home waters. Hoche landed at La Rochelle on the 14th.

Another solitary ship, the *Droits de l'Homme*, acquitted herself with honour, and the stubborn fight she made with Sir Edward Pellew's *Indefatigable* and the *Amazon*, both frigates, is the most noteworthy incident in Hoche's attempt to invade Ireland. The French ship did not set out on the homeward voyage till January 5th, and all went well until the 13th, when the Britishers came up with her. A fierce conflict ensued, which continued far into the night, heavy seas frequently dashing into the portholes and preventing the proper working of the guns. The men on both sides fought with the courage of desperation, and

¹ Desbrière, Vol. I, pp. 193-212.

the carnage on the *Droits de l'Homme* was terrible, partly due to overcrowding. At dawn both the *Amazon* and the Frenchman ran aground in Audierne Bay, thirty-five miles south of Brest,¹ and eventually became total wrecks. Many willing peasants appeared on the beach, but were helpless to lend their aid owing to the tempestuous weather. The waves broke over the ships, and many a poor wretch found a watery grave. There were a number of English prisoners on board the *Droits de l'Homme*, and on the second day nine of them lowered a boat and reached the shore in safety. Other attempts were made to launch small craft and rafts, but they were all swamped. Writes a British officer who was saved :—

“Weak, distracted, and wanting everything, we envied the fate of those whose lifeless corpses no longer needed sustenance. The sense of hunger was already lost, but a parching thirst consumed our vitals. Recourse was had to wine and salt water, which only increased the want. Half a hogshead of vinegar floated up, and each had half a wineglass full. This gave a momentary relief, yet soon left us again in the same state of dreadful thirst. Almost at the last gasp, every one was dying with misery; the ship, which was now one-third shattered away from the stern, scarcely afforded a grasp to hold by to the exhausted and helpless survivors. The fourth day brought with it a more serene sky, and the sea seemed to subside; but to behold from fore and aft the dying in all directions was a sight too shocking for the feeling mind to endure. Almost lost to a sense of humanity, we no longer looked with pity on those who were the speedy forerunners of our own fate, and a consultation took place to sacrifice some

¹ Mahan, Vol. I, p. 358.



As depicted in the engraving
by John Bull, 1797

End of the Irish Invasion: or The Destruction of the French Armada.

END OF THE FRENCH INVASION OF IRELAND IN 1797 AS DEPICTED BY GILLRAY

one to be food for the remainder. The die was going to be cast, when the welcome sight of a man-of-war brig renewed our hopes. A cutter speedily followed, and both anchored at a short distance from the wreck. They then sent their boats to us, and, by means of large rafts, about 150, of nearly 400 who attempted it, were saved by the brig that evening; 380 were left to endure another night's misery, when, dreadful to relate, above one-half were found dead next morning."¹ The British losses amounted to three killed and thirty-four wounded. The crew of the doomed *Amazon*, with the exception of six men who attempted to get to shore in the ship's cutter, were saved and made prisoners. Of the 1750 men on board the *Droits de l'Homme* probably only a comparatively small proportion survived both the fight and the wreck, but as to this records are silent.² Suffice to say that General Humbert effected his escape, and lived to command a similar expedition a little later.³

It has been repeated again and again that an "act of God" alone prevented the invasion of Ireland in the winter of 1796. The weather was certainly against the French part of the time, but Grouchy's dilatoriness was as conspicuous at Bantry as it was at Waterloo, and must be taken into account. Napoleon gave it as his opinion that had Hoche been able to land his "fine army" he would have been successful.⁴

Where was the main British fleet all this time, while the fate of Ireland trembled in the balance? The fifteen sail-

¹ James's *Naval History*, p. 81. Epitomized by Robert O'Byrne, F.R.G.S.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 81-2.

³ See *post*, p. 140.

⁴ Creasy's *Invasions of England*, Vol. II, p. 209. Dumouriez says that had Admiral Bouvet sacrificed his ships and General Hoche not been parted from his army by a storm, the expedition would not have failed.—MS., p. 267.

of-the-line under Admiral Colpoys, which usually cruised off Brest, had been blown thirty miles to the westward, and two or three frigates under Sir Edward Pellew alone remained to watch the enemy. Colpoys was not aware that the expedition had sailed until the day after the majority of the ships had reached the mouth of Bantry Bay, and then he made for Spithead. The fleet at Portsmouth under Lord Bridport, which was "at home to relieve the fleet off Brest, if necessary, or to pursue the enemy, if he should sail,"¹ got under weigh when nearly all the scattered units of the French fleet were on their homeward voyage. This unsatisfactory method of watching an enemy contrasts strongly with Lord St. Vincent's (formerly Sir John Jervis) later injunction to "hermetically seal up" the French fleets in their harbours. Blockade duty at this time was almost entirely entrusted to a few ships, and occasionally to frigates only; there was seldom a squadron before Brest in winter.²

As to what would have happened had Hoche landed in Ireland can only be surmised, but that Earl Camden, the Lord Lieutenant, was satisfied with the precautions taken is shown in his letter to the Duke of Portland, dated January 10th, 1797. "I have the satisfaction to reflect that the best spirit was manifested by His Majesty's regular and militia forces; and I have every reason to believe that, if a landing had taken place, they would have displayed the utmost fidelity." The regiments trudged many weary miles in the snow, which was cleared away in some parts by the peasantry so as not to hinder the march. "In the

¹ Speech by Dundas in House of Commons, 3rd March, 1797; *Parliamentary History*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 12.

² *The Great Campaigns of Nelson*, p. 19, by William O'Connor Morris.

town of Galway, which for a short time was left with a very inadequate garrison, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants and yeomanry was peculiarly manifested, and in a manner to give me the utmost satisfaction. In short, the general good disposition of the people through the south and west was so prevalent that, had the enemy landed, their hope of assistance from the inhabitants would have been totally disappointed. From the armed yeomanry Government derived the most honourable assistance. . . . The merchants of Dublin, many of them of the first eminence, marched sixteen Irish miles with a convoy of arms to the north, whither it was conducted by reliefs of yeomanry. The appearance in this metropolis has been highly meritorious. The corps have been formed of the most respectable barristers, attorneys, merchants, gentlemen, and citizens; and their number is so considerable, and their zeal in mounting guard so useful, that I was enabled greatly to reduce the garrison with perfect safety to the town. The number of yeomanry fully appointed and disciplined, in Dublin, exceed 2000, above 400 of whom are horse. The whole number of corps approved by Government amount to 440, exclusive of the Dublin corps. The gross number is nearly 25,000.”¹

The narrative of the Bantry Bay invasion has been handed down in song and story, and the following verse records in rhyme what the latter part of the above despatch conveys in prose:—

TUNE.—*Joy and health to the Duchess wherever she goes.*

All ranks, all professions, shall greatly unite,
 The lawyer, the student, the farmer, the trader,
 In one armed host for their country to fight,
 Their rights to preserve and repel the invader :

¹ *London Gazette*, January 17th, 1797.

By this valiant band
 Protected we'll stand,
 Long as the sea round the shores of Ireland shall flow ;
 To them let us raise
 The due tribute of praise,
 Success to our yeomen wherever they go.¹

No less interesting is the effort of another minor poet, which also supports the view that the Irish were not afraid that the French might land, but rather that they would fail to do so :—

TUNE.—*Lilliburlero*.

Oh ! brother soldier, hear you the news,
 Twang 'em, we'll bang 'em, and hang 'em up all ;
 An army's arrived without breeches or shoes,
 Twang 'em, we'll bang 'em, and hang 'em up all.

To arms, to arms !
 Brave boys, to arms !

The French to invade us prepared a great fleet,
 Twang 'em, etc.
 And now since they're come, we shall very soon meet.
 Twang 'em, etc.

To arms, to arms ! etc.

They come the true cause, they say, to advance,
 Twang 'em, etc.
 But what is more rare they bring freedom from France,
 Twang 'em, etc.

To arms, to arms ! etc.²

A ballad of sixteen verses, entitled, "The Invasion,"³

¹ *Popular Songs, illustrative of the French Invasions of Ireland*, part iii, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, part iii, p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, part iii, p. 47. "This ballad, which was probably first printed in a newspaper of the time, appears in *A Collection of Constitutional Songs*, Vol. I, p. 80, published by A. Edwards, Cork, 1799, and is entitled 'The Invasion' (written in January, 1797)."

calls to task the British admirals for not having annihilated the French fleet :—

Nor skill nor courage aught avail
 Against high Heaven's decrees,
 The storm arose and closed our ports,
 A mist o'erspread the seas.

For not to feeble, mortal man
 Did God His vengeance trust ;
 He raised His own tremendous arm,
 All powerful as all just.

Now fair and strong the south-east blew,
 And high the billows rose ;
 The French fleet bounded o'er the main,
 Freight with Erin's foes.

Oh ! where was Hood, and where was Howe,
 And where Cornwallis then ;
 Where Colpoys, Bridport, or Pellew,
 And all their gallant men ?

Several other effusions contain references to the same effect, as witness the following from the pen of O'Kelly, whose name is immortalized by Lockhart in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. The lesser light paid a personal visit to the author of *Marmion* when the great Scottish writer was in Ireland in 1825. The poem appears to have been founded on one entitled "General Wonder in our Land."¹ O'Kelly's rhyme runs thus :—

While Admiral Bridport lay at rest,
 And Colpoys everywhere was peeping,
 Admiral de Galle stole from Brest,
 And thought to catch the Irish sleeping.

But a rare Admiral, General Gale,
 Oh may the gods give him a blessing !
 Appeared in time with crowded sail,
 And gave to frog-eaters a dressing.

¹ *Ibid.*, part iii, p. 70.

NAPOLEON AND THE

Then here's a health to General Gale,
 And to Momonia's friends another,
 Oh may their union never fail
 Invading foes to blast and smother.

Although the French had escaped so lightly in the Bantry Bay expedition, British admirals had acquitted themselves with honour from the beginning of the war. In 1793 Hood burnt part of the Toulon fleet, but had to evacuate the harbour through the skill of Napoleon Bonaparte, then a young captain of artillery. Howe struck a more decisive blow on "the glorious first of June," 1794, when seven ships of the French fleet, commanded by Villaret-Joyeuse, lowered their colours, six being taken as prizes. The following year Admiral Hotham prevented the enemy from retaking Corsica¹ and captured two of their ships, while Lord Bridport defeated the Brest fleet and secured three sail-of-the-line. On St. Valentine's Day, 1797, Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet, which was to have formed a junction with those of France and Holland for the purpose of taking over a large army to England. The victory was a signal proof of the skill of the British admiral, whose efforts were ably seconded by Nelson. His armament consisted of fifteen sail-of-the-line against the enemy's twenty-five.

Not satisfied with the severe rebuffs which the French navy had so recently experienced, and perhaps encouraged by the fact that Austria, England's last ally, had recently signed a preliminary treaty of peace at Leoben,² thanks to Bonaparte's overwhelming victories, Truguet, the Minister

¹ Corsica had become a British possession in 1793, but was evacuated in October, 1796. The French immediately took possession of the island.

² April 18th, 1797.

of Marine, outlined in a letter to Hoche, dated 21st June, 1797, the chief features of a plan of campaign for another attempt on Ireland. The Directory had decided to send six thousand Republican soldiers to Holland under General Humbert, who, it will be remembered, had taken part in the Bantry Bay fiasco, to swell the Dutch force of fifteen thousand men which had been held ready for some time by General Daendels. The Batavian Government was so anxious to throw herself against her former ally that it even offered to guarantee the courage of the troops.¹ Admiral de Winter's squadron of sixteen sail-of-the-line and twelve frigates then lying in the Texel was to take over the twenty-one thousand troops thus concentrated and land them in the north of Ireland. At the same time a fleet of twelve men-of-war and several frigates was to leave Brest with from six to eight thousand men, under the undaunted Hoche, and make for the south or west coast. The services of Wolfe Tone and Lewens were again requisitioned, and the "peacemaker of La Vendée" set off for the Hague to make final arrangements. Contrary to Truguet's instructions, he proposed to abandon his part in the project and join the Dutch expedition. The proffered help was refused, but Wolfe Tone managed to curry favour and was accepted. Before the Dutch put to sea, Hoche, after serving for a short time as French Minister of Marine in succession to Truguet, was a dead man.² Had De Winter sailed during the early months of 1797, when the mutiny of the sailors at the Nore and elsewhere³ occupied the attention of Great Britain, success might have been

¹ Desbrière, Vol. I, p. 258.

² Hoche died on September 19th, 1797.

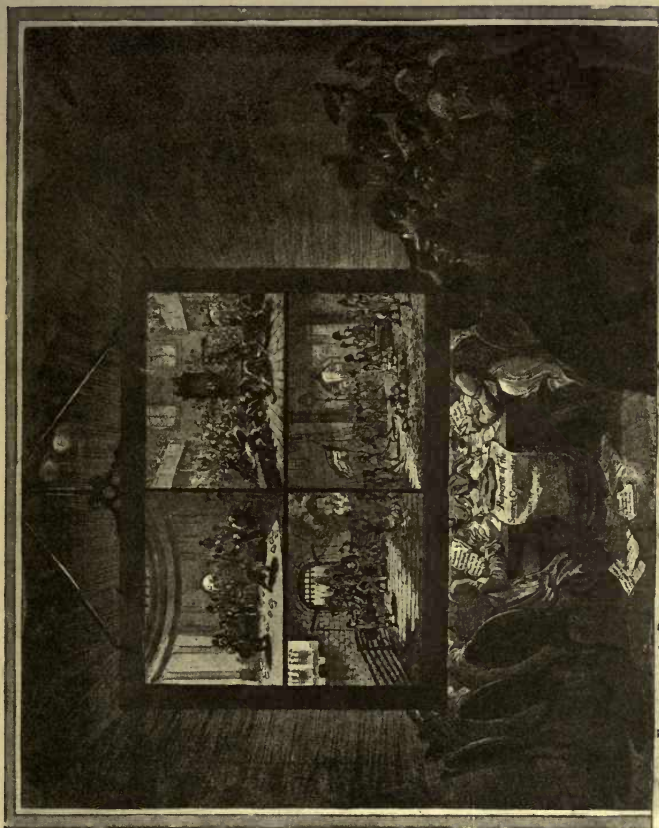
³ April-June, 1797.

his. The chance offered by the naval troubles in England was unaccountably missed. De Winter still clung to the Texel, although General Daendels urged upon him the necessity for immediate action, even if he were compelled to fight Duncan, the British admiral, who was waiting for him to come out. He thought the Firth of Forth favourable for landing, and after Edinburgh and Glasgow had capitulated the troops would embark on the ships, which by that time would have rounded the north of Scotland, and sail for Ireland. With his dying breath Hoche dissuaded Daendels from so grandiose a plan of campaign, but it is significant that shortly before the following letter had appeared in one of the official or semi-official provocative pamphlets widely circulated in Paris :—

“Courageous Citizens,

“England is the richest country in the world—and we give it up to you to be plundered. You shall march to the capital of that haughty nation. You shall plunder their National Bank of its immense heaps of Gold. You shall seize upon all public and private property—upon their warehouses—their magazines—their stately mansions—and gilded palaces; and you shall return to your own country loaded with the spoils of the enemy. This is the only method left to bring them to our terms. When they are humbled, then we shall dictate what terms we think proper, and they must accept them.

“Behold what our brave army in Italy are doing.—They are enriched with the plunder of that fine country; and they will be more so, when Rome bestows, what, if she does not, will be taken by force. Your country, brave Citizens, will not demand a particle of the riches you shall



EXHIBITION of a DEMOCRATIC TRANSPARENCY... such an Effect upon Populace...
 appearing the...
 the...
 the...

CARICATURE OF THE FRENCH INVASION PROJECTS AGAINST IRELAND. BY J. GILLRAY.
 [1797]

bring from Great Britain. Take what you please—it shall be all your own. Arms and ammunition you shall have, and vessels to carry you over. Once landed, you will soon find your way to London.

“HOICHE.”

On the 10th October, 1797, the Dutch fleet weighed anchor and received so severe a handling off Camperdown at the hands of Admiral Duncan, who took nine ships out of a possible fifteen,¹ that the Irish expedition had of necessity to be abandoned. Pitt, whose hand had been forced to go to war with France, was now the only one maintaining it, but there could be no turning back. It was well for Great Britain that she was supreme on the sea, that her floating bulwarks still protected her coasts, otherwise she must assuredly have perished. In maritime measures alone, so far as Europe was concerned, were her efforts attended with success; but France found that in colonial conquest her antagonist had lost none of her prowess, for Tobago, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Grenada were captured one by one, as well as the Dutch possessions of Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope. The Spanish island of Trinidad also capitulated. The British army in Holland, under the Duke of York, met with nothing but disaster and retreat, although it served as a subsidiary defence of the British Isles, and the military measures taken for the protection of the kingdom itself cannot be regarded as adequate in the serious situation in which England was placed.

At the end of 1792 the militia was embodied, the statutory quota for England and Wales standing at

¹ Mahan, Vol. I, p. 255. The battle was fought on the 11th October.

30,740, to be raised by ballot.¹ The regular army at home consisted of not more than 15,000 troops,² exclusive of the Irish establishment,³ but the estimates for 1793 allowed for 17,344 regulars and 17,602 militia and fencibles in Great Britain, and 12,000 in Ireland, including fencibles. The latter were regular troops which enlisted to serve during the war only, and exclusively for home service. Scotland having no militia, was called upon to supply fencibles.

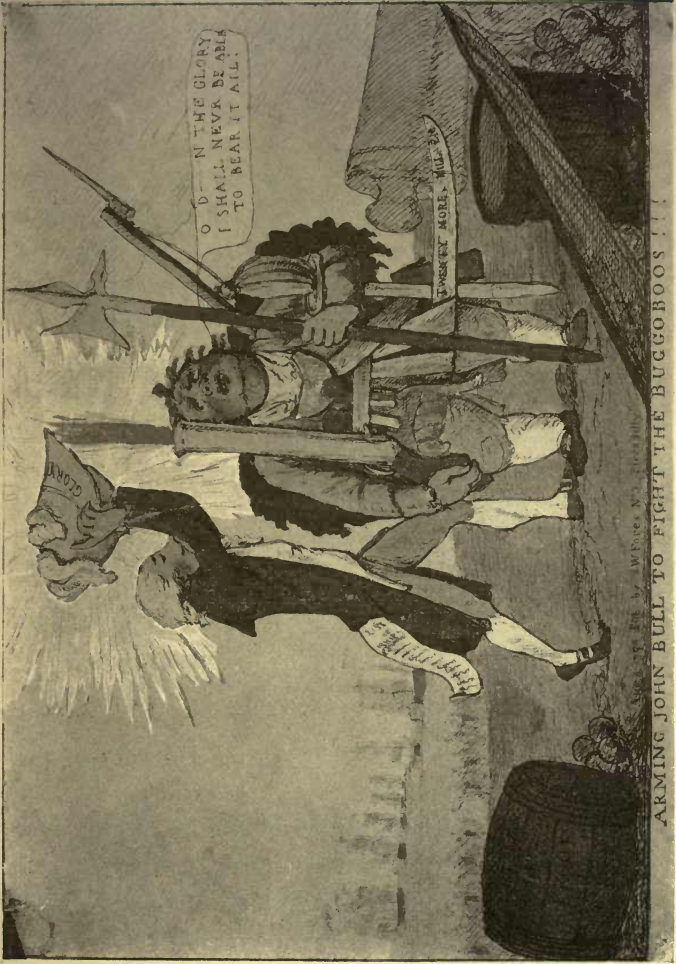
A very wise precaution was taken. In order to defeat any ulterior motives of foreigners arriving in England an Alien Act was passed on January 8th, 1793, before war had been formally declared, whereby travellers from the Continent wishing to land at any British port had to give an account of themselves in writing and obtain a certificate before being allowed to step on shore. Passports were also necessary if they required to move from town to town. It was during a discussion on this Bill in its earlier stages⁴ that Burke, whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* did so much to stir up the national spirit, flung down a dagger, one of three thousand manufactured at Birmingham, as "a sample of the fruits to be obtained by an alliance with France." Republican and Corresponding societies were numerous, for revolutionary principles were by no means confined to the country which openly avowed them. As a consequence the Habeas

¹ *Military Forces of the Crown*, Vol. I, p. 283, by Charles M. Clode, ed. Murray, 1869.

² *A History of the British Army*, Vol. IV, part i, p. 77, by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue.

³ Until the Union in 1800 there was both a British and Irish establishment, each of which was kept quite distinct.

⁴ Lord Grenville introduced the Bill on the 19th December, 1792.



PITT ARMING JOHN BULL. [A PROPHETIC CARICATURE OF AUGUST, 1790]

Corpus Act was suspended, and the Irish military establishment was largely increased. On the 5th February, 1794, Pitt stated that "the interior strength of the kingdom consisted of 140,000 effective men, and that of the navy near 90,000; the artillery had been placed on a footing of great improvement, and amounted to near 6000; the foreign troops in our pay were almost 40,000; constituting altogether a force of little short of 276,000 men, in the best condition and discipline."¹ A month later a motion was put before Parliament by the same minister for an augmentation of the militia "in order to provide for the better security of the kingdom against a menaced invasion by the French." A levy of horse and foot volunteers in every county, and by private persons, was proposed, the expenses to be met by public subscriptions in the case of the former until estimates could be prepared. Several counties strongly opposed this system of payment, which was declared by those who resented it as "unconstitutional." However, an Act was passed on April 17th, 1794, "for encouraging and disciplining such troops, or companies of men, as shall voluntarily enrol themselves for the defence of their counties, towns, or coasts, or for the general defence of the kingdom during the present war."² The command of the local reserve forces was, of course, vested in the Lord Lieutenant of each county.

From henceforth drills, parades, and reviews became frequent all over the country, and Hyde Park was the scene of many a gathering of loyal citizens in warlike array. The premier corps of the metropolis, and the most exclusive, was the Loyal London and Middlesex Light Horse

¹ *Annual Register*, 1794, p. 210.

² *Ibid.*, 1794, Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 135.

Volunteers, a body which numbered amongst its one hundred and fifty men the scions of several noble families, including the Duke of Montrose, who served in it as a trooper. It had been formed so far back as 1779, but it was disbanded in 1783, and existed in name only until it was again called into being by the Act mentioned above.¹ As time went on and corps became more numerous, it was found necessary to consolidate some of the smaller of them. The Islington Volunteer Cavalry was therefore merged in the L.L. and M.L.H.V., and riflemen and horse artillery found a place in the regiment.

According to the statement put before the House on the 23rd February, 1795, "the service necessary for the guards and garrisons of the kingdom was 120,000 regulars, 56,000 militia, 40,000 for Ireland and the colonies, exclusive of fencibles and volunteers, of foreign troops in British pay, and of embodied French emigrants."² The following year (1796) the first serious attempt to cope with the military requirements of the nation at home was made. Not only was a supplementary militia of 63,878 men to be enrolled by ballot and trained for service at the slightest notice, but 20,000 men were to be added to the irregular cavalry. Pitt therefore proposed that "every person who kept ten horses should be obliged to provide one horse and one horseman to serve in a corps of militia ; that those who kept more than ten should

¹ The oldest volunteer corps was, and still is, the Honourable Artillery Company, formed in 1537. The interesting proposal of the "Dovor Association" in 1792 will be found in the Appendix.

² *Annual Register*, 1795, p. 177. Fortescue draws attention to the fact that in February, 1795, the entire armed force of England and Scotland was in reality 65,500 men only.—See *History of the British Army*, Vol. IV, part i, pp. 406-7.

provide in the same proportion ; and that those who kept fewer than ten should form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and the horseman. These troops were to be furnished with a uniform and accoutrements, formed into corps, and put under proper officers.”¹ Pitt also suggested that gamekeepers and other holders of licences to shoot game should be included. A desperate onslaught against the latter proposition was made by Sheridan and others, which was withdrawn, but after some alterations the other measures became laws in December, 1796.² In the following July (1797) an Act was passed authorizing the formation of a militia in Scotland. The ballot was dispensed with in those places where volunteers offered their services in sufficient numbers. At first the service was extremely unpopular, and 3,000 regulars from England were sent over the border to enforce order, but the discontent was short-lived, and very soon patriotism reigned supreme.

It remained for Mr. William Clavell, High Sheriff of Dorset, to put into operation the ancient prerogative of raising the *Posse Comitatus*. He had little or no information as to the exact purport of this old-time measure of King Alfred's, but the right to call out the civil force of the county was vested in the Sheriff by common law. Mr. Clavell succeeded in organizing the men of Dorset in so efficient a manner that in 1798 and 1803 important Acts were framed upon his efforts.³ He issued a precept to the justices of the peace ordering them to compile lists, with the assistance of “constables and other police

¹ *Annual Register*, 1797, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³ 38 Geo. III, c. 27 (1798), and 43 Geo. III, c. 55 (1803).

officers," of all persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty years capable of bearing arms. Those already acting in some military capacity, clergymen, and others engaged in any sacred calling, Quakers, and invalids were alone excepted. An office was established at the King's Arms, Dorchester,¹ for the transaction of business, "and where proper assistants will attend, and persons and horses be ready to be sent express when requisite." From the names returned the men were divided into regiments of about a hundred, out of which five petty commanders were chosen, who were responsible to the chief commander of the body for twenty or more men. Those who did not possess firearms were supplied with pikes some eight feet long. Intense rivalry, usually of a friendly nature, existed between these petty officers, and each little band of twenty strove hard for the blue ribbon of the company. The market cross or parish churchyard was often the place of assembly.

Returns were also made of all persons owning vehicles and horses, so that there might be no difficulty in arranging for the removal of cattle, fodder, corn, or foodstuffs useful to the enemy, as well as for conveying soldiers and munitions of war. Directors of stock were appointed, each one being supplied with a complete list of vehicles in the vicinity and where they were to be found. Fifty waggons and sixty men comprised a director's full complement. As in the case of the commanders of armed men, sub-directors were duly appointed and held responsible for

¹ This ancient hostelry, sketched by Rowlandson during the invasion days, still exists. His spirited picture has been reproduced in *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar*, p. 56, in connection with Lord Nelson's stay there.



NONE OF CARL'S HALP STAY'D, SONS IN DESTEAK MADE A VIEW * BUT OUR SONS OF Y' CHOICE, SHEERS, RAZOR & SPAW
 THAT THEY'D LAVAN'FAND BRITAIN Y'LLAGE NONE BEEF * SEEN BACK TO HIS FROGS SENT EACH III N' GAY LINES
Published by J. B. Smith, No. 10, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

THE POSSE COMITATUS TO RESIST INVASION, 1782

ten waggons and their respective drivers, and definite head-quarters were specified. On the removal of stock receipts were to be given "to the proprietors of each article so deposited, assuring them that they will be indemnified by Government for the actual loss which shall be sustained by its removal," and the same rule obtained with those who lent horses and vehicles. Smiths, carpenters, and wheelwrights were enlisted as pioneers, expert horsemen as messengers and guides, while boys were to assist in the removal of women and children, in which the clergy would also lend their aid.¹

A letter was sent to every officiating clergyman in Dorset, enclosing particulars of the method of organization. "In case the intention should be misunderstood," it ran, "and alarms and jealousies raised, you will have it in your power to explain the plan, and reconcile such persons to that which is so much for the good of every individual, and so essential to the prosperity, and even the safety of the county."² In this way the peaceful farmer, the village cobbler, the clerk, the money-making merchant, even the schoolboy, were turned into soldiers. An enemy, bold, brave, and determined, stood on the threshold, but before the door was a Briton equally brave, equally bold, and equally determined. It would

¹ In 1796 two Mr. Welds joined the Purbeck troop of Dorset Cavalry Volunteers: Thomas Weld as captain, and Thomas Weld, junior, as cornet. The latter, who was born on the 22nd January, 1773, married Lucy, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Clifford, and had an only child, Mary Lucy, who became the wife of Hugh Charles, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. Thomas Weld, junior, succeeded to Lulworth Castle on the death of his father, 1810, and on the death of his wife he entered Holy Orders and became Bishop and Cardinal in 1829. He was the first Englishman to have a seat in the Conclave since the Pontificate of Clement IX. He died 10th April, 1837, aged sixty-four.

² Dated May 1st, 1797.

have been well had every county been so efficiently prepared.¹

The great volunteer movement, which began to transform the face of the country and make England for some years a vast camp, will be spoken of in greater detail in another chapter. Meanwhile it is essential to give a somewhat detailed account of the descent of Tate's "Black Legion," acting under Hoche's instructions, on the Welsh coast. Of all the plans and schemes of our adversaries during the Great Terror, this was certainly the most extraordinary, both as regards its conception and execution. Its story is now told to a very great extent on the authority of hitherto unpublished documents.

¹ In the Dorchester Museum may be seen a series of maps showing the county as practically subdivided in accordance with Mr. Clavell's plan of defence. These maps give in minute detail the working out of the High Sheriff's popular plan of a general defence of the county.

CHAPTER II

A THREE DAYS' WAR—THE INVASION OF WALES BY
HOICHE'S BLACK LEGION UNDER COLONEL TATE,
FEBRUARY 22ND, 23RD AND 24TH, 1797.

O Never shall a foreign foe,
Isle of the Brave ! thy Rights destroy ;
Tho' men should meditate the blow,
And fiends their damned arts employ.

"The War Whoop of Victory."

Patriotic Song of the Great Terror.

"ON the 18th February, *Bantry Bay*, a Musical Piece of one act, was performed for the first time at Covent Garden. The title of this piece sufficiently indicates the subject and situation of the scene ; it is a slight effort, well timed, well intended, and well executed, to create a laugh at the spirited conduct of the boys of Bantry Bay, when the French fleet lately made its appearance in the seas nearest the southern coasts of Ireland ; on which occasion it is notorious that the peasantry in that part of the sister kingdom displayed infinite loyalty and zeal, which the author has exhibited on the Stage, seasoned with some of the strong but simple humour that forms the marking features in the characters of the lower order of the Irish. It is said to be the first dramatic production of a Gentleman whose name is Reynolds. The Music is selected and composed by Mr. Reeves."

The light-hearted chronicler of the *European Magazine* was probably unaware that before another week had passed by the public spirit of England was to be shocked by the simultaneous occurrence of the mutiny at Sheerness and the piratical attempt—"a singular expedition of jail birds," Captain Desbrière calls it—of Colonel Tate and his followers to wage war on the unoffending peasantry of Pembrokeshire. Nine days later (February 27th) all was over, and we learn under the heading of Parliamentary Intelligence, that on that evening "a Member rose to call the attention of the House to the late attempt of the French upon Wales. He said, that he saw something exceedingly portentous in the manner in which the enemy had effected a descent upon the coast of Wales with 1400 men with arms, but without tents or field-pieces. It was a matter very extraordinary, that such a number of men should land, form themselves into a body upon a hill; and, without showing any disposition to oppose the people, or the force that had marched against them, surrender themselves at discretion. Fourteen hundred men, with arms in their hands, could unquestionably have done something; but from their conduct, it appeared clear to him that they had been landed for no other purpose than that of being made prisoners. Under this consideration, he could not help sounding an alarm to the country; and, as he did not know how to act upon the occasion, he begged to be informed what measure was most proper to be adopted upon the occasion, and what Motion it would be right for him to propose to the House.

"The Speaker informed him, that it remained for him to propose some Motion to the House, in the form of an

Address to his Majesty, or in any other manner that his discretion might suggest.

“He then moved an humble Address, but no person seconded it, and the Motion fell to the ground.”¹

The natural sequel to the French disasters in Bantry Bay was the melodrama enacted with an abundance of “comic relief” at that portion of the Welsh coast in the vicinity of Fishguard² variously known as Carregwastad, Carrig Gwastad, and Carn Gwastad. The contriver of these two equally futile efforts, to give effect to the popular refrain of the Paris mob—

Mettons fin à l'ambition
 De tous les rois tyrans du monde,
 De ces pirates d'Albion,
 Qui prétendoient regner sur l'onde : (bis)
 Nous avons tout ce qu'ils n'ont pas,
 Nous avons le cœur & les bras
 D'hommes libres & faits pour l'être ;
 Nous avons du fer, des soldats,
 Ce qu'il nous faut (bis) c'est du salpêtre (bis)—

was Lazare Hoche,³ upon whom the shadow of an untimely death had already fallen.⁴ Possibly he failed to appreciate the ludicrous side of the incident which his perverted ingenuity and frank hatred of England had provided for the dual prologue to the Great Terror, which contrasts so strikingly with the grim tragedy of its epilogue, to be enacted eight years later off Cape Trafalgar.

¹ *European Magazine*, Vol. XXXI, p. 205.

² In 1797, and for a whole century afterwards, an obscure but picturesque Welsh fishing town, but now widely known to all travellers as the starting-point of the splendid turbine steamers of the Great Western Railway, which ply between the Pembrokeshire coast and that of Wexford, and in all human probability one of our great English ports in the near future.

³ See *ante*, p. 5, note.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 21.

Although the *Annual Register* for 1797 disposes of the invasion of Wales in a dozen lines, the contemporary literature on the subject is far more abundant than one would imagine. While the events of that memorable February were still fresh in men's minds were published *A Brief Narrative of the French Invasion near Fishguard Bay*, by J. Baker, author of the *Picturesque Guide through Wales and the Marches* (Worcester, 1797), another pamphlet on the same subject printed for J. Wright, 169 Piccadilly, London (1798), *Some Account of the Proceedings that took place on the Landing of the French near Fishguard on the 22nd February, 1797, and of the Enquiry afterwards held into Lieut.-Colonel Knox's conduct on that occasion, etc.*, by Thomas Knox, late Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of the Fishguard Volunteers (London, 1801)¹ and one or two

¹ By a strange coincidence, the inhabitants of Fishguard and its immediate neighbourhood were amongst the first to join the volunteer movement of 1793. Colonel Knox claims for the Fishguard Fencibles the distinction of being the second oldest corps in the kingdom. In 1795 it consisted of four companies, with Thomas Knox, of Minwre Lodge, as Lieutenant-Colonel, 12 commissioned officers, 24 non-commissioned officers, 8 drummers, 4 fifiers, and 235 rank and file. There was a Newport as well as a Fishguard division. On the night of February 22nd Colonel Knox first heard of the presence of the French ships at a ball given by Mrs. Harries, of Tregwynt. Fishguard, moreover, was defended by a fort to which "three invalid bombardiers had been sent down in 1795 to instruct the volunteers in the exercise of the great guns." From the moment the Colonel became aware of what was happening he displayed a commendable amount of energy; but the fort did nothing more than fire one gun "in salute" while Tate was flying the Union Jack, and the Colonel deemed it prudent that his fencibles should retire in the direction of Haverfordwest. Lord Cawdor assumed the command, with the approval of Lord Milford, and a good deal of ill-feeling ensued. Colonel Knox was accused of showing the white feather, and although acquitted of all blame, was requested to resign. Both he and his father, Mr. William Knox, strongly insisted on a further official inquiry. On the 23rd May he sent a challenge to Lord Cawdor, who had addressed him a somewhat acrimonious letter, and the latter agreed to meet him at noon on the following day "upon the turnpike road, between Pembroke Ferry and the road that

other tracts, including a narrative by Mr. Williams, of Crachenllwyd, near St. David's, the farmer who sent his servant to give the alarm. These were supplemented in 1842 by the printing by Mr. Joseph Polter, of Haverfordwest, of "An Authentic Account of the Invasion of the French Troops (under the command of General [*sic*] Tate) on Carrig Gwastad Point, near Fishguard, Wednesday, the 22nd day of February, 1797, and their Surrender to the Forces of His Britannic Majesty on Goodwick Sands, on Friday, the 24th of February; likewise some occurrences connected therewith, never before published." The writer was H. L. ap Gwilym, and he appends to his statement an attestation of correctness by two eye-witnesses, both Fishguard Fencible men, Peter Davies and Owen Griffith. Most of these early publications are to be found in the Cardiff Free Library, where several interesting engravings of the landing of Tate and his motley following are preserved.

There is one legend, however, connected with the Fishguard romance which has held its own for many years, and will probably continue to do so for all time, although it is never even faintly alluded to in the first contemporary accounts. There is a charm about the story of Tate and his army of "undesirable aliens" mistaking the red cloaks of the Welshwomen, old and young, who lined the Fishguard hills, for the uniforms of advancing battalions of soldiers, and that optical delusion very forcibly influencing

turns off to Williamston, with the gentleman who accompanies me." What ensued is not revealed, but Mr. Knox, senior, bitterly laments the abandonment of certain libel actions which put an end to the opportunity "of a full display of Mr. Erskine's eloquence, in developing and exposing the malignity of the charge, and in vindicating my son's conduct while commanding the Fishguard Volunteers."

their disposition to surrender, which is almost irresistible. It even commends itself to the practical and matter-of-fact mind of Captain Desbrière, who gives a laconic note on the subject, which would lose much of its unconscious humour by translation.¹ The last survivor of the alleged Amazons of 1797 only died in 1891, six years before the centenary celebration, which revived for a moment the interest felt in Lord Cawdor's bloodless victory. Nelly Phillips was 103 at the time of her death, and ninety and odd years before she was driving cows from a field at Kilshawe when she espied the French frigates in the offing.

It must be confessed, however, that the romance of Fishguard rests upon very questionable grounds, and is regarded as fiction by Mr. Edward Laws, a notable authority on the subject, who points out that the ballad-writer of the period would assuredly have utilized so promising and picturesque a theme if the occurrence had any shadow of foundation in fact.²

Much information about the Fishguard incident will be found in Mr. Laws's *Little England beyond Wales*, a standard history of one portion of Pembrokeshire,³ and part of it has been cleverly utilized in the introduction to an entertaining book published under the double title of *The Fishguard Invasion by the French in 1797* and *The Fishguard Invasion, or Three Days in 1797*.⁴ As might be

¹ "L'ouvrage cite" [*The Fishguard Invasion, or Three Days in 1797*], "et d'autres auteurs anglais signalent aussi la curieuse version d'après laquelle un rassemblement de femmes galloises venues pour assister au combat et couvertes du traditionnel châle rouge, aurait, de loin, été prises par Tate pour des troupes régulières anglaises. De la part de ce filibustier et de ses bandits, tout est possible."

² See *post*, pp. 66-71.

³ *A History of Little England beyond Wales*. London: George Bell and Sons. 1888.

⁴ London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1892.

expected, this proves a great stumbling-block to Captain Desbrière, who has become acquainted with its contents through the good offices of M. Charles Legras, of the *Journal des Débats*.¹ The anonymous writer devotes thirty-nine pages to a useful historical introduction, while the bulk of the volume is given up to the real or supposed diary of a Welsh divine, the name of whose benefice necessitates the use of nineteen letters in the spelling, and who deals largely with the love affairs of two Welsh maidens, Frances and Eleanor Martin, who ultimately become (mainly by the help of the Rev. Daniel Rowlands) Madame Lebrun and Madame Roux, by marrying two of the Tate jail-birds, whose escape, along with that of nearly five score of their fellow-prisoners, they very materially facilitate. With the thread of the fiction, or semi-fiction, is mixed up certain perfectly authentic documents, although no copy is given of the handbill said to have been placarded in every town in the kingdom offering five hundred guineas for the apprehension of the two delinquents.

The story of the Fishguard episode can be best told by giving in order the various documents connected both with its inception and execution, the existence of one portion of which was unknown in 1892, and also in 1900, when the first instalment of Captain Desbrière's book was published. In the introduction of *The Fishguard Invasion, or Three Days in 1797* copious quotations are given in French, presumably from Emile de Bonnechose's life of Lazare Hoche, with the apparent object of throwing light on the line of reasoning which led "the able originator of the invasion to advocate and justify methods

¹ *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques*, Vol. I, pp. 244-5.

which comprised the burning of defenceless towns, the laying waste of crops, and the wholesale destruction of life at the hands of *gens perdus, bandits et massacreurs*." Hoche credited Carnot¹ with the first idea of organizing a *chouannerie* or system of guerilla warfare in England, for the purpose of giving the inhabitants freedom and inducing them to adopt a republican form of government. With this object in view, the invaders, recruited from the galleys and prisons, and promised full enjoyment of their booty, immunity from their crimes, and a remission of all past sentences, were to proclaim themselves the "avengers of liberty and enemies of tyrants." They were to swear destruction to the abodes of the wealthy, but protection to the cottage; while, on the other hand, as they advanced they were to throw open the prisons and replenish their ranks by a fresh supply of indigenous malefactors. There was to be no quarter; bridges should be broken down, roads destroyed, public conveyances pillaged, and naval stores burned as soon as captured. No plan was assuredly ever conceived more entirely calculated to defeat its own object.

On the 25th November, 1796, Hoche thus addresses the Directorate:—

"The American Colonel Tate in command of a thousand men should be landed on the coast of England somewhere in St. George's Channel. The men should have no other

¹ Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite (1753–1823). Between 1793 and 1797 (when he was proscribed and fled to Germany) the "organizer of victory" was mainly responsible for the conduct of French military affairs, and his genius was doubtless largely responsible for the successes which marked the early wars of the Republic. Proscribed by Louis XVIII after Waterloo, he settled at Magdeburg, where he died. His grandson Sadi Carnot became President of the French Republic.

provisions than two hundred cartridges, and the two or three boats conveying them should then take up such a position in the Dublin roads as to be able to intercept any vessel attempting to leave them."

Next day an order was given that the vessels required should be provided at Lorient.¹

On the 11th December, 1796, Hoche again thus writes to the Directory from the frigate *Fraternité*:—²

"I have confided to a man of ability, an ex-soldier, the command of the second legion of irregulars, which I have raised as secretly as possible. It is composed of six hundred men from all the prisons in my district, and they are collected in two forts or islands to obviate the possibility of their escape. I associate with them six hundred picked convicts from the galleys, still wearing their irons. They are all well armed and dressed in their Quiberon jackets. This legion, which has cost next to nothing, has intrepid leaders. It must embark on two frigates and a corvette, and land as near as possible to Bristol, upon which I am anxious to make a surprise attack, which will be the easier because it is unfortified, and the troops are stationed some distance from it. Castagnier, *chef de division*, will be in charge of the expedition, and after the landing is effected I shall send him to cruise before Dublin, to effectually blockade those who, on our approach, wish to return to England. If the expedition succeeds I hope to remit to France the contributions I intend levying on Liverpool and other commercial centres, by threatening them, in case of refusal, with the same fate which will befall Bristol. It is certain that if Quantin had acted in the same way the Government would have wrung from our enemies the means of crushing them."

¹ Desbrière, Vol. I, pp. 238-9.

² Desbrière, Vol. I, part iv, p. 239. Preserved in the French National Archives, A.F. III, 186 B.

A month before Wolfe Tone had made the following note on the force described by Desbrière as "strange auxiliaries": "I have witnessed a review of the Black Legion, about 1800 strong. These are the bandits destined for England, and are unmitigated blackguards. They remind me of the Dublin 'green boys.'" Desbrière failed apparently to find any trace amongst the French records of the instructions supposed to have been given by Hoche to Tate, and of which Mr. Edward Laws supplies a copy attested as having been "compared with the original on the 4th May, 1798, at the Secretary of State's Office, Whitehall."

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLONEL TATE

"There will be placed under the command of Col. Tate, a body of troops, completely organized, to the number of one thousand and fifty, all resolute determined men, with whom he may undertake anything: They are to be called 'La Seconde Legion des Frانس.'

"The legion is completely armed; he will be likewise furnished with fast-going vessels with which he is to proceed, before, with, or after the squadron; the vessels will be victualled for the passage, but the legion will bring on shore nothing but their ammunition, which is to be musquet cartridges.

"Col. Tate is to have the command in chief of the legion; the Admiral will give the necessary orders to the officer commanding the naval force, which will proceed up St. George's Channel, and the landing is to be effectuated, if possible, in or near Cardigan Bay.

"But should Col. Tate, on arriving opposite the mouth of the Severn, learn that the river is little or not at all defended, and that the wind and tide allow him to sail up, he will endeavour to execute a *coup de main* on Bristol,

which is the second city in England for riches and commerce; the destruction of Bristol is of the very last importance, and every possible effort should be made to accomplish it.

“For this purpose, it will be proper to reconnoitre the mouth of the Severn, in the day time, and to sail up the Avon at night fall, within five miles of the town, where the landing should be made, on the right bank, in the greatest silence, and, the troops being supplied with combustible matter, Col. Tate is to advance rapidly in the dark, on that side of Bristol which may be to windward, and immediately to set fire to that quarter. If the enterprize be conducted with dexterity, it cannot fail to produce the total ruin of the town, the port, the docks, and the vessels, and to strike terror and amazement into the very heart of the capital of England.

“This object being fulfilled, Col. Tate will immediately re-embark, cross the Severn, and land below Cardiff, which he will leave on his right, and proceed towards Chester and Liverpool, in the manner to be pointed out in these instructions.

“During the passage, Col. Tate will take care that the troops observe the most exact discipline, and will recommend to the naval officers to carry a press of sail.

“At the moment of the landing, each soldier is to be furnished with one hundred rounds of ammunition, provisions for four days, and a double ration of wine or brandy, to recruit them after the fatigues of the voyage.

“Not a moment is to be lost in the debarkation, and the soldiers must carry their ammunition and provisions until they can secure bāt horses; they are never to quit them, and are to take care to supply what may be expended on every possible occasion. For the first two days the legion is to keep in one body, observing not to suffer any to lag in the rear.

“Col. Tate will feel the necessity of gaining a close and

strong country with all possible speed, and before committing any act of hostility, he will take care to avoid the morasses, as well from regard to the health of the troops as to avoid being surrounded by the enemy, who would of course endeavour to profit of such a defect in his position.

“The expedition under the command of Col. Tate has in view three principal objects: the first is, if possible, to raise an insurrection in the country; the second is to interrupt and embarrass the commerce of the enemy; and the third is to prepare and facilitate the way for a descent, by distracting the attention of the English government.

“In all countries the poor are the class most prone to insurrection, and this disposition is to be forwarded by distributing money and drink; by inveighing against the government as the cause of the public distress; by recommending and facilitating a rising to plunder the public stores and magazines, and the property of the rich, whose affluence is the natural subject of envy to the poor.

“It is, notwithstanding, to be observed, that however defective may be the morality of the English people, they have still a respect for the laws and their magistrates, even in the moment of insurrection; it will be therefore advisable to spare, as much as possible, the property of those who may be in any civil function, and even of the country gentlemen; all impositions should be laid on the peers, the men of rank and high fortune, the clergy, those who serve as officers, in the army, navy, and especially in the militia; of all such, the country seats, farms, woods, cattle, and corn should be given up to be plundered by the people; these predatory excursions should be made in different and even distant quarters, by detachments of two or three hundred men each.

“Extremities, such as these, rendered necessary by those of the Republic, and justified by the reflection that our cruel enemy has shewed the first example, will attract numbers of artizans and workmen, of vagabonds and

idlers and even of malefactors ; but especial care must be taken not to incorporate them into the legion ; they are to be formed into new companies, commanded by French officers, and to the end that the natives may not be acquainted with the force employed, these companies are to be kept asunder, and in ignorance of the details as far as circumstances will permit ; it is principally by these new formed companies that the insurrection is to be forwarded.

“ The commerce of the enemy in the country is to be interrupted by breaking down bridges, cutting of dykes, and ruining causeways, which is, at the same time, essentially necessary for the preservation of the army ; by plundering all convoys of subsistence, the public stages and waggons, and even private carriages ; the cutting off the supplies of provisions from the principal towns, burning all vessels and boats in the rivers and canals, destroying magazines, setting fire to docks and coal yards, rope walks, great manufactories, etc. etc. It is to be observed, likewise, that by these means a crowd of artizans will be thrown out of employment, and of course ready to embark in any measure which holds out to them subsistence and plunder without labour or fatigue.

“ The success of the expedition will likewise be materially forwarded by disarming the militia, by burning the arsenals in the seaports, by stopping the couriers of government, by seducing the enemy's troops to desert, and by the terror which the success of the legion and the progress of the insurrection will carry into the bosoms of the unwarlike citizens. The country most favourable for this system is that which is naturally strong, and in which there are forges and manufactures.

“ Subsistence is to be seized wherever it can be found ; if any town or village refuse to supply it in the moment, it is to be given up to immediate pillage.

“ In order to spread the panic as generally as possible,

the legion is to be divided into several columns, having settled a common rendezvous, where they are to assemble every four, six, or eight days; the inhabitants must be obliged to serve as guides, and any who refuse are to be punished on the spot; the magistrates, or some of their families, are always to be employed in preference on this service, that they may not accuse or punish the others.

“All denunciations against those who join the legion are to be punished by death. Wherever the legion or any of its columns is posted, if the neighbouring parishes do not give instant notice of the approach of the enemy, whether by ringing of bells, or otherwise, they are to be given up to fire and sword. For the safety of the troops under his command, Colonel Tate will avoid, as much as possible, all engagements with regular forces, and will, instead thereof, attack detachments, beat up their quarters, surprize their outposts, etc. He will encourage all deserters and prisoners to enter into the new companies before mentioned; should such prisoners refuse, he will shave their heads and eyebrows, and if they are again taken in arms they are to be shot.

“Colonel Tate will not omit to observe, that there are in England numbers of French, who will be eager to join him, such as prisoners of war, soldiers and sailors, privates in the emigrant regiments, and a crowd of others, whom want and the desire of vengeance will draw to his standard; he may admit such Frenchmen into the legion; but he will observe to be on his guard that the newcomers may not raise cabals or factions; especially if there should be among them any nobles or priests, whose ambition is only to be exceeded by their cowardice; should any such attempt be made, he will take care to punish it most severely. Should the militia or volunteers of any district oppose the march of the legion, such district is to be severely punished, the militia or volunteers to be dis-

armed, their arms to be distributed among the insurgents, and all ammunition carefully preserved.

“Finally, Colonel Tate will always remember to avail himself of the talents of the principal officers who surround him; he will profit of all favourable circumstances to acquire for his party the force and confidence necessary to ensure success; he will spare, and even sustain, the poor and the aged, the widow and the orphan, and will force the great, who are the cause of all our evils, to sustain the whole burden of the war.

“(Signed) LE GEN. L^e HOCHÉ.”

COPY OF THE INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONEL TATE,
ON HIS MILITARY OPERATIONS AND MARCHES

“It would be imprudent to remain any length of time on the coast, after having effectuated your landing; you will doubtless see the necessity of penetrating into the country, and especially into the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, not to speak of the opportunities which those counties afford you, by means of the mountains, to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, the field of your operations will be more extended: with boldness and intelligence combined, you may easily possess yourself of Chester or Liverpool, which you will ruin by burning the magazines, and filling up the ports, or at least you may cut off all communication between those cities and the interior. There is another object which should likewise decide you to enter those counties, as you will be joined there by two other columns of French troops, to which you will unite that under your command, if the general commanding the expedition in chief shall desire it.

“It is therefore of consequence that you direct your march, from the very moment of landing, upon the town of

Chester, where you will pass the Dee, beyond which you are to establish yourself.

“Your march should be rapid and bold ; you must not keep the main roads, but on the contrary proceed by bye paths and hollow ways, which are at a distance from the high road. Before you enter any village or town, you are to inform yourself whether there be any troops there, and what is their number ; whether there be a river, and if so, whether there be one or more bridges, whether it be enclosed with walls and barriers, etc., and you are to take your measures in consequence.

“You should frequently change your guides, and in order to mislead the enemy as to your destination, you should not take a new one in presence of him whom you dismiss ; you should often make counter marches, and always mention to the guide you quit a road different from that which you mean to take, asking the way to the town or village on which you mean to turn your back, or at least whither you do not mean to go.

“In order to spread the consternation and astonishment as wide as possible, after the destruction of Liverpool (for this point is capital) you must follow your blow, and seize upon some small town or seaport on that coast, which you will lay under contribution. You may be sure that immediately all the principal places will demand for their protection troops from the government, which is in want of them, and will of course be obliged to separate those of which it can dispose, by which means you will be able to destroy a great number, by beating in detail the detachments which may be sent against you. The mobiliary columns can alone be successfully opposed to you, but even in that case it will be easy for you to destroy their effect. If they be weak, you will unite your forces and crush them ; if they be strong, by scattering yourselves, and committing hostilities in a hundred different quarters ; the towns, which will be terrified by these means, will soon

demand the troops which compose the columns to protect them from your parties, who will thereby remain masters of the field, and starve both the troops and the inhabitants. I doubt much whether the English know as yet the nature and use of mobiliary columns, but even if they do, you may find means to render them useless, because the government has not troops in number sufficient to guard all the points at once, and parties like yours may over-run the country in a thousand different directions.

“Your soldiers are to carry with them nothing but their arms, ammunition, and bread : they will find everywhere clothes, linen, and shoes ; the inhabitants must supply your wants, and the seats of the gentry are to be your magazines.

“In case the country, being exhausted, should offer you no further resources, or that a strong body of troops should force you to quit the place where you had established yourself, you must depart with promptitude and expedition, make forced marches, and in the night, reposing yourself by day in the woods and mountains ; if you are obliged to halt, in order to procure provisions, you must first choose a strong position, from which you will send detachments into the neighbouring villages ; it is with your cavalry (for you must take care from the first to mount a sufficient number of your troops) that you are to make this kind of excursion ; you will also observe to re-mount your cavalry as often as necessity may require it.

“Marching in this manner, unencumbered with baggage, your troops cannot be overtaken by the enemy ; but if it should so happen that you are obliged to stand an engagement, you must remember that you are now a Frenchman, inasmuch as you command Frenchmen, and let that incite you to attempt a brilliant stroke ; remember, however, that nothing but inevitable necessity should induce you to hazard the issue of a combat, and in that case you must supply by courage the defect of numbers. Should you be

forced to clear your way through the enemy, you must commence the attack, but it must be always by night. About eleven o'clock, or midnight, send out two or three patrols of four or six men each, with orders to set fire to a dozen houses in your rear, in different quarters; the enemy, believing that you are running away, will most probably pursue you, in which case you may lay an ambuscade, or you may avoid him, or you may fall on the rear of one of his columns, which you may cut off with facility, in the dark and the confusion of an unexpected attack. If the enemy should run to extinguish the fires, you have the same advantages; you have your choice, either to avoid him, or which is still better, to beat him; if he remains under arms, and sends out patrols to reconnoitre, you must interrupt them, and put them to the bayonet, without firing a shot, and then, after two or three hours, you must form the column, and advance rapidly, *au pas de charge*, on one of his wings, which you will certainly rout, and then, without pushing the affair further, you will pursue your route, and remember to make in that day two or three countermarches.

“In this manner you may, by a brilliant action, surprise in the night time and cut off a post which may be opposed to you: in the day light and open field you ought not, with the force under your command, to hesitate to attack two thousand of the enemy, and in the night, four or even five thousand: you ought to dislodge eight hundred from a post, not being intrenched; but if intrenched, and especially with cannon, you are not to attack them.

“In order to pass a river, where the bridges are guarded or broken down, if you cannot procure boats, you must endeavour to re-mount towards the source, in order to find a passage by means of a ford, a mill dam, etc. If you are hard pressed, you must strain a stout rope from one bank to the other, and pass your troops; those who do not know how to swim, holding fast by the rope, and carrying their

firelocks slung over their shoulders, with the muzzle downwards to avoid wetting the lock ; if trees can be found on the bank long enough to reach across, they are still better than ropes ; in which case you will fell several of them. If the river, though fordable, be so deep as to take the soldiers up to their necks, you must make the best swimmers pass first, and the others follow by ranks, each soldier holding the next man strongly with the left hand by the skirt of the coat, and carrying his firelock in the right : by these means those who reach the opposite bank first will sustain the others, and assist them in getting out of the water : your horses will also be of use, but you must not reckon upon them.

“In case your position should be at last no longer tenable, or that superior forces should force you to quit the country bordering on the Channel, you must not lose an instant to join two French parties sent into the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland. In that case you must send me notice into Ireland, that I may be enabled to execute a diversion in your favour. An officer in disguise may reach me, either by seizing a fishing boat on the coast of Wales, or else by route of Scotland.

“I count upon your firmness and your courage ; you may equally rely upon the gratitude of the French nation and my esteem and regard in particular.

“My intention in giving you these instructions is less that you should attach yourself to the letter, than to the spirit of what they contain ; and I leave to your judgment to make such modification therein as circumstances may render necessary.

“(Signed) LE GEN. L^E HOCHE.

“[SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE, WHITEHALL,

“*4th May, 1798.*

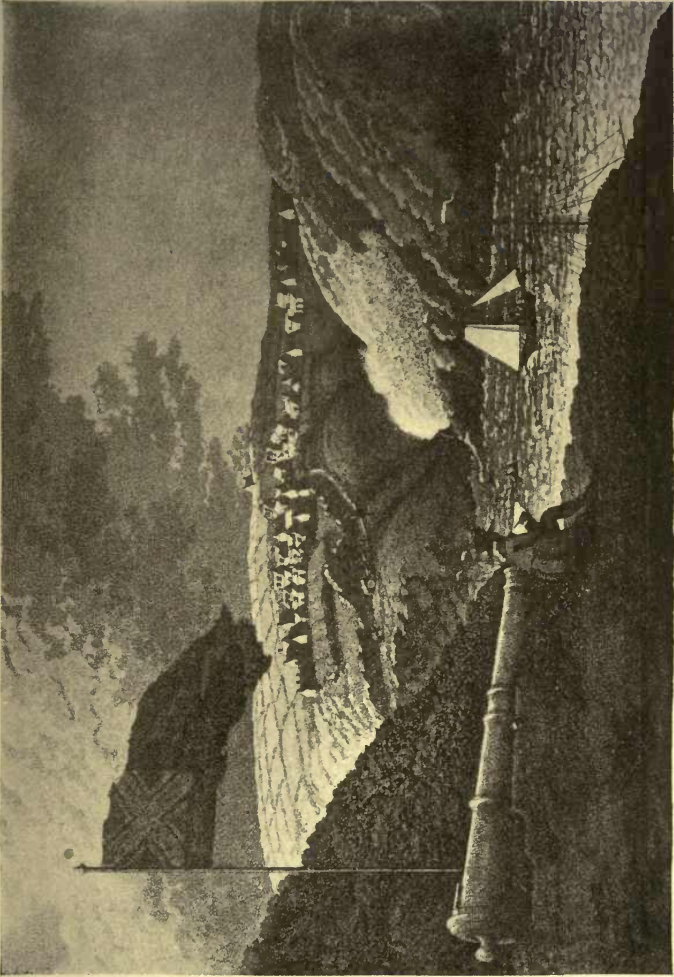
“Compared with the original.—F. KING.]”

Captain Desbrière next gives an historical document of considerable interest, of which the following is only a summary.

Journal of Commodore Castagnier commanding the frigate *Vengeance*, and having under his orders the corvette *Constance* and the lugger *Vautour*, which division was commissioned to disembark in England the Second Legion of Irregulars.

The 28th¹ at 7 a.m. to start for the anchorage in the Camaret Roads. Anchored at 9 a.m. On the morning of the 29th a soldier was subjected to summary punishment for endeavouring to sell his coat. Signal to weigh anchor made at 3 p.m. on the 30th. Sighted the English on the 1st Ventôse [February 19th]. Sighted fourteen heavily laden English ships and mistook the Dublin packet carrying numerous passengers of both sexes for a man-of-war. Hoisted the Russian flag. Tacked during the night so as to enter the Bristol Channel. At 7 a.m. on the 2nd Ventôse gave signal for the division to prepare for anchoring. At 7 p.m. gave signal to get under sail and tack so as to continue our course up Channel. Having reached Parlock [Porlock] Bay, the state of the tide, the prevalence of an east wind, and the threatening weather induced me to make for Cardigan Bay, the second point designated for landing the troops. On the 4th Ventôse [February 22nd] at 4 p.m. anchored in Cardigan Bay close to the shore, and at 5 p.m. began the disembarkation of our forces, which was completed at 2 a.m. on the following morning. No kind of resistance was offered to their landing. On that day [February 23rd] at 4 p.m. Colonel Tate and his officers said

¹ Desbrière, Vol. I, pp. 242-3. The 28th Pluviôse corresponds with February 16th, 1797.



FISHGUARD IN FEBRUARY, 1797. [FROM A CONTEMPORARY PRINT]

that they had no further need of my help. In conformity with my instructions a *procès-verbal* was drawn up under my direction,¹ and I took the necessary steps for the execution of the other part of my mission. I sent the lugger *Vautour* to Brest with despatches informing General Morard de Galles of the result of the expedition. I then made sail for Dublin Roads, but was unable to remain there longer than 9 p.m. on the 8th Ventôse [February 26th], in consequence of the change of wind, the threatening weather, and our being encumbered by the number of prisoners from the fourteen vessels² we had sunk, two of them armed tenders. Moreover, we were informed by our prisoners that a naval force had left Liverpool in search of us. I signalled that we should make for Sorlingues under all sail, by such a course as would obviate the possibility of our being sighted from the English coast.³

¹ This was signed by Colonel Tate, and Captains Didier, Faucon, Bremond, Guilleret, Guériel, and Gavel, as well as the naval officers.

² Castagnier does not precise the exact time or details of these captures, beyond the sinking of a small cutter at his orders by the *Vautour* on the 1st Ventôse (February 19th).

³ The *Vengeance* encountered a hurricane, but eventually reached Brest on the 19th Ventôse (March 9th, 1797). The *Vautour* had also reached the same port in safety. The *Résistance* and the *Constance* had failed to obey the signals of the *chef de division*, and were both captured by the English cruisers. A despatch from Sir Henry Neale to Lord Bridport, dated March 10th, 1797, gives the following details of the fate which overtook the French ships: "The ships taken are *La Résistance*, commanded by Monsieur Montague, mounting 48 guns, 18-pounders, on her main-deck, and manned with 345 men. She is only six months old, built upon a new construction, and is in every respect one of the finest frigates the French had, and certainly the largest, measuring 45 feet beam. The other frigate, *La Constance*, commanded by Monsieur Desauney, mounting 24 nine-pounders upon the main-deck, and manned with 189 men: she is two years old, and a very fine ship. These are two of the frigates which landed troops in Wales: it is a pleasing circumstance to have completed the failure of that expedition. I am particularly happy to inform your Lordships, that neither the *St. Fiorenzo*

The *St. Fiorenzo* was appropriately rechristened the *Fisgard* (Fishguard), and in the latter part of the last century was still the receiving ship at Sheerness.

We now return to the march of events in England and Wales. The first intimation we have of the arrival of Colonel Tate in our home waters was the following despatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Orchard, commanding the North Devon Volunteers,¹ to the Duke of Portland, Secretary of the Home Department. It runs thus:—

“HEARTLAND ABBEY,

“February 23rd.

“I think it my duty to state to your Grace that I yesterday received an express from Ilfracombe mentioning that there were three French frigates off that place; that they had scuttled several merchantmen, and were attempting to destroy the shipping in the harbour. They begged that I would immediately order the North Devon regiment of Volunteers under my command to march to their assistance. In consequence of this representation, I ordered the men to get ready to march as soon as possible. I have great satisfaction in saying that in 4 hours I found every officer and man that was ordered on the parade at Bideford (15 miles from home) ready and willing to march to any place they should be commanded to go to. I cannot express the satisfaction I feel on seeing the men so willing to defend their king and country, at the same

nor *La Nymphe* have had any men killed or wounded, or the ships hurt; the *St. Fiorenzo* only having received two shot in her hull. *La Résistance* had ten men killed, the first Lieutenant and eight men wounded; *La Constance* had eight men killed and six wounded.”—*European Magazine*, Vol. XXXI (1797), p. 433.

¹ Nowhere during the Ten Years' Terror did volunteering attain such noteworthy proportions as in the “Shire of the Sea Kings.” In the returns of 1804 Devon heads the list with a total of 16,395; Lancashire comes next with 14,856; and London third with 13,898. The gross total was 379,943.

time as silent, orderly, and sober as might be expected at a morning parade of an old regiment. The greatest exertions were made by all descriptions of people to assist, and to render any service in their power. As I was preparing to march, I received an account from Ilfracombe that the French ships were gone from the coast, and that tranquillity was again restored to the town. How far the report was well founded I cannot possibly say; but, as this affair may be misrepresented and exaggerated, I trust your Grace will excuse my troubling you with this letter; and I flatter myself it must give you pleasure to hear of the loyalty of this neighbourhood, and that the behaviour of the volunteers and inhabitants will meet the approbation of his Majesty.”¹

On the very same day (Thursday, February 23rd) the overseer's accounts for the borough of Tenby show that the modest sum of a shilling was paid to John Upcoat “for going out to the Road for a skiff to go over to the English side [i.e. from the south coast of Wales to the north coast of Somersetshire], to give information concerning the landing of about 1400 French troops at Fishguard, who on the next day surrendered themselves up to the Welsh who went to oppose them as prisoners of war [*sic*].”² From Somersetshire the news was transmitted to London, and the messenger probably came to Tenby from Stackpole, where Lord Cawdor was aroused in the middle of the night to hear the startling intelligence from Fishguard. Colonel Knox, called away from the festivities at Tregwynt by an urgent message from his subordinate, Ensign D. Bowen, gave the alarm in two letters to Major Bowen, commanding the Newport Division of Volunteers, late on

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXVI (1797), part i, p. 243.

² *The Fishguard Invasion*, pp. 12 and 13.

the 22nd, and on the following day Lord Milford, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, wrote as follows:—

“Dear Sir,

“I had ordered the Cardiganshire Militia, Capt. Ackland’s corps, and Lord Cawdor’s troop¹ to repair to Fishguard as soon as possible previous to the receipt of your letter.

“I am, dear sir,

“Yours, etc.,

“HAVERFORD WEST,

“MILFORD.

“2 o’clock Thursday morning.”

On the same day, probably late in the evening, Colonel Knox wrote the following letter, evidently to the Duke of Portland:—

“FISHGUARD,

“24th February, 1797.

“My Lord,

“I have the honor to inform you, that I received intelligence on the afternoon of the 22nd instant, of two frigates, a sloop, and a cutter having made their appearance off this coast. Upon going to view them, I was further told they were French, and were landing troops; I therefore hastened to this place, and was fortunate enough to meet a detachment of about seventy of the corps of Fishguard Volunteers, commanded by Ensign D. Bowen, marching to attack the enemy. I thought it advisable to immediately order them to retire into the fort (where Gov. Vaughan soon joined us), until the whole of the corps could be collected and information gained of the number of the French.

¹ The whole force at Lord Cawdor’s disposal amounted to 750 men. It consisted of men belonging to the Castle Martin Yeomanry Cavalry, the Cardiganshire Militia, the Cardiff Militia, some fencible infantry (the Fishguard Volunteers), and a few sailors under Lieutenants Mears and Perkins.

“In the course of that night I was joined by many of the corps, who had come in upon the alarm, and by part of the Newport division under the command of Major Bowen. I learnt early in the morning the force of the enemy was so considerable as to make it necessary for me to retreat without delay. I accordingly evacuated the fort, and bringing off the ammunition of the corps, took the road to Haverfordwest, in order to fall in with the reinforcements which were on their march, having written to the Lord Lieutenant to inform him of our situation. We had retreated about nine miles, when we were joined by Lord Cawdor,¹ to whom Lord Milford had given the command. I therefore put myself under his orders. The success which has attended his gallant exertions is not for me to describe, but I hope I may be permitted to express the gratitude this part of the county must feel with myself, in the zeal and alacrity with which the different corps and many gentlemen of the county came forward to our succour. I received much assistance from Mr. Nisbitt, residing in Fishguard, late an ensign in the army; and I have the pleasure to say the corps under my command conducted themselves in a manner which, I trust, has done them credit. I shall to-morrow detach parties in pursuit of any strangers which may not yet be come in; there

¹ John Campbell of Castle Martin, Pembrokeshire, born about 1753, was a descendant of John Campbell, younger son of Archibald, second Duke of Argyll, who had married, about 1510, Muriel, daughter and heiress of John Calder of Calder, or Cawdor, Nairn, representative of the old Thanes of Cawdor. Having represented Cardigan in Parliament, he was raised to the peerage of Great Britain as Baron Cawdor on June 21st, 1796. He married in 1789 the eldest daughter of the fifth Earl of Carlisle, and both his sons were born before the Fishguard invasion. His elder son and successor was granted an earldom. The present Earl Cawdor, for many years chairman of the Great Western Railway, is the great-grandson of the Commander of the English forces in February, 1797. He held cabinet rank as First Lord of the Admiralty for a brief period before the dissolution of Parliament in 1906. His son, Lord Emlyn, is married to a great-granddaughter of Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's captain at Trafalgar.

are twenty-five sick near the place where the enemy landed, whom Lord Cawdor has left in my charge. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

“Yours, etc. etc. etc.,

“THOMAS KNOX,

“*Lieut.-Col., Fishguard Volunteers.*”

By the same post the Home Secretary must have received Lord Cawdor's account of the events *quorum pars magna fuit* :—

“FISHGUARD,

“*February 24th, 1797.*

“My Lord,

“In consequence of having received information on Wednesday night, at eleven o'clock, that three large ships of war and a lugger had anchored in a small roadstead upon the coast, in the neighbourhood of this town, I proceeded immediately with a detachment of the Cardigan-shire Militia and all the provincial force I could collect to the place. I soon gained positive intelligence they had disembarked about 1200 men, but no cannon. Upon night setting in, a French officer, whom I found to be second in command, came in with a letter (a copy of which I sent your Grace, together with my answer), in consequence of which they determined to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and, accordingly, laid down their arms this day at two o'clock. I cannot, at this moment, inform your Grace the exact number of prisoners, but I believe it to be their whole force. It is my intention to march them this night to Haverfordwest, where I shall make the best distribution in my power. The frigates, corvette, and lugger got under weigh yesterday evening, and were this morning entirely out of sight. The fatigue we experienced will, I trust, excuse me to your Grace for not giving a more particular detail ; but my anxiety to do

justice to the officers and men I had the honour to command, will induce me to attend your Grace with as little delay as possible, to state their merits and, at the same time, to give you every information in my power on this subject. The spirit and loyalty which has pervaded all ranks throughout the country is infinitely beyond what I can express.

“ I am, etc.,

“ CAWDOR.”

The correspondence enclosed by Lord Cawdor speaks for itself.

Colonel Tate to Lord Cawdor.

“ CARDIGAN BAY,

“ 5th Ventôse,

“ 5th Year of the Republic

[February 23rd, 1797].

“ Sir,

“ The circumstances under which the body of troops under my command were landed at this place render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have, therefore, intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same to the bearer, and in the meantime hostilities shall cease.

“ Health and respect,

“ TATE, *Chef de Brigade.*”

Lord Cawdor to Colonel Tate.

“ FISHGUARD, February 23rd.

“ Sir,

“ The superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon

any other terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to show an enemy whose numbers are inferior. My major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by 10 o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort who will conduct him to me without molestation.

" I am, etc.,
" CAWDOR."

These dry as dust official letters give little idea of the consummate skill with which Lord Cawdor played his game of bluff, and the weird picturesqueness of the hastily improvised council of war at the "Royal Oak," the reading of the English ultimatum to the discomfited Frenchmen, the carrying of the flag of truce by M. Millingchamp, and the return of the hoodwinked emissaries. Lord Cawdor's victory was complete, and Lord Milford¹ writes with pardonable inexactness to the Duke of Portland from Haverfordwest, where he has been anxiously awaiting tidings from the front :—

From Lord Milford.

" HAVERFORDWEST,
" *February 24th, 1797, Six o'clock A.M.*

"Since I had the honour of writing last to your Grace by express I received information of the French ships having sailed and left 300 men behind, who have surrendered themselves prisoners. The great spirit and

¹ Sir Michael Phillips, Bart., of Picton Castle, Cambridgeshire, was created Baron Milford in 1776; appointed Lord Lieutenant of Pembrokeshire in 1780, and held the post till his death at the age of eighty-five.

loyalty that the gentlemen and peasantry has shown on this occasion exceeds description. Many thousands of the latter assembled, armed with pikes and scythes, and attacked the enemy previous to the arrival of troops that were sent against them."

"HAVERFORDWEST,

"*February 24th, Nine o'clock P.M.*

"I have the honour and pleasure to inform your Grace that the whole of the French troops, amounting to near fourteen hundred men, have surrendered, and are now on their march to Haverfordwest.

"I have taken first opportunity of announcing the good news to your Grace, and shall have the honour of writing again to your Grace by to-morrow's post."

On the following day (Saturday, February 25th) the Duke of Portland is able to reassure the Lord Mayor of London by the following official communication:—

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that intelligence has been received that two French frigates, a lugger, and a corvette appeared off the East of Pembroke-shire on the 22nd instant, and on the evening of that day disembarked some troops (reported by deserters to be about 1200 men, but without field pieces). Every exertion had been made by the Lord Lieutenant and gentlemen of that county and its neighbourhood, for taking the proper steps on this occasion; and the greatest zeal and loyalty has been shown by all ranks of people. Immediately on account having been received at Plymouth of this force having appeared in the Bristol Channel, frigates were despatched from Plymouth in quest of them.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"PORTLAND."

The next letter from Lord Milford to the Duke of Portland has only lately been discovered, and for many reasons is exceedingly interesting :—

“ HAVERFORDWEST,

“ *February 26th, '97.*

“ My Lord,

“ In my last letter I informed your Grace that I had receiv'd an acc^t from L^d Cawdor, to whom I gave the command of the troops, that the French were inclined to surrender. I have now the Pleasure of Informing your Grace that they have Capitulated, which, considering the very Inferior force that could be muster'd to send against them, I attribute to the very spirited answer his Lordship returned to the Proposals of Capitulation from the Commander of the French. His attention has been unremitting and his exertions do him Infinite Credit. I have seen the Commander, who from the description given of him by the first Prisoners that were taken I had reason to believe him to have been Col. Wall,¹ whose Person I well know. There has been firing at sea heard this day, and I am in hopes Admiral Kingsmill, to whom I despatched a fast sailing lugger, may have met with the squadron that sail'd from hence on disembarking the troops.

“ I have the Honor

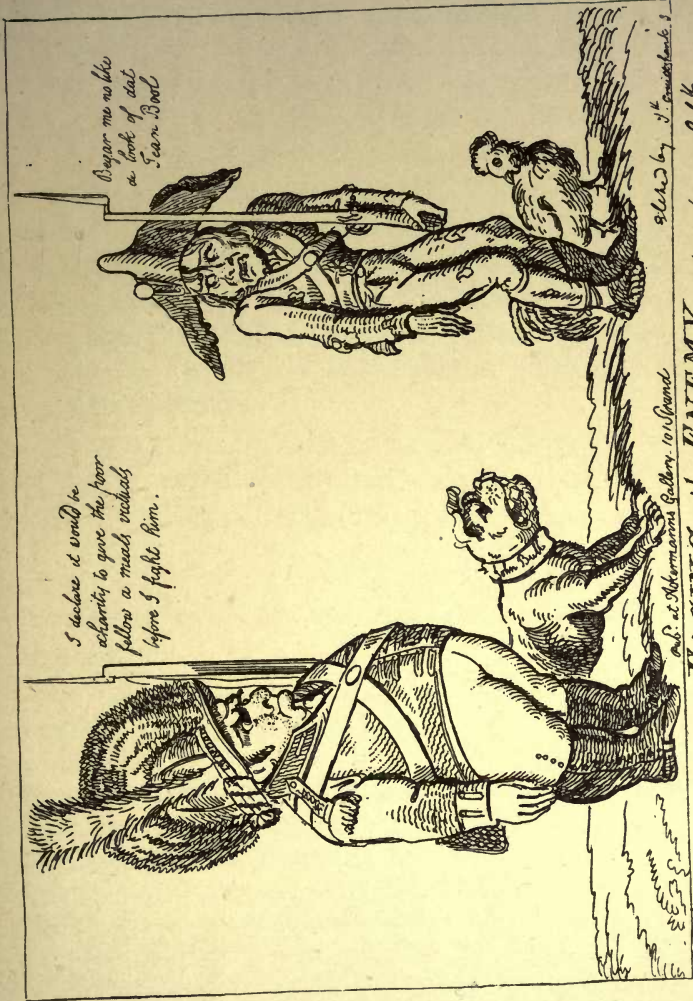
“ to be your Grace's most

“ Obedient and very Humble

“ Servant, etc. etc.,

“ MILFORD.”

¹ Joseph Wall (1737–1802), Governor of Goree in 1782, where he caused Sergeant Benjamin Armstrong to be so severely flogged that he died from the effects of the injuries he received. From 1784 to 1797, when he returned to England, Wall wandered over the Continent under an assumed name. He was arrested in October, 1801, having offered to surrender; was tried at the Old Bailey, convicted, and executed at Newgate on January 28th. The public feeling against him was so strong that the efforts of the Duke of Norfolk, his wife's relative, to save him proved fruitless. This fact throws light on the allusions to him in the letters of Lords Milford and Cawdor.



FACING the ENEMY

EARLY INVASION CARICATURE ETCHED BY ISAAC CRUIKSHANK. 1797-8

The state of public feeling in London hardly reflects that of Fishguard. News, even of an invasion, travelled slowly over the rut-riddled and almost impassable roads, but on the 25th February the Right Honourable W. W. Windham enters in his diary, "News of descent in Wales," while on the 4th March he notes¹ having gone "to the Admiralty to examine prisoners from Wales, viz. Tate and Le Brun, *alias* Baron de Rochemure." There is much interest felt in Le Brun. On the next day a M. de Williamson seeks for Pitt's War Secretary more information about the "M. Rochemure (le Baron de) who has been in the Cadres, and was second in command of the expedition to Wales."

On that very date Lord Cawdor, now at his lodgings in Oxford Street, writes an exhaustive report of all that happened to the Home Secretary:—

" OXFORD ST., *March 5th*, '97.

" Lord Cawdor to the Duke of Portland.

" My Lord,

" It being incumbent on me to explain to your Grace the situation in which I left the County of Pembroke, I shall recapitulate the outline of the late transaction, though not with sufficient Detail to do justice to the extraordinary and general spirit, zeal, and loyalty of individuals, which burst forth and co-operated with every wish I expressed during the short period of my Command. I received a messenger from a private friend at Haverford West on the 22nd of February at 11 at night with an account of the enemy being off Fishguard. I was collecting the troops when it was confirmed by the circular letter

¹ *The Diary of the Right Honourable W. W. Windham, 1784-1810*, edited by Mrs. Henry Baring, London, 1866.

from the Lord Lieutenant. As soon as the Troop of Yeomanry, the Cardigan Militia and Pembroke Company, commanded by Capt. Ackland, had passed Pembroke Ferry, I proceeded to Haverford West and found it necessary after some conversation with Lord Milford to offer to take the whole upon myself, if he engaged under his Hand not to interpose his authority. It was not a moment for compliments, and from the instant [he] transferred his authority, I peremptorily required every person to put himself under my Command. Lieut. Colby readily acquiesced, and during the whole time gave me his utmost assistance. I appointed Capt. Adams, Capt. Davis, the Honb^{le} M^r Edwards, John Philipps, and Owen Philipps, Esq^{rs}, my aides-de-camp; they were selected for their activity and intelligence, and fully answered my sanguine expectations. I sent to M^r Vaughan, the L^d Lieut. for Carmarthenshire, on whose co-operation I could depend, to order all the force of the County to support me. I appointed D^r Francis Edwards, Mayor of H. West, to be commissary, and many gentlemen co-operated to avert confusion, and activity left no time for despondency.

“All the Force of the lower District being collected as the enclosed return [shows] I proceeded to reconnoitre the Enemy near Fishguard, and to animate the County. On my return to hasten the Troops I overtook Lieut. Col. Knox with his corps of Fishguard Volunteers retreating to H. West, and required him to put himself under my orders and to return towards the Enemy. I had found nothing to impede my making my own arrangements, and I derived very useful intelligence and information from M^r Nisbitt of Fishguard; it was obvious that the Fishguard Battery was as useless for land operation as it had been to impede the disembarkation. The position taken by the Enemy was upon the heights of Pencaern, about 2^{mils} to the west of Fishguard. They

effected their landing on the night of the 22nd and morning of the 23rd, immediately under Pencaern rocks on a spot so unfavourable for de-barkation that 50 men instructed and prepared to avail themselves of the natural advantages would have rendered a landing impracticable. It was not impossible to dislodge them from their Position, but it was easy to hem them in and cut off supply. It required every union of regular and irregular forces to oppose the desperate effort to be expected from an Enemy in such a position. I had full confidence in my friends and in the County People.

“On the 24th the French laid down their arms on Good-ick Sands, and were on their march at 4 p.m. o'clock for H. West. The distribution of Provisions as they filed off and every direction to expedite their March had been executed to my Wishes, yet it was 1 o'clock in the morning of the 25th before they had marched the 17 miles and it was 4 o'clock before they were secured in the Churches and Prisons, etc. etc., a service I was obliged personally to attend from the want of interpreters. I did not think it safe to resign my Command, so once more in the town with the Lord Lieutenant and I took on myself to direct the necessary measures. In the afternoon the officers were sent to Carmarthen under the escort of a Detachment of the Cavalry, and orders were issued to provide for the Prisoners afloat. The extra-ordinary efforts of the sea officers and sea men enabled me on the 27th in the morning to march 505 Prisoners from H. West to Milford, and in 20 minutes they were all on Board. On the 1st of March 200 more were embarked at the same place, and arrangements were taken for embarking the remainder together with 129 Prisoners from Pembroke which I deem necessary for the security of the County, that small number, owing to the insecurity of the Prison, requiring 60 men of the supplementary Militia to guard them.

“I have expressed to Lord Spencer the obligation I owe to Capt. Longcroft, who put himself under my Command with officers and seamen who had marched to H. West with artillery and ammunition from Milford, Capt. Hopkins having left their revenue cutter under the charge of Capt. Shaw to act under the command of Capt. Longcroft. I have represented to his Royal Highness the Duke of York the merit of the officers on the half pay list who contributed to the service. Lieut. Gen^l Rook¹ having approved the arrangements I had made, I left under his order the Persons in whom I had vested the responsibility of occasional services, and I judged it my duty to wait upon your Grace to give full information and to explain my late situation in the County, which I by your Grace [desire] to explain to his Majesty. I shall await your Grace’s orders, and have left my Family in the Country until his Majesty’s pleasure shall be known.

“I have the honor to be
 “Your Grace’s Obedt. Humble Servant,
 “CAWDOR.”

Just a week later, and Lord Cawdor finds time to let his wife at Stackpole have the latest news from London in a letter now in the possession of Mr. Laws:—

“OXFORD ST., *Monday Morn,*
 “*March 13, 1797.*

“I have at length the satisfaction of an hour’s time free from interruption to give you a short account of our employment etc. since I quitted you, but shall reserve much of the detail for your amusement when we meet, a moment I ardently long for. Near Tavern Spite I met a messenger with the D. of Portland’s despatches to me signifying the King’s approbation of my conduct, which probably General Rooke has shown you, accompanied also

¹ Rooke, *vide post*, p. 205.

by a handsome and flattering private letter from the Duke.

“Upon my arrival at Carmarthen I immediately sent off the messenger with my letter, and finding the impossibility of procuring horses until the following night, was in expectation of getting a quiet night, having procured a bed at a private house; but an alarm of fire in the town joined to confusion created by the report of a landing in great force in Glamorganshire, which I knew must have no foundation, prevented my obtaining sleep for one moment. Early in the morn we left Carmarthen, with three chaises; in the first, Joe Adams had charge of Tate and Captain Tyrell, the first alarmed and confused, the second a stupid Paddy. I had Le Brun with me, as dirty as a pig, but more intelligent and better manners; in the last, Lord E. Somerset had the care of Captain Norris and Lieutenant St. Leger, both greatly frightened, they had but little conversation. The whole road we passed through great crowds of people at all the places were [*sic*] we changed horses, and thro’ Wales tho’ the indignation of the people was great, I found my influence would protect them without difficulty. The women were more clamorous than the men, making signs to cut their throats, and desiring I would not take the trouble of carrying them further. All the military assistance I could get at Oxford as a guard for the night was a sergeant of your friend and landlord, and two recruits, but I had no apprehension of their escape as their remain [*sic*] with us was the only thing that assured their safety. At Uxbridge the rage of the mob was chiefly directed against Tate, who was supposed to be Wall, and he trembled almost to convulsions, by a little arrangement I contrived to bring them quiet through the parks, and lodged them in the Duke of Portland’s before any crowd was assembled. My time since that moment has been taken up with attendance at the different offices, &c., and ministers are

so bewildered by the difficulties at the Bank, &c., that it is more than usually difficult to get access to them for any time, but I have seen them all and stated to them plainly and decidedly, the situation of Pembroke, &c., giving any testimony in my power. The weather is extremely cold, the town I hear dull and unpleasant, everybody I have seen much interested about you. Mrs. Wodehouse . . . and desires her love. Joe sends his respects."¹

The more minute details of the days which immediately followed the invasion of Fishguard have now lost all interest, but the recollection of the event itself has been kept green in Pembrokeshire by several ballads, of which the following (kindly furnished to the writers by Mr. Laws) are typical specimens :—

THE FRENCH INVASION

[Ballad transcribed from the dictation of an old man who used to sing it, by the daughter of Mr. Olive, formerly of the Pear Tree Inn, Jeffreston, near Tenby, who forwarded it to Mr. John Leach.]

Ho, Britons, give attention
 To what I have to say,
 How Providence did favour us
 And mercy did display :
 How we were saved in Pembrokeshire
 From danger of the Gaul,
 When they attempted to land here
 With musket, sword, and ball.

It was in February,
 The three-and-twentieth day,
 The French they came to Fishguard
 To take our lives away.

¹ *Fishguard in 1797*, pp. 23-24.

Full fourteen hundred of them bold
Did land on British shore,
Such dreadful sight was ne'er beheld
In Pembrokeshire before.
Lord Cawdor and his loyal men
Rode bold to Fishguard town,
And Major Ackland likewise,
To keep the Frenchmen down.
Lieutenant-Colonel Colby
Rode like a valiant knight,
And for his king and country
Determined for to fight.
And worthy Captain Ackland,
To him praise is also due,
He and his men proved loyal,
Being willing and so true,
And Colonel Knox together,
In full career they went
To face the bloody Frenchmen,
Whose hearts did then relent.
Esquire Chiles of Begelly,
He mustered before day ;
And being a loyal subject,
He marched us all away.
He rode himself before us,
Upon his gallant steed,
And so to Fishguard town we went
To face the French with speed.

The country folks they gathered
To Fishguard from all parts,
And like loyal men were willing
To try their skill and hearts :
With hooks and knives and pitchforks
To oppose the enemy,
And for their king and country
Courageously would die.

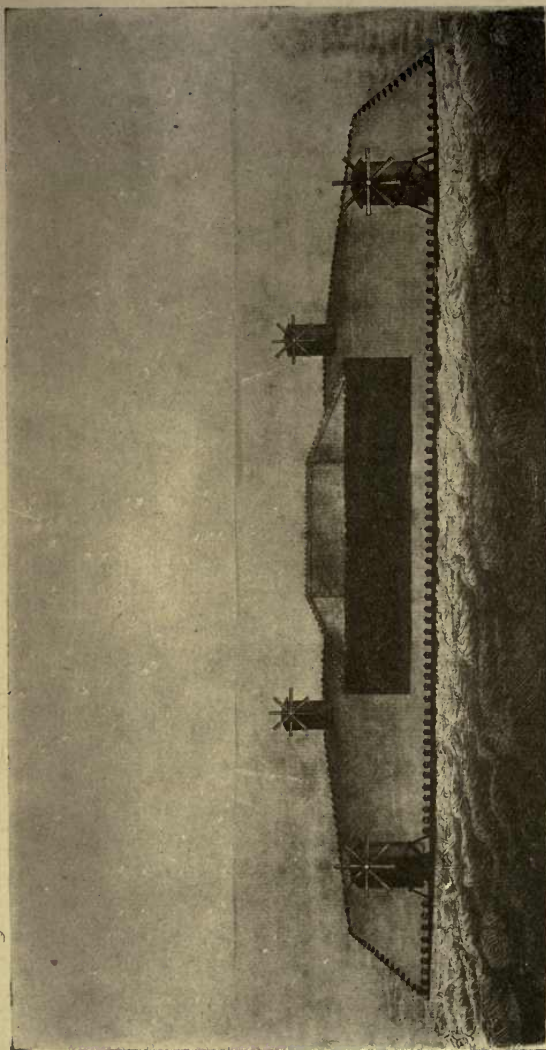
The Frenchmen they desired
The British force to know ;
Before they did surrender,
They gave a fatal blow.

NAPOLEON AND THE

Two of our countrymen courageously did go.
They thought to meet them as their friends,
But met them as their foe.
In answer to the Frenchmen,
Lord Cawdor to them said,
That they were four thousand—
On battle all were bent ;
And hundreds more were coming,
Increasing from all parts,
Who solemnly there did declare
To fight with all their hearts.

It was on Friday evening
That they gave up the field ;
It was a pleasant sight to see
So many forced to yield.
'Tis not our men, or strength of arms,
But Providence, we own,
Did fight the battle for us
And keep the Frenchmen down.
When they found out our forces,
They saw it was in vain
For them to stand engagement—
The case was made so plain.
Twelve hours they did desire,
And would surrender then.
Lord Cawdor he allowed it,
And so did all his men.

God bless our king and country
With plenty, joy, and peace,
And may all French and Spanish
From Britain ever cease.
Likewise all our noblemen—
Bless them with counsel wise
For to be loyal to their king
And face their enemies.



A new MACHINE (or RAFT) to cover (or protect) the Landing of the FRENCH on their intended
INVASION OF ENGLAND.

Engraved after an Original Drawing made by a FRENCH PRISONER of WAR.
 This Machine is but a 2,100 Feet long, and 1500 Feet broad, has 500 Cannon round, of 36 and 48 pounders, 1 at each end & 2000 Mills, which will Work in the Water at every point of the Wind to Navigate; in the middle is a Fort including Mortars, Batteries, &c. It carries 60000 Men, Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery.

Lambert, Published by Wm. BENTON, Engraver and Printer, King Street, London, Dec. 29. 1794.

ANOTHER BALLAD ON THE FRENCH LANDING¹

- 1st. Come all you loyal Welshmen,
 And thank the Lord with speed,
 It's late has been our Saviour
 In a great time of need.
 He saved us from invasion
 That happened in this land,
 His providence protected us
 From their avenging hand.
- 2nd. 'Twas from fourteen hundred Frenchmen,
 They landed in full view,
 With arms and ammunitions
 For this country to subdue.
 If had not the great Almighty
 Had pity on us all,
 Before those cruel enemies
 We should been forced to fall.
- 3rd. They landed at Llanwnda
 In Pembrokeshire, I say,
 And thought that in this country
 They would make a desperate sway.
 They came into this harbour
 With glory and renown,
 And said unto each other,
 "We'll take the English crown."
- 4th. But thanks be to our Saviour
 That saved us from all harm,
 For certainly it was to us
 A very great alarm.

¹ Sent by the present Earl Cawdor to Mr. Laws, with the following note:—

"STACKPOLE COURT, PEMBROKE,

"December 17th, '91.

"Dear Laws,

"I enclose a copy of an old *poem* which was recited by Lizzie Davies, the Corston (in Castlemartin parish) carpenter's daughter; it has been handed down by word of mouth from her grandfather.

"Yours sincerely,

"CAWDOR."

NAPOLEON AND THE

So the time when they came in
 It's now I'll tell the year,
 One thousand seven hundred
 And ninety-seven is clear.

- 5th. In February month,
 The twenty-second day,
 Those villain murderers came
 And did no time delay.
 When the news went up to Fishguard,
 'Twas with a dreadful sound,
 That there were fourteen hundred
 Upon Trehowel ground.
- 6th. For messengers so swift they sent
 And fetch [*sic*] the very best,
 To send the news directly
 Straight on to Haverfordwest.
 From Haverfordwest to Pembroke
 In an instant without doubt,
 To give the soldiers warning
 They were to have a rout.
- 7th. The soldiers spoke together
 And said, "We are but few,
 But we'll appear before them
 Like men of courage true";
 Then on they went a-marching
 Like men of fame and might,
 And thought that with those Frenchmen
 They should have been force to fight.
- 8th. Lord Cawdor's cavalry before,
 A valiant troop indeed,
 And the Cardigan Malitia [*sic*]
 Did follow on with speed,
 One hundred more from Pembroke
 With Acklind¹ they did go,
 And Colonel Knox's soldiers
 Was ready for the foe.

¹ Ackland.

- 9th. The Volunteers from Haverford
Did quickly march along,
And all the jolly sailors
From Hackin in a throng,
So did the Tenby colliers,
They rose and took their flight
With hooks and scythes and pitchforks
Those ruffians for to fight.
- 10th. Then on they went a-marching,
Like men of valour true,
They did behold at Pencaer
A very dismal view—
Those ruffians were together
A marching all around,
It was a horrid sight to see
Upon the British ground.
- 11th. Lord Cawdor took his horse
And unto them did go,
The very foremost man of us
That face the daring foe.
He bid them to prepare,
They came at his command,
And put their swords and muskets
Down upon the Goodwick Sand.
- 12th. Then they were taken prisoners
And unto prison brought.
Oh! when they were a-landing
Such thing they never thought.
The Lord had mercy on us
And saved us from their hand,
And never let such enemies
For to invade our land.

It is not astonishing to learn that while the ringleaders were *en route* for London, one of the subordinate officers was detected while on parole in the act of selling a silver chalice purloined from Llanwnda Church, and pleaded in

vain that the half-defaced word upon it really meant "La Vendée." We will leave the filibuster Tate and his comrade, Monsieur le Baron de Rochemure, *alias* Le Brun, in London, and as "dirty as pigs." It is a fitting ending to this "singular expedition," planned in malice and carried out with folly. It is not surprising that a large-hearted man and impartial writer like Captain Desbrière rejoices to feel that its leader was not a Frenchman. In any case Fishguard served as an appropriate text for one of the countless patriotic broadsides issued during the second period of the Great Terror, a facsimile of which is given on the opposite page.

This day was published,

AN

ADDRESS to the PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF Great Britain and Ireland, ON THE THREATENED INVASION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ABOVE WORK.

AMONG the inexpressibly dreadful consequences which are sure to attend the conquest of your Island by the French, there is one of so horrible a nature, as to deserve distinct notice. This barbarous, but most artful people, when first they invade a country in the conquest of which they apprehend any difficulty, in order to obtain the confidence of the people, compel their troops to observe the strictest discipline, and often put a soldier to death for stealing the most trifling article. Like spiders they artfully weave a web round their victim, before they begin to prey upon it. But when their success is complete they then let loose their troops, with resistless fury, to commit the most horrible excesses, and to pillage, burn, and desolate, without mercy, and without distinction. But the practice to which I particularly allude will make your blood freeze in your veins. These wretches are accustomed, whenever they prevail, to subject the women to the most brutal violence, which they perpetrate with an insulting ferocity, of which the wildest savages would be incapable. To gratify their furious passions is not however their chief object in these atrocities. Their principal delight is to shock the feelings of fathers and brothers, and husbands! Will you, my Countrymen, while you can draw a trigger, or handle a pike, suffer your daughters, your sisters, and wives, to fall into the power of such monsters?

Specimens of French Ferocity and Brutality in Wales.

It is well known that in the last War some French troops succeeded in effecting a landing in Wales. They were greatly superior to the regular force which happened to be in the part of the country where they landed: but, upon seeing, at a distance, a number of Welsh women with red cloaks, whom they mistook for soldiers, they surrendered! The following proofs of their ferocity and brutality are well attested.

A peasant whom they had compelled to assist them in landing their stores, presumed to ask for some compensation, upon which the commanding Officer drew a pistol, and SHOT THE POOR FELLOW THROUGH THE HEART.

Two Officers went to a house, in which was a woman in child-bed, attended by her mother, who was upwards of Seventy Years old. The French brutes tied the husband with cords, and, in his presence, defiled both the wife and the mother!!!

LONDON

Printed by H. Bryer, Bridewell Hospital, Bridge Street.

The Address is sold by J. DOWNES, Temple Bar; J. SPRAGG, King Street Covent Garden; J. ASPERNE, Cornhill; and J. HATCHARD, Piccadilly.
Price Two-pence each, or Twelve Shillings the Hundred, and Eighteen-pence per Dozen.

CHAPTER III

FIRST PHASE OF NAPOLEON'S INVASION PROJECTS—PREPARATIONS ON THE FRENCH COASTS, OCTOBER, 1797, TO MAY, 1798

“Crown so illustrious a life, by a conquest which the Great Nation owes to its outraged dignity.”—BARRAS.

“**C**ONQUEST has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me.” In this piquant sentence Napoleon Bonaparte summed up both his career and his aspirations. At twenty-eight years of age, having crossed swords with imperious Austria to her disadvantage, his name caused no little trepidation in the Courts of Europe, and politicians looked askance at each other when the latest tidings of the little man with the big brain came to hand. It was while the youthful General was at the head of the Army of Italy, almost before the ink had dried on the Treaty of Campo Formio,¹ which pacified the Continent for a time, that the Directory, “that ridiculous government of lawyers,” appointed him Commander of the Army of England. The Land of the Free alone refused to come to terms with France; in the language of Pitt, its Government was at war in order to “provide for the security of our own country and the general security of Europe.”²

¹ Signed on the 17th October, 1797.

² See Pitt's speech of February 12th, 1793.

In the summer of 1797, as has been already related, the Directory had formally agreed to an expedition against England, and now resolved to come to close quarters with as little delay as possible. Indeed, Monge gave it as his opinion that "the Government of England and the French Republic cannot both continue to exist," an axiom heartily endorsed by Bonaparte throughout his career. Probably English gold, rather than the subjugation of the country, was the object most desired in the present instance; the sacking of the Bank was infinitely more important than the capture of the kingdom.¹ The official order for giving actuality to the latest invasion scheme was issued on the 26th October, 1797:—

"The Executive Directory decrees what follows :

"Article 1.—There shall be assembled without delay, on the coasts of the ocean, an army which shall be called the Army of England.

"2.—Citizen General Bonaparte is named Commander-in-Chief of that army.

"LA RÉVEILLIÈRE-LÉPEAUX, *Pres.*

"LAGARDE, *Sec. Gen.*"

¹ "The whole army wants to go to England. It is there that is found the golden fleece which lures on these eager Argonauts."—Dumouriez MS., p. 276. In his pamphlet, *Tableau Spéculatif de l'Europe*, the General also remarks: "It is the interest of all the maritime Powers of Europe that the projected descent upon England should prove unsuccessful. The Continental Powers are actuated by the same motives. The universal bankruptcy that must follow the success of that measure, and the specie of Europe in the hands of a rapacious and unbridled nation, in possession also of every possible strength by land and sea, would leave no bounds to her ambition, which has always increased in proportion to her success. The subversion of every throne, and the annihilation of every political, civil, and religious Constitution, would be the fatal result. Democracy would devour Europe, and terminate by devouring itself."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXVIII, part i, 1798; p. 418.

General Desaix, an officer of great talent, for whom Bonaparte cherished a warm regard, was placed in temporary command of the troops. Fifty-six thousand men were already massed on the western coasts of France, and to them was assigned the double rôle of menacing England and keeping order, but it was only with difficulty that they maintained peace in that part of the Republic, which was in a lawless and troubled condition. They were to be further strengthened by a portion of the Army of Italy which Bonaparte was authorized to send back to France to "form the nucleus of the armament which your name and your activity would render formidable to the English." On the 12th November he writes to the Directory that he has "given all the necessary orders for moving our columns to the ocean," and that he is sending Citizen Andréossy to Paris the following day for the purpose of preparing artillery "of the same calibre as the English field-pieces, so that, once in the country, we may be able to use their cannon-balls," an idea eminently worthy of the young captain of the artillery train at the siege of Toulon. As the total number of men supplied by the Army of Italy to that of England amounted to some thirty-six thousand only, exclusive of troops drafted from the Army of the Rhine under the dashing Augereau, the force at Bonaparte's disposal was none too strong if a serious effort was intended. Masséna's division and several other regiments were to swell their ranks, but while on the march from Italy to the coasts they were suddenly diverted and sent to Switzerland, the independence of which had been violated by the Directory.

Bonaparte had already communicated to Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the policy which he

thought France ought to follow in her attitude towards England. "Our Government," he writes, "must destroy the English Monarchy, or expect itself to be destroyed by these intriguing and enterprising islanders. The present moment offers a capital opportunity. Let us concentrate all our efforts on the navy, and annihilate England. That done, Europe is at our feet."¹ This is exactly what the Conqueror of Italy did on his return to Paris, and for the nonce the army was put in the background, and the navy became first favourite. It is clear that he was under no delusion as to the supreme difficulty of the task before him. He informed the Directory that "for an expedition against England we require: 1st, good naval officers; 2nd, a great army, well commanded; 3rd, an intelligent and determined admiral—I think Truguet the best; 4th, thirty million francs in ready money." He discreetly adds: "Although I truly need repose, yet I shall not refuse, as far as possible, to sacrifice myself for my country."² To these general principles, which were only those of common sense, he remained faithful when he elaborated his later and more serious attempts at invasion. Although he endeavoured to foster his maritime resources in every direction when the reins of government were in his hands, lack of sea power was indirectly the cause of the decline and fall of the First Empire.

Leaving Rastadt, where a congress had been opened for the purpose of concluding the details of a *modus vivendi* between France and the Empire and the ratification of

¹ Bonaparte to Talleyrand, October 17th, 1797.

² *A Selection from the Letters and Dispatches of the First Napoleon*, Vol. I, p. 191, by Captain the Hon. D. A. Bingham.

peace between France and Austria, Bonaparte travelled the many leagues which separated him from Paris with all speed. When the horses were changed he chafed and fumed until the carriage was again careering over the rut-wrinkled ground designated by courtesy a road. He arrived in the capital on the 5th December, 1797, after a tedious but triumphant journey. His welcome was stupendous, but at the time he paid scant attention to the acclamation of the multitude, and he distrusted the men in authority, who envied him his rapid rise to fame, and had actually gone so far as to send a man to Italy "to keep an eye on Bonaparte."¹ The stirring events of 1795, when he had poured grape-shot into the unruly rabble, had taught him that the mob is an uncertain quantity, applauding one day and denouncing the next. Always a student of human nature, and none too great a believer in its goodness, Bonaparte understood the *canaille* well enough to know that unless he continually dazzled them by brilliant exploits he could never hope to maintain his present position, let alone put into operation the astounding ideas which were germinating in his fertile brain. He had endeavoured to become one of the Directors without success, for his age was against him, and he was dubbed "too ambitious"; but he knew that if triumph followed triumph, and he made himself indispensable to his adopted country, nothing could prevent him from gaining the power he sought. To use the apt phraseology of Barras, the President of the Directory, who, it must be admitted, was somewhat two-faced where the young General was concerned, "Bonaparte was in quest of an outlet for his ambition, and was going about seeking whom he might

¹ *Memoirs of Barras*, Vol. II, p. 513.

devour.”¹ Never in the history of France had there been so many intellectual gladiators in the arena as at the end of the eighteenth century. A great mind-movement was in process of development, but it was too complex, too diffuse, to make its influence felt as a concrete whole. From the entangled threads of the Revolution was woven, not the sovereignty of the people, but the despotism of one man; the very opposite effect the original cause was calculated to bring about.

At the fête given in the magnificent palace of the Luxembourg on the formal presentation by Bonaparte to the Directory of the ratification of the treaty of peace by the Emperor Francis II, Barras announced in pompous phrases the task which the popular hero had been called upon to undertake, declaring that “Nature had exhausted her energies in the production of a Bonaparte.” Turning in the direction of the sallow-faced young soldier, who, garbed in the simple costume of a civilian, contrasted oddly with the elaborately decorated officials about him, he cried: “Crown so illustrious a life, by a conquest which the Great Nation owes to its outraged dignity. Go, and by the punishment of the Cabinet of London strike terror into the hearts of all who would miscalculate the powers of a free people. Let the conquerors of the Po, the Rhine, and the Tiber march under your banner. The ocean will be proud to bear you. It is a slave, still indignant, which blushes for its fetters. Hardly will the tricoloured standard wave on the blood-stained shores of the Thames ere an unanimous cry will bless your arrival, and that generous nation will receive you as its liberator.”²

¹ Barras, Vol. III, p. 205.

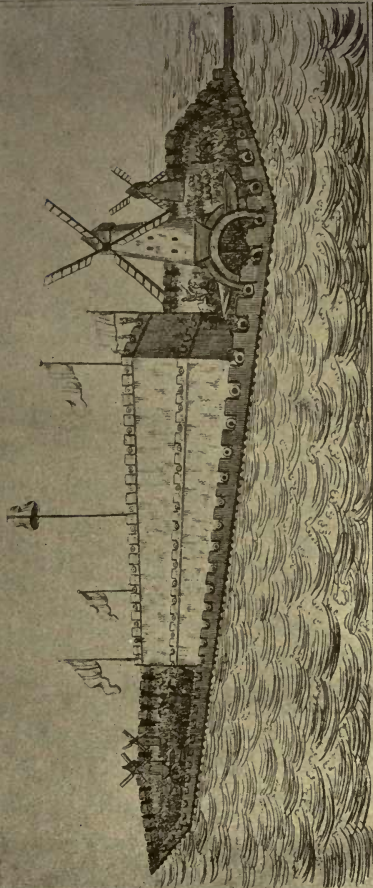
² “Napoleon’s Memoirs,” quoted in Thiers’ *History of the French Revolution* (1881 edition), Vol. V, p. 217, note.

Putting aside any ulterior object the Directory may have contemplated in urging Bonaparte to set sail for England, the last sentence in this farrago of fulsome flattery exactly conveyed the opinion of Frenchmen at the time. They firmly believed that the General would be received with open arms, that it only needed a spark to set England aflame with revolutionary principles.¹ At St. Helena the Emperor stoutly maintained the same erroneous impression. Far from regarding Bonaparte as a saviour and an envoy of Utopia, many of the country folk firmly believed that he ground the bones of his own maimed soldiers in the dust beneath his chariot-wheels, and found his chief pleasure in listening to the groans of the dying; in a word, that he was the devil in sheep's clothing. The English press did its best to foster these beliefs; it represented him as a monster, an imbecile, a butcher, and a debauchee. It teemed with the most unsavoury libels about his person, his morals, and his methods. Stories about the "Corsican monster," especially those of an atrocious character, gained wide circulation. The whole country, individually and collectively, was led to believe that the idol of France was in very truth a fiend² in human shape. This phase of

¹ London was infested at this time with emissaries engaged in feeling the public pulse as to how a foreign invasion with universal liberty as its watchword would be received. In a criminal trial arising out of these manœuvres Samuel Rogers, the banker poet, who had been approached by a person named Stone, gave evidence. See Rogers's *Table Talk*, edited by Rev. A. Dyce, pp. 146-51, also *post*, pp. 201, 202.

² Thackeray tells us in *The Four Georges* that when he was on his way to England to be educated the ship touched at St. Helena. Napoleon was pointed out to him by his Indian servant. "That's he," cried the dusky worthy, "that's Bonaparte. He eats three sheep a day, and all the children he can lay hands on."

The real View of the FRENCH RAFT as intended for the Invasion of ENGLAND Drawn from the Original at Brest.



The Slooping Machine contains 2,100 feet in length by 1500 in breadth which is longed by four Wheels (or turn
 in the Water by the action and strength with equal facility from whatever point it may blow on the whole as far as the
 Ladies Mortars and mortars for the Defense of the Corps in the Ocean Corridors. The Raft is armed on each side with
 ends one Battery of 100 pieces from 36 to 48 pounders and is intended to contain 60,000 Men &c
 Plate of page 74 75

[1797-1801]

the subject will be further dealt with in the chapters devoted to the humour, poetry, pathos, and satire of the Great Terror.

On the other hand, everything calculated to stir up hatred of John Bull in France was done. Talleyrand addressed a letter to all the diplomatic and consular agents directing them to foster this spirit of hatred and malevolence. "Your first and leading object," he averred, "must be to show everywhere how little the English Cabinet is worthy of confidence. Exert all your endeavours, citizens, in this main object of your labours. You must doubtless meet with great difficulties, but you will know how to surmount them. Be not disheartened—the Army of England will remove and smooth away the obstacles that oppose you."¹

The gullible section of the French public was told that Monge was constructing a number of huge rafts, each of which was to be 700 yards long, 350 yards wide, and eight stories high. A contemporary publication, entitled *Recherche sur L'Usage des Radeaux pour une Descente*, by M——, Colonel in the Army of Condé, formerly member of the Royal Academy at Paris, deals fully with this chimerical means of transport, and gives elaborate statistics to prove the absurdity of the plan, which was not, of course, ever seriously intended by those in authority. "One of them," says the writer, "would require thirty fir trees in length, 900 in breadth and eight in height, in all 216,000 trees; each a foot square, each containing sixty cubic feet, each foot weighing from fifty-two to fifty-five pounds, would make 3120 to 3300 feet, or three horse loads; and the whole would require 618,000 horses or

¹ *Times*, January 8th, 1798.

108,000 carriages and as many carters to bring them from the forest to the sea. . . . The total weight of one raft would be 44,550 tons . . . including the ramparts, the citadel, and the masts or machinery substituted for them, men, horses, cannon, and ammunition, provisions, draw-bridges, and boats. . . . Four such rafts would carry 72,000 men and 8000 horses.”¹

French finances were now at a very low ebb, and two schemes, widely differing in detail, were put forward by the Council of Five Hundred for raising the necessary funds for the expedition. The first was introduced by Monnot, in the name of a committee, who proposed a loan of 80,000,000 livres (francs) by the issue of 80,000 shares of 1000 livres each. Twenty dividends were to be made, with an interest of twenty-five livres, payable every six months, and one-tenth of the loan was to be repaid yearly by a lottery, “the reimbursement of the capital of the loan, and the payment of the interest, to be further secured upon the produce of the Posts.” The maritime prizes taken from England were to repay one-twentieth part of the sums advanced, and “the names of the lenders shall be honourably inscribed in the archives of the Legislative body.” Lamarck’s proposition was on a philanthropic as well as a patriotic basis, and was much more favourably received. Registers were opened all over the country in which enthusiastic citizens could inscribe their names and their contributions towards defraying the cost of the proposed expedition. The merchants of Paris and those who could afford to give did so generously, but the total amount received was insignificant, and recourse was had to plunder. Berthier was sent to Rome to fill the

¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. LXVIII, part i, 1798, p. 315.

coffers of the Army of England, and after being appointed its treasurer was named as Chief of the Staff, although he was not expected to fill this position until he had pacified Italy.¹ It is evident, therefore, that either the office was a purely nominal one, that the invasion was not to take place for some considerable time, or that Bonaparte had some other object in view. In any case, he did not show his hand until later, and turned his attention to the naval resources at his disposal, leaving Desaix to enjoy the sweets of power as *ad interim* head of the Army of England.

At this juncture the Republic possessed fifty-seven sail-of-the-line in all, thirty-four of which were at Brest, two at Lorient, one at Rochefort, five at Toulon, six at Corfu, and nine remnants of the Venetian navy. To these must be added forty-six frigates and seventy-two smaller vessels—many of them privateers. Unfortunately, not a single ship at Brest was armed, and ten were undergoing repairs; but fourteen sail-of-the-line, seventeen frigates, and three cutters were building in Channel and Atlantic ports. Seven frigates were on colonial service, and therefore could not be taken into account. As Brest was to be the head-quarters of the naval forces of the expedition, Bonaparte and the Minister of Marine put their heads together and drew up a plan for the concentration of the scattered units of the navy at that port. The six ships at Corfu, which were under Brueys, with the same number of frigates, were to take four months' rations and then set out for Brest, taking care to avoid

¹ The cost of the Egyptian expedition was largely defrayed by plunder and forced contributions exacted from the Swiss. See Rose's *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 180.

Lord St. Vincent's squadron blockading Cadiz. The Venetian ships were to be equipped and then proceed to Toulon to replace the vessels at that port, which, after being armed, were to unite with those at Brest. Spain and Holland were also called upon to furnish both ships and troops. There was still a show of spirit in their fleets, but they were undermanned, and there was a lamentable dearth of stores. Truguet, formerly Minister of Marine, had been appointed ambassador at Madrid, and worked with commendable assiduity to bring about this international arrangement with the Spanish Court, which was inclined to be favourable. The dogged blockade of Cadiz by the English was bitterly humiliating to a country which still retained a shred of respect for her past glories and a ray of hope for the future, as the port in question held no less than twenty-two sail-of-the-line, six frigates, and three or four smaller craft—all in a fair state of repair—under Admiral Mazaredo. Two sail-of-the-line, one frigate, and five brigantines were at Ferrol, and seven frigates at Carthagena completed the available Spanish naval forces.¹

The Dutch General Daendels, whose invasion plans have been noticed in the first chapter,² was still undaunted and sought to revive his pet idea, and proposed that his squadron should make for the Forth and from thence threaten the English while the French were either invading Ireland or the south of England.³ Wolfe Tone was sent by Daendels to Desaix to arouse his practical sympathy in the project, promising thirteen ships for

¹ Desbrière, Vol. I, pp. 286-8.

² See *ante*, p. 21.

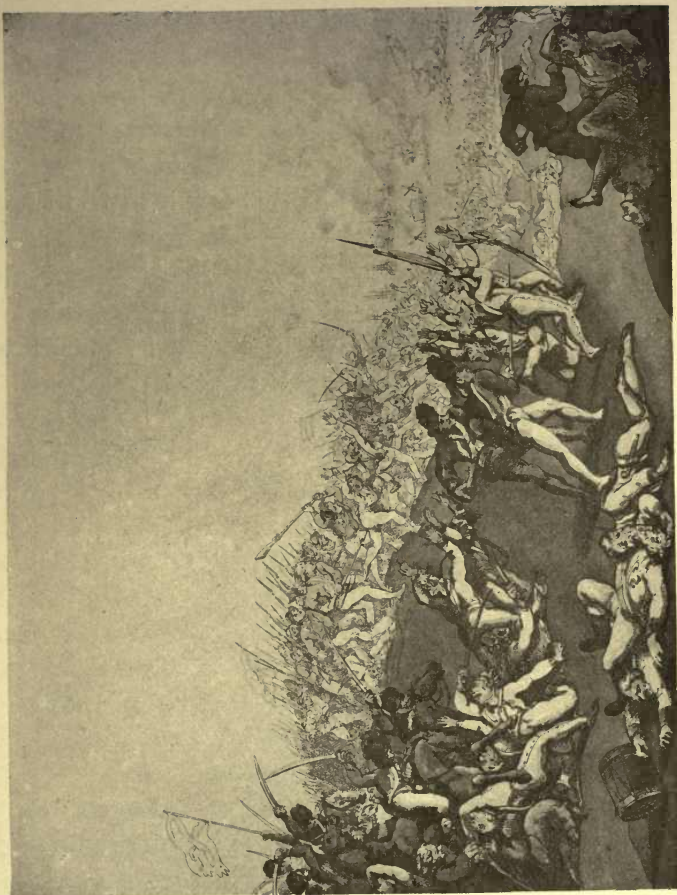
³ The most suitable places for landing will be found on the east or south-east of England on the sandy or shingly beaches.—Dumouriez MS., p. 7.

the expedition, on board of which he hoped to embark 25,000 men for Scotland. Tone, with an axe to grind on behalf of the United Irishmen, who were still bent on the emancipation of Ireland and were prepared to accept the assistance of the Great Nation, provided she came as an ally only, received a favourable reception. It is apparent from his diary that he was more interested in the French diversion outlined by Daendels than in the programme to be carried out in Scotland, for he approached Desaix for an appointment in the *Armée d'Angleterre*. On receiving an assurance that he should not be overlooked, Tone went skilfully to work to secure an interview with Bonaparte. He accomplished his purpose in the middle of December, 1797, and in company with his colleague, Lewens, the unofficial "ambassador" from Ireland, discussed the situation with the Commander-in-Chief. Although they had three interviews with him, Bonaparte does not appear to have shown particular interest in the cause, and, according to Tone, betrayed lamentable ignorance in Irish affairs. Eventually Tone received his commission as Adjutant-General in the Army of England—a position which he had also held in Hoche's ill-fated expedition.

At first Bonaparte seems to have been taken with Daendels's idea of striking a blow at two vulnerable points of the enemy's territory. Orders were issued for the construction of 170 flat-bottomed boats in the ports of the Batavian Republic, to be ready by March 22nd, 1798, a month earlier than the date given for the completion of the Brest programme. Additional boats were put on the stocks in various French ports on the Channel and the Atlantic, and the means of transport were further

augmented by the addition of many small trading vessels, either hired, purchased, or "bespoken." Great activity was apparent at Brest. Sané, Ordnance Commissary, and Vice-Admiral Lelarge, who were in charge of the arrangements, exerted themselves to the utmost, although the lamentable dearth of men and money retarded their efforts. On Desaix paying a personal visit to Brest to see how matters were progressing, he found things not at all to his liking. On the 23rd February, 1798, only ten ships were properly equipped, and all these lacked crews. Bonaparte also sent Forfait, then a rising Government engineer and later one of the most eminent naval constructors of France, to Havre invested with considerable authority. There Forfait found nine large gunboats, together with the disarmed flotilla of Muskeyn, and announced that he would shortly have sufficient vessels for the transport of 25,800 men. Not content with this vague promise, the Commander-in-Chief sent a peremptory letter to the effect that the whole force was to be in readiness by February 28th. Cherbourg, Granville, and St. Malo were all called into requisition, over sixty gunboats being in the various yards, and at St. Malo ten old ones were overhauled and refitted. Officers were enjoined to visit Boulogne and Dunkirk to report on the condition of the boats—relics of former invasion experiments—which still lay idle and unarmed at those places. Corsairs, with engineers on board, were ordered to reconnoitre the English coast from Folkestone to Rye, and to find out what batteries would have to be taken or silenced by a landing expedition.

Notwithstanding these preparations, we find Bonaparte writing to Berthier in the early days of the new year



ENGLAND INVADED OR FRENCHMEN NATURALIZED. BY ROWLANDSON [MARCH 1798]

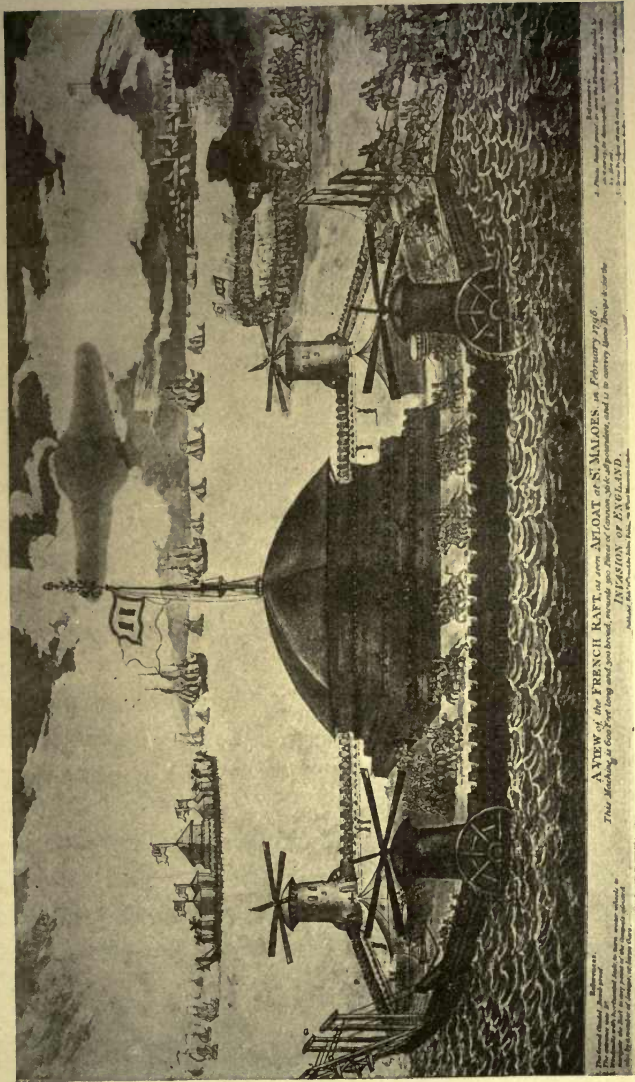
(1798) thanking him for sending him observations on French naval establishments in the Ionian Sea. Bonaparte says: "I should much like to have you with me in England";¹ but the previous reference shows which way the wind of ambition was blowing, and that he only awaited a favourable opportunity to suggest the idea of an eastern and not a western expedition. He was now apparently more inclined to follow in the footsteps of Alexander than in those of Julius Cæsar, and told Talleyrand that the proper way to attack England was by seizing Malta, occupying Egypt, and afterwards invading India. "We may change the face of the world!" he said in a burst of enthusiasm over so dazzling a prospect. This did not, however, prevent Bonaparte from setting out on February 8th, 1798, to explore the coast, ostensibly to select the best points for embarking a force should the Directory turn a deaf ear to his plans for Oriental conquest. He was accompanied by Lannes, Sulkowsky, and Bourrienne, the latter having known Bonaparte since he was nine years of age, and eventually becoming one of his secretaries. It is significant that no sooner had the Commander-in-Chief left Paris than Talleyrand broached the question of an expedition to Egypt to the Directory, laying before them Bonaparte's own plans for such a design. However, the General gave his entire attention to the work on hand. Forfait and Andréossy were examined and cross-examined. Holland was told to supply twenty or thirty gunboats and from two hundred to two hundred and fifty fishing-smacks. Bonaparte sought information from all and sundry, and would discuss matters with

¹ To General Berthier, at Milan. Dated Paris, 6th January, 1798. Bingham, Vol. I, p. 198.

smugglers and other seafaring men long after his subordinates had retired to rest. He was in search of information, and neglected no possible source of obtaining it.

It was ever his policy to enter into minute details, and it mattered little to him to what class a man belonged so long as he could be utilized for this purpose. Plebeian and aristocrat alike became his tools, and men of every degree bent, often unwittingly, to his irresistible and imperious will. The stirring up of dormant ambition in others was also a characteristic trait in Napoleon's scheme of leadership. He fostered their energy instead of curbing it, but he trained the tender plant in the direction it should grow, namely, around himself and his interests. An aristocracy of brains was Bonaparte's ideal, and the Man of Destiny acted up to it so far as circumstances allowed him to do so. Even now he was gathering about him the men who were to be his marshals and the future pillars of his throne.

His restless activity in urging forward the necessary preparations for the contemplated invasion of England was apparent in all directions, and astonished everybody with whom he came in contact. Forfait remarked on it in one of his numerous reports. "General Bonaparte," he says, "reached Dunkirk on February 11th. He spent the 12th there, and on the 13th left for Belgium. During his short stay he investigated all our preparations and works, and drew up a plan of armaments to be executed by March 21st. He ordered the construction of fifty large pinnaces, and I was enjoined to move heaven and earth to get shipping accommodation for four to five thousand horses, fifty thousand men and guns, and all necessary supplies; to provide large and small gunboats



A VIEW of the FRENCH RAFT, as seen ABOARD of S^t. MALOES on February 1766.
This Machine, consisting of six Windmills, used in the country about Bruges to raise the Water out of the Low Countries, was brought to the River Mersey, in the Month of August 1765, and arrived at the Mouth of the River on the 10th of February 1766.

The French Raft, as seen ABOARD of S^t. MALOES on February 1766.

This Machine, consisting of six Windmills, used in the country about Bruges to raise the Water out of the Low Countries, was brought to the River Mersey, in the Month of August 1765, and arrived at the Mouth of the River on the 10th of February 1766.

to the greatest possible number; and so direct these operations that in fifteen to twenty days everything should be ready to move off.”¹ Contracts for the building of these vessels were entered into by the Commission des Côtes de La Manche. The names of men who afterwards distinguished themselves in Napoleon’s fight for the sovereignty of the sea are to be found in the list of commissioners. General Andréossy was director-general, M. Forfait was director, and Rear-Admiral Lacrosse was inspector-general, who had as assistants Captains Ganteaume, Decrès, Dumanoir Le Pelley, and de Casa Bianca.² That a serious effort was being made to meet Bonaparte’s demands is shown in the interesting diary of an English spy.³

“On the road to Lisle,” he notes, “every useful tree cut down, and sawyers at work, cutting plank and other scantling, and carts transporting it to the coast in great numbers.” On the 13th February, 1798, he “met General Buonaparte between Furnes and Dunkirque, going to Ostend to inspect the port, and make contracts for building flat-bottom boats for the descent.” The same informant gives twenty-one large boats, “made to row a number of oars, and a mast to strike or lay down when needful,” as being on the stocks at Bergh,⁴ “a small town on the side of the canal from Dunkirque to St. Omer”; eleven building at Rouen, at Havre “flat-bottom boats without number,” sixty at Honfleur, and fifteen at Calais. Military measures were no less active. The same eye-witness states that on the 17th February 4000 troops

¹ Desbrière, Vol. I, p. 323.

² *The Royal Navy*, Vol. IV, p. 339, by W. Laird Clowes, etc.

³ *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, Vol. I, pp. 165-8.

⁴ Bergues.

arrived at Lisle from Holland; Douay, Cambray, and Péronne were "all full of troops, horse and foot." In Paris, "a guard at every corner of the street, but all quiet." In Évreux there were 5000 troops "all ready for marching"; at or near Havre 21,000 troops were stationed, "ready to embark at short notice." At Rouen, the head-quarters of the Army of England, 25,000 men "are ready to march at an hour's notice, mounted and dismounted cavalry 3000, the rest are foot, but indifferent men, and badly clothed." On the 8th March, 1798, the spy left the capital for Calais. "On the road, troops and waggons with arms, without number, moving in all directions." The following day he arrived at Douay, where he found ninety-one pieces of artillery in the churchyard, "getting ready to set out next day for the coast, with a great number of troops." At Gravelines "great preparations" were also being made. He gives the total number of troops ordered for the invasion as 275,000 men [*sic*], "mounted and unmounted, cavalry battalion men, and infantry, all to be within twenty-four hours' forced march of the coast."

Having concluded his tour of inspection, Bonaparte returned to his Paris residence in the Rue Chantreine, and reported that the time had not yet arrived for a western expedition. "Make what efforts we will," he informed the Directory in an exceedingly lengthy report, "we shall not for many years acquire the control of the sea. To make a descent upon England, without being master of the sea, is the boldest and most difficult operation ever attempted."¹ If it were possible at all, it would be by giving the English blockading fleets the slip and

¹ Dated February 23rd, 1798. See *Correspondance de Napoléon I*, Letter No. 2419.

crossing over by night to the coast of Kent or Sussex, therefore any month after April was unfavourable. In his later projects Bonaparte was of opinion that summer was the best time for crossing. He expressed himself as very dissatisfied with the condition of the navy, but he deemed the expedition still feasible if the following programme could be carried out :—

1. Equip and collect at Havre and Dunkirk all sloops and gunboats between Ostend and Bayonne.
2. Put an embargo upon, fit out, and charter all vessels destined to transport cavalry.
3. Charter and place an embargo upon the craft which Forfait and Andréossy had catalogued as existing between Cherbourg and Antwerp.
4. Enjoin the Batavian Republic to provide the vessels which Bonaparte had asked for.
5. Commandeer the best corsairs of less than 100 tons to be found between Bordeaux and Antwerp, and send them on to Havre or Dunkirk.

If these demands could not be met speedily, or if the navy was not in a fit state, Bonaparte considered that the expedition had better be abandoned, but that appearances should be kept up, and the Rhine be made the objective as being near Hanover, which they should try to take from King George III. An expedition to threaten English trade in the Levant offered another alternative; failing all these, the General suggested that France should make peace with her neighbour across the Channel.

By the end of March thirteen ships of the Brest fleet, after being repaired, were ready for sea, a result not at all propitious for the hoped-for completion of the thirty-four by the 20th April. The Directory accordingly issued a secret *arrêté* dated March 31st :—¹

¹ *European Magazine*, 1798, Foreign Intelligence, p. 278.

“The Executive Directory, considering the accounts which have been laid before it by the Minister of Marine and the Colonies, during his late residence at Brest, and reflecting that the want of concert between the operations of the army and the fleet, intended to serve in the expedition against England, opposes obstacles to the necessary despatch, and may retard the success of it, issues the following *arrêté* :—

- “Art. 1.—General Buonaparte shall repair to Brest in the course of the present decade,¹ to take the command of the Army of England.
- “2.—He is invested with the control and direction of all the land and naval stores that are to be used in the expedition against England.
- “3.—The present *arrêté* shall not be printed. The Ministers of War and of the Marine are charged in their respective departments with the execution of it.

“MERLIN, *President*.

“LAGARDE, *Secretary*.”

It is perfectly clear that Bonaparte then realized—and it would have been well for him had he realized it in later periods of his power—that the English navy was an impassable barrier between the two countries. He was also aware of the very considerable difference of opinion existing among the Directors as to the practicability of the plan of invasion then under consideration. The repeated failure of previous efforts in the same direction certainly did not encourage too great a faith in the present expedition, nor did the unhealthy condition of the Funds favour the spending of “thirty million francs in ready money,” asked for so peremptorily by Bonaparte. It is

¹ The week of the Republican Calendar.

no cause for wonder that they hesitated between striking "perfidious Albion" *viâ* the Channel, or effecting the same object *viâ* Egypt, with an ultimate prospect of attacking her in India, where they believed wealth was to be had without running such obvious risks as the former plan entailed. Bonaparte's ardent temperament, tinged with the romance of the sunny South and intensified by the writings of Plutarch, lent itself readily to the glamour of the East. "Europe," he asserted, "is no field for glorious exploits; no great empires or revolutions are to be found but in the East, where there are six hundred millions of men." His brother Lucien is authority for the statement that Napoleon once spoke of endeavouring to enter the British army in order to take part in empire-making in India.¹ "If I ever choose that career," he remarked, with that wonderful self-reliance which was evident even before he entered his teens, "I hope you will hear of me. In a few years I shall return a rich nabob, and bring fine dowries for our sisters."² How humble an ambition this seems in the light of subsequent events! Yet at the time his family considered it to be but the day-dream of a high-strung and imaginative youth. Had the suggestion been acted upon, one wonders if the names of Wellington and Bonaparte would have both gone down to posterity as

¹ At St. Helena Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, then in command of the Cape station, which included the island, had several conversations with the fallen Emperor, and asked him whether there was any truth in this statement. Napoleon replied that it was Paoli who had urged him to seek service in the English army, his reason for not following the advice being, besides the obvious difficulties of language and religion (perhaps not so great a barrier), that he "thought the beginning of a revolution a fine time for an enterprising young man."—See *A Diary of St. Helena: The Journal of Lady Malcolm*, p. 88.

² *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Vol. I, p. 123, by Professor W. M. Sloane.

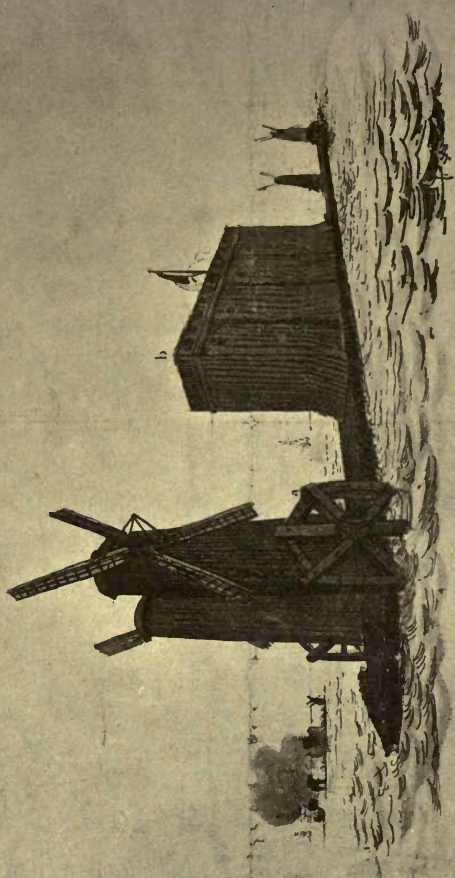
meritorious British generals instead of as lifelong antagonists?

Bonaparte soon flung himself into the scales for an Egyptian expedition, and after receiving the consent of the Directory, promptly but stealthily set about concealing the real object of his designs, continuing to sign himself "General-in-Chief of the Army in England," while preparations for the invasion were continued under General Hédouville. "The Directorate," says Barras, "believing that it should persist in its threatening attitude against England, decided that the fitting out of the expedition should be so hurried forward as to enable an army to land in that island in the following month of October."¹ A month before he set sail from Toulon Bonaparte outlined a plan which not only reveals his increasing aggressiveness and an astounding want of principle, but also his belief in the practicability of placing an army on English soil.

"In our position," he says, writing on the 13th April, 1798, "we ought to fight England with success, and we can do so. Whether we have peace or war, we ought to spend forty or fifty millions in reorganizing our navy. Our land army will be neither more nor less powerful in consequence; but, on the other hand, war will force England to make immense preparations which will ruin her finances, destroy her commercial spirit, and completely change the constitution and manners of her people. We ought to spend the whole summer in getting ready our Brest fleet, in exercising our seamen in the roadstead, and in finishing the vessels which are under construction at

¹ *Memoirs of Barras*, Vol. III, p. 208. This expedition was undertaken, but the objective was altered to Ireland. See chap. iii.

Perspective representation of a RAFT, and its APPARATUS, as invented by the FRENCH for their proposed
INVASION OF ENGLAND.
 (From a french drawing.)



This Machine, which extends 2100 feet in length, by 1400 feet in breadth, is to be navigated by four wheels, (a) turned in the water by the action of the wind, and moving with equal facility, from whatever part it may blow. In the middle is a Fort; (b) this encloses masts and rigging, for the defence of the troops in their disembarkation: the Raft is mounted on both sides, and at the ends: with 36 and 43 pounders, the whole comprising a battery of 500 pieces, and is intended to carry 60,000 Men, etc.

Extrait de la Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, 1804, page 256, 1798.
 London, Published by RICHARD CLAYDON

Rochefort, Lorient, and Brest. If we put some energy into the business, we may hope to have, in September, thirty-five [ships-of-the-line] at Brest, including the four or five which can be built at Lorient and Rochefort.

“Towards the end of this month we shall have in the various ports of the Channel nearly two hundred gunboats. These should be stationed at Cherbourg, Havre, Boulogne, Dunkirk, and Ostend, and should be utilized throughout the summer for training our soldiers. If we continue to grant to the Commission des Côtes de la Manche 300,000 francs every ten days, we can effect the construction of two hundred other boats, larger in size, and fit for the transport of horses. Thus we should have in September four hundred gunboats at Boulogne and thirty-five ships of war at Brest. By that time the Dutch should also have twelve ships of war in the Texel. In the Mediterranean we have ships of two kinds: twelve ships of French build which, between now and September, can be supplemented by two new ones, and nine of Venetian construction. It would be possible, after the return of the expedition which the Government is projecting in the Mediterranean, to send round the fourteen to Brest, and to retain in the Mediterranean only the nine Venetian ships; and thus, in the course of October or November, we should have at Brest fifty men-of-war and nearly as many frigates.

“It would then be possible to transport to any desired spot in England 40,000 men, without even fighting a naval action if the enemy should be in stronger force; for while 40,000 men would threaten to cross in the 400 gunboats and in as many Boulogne fishing-boats, the Dutch Squadron, with 10,000 men on board, would

threaten to land in Scotland. An invasion of England, carried out in that way, and in the month of November or December, would be almost certainly successful. England would exhaust herself by an effort which, though immense, would not protect her against an invasion. The truth is that the expedition to the East will oblige the enemy to send six additional ships of war to India, and perhaps twice as many frigates to the mouth of the Red Sea. She would be forced to have from twenty-two to twenty-five ships at the entrance to the Mediterranean; sixty before Brest; and twelve off the Texel; and these would make a total of a hundred and three ships of war, besides those already in America and India, and besides the ten or twelve 50-gun ships and the score of frigates which she would have to keep ready to oppose the invasion from Boulogne. In the meantime we should always be masters of the Mediterranean, seeing that we should have there nine ships of Venetian build.

“There would be yet another way of augmenting our forces in that sea; that is, by making Spain cede three vessels of war and three frigates to the Ligurian Republic. That Republic can no longer be anything more than a French department; it possesses more than twenty thousand excellent seamen. It is excellent policy on the part of France to favour the Ligurian Republic, and even to see to it that she shall possess a few ships of war. Should difficulties be foreseen in inducing Spain to hand over to us or to the Ligurian Republic three vessels of war, I think that we ourselves might usefully sell to the Ligurian Republic the nine ships which we have taken from the Venetians, insisting that the Republic shall construct three more for itself. We should find that we had

thus gained a good squadron manned by good seamen. With money which we should have from the Ligurians we might cause three good vessels of our own construction to be built at Toulon; for the ships of Venetian build require as many sailors as a fine 74; and sailors are our weak point. In future events which may occur, it will be much to our advantage that the three Italian Republics, which should balance the forces of the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, shall have a stronger navy than that of the King of Naples.”¹

By the 9th May, 1798, the Army of England totalled 56,424 men, but it had lost its chief, and also its *raison d'être*, and detachments were sent back to the Army of the Rhine at Mayence, whence they had partly come; others to Namur, Liège, and Belgium generally; and a further large contingent to the Upper Rhine and across it into Switzerland. The whole affair was carried out very quietly, so as not to attract undue attention. Thus Bonaparte's first Army of England was gradually disbanded. Masséna's division, which had been sent to Switzerland, and consisted of the veterans of Italy, was now at Toulon, and a part of the ill-fated General Joubert's division joined them. At the end of the same month the muster roll of the *Armée d'Angleterre* had sunk to 47,330 men, dispersed along an immense stretch of Channel seaboard, and the invasion was indefinitely “postponed.” The ships in the various ports were held ready in case of emergencies, but armaments were not proceeded with, and expenses were reduced all round. Many vessels and crews were taken out of commission, and orders countermanded.²

¹ *Victoires et Conquêtes*, Vol. X, p. 375. It is significant that on Bonaparte's return from Egypt he began the reorganizing of the navy.

² Desbrière, Vol. I, p. 334.

Early in 1798 Bonaparte had turned his attention to the two small islands of St. Marcouf, in the Channel,¹ whose possession by the English was a constant source of irritation to France. Andréossy was commissioned to make full inquiries as to the possibility of recapture, and outlined three plans for that purpose. At the moment nothing was done, although General Kléber was entrusted with the project, which he did not think would be successful. After-events proved the truth of his adverse report. On the night of May 7th, Captain Muskeyn, having under him a number of gunboats and smaller vessels, mostly manned by deficient crews, set out on this hazardous undertaking. He met with defeat, for the English offered a stubborn resistance, and the French were obliged to retreat under a hail of fire, with five men killed and fourteen wounded. The ubiquitous Wolfe Tone is constrained to note in his diary: "‘What!’ may the English well say, ‘you are going to conquer England, and you cannot conquer the Isles Marcouf!’ It is a bad business, take it any way. I wonder will the Directory examine into it? If they do not seriously establish a rigid responsibility in the Marine, it is in vain to think of opposing England by sea. There is a bad spirit existing in that corps, and I neither see nor hear of any means taken to correct it.”²

Although Pitt and the English Cabinet knew of the hasty preparations now being made at Toulon, no definite information as to the ultimate destination of the French fleet could be obtained. One day the Prime Minister and his colleagues were informed that the troops now assem-

¹ These islands are off the north coast of France, in the department of Manche, some six miles east of the coast of Cotentin.

² *Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, Vol. II, p. 314.



REHEARSAL OF A FRENCH INVASION AT THE ISLAND OF MARCOUF, MAY 7, 1798.
BY THOMAS ROWLANDSON

bling at that port, as well as at Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, were to be landed on the south coast of England ; twenty-four hours later rumour whispered that ships and men were bound for Ireland, or to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, which indeed was more than half a truth, and was one of three secret articles included in Bonaparte's instructions.

England had a floating armament which, from a mere numerical point of view, was more than sufficient to cope with France and her allies. The sea must ever be the life-blood which nourishes the British Empire, and the moral force which recent successes had given to her was an added fighting weight in the tremendous struggle for supremacy which, begun in a half-hearted way, was to be carried on in real earnest under Bonaparte as First Consul and Emperor. Watching the ports of France in which there was any semblance of a fleet, as well as guarding the seas which beat against the white cliffs of the Motherland, were men of whom England had every right to be proud.¹ Admiral Lord Bridport commanded a squadron in the Channel² and often appeared off Brest ; in the North Sea was Admiral Lord Duncan ; and Portsmouth, Plymouth, the Downs, and the Nore were all strongly guarded. Vice-Admiral Robert Kingsmill commanded at Cork, while divisions cruised in the Bay of Biscay, off the Irish coast, and elsewhere. As we have already noted, Lord St. Vincent was blockading Cadiz with the only

¹ In the year under review the British navy consisted of 120 sail-of-the-line, and over 500 smaller vessels, requiring the services of 120,000 seamen and marines. Supplies amounting to £13,449,388 were granted.

² "The Channel is the key of the position, the vital spot to secure against surprise, and it must ever be the base of our naval operations throughout the world."—Colomb's *Essays on Naval Defence*, p. 7.

squadron we had in the Mediterranean at the time, and on hearing that preparations were going on at Toulon, he immediately detached Nelson to find out the true condition of things at that port.

The capture on the 21st April, 1798, of the new French 74-gun ship *Hercule* by the *Mars* (74-guns), under Captain Alexander Hood, who lost his life, and the abortive attempt made in May on the part of Captain Home Riggs Popham to blow up the lock-gates and sluices of the canal at Ostend—which, although partially successful, did little to prevent the small craft from making their way from Holland to France for the purpose of concentration, and lost the British 163 men in addition to 1100 taken prisoners—were the only naval measures of importance in the early months of this eventful year.

“Time is everything” was a precept followed by Napoleon throughout his meteoric career, and on the 19th May, 1798, his fleet weighed anchor. Brueys was in naval command, with Ganteaume, Villeneuve, and Decrès as his subordinates, while Kléber, Desaix, Marmont, Dumas, Leclerc, Murat, Davoust, and Lannes—military men who had already distinguished themselves or were soon to write their names in the annals of France—held responsible positions in the Army of the East, which, to use Bonaparte's own words, was also “one of the wings of the Army of England.”¹

Rear-Admiral Nelson had been detached by Lord St. Vincent to reconnoitre at Toulon, as noted above, but a gale seriously disabled the *Vanguard*, his flagship, and to a great extent dispersed his fleet, reducing him to “such distress that the meanest frigate out of France

¹ Thiers' *French Revolution*, Vol. V, p. 265.

would have been an unwelcome guest." The severe weather served Bonaparte in good stead, for he and his host were now on their way to the land of the Pharaohs. Thus began the long series of games of hide-and-seek which the fleets of the two nations were to play for some years. The island of Malta, which had been for centuries in the possession of the Knights of St. John, and was to play so prominent a part in the diplomatic history of 1803, was "reduced" during Bonaparte's outward voyage, and £200,000 found its way into the French coffers, every coin of which was sorely needed. The knights were expelled, with the exception of fourteen who had either furnished Bonaparte with information or offered subscriptions for the invasion of England.¹ It is not within the province of this work to enter into particulars of the Egyptian expedition, but had not Nelson succeeded in destroying the greater part of the French fleet in Aboukir Bay,² Bonaparte might possibly have founded the great Eastern empire which so much appealed to him. In his own words, "If it had not been for you English, I should have been Emperor of the East; but wherever there is water to float a ship, we are sure to find you in our way."

From the evidence we have examined, there can be little doubt that Bonaparte believed the invasion of England to be perfectly feasible, but not with the slender means then at his command—in other words, the psychological moment had not yet arrived. The army assigned to him for the purpose was a mere handful of men compared with the vast force he congregated with a similar object in 1803-5. The navy was in a pitiable condition; the ships

¹ Bingham, Vol. I, p. 210.

² Battle of the Nile, 1st August, 1798.

undermanned, and what crews there were at the lowest ebb of efficiency. As he told Lewens, England "was a Power of the first rank, and the Republic must never threaten in vain." Money was scarce, and the Directory only supported him in a half-hearted way. That so ambitious a man as Bonaparte should hesitate to place himself at the head of an expedition having but a slight chance of success and practically no opportunities for self-aggrandizement calls for little comment. Miot de Melito tells us that during a conversation with the young General at the close of 1797, the latter said: "They were in a great hurry to make me General of the Army of England so that they might get me out of Italy, where I am the master, and am more of a sovereign than commander of an army. They will see how things go on when I am not there. I am leaving Berthier, but he is not fit for the chief command, and, I predict, will only make blunders. As for myself, my dear Miot, I may inform you, I can no longer obey; I have tasted command, and I cannot give it up. I have made up my mind, if I cannot be master I shall leave France; I do not choose to have done so much for her and then hand her over to lawyers."¹ This does not seem to accord with Miot's remark that after Bonaparte's return to Paris from Rastadt he was "entirely absorbed in the idea of a descent upon England. The survey which we made of the Channel and Atlantic coasts, and the remarks of some able men whom he met on his way, induced him to abandon his project, the execution of which seemed to him, at any rate for the time, impossible."² That Miot should believe in the genuineness of this projected invasion of England, as is

¹ *Memoirs of Miot de Melito*, Vol. I, p. 226.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

clearly shown in the above quotation, is worthy of note, for he saw nothing but a pretext in the elaborate arrangements of 1803-5, which ended in the annihilation of the allied fleets at Trafalgar. We shall have occasion to refer to this part of the question in a later chapter.

To sum up the whole matter, a consensus of authority goes to prove that at this time in Bonaparte's mind Egypt opened a vista of glorious possibilities not to be found in a descent on the British coasts. If Las Cases is to be trusted, he afterwards bitterly repented of the decision he arrived at. "If instead of the expedition to Egypt," he exclaimed, "I had undertaken that against Ireland, what could England have done now? On such chances do the destinies of empires depend!"¹

¹ *Memoirs of Las Cases.*

CHAPTER IV

ENGLAND ON GUARD—PLANS FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENCE IN 1798 AND 1799

“The spirit and courage of the country has risen so as to be fairly equal to the crisis.”—PITT.

ALTHOUGH the national anxiety of England concerning the projected invasion was soon, for a time at least, laid to rest by Bonaparte's departure for Egypt and the consequent gradual dispersal of the armaments on the northern coast of France, for many months the designs of the Directory occasioned serious perturbation to the British Government, awakening the fear of the country at large. There can be no doubt that the existing means of defence was totally inadequate to meet the approaching storm; but from a military point of view the figures on paper look brave enough. From the statistics published in January, 1798,¹ the second year of the crisis which we venture to term the Great Terror, it would appear that the regulars numbered 31,824, in addition to which there were sixty-nine regiments of militia totalling 45,000; 13,104 fencible cavalry; 11,042 fencible infantry; 252 troops of gentlemen and yeomanry cavalry, numbering 15,120; 856 companies of volunteers, 51,360 strong; and a supplementary militia of 60,000: making a total force of 227,450 men,

¹ *The Times*, January 15th, 1798.

exclusive of 117 companies of artillery; ten companies of invalids; fifty-nine independent companies of invalids; and the marines in garrison.

The correspondence of eminent experts of the period make it perfectly clear that England was on guard—theoretically at any rate. That is to say, although there were plenty of volunteers, the methods of organization were faulty, and the issue of weapons slow and inadequate. The Hon J. W. Fortescue, the greatest living authority on the British army, says: "Setting aside coloured levies, I think it extremely doubtful whether in any one year from 1793 to 1802 the effective strength of the regular army and auxiliary forces exceeded, even if it attained, the figure of 200,000 men."¹ The voluminous documents relating to internal defence at this period help us but little, and a lengthy search at the Record Office only confirms the opinion already voiced by Mr. Fortescue, that Henry Dundas, the Secretary of State for War, and Pitt's pet minister, was not only quite unfit to cope with the difficulties of the military situation in general, but was also "the very worst man that could possibly have been chosen to found the traditions of such an office."² Truth to tell, it was a case of too many cooks spoiling the broth, and the offices of the Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, and the Secretary at War continually clashed. The arrangements for internal defence were under the immediate supervision of the Deputy Secretary at War, and as no statistics apparently exist amongst the Home Office and War Office records respecting the number of men employed in this important

¹ Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, Vol. IV, part ii, p. 894.

² *Ibid.*, Vol IV, part i, p. 208.

service from 1793 to 1801, it is clear that there was a lamentable lack of system. It should be mentioned, however, that previous to July, 1794, the Home Office controlled all such matters. The most able administrator was the Duke of York, who was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain on the 3rd April, 1798. He proved himself worthy of the responsible post to which he was called, and the numerous circulars he issued to those in authority when invasion threatened is sufficient evidence of his keen interest in everything connected with the protection of the realm.

The King's message to Parliament, read in both Houses on January 11th, 1798, sounded a shrill note of alarm, and ten thousand men belonging to the Supplementary Militia were authorized by Parliament to volunteer into the regular army to the extent of not more than one-fifth of that force in any given county. No liability was attached to them to serve out of Europe. Half of this force was to be embodied before the 10th March, and the remainder whenever necessary. Following quickly on this an Act was passed, on the 5th April, "to enable His Majesty more effectively to provide for the Defence and Security of the Realm during the present War, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property, by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose."¹ The scheme was pioneered by Dundas, who admitted that "it is not in our regular forces alone that we rest with security. Never could this country boast such a force as it now has to look up to, resting on the basis of voluntary exertions. Not less than fifty or sixty thousand men are ready to be brought into the field, in support of the

¹ 38 Geo. III, c. 27.



ONE OF OUR VOLUNTEER DEFENDERS OF 1798

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country against the enemy, upon the principle of voluntary service, actuated by zeal for the cause in which the country is engaged. . . . The purport of the Bill is confined to two or three objects. It does not go further than what has already been adopted in many of the larger counties. In the county of Dorset, in particular, individuals have come forward in a manner similar to what it is proposed they should by this Bill. Many means of defence against the enemy have been taken. The Sheriff of the county has come forward at the head of the *Posse Comitatus*."¹

As Dundas frankly stated, this latest plan was based upon Mr. Clavell's admirable methods,² which were fully described in a little work published at the time by William Morton Pitt,³ M.P. for Dorset, entitled *Thoughts on the Defence of these Kingdoms, and the raising of the Posse Comitatus*, which proved invaluable to those upon whom the important duty of forming armed associations devolved. These were brought into being by the Act of the 5th April, 1798, and their members were to carry on a sort

¹ Speech in the House of Commons, 27th March, 1798.

² See *ante*, p. 27.

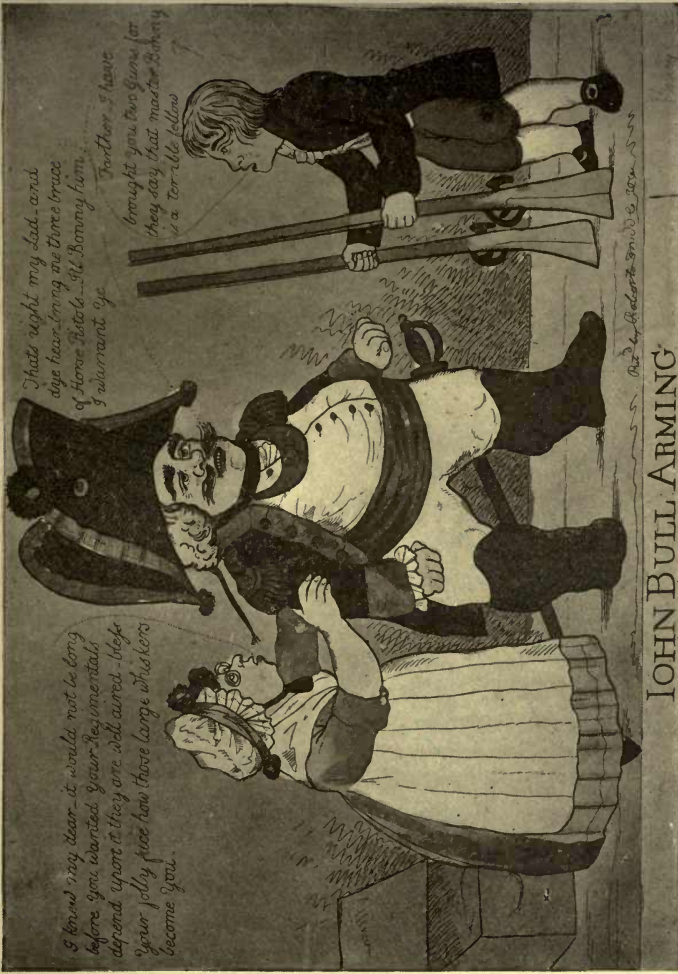
³ William Morton Pitt, of Kingston Maurward, son of John Pitt, of Encombe, Dorset, M.P. for Wareham and Dorchester, by Marcia, daughter of Mark Anthony Morgan, of Ireland (cousin of the first Lord Rivers). Born the 16th May, 1754; M.P. for Dorset; married (first) Margaret, daughter of John Gambier, (second) Grace Amelia, daughter of Henry Seymer, of Hanford. He died the 29th February, 1836. He was in advance of his age in his philanthropic efforts to improve the condition of the poor on his estates in Purbeck and Kingston. He established manufactories for spinning twine and making sail-cloth at Corfe Castle, with a view to detaching the Purbeck coasters from their smuggling habits. Also on his estate at Fordington he began a bleaching, spinning, and weaving industry in 1795. Nor was Pitt unmindful of the religious condition of his tenants, for both in Wareham and Corfe Castle he established Sunday-schools, managed by a local committee and organized by a regular system of parochial visitors. In literary tastes he was not deficient. The second edition of Hutchins' *History of Dorset*—to which he was a valued contributor—was dedicated to him.

of guerilla warfare, and to make themselves useful in the way outlined by the High Sheriff of Dorset. The remuneration of the men was one shilling a week if requested ; but they were obliged to provide their own uniforms unless the parish did so. The following letter, hitherto unpublished, from the Marquis of Buckingham to John Penn of Portland, is specially interesting because it shows how Clavell's methods and Morton Pitt's book influenced the history of the time :—

“ Dear Sir,

“ STOWE *Feby.* 9 1798.

“ A work having been transmitted to me entitled Thoughts on the Defence of these Kingdoms by Mr. W^m Morton Pitt, containing Precepts Warrants & Schedules under which a plan was digested a few months since for raising the Posse Comitatus of the County of Dorset by their very active & excellent H Sheriff M^r Clavell: I communicated it yesterday to an Adjourned Q^r Sessions & Gnrl meeting of the Lieut^{cy}, who all agreed with me wishing for a full discussion of a measure so interesting so feasible & so essential at this period, & for this purpose I have summoned the Magistrates & Dep^y Lieut^{ts} to meet me at Aylesbury on Friday the 16th ; to consider of a plan for obtaining such returns & information as may enable the H Sheriff to call out by his writ, & under his command the Civil force of the County as a Posse Comitatus, in case of riot insurrection & invasion. I have directed Mr Chaplin to send you a copy of these papers, & I trust that (as your official appointment will have taken place) you will honour us with your attendance, & assistance in digesting measures which in your hands will I am persuaded be of the utmost advantage to the country in any of the unfortunate cases to which these precautions look. I well know how warmly your constitutional zeal and loyalty will induce you to give your most serious



JOHN BULL ARMING

ARMING FOR THE FRAY. 1798-99

consideration to this subject, & I am anxious that you should be possessed as soon as may be of the several data necessary for you to obtain before you can exert (in the manner you would wish) the constitutional powers which will be vested in you; & if any deviations from the plan pursued in the C^y of Dorset should appear to you necessary, I am persuaded that every attention will be given to your wishes by the Lieut^{cy} & magistracy. I have written to our friend Mr Sullivan to request him to favour us with his assistance, as I know he has turned his mind very much to this subject.

“ I am Dear Sir with the truest regards & esteem

“ Your very faithful & obed^t Servant

“ BUCKINGHAM.”¹

Three armies and a corps of reserve were formed for the defence of the capital—two of 15,000 men, and one of 30,000 men stationed at Colchester, the low-lying Essex coast offering many advantages to an invading host.² That gallant old soldier Marquis Cornwallis, then Master-General of the Ordnance, saw that there were many weak spots in the plan of defence. “ I have no doubt of the courage or fidelity of our militia,” he writes, “ but the system of David Dundas,³ and the total want of light

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of Dorset MSS. Mr. Penn was the lineal descendant of the founder and first Lord Proprietor of the State of Pennsylvania. George III gave him the site on which he built Pennsylvania Castle, Portland, and there, while residing at Weymouth, the King more than once reviewed the corps of Dorset Yeomanry raised by Mr. Penn's exertions.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXVIII, part i, 1798, p. 76.

³ Sir David Dundas (1735–1820) was probably the best tactician in England at the time. He drew up the “ Rules and Regulations for the Formation, Field Exercises, and Movements of His Majesty's Forces,” which were issued to the army in June, 1792. After seeing much active service he was made Lieutenant-General and Governor of Landguard Fort in 1797. Dundas was made a K.B. in 1804, and five years afterwards he became Commander-in-Chief.

infantry, set heavy on my mind, and point out the advantages which the activity of the French will have in the country, which is for the most part inclosed."¹ Neither was Cornwallis blind to the defects of the corps stationed in Essex, which he avers is "a most difficult county to defend with inexperienced troops, unaccustomed to move against a most active enemy, who have derived confidence from their extraordinary success against the most powerful and warlike countries of Europe."² Things were in no way improved in May, when the preparations at Toulon were in an advanced state, and invasion seemed imminent. Cornwallis thought either Portugal or Ireland was the destination of the expedition, "I should rather think the latter." The supply of arms was deficient, a serious failing duplicated in 1803, and, as the Marquis says, "the only means by which the innumerable local corps in all parts of the country can be armed is by providing balls for fowling-pieces."³

Brigadier-General John Moore, of Peninsular fame, and then but recently returned from the West Indies, who made a tour of the east coast in company with an officer of the Engineers acting under the orders of Sir William Howe, commanding the district including Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, has left on record that "the coast from the Thames to Harwich is the most vulnerable," but that the fourteen miles of coast known generally as Clacton Beach

¹ To the Hon. Col. Wesley. Dated from Whitehall, February 23rd, 1798. *Correspondence of Charles, 1st Marquis Cornwallis*, Vol. II, p. 333, edited, with notes, by C. Ross. Cornwallis uses the original spelling of the name. The connection between the Wellesleys and the Dorset Wesleys, the ancestors of John Wesley, is now generally admitted.

² To Sir William Howe, March 26th, 1798. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 334.

³ To Major-General Ross. Dated from Whitehall, May 19th, 1798. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 337.

affords good anchorage and an opening to Colchester. Hollesley Bay, below Woodbridge, Aldborough, Southwold, Lowestoft, and Yarmouth are the most important points from Harwich to Yarmouth for this purpose. "Encampments have been little used in England during this war," he notes. "Barracks have been substituted, and are erected wherever it has been thought proper to station troops. These stations in the Essex and Suffolk districts are upon the great road leading from London to Yarmouth; it runs parallel to the coast, and is nowhere more than thirteen or fourteen miles from it. Stations—Chelmsford, Romford, Colchester (head-quarters), and Ipswich. There is a small supply of provisions at each of these stations, but the depôts are in a rear line of Braintree, Indbury, and Thetford." The batteries at the entrance of the Yare "are completely inadequate," and can only "protect the town and shipping from the insults of privateers." Yarmouth he regards as "a desirable possession." At Cromer, "a little fishing town," a battery was erected on the cliff "for the protection of trading vessels. Thirty of the inhabitants, formed into a company of artillery, man the battery." Of places below Harwich chosen as suitable for the erection of batteries he mentions "Walton Gap, Holland Marsh, and Clacton Wick."¹

Mention has been made that the Isle of Wight had been looked upon with envious eyes by the French in 1777.² The following semi-official communication with reference to its defenceless state twenty years after the note of warning had been sounded shows that England, then as now, was slow to move in putting her own house in order.

¹ *Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I, pp. 261-7, edited by Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice.

² See *ante*, p. 3, note.

Private.

CARISBROOKE CASTLE,

My Dear Sir,

6th March, 1797.

"I trouble you with the charge of the enclosed to the D. of Portland and I am well persuaded, that you will kindly give y^r aid to our sollicitations from hence for a little more attention than has been paid to us.—When I was last here—about X^tmas—(since which my ill health has obliged me to be absent) I have succeeded in obtaining general resolutions for exertion in aid of Government, and at that time M^r W^m Pitt helped us materially by his assurance of recommendation, that we might be protected by a respectable regular force and a support of Artillery. Our Militia had been instructed in the use of Cannon & it was proposed, that two or more Field Pieces sh^d be supplied for the Corps. They are still without any, & indeed there are none of that description in the Island nor of any other, except those which are mounted in one or two of the Old Forts, and which w^d afford a very limited protection.—You will see what I have said upon this head in my letter to the D. of Portland; & I earnestly hope that this serious deficiency may be soon remedied. M^r W^m Pitt thinks that we sh^d immediately have some twelve pounders and indeed we are dreadfully exposed without them. Can you tell when?

"It is wonderful with what reluctance the People here are induced to be enrolled under the Cavalry and supplementary Militia Acts because of the little attention paid to us. But I have ventured to encourage better hopes and notions, and all things at present promise well. I have engaged proper persons in separate districts throughout the Island to make returns of the stock &c.—and we shall forthwith fix upon a proper place to which it may in case of necessity be removed. Associations are forming rapidly and of a real usefull kind, but we shall be able to do nothing without arms. I sh^d hope that we may form

Companies to the amount of fifteen hundred or two thousand men, who will really give up a suff^t portion of time for necessary exercise. Major Cooper, who is employed here under Col. Nesbit in attention to the Foreign Corps, and is a very active, intelligent officer, has hinted to me, that there are always a great many light Artillery Carbines at the Ordnance, which might suit some of these Companies and might well be spared.—He has here upon the spot a few hundreds of heavier Musquets, which are not wanted for any partic^r purpose and w^d answer well for other Companies, if we may obtain an order for them. But indeed we must have the number required from some quarter. We must not suffer again this spirit to cool.—

“In regard to the Cavalry and supplementary Militia, we shall be complete, I trust, on Sat^y next, and I shall then make my report according to directions, that we may be furnished with Cloaths and Arms.—I have just rec^d the patterns, which you was so good as to send, and We shall adopt them.—

“Excuse the intrusion of this scrawl, I thought it might be desirable for you to know how matters go in various quarters, and I therefore give you a sketch of ours. I hope, that the Enemy will not be in a condition to attack us, till we have obtained our Cannon &c. &c.

“I congratulate you upon the glorious exploits of my friend S^r J. Jervis.¹ The consequence must be admirable. Rule Britannia! Huzza!

“Ever, my dear Sir, most truly

“Y^r faithfull humble Ser^t

“Thos. Orde-Powlett.”²

¹ Battle of Cape St. Vincent, fought on February 14th, 1797.

² Thomas Orde-Powlett was Secretary to the Treasury in 1782, and Secretary to the Duke of Rutland when the latter was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Through his wife Powlett inherited the estates of the Duke of Bolton and assumed the name of Powlett and was raised to the peerage. The above letter is from Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS.

The diary of "Weathercock" Windham, the Secretary-at-War, contains many references to the subject which was then the chief topic of conversation in palace and cottage, and fully corroborates the criticisms passed by Cornwallis on the subject of defence. The following may be cited as examples :—

" 11th (January, 1798). Saw Sir W. Howe. Much impressed with danger, he thought force insufficient in '95, when North threatened, by 12,000 men; said so, and got rebuked for it. Could not, in his present district, viz. Essex, bring against an enemy who should land at Clayton, or Clacton (near Ipswich river as it would seem), more than 6000. River Lea ought to be provided with sluices. Thinks there should be much light infantry: present arms as good as any; much endeavour to teach use of bayonet. Great difficulty with light infantry to teach them to disperse. Only three positions—Colchester, Chelmsford, and Brentwood—Lord Petre's, not Warley. Two former would require 25,000 men. . . .¹

" 25th. Promised by Huskisson a sight of the plan prepared by the Adjutant-General for police of London, in case of invasion; also copy of the paper of stations, prepared by Sir Charles Grey. Nepean² showed me scheme of distribution of gunboats; three divisions, viz. Downs, Portsmouth, Plymouth."³

" 30th (March). Saw Duke of York. Talk about

¹ *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham, 1784-1810*, p. 383, edited by Mrs. Henry Baring.

² Sir Evan Nepean (1751-1822). In 1794 he was made Under Secretary for War, and in the following year he became Secretary of the Admiralty. Created a baronet, 16th July, 1802; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 20th January, 1804. In September of the same year Nepean was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. He purchased Loder's Court, Dorset, in 1799.

³ *The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham, 1784-1810*, p. 389, edited by Mrs. Henry Baring.

defence of country. Stated my plan of opening the country for cavalry. Duke rather seemed to like it. Recommended also the abolition of drafting. Duke agreed about danger of landing in Cawsand Bay. Had seen Delancey on same subject in morning. House: Committee on Mr. Dundas's Bill for Driving Country. Conversation with Rose, jun., who is full of apprehensions about the Isle of Wight and the Needles. . . ."¹

"4th (April). . . . Colonel R. assured me that six days before, when he left the Isle of Wight, the 10th Regiment had not arrived there, nor, as I understood him, was there any other regular regiment but one of about two or three hundred men; no guns but about four, nor any measure of defence taken.

"8th. Information by Hammond confirming immediate intentions of a descent."

Windham also alludes frequently to the persistence with which the Cabinet evaded a definite settlement of the mode of defence. From November, 1797, to May, 1798, his diary abounds with such references as the following:—²

"Council. . . . Much talk afterwards about measures of war." "Cabinet at Duke of Portland's. Understood question to be brought forward of measures of defence. . . . Nothing said at Council about defence, as I learnt afterwards from Lord Spencer." ". . . Met Clinton, sen.; talked about the state of defence of the country; full of apprehensions; deeply impressed with the deficiency of our force in every respect, particularly in the total want of Light Infantry. Duke of York was to settle next day at the city about the regulations of London, so that hitherto, nothing seems to have been done but to prepare loose plan that is at the reading-room." "Council at eleven. . . . Made attempt to bring on question about

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 382-95.

state of country, but could not succeed. Have seen since and with some vexation, that I might and ought to have succeeded, so far, at least, as to have made several of the observations that I wished. Dinner at Pitt's." "Council. . . . Again brought up question about defence: begged off for the moment, but promise that it should be taken up soon." "11th (May). Clear now that there is no general plan settled; the whole idea, the bringing round all the troops possible. Notion that we did not want light troops, because our troops upon the Continent had been victorious whenever they had been tried against the enemy by themselves."

Many wealthy men came forward and organized their tenantry and others dependent upon them into volunteer corps. The Prince of Wales set an excellent example by enrolling his servants in the corps attached to the parish of St. James's, and among others the Duke of Northumberland furnished clothing and other accoutrements to those of his tenants and labourers who cared to volunteer, paying them one shilling per day for each time of exercise. Both infantry and cavalry were included in this corps, which the Duke commanded in person. The firemen of the Phoenix Fire Office were trained as artillerymen at the expense of the proprietors, and the Governors of the Bank of England raised a corps of employés to defend the building from the hands of potential French despoilers. The men were divided into six battalion companies and two flank companies, one of grenadiers and one of light infantry; quite a formidable little force.

All contributions for the defence of the country were as "thankfully received" in England as they were for its invasion in France.¹ To this end a fund was opened at

¹ See *ante*, p. 82.

George III.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God,
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Trusty &
beloved Thomas Clifford Esq^r.

— Greeting: We do, by these
resents, constitute and appoint you to be, during
Our Pleasure, Captain in a Company of Footmen
of the Association of the Inhabitants of the ^{Town} Parish of *Stafford*
in the County of *Stafford* — associated
to serve without Pay, for the Protection thereof,
in Case of any Emergency, at the Requisition of
the Civil Power; but not to take Rank in Our
Army, nor the said Association to be subject
to Military Discipline, or to serve out of the said
^{Town} Parish, except of their own Accord. Given at Our
Court at St. James's the *fifteenth* Day of *June*
1798 in the *Thirtieth* Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

Perkins

Thomas Clifford Esq^r Captain
in a Company of Footmen of
the Association of the Town of
Stafford

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FACSIMILE OF A VOLUNTEER OFFICER'S COMMISSION. JUNE 15, 1798

the Bank in January, and although both cash and promises were slow in coming in at first, when once the ball was rolling it did not stop until the very respectable sum of £2,500,000 had been secured. On the 9th February an influential meeting was held in "the square at the Royal Exchange," and £46,534 3s. 6d. was raised by 218 subscribers, and at a previous gathering at the Mansion House the donations amounted to £20,000. During the early months of the fund the King contributed £20,000; the Queen £5000; the Duke of York £5000; the Cabinet Ministers £2000 each; the five Princesses £100 a year each during the war; the Bank of England £200,000; the Marquis of Buckingham "all fees and profits received in his office of Teller of the Exchequer, during the war; after reserving the sum of £2700 and the allowances to the clerks," in other words, about £10,000 per annum; the Bishops gave £1000 each at least, some of them more; the Duke of Marlborough £5000; the University of Cambridge £1000, that of Oxford £500, to which must be added the donations of several individual Colleges. In Edinburgh a subscription of £19,000 was raised in two hours; the boys of the Merchant Taylors School avoided the "tuck" shop and sent a cheque for £105, while practically every city voted £500 or more. The various city companies, never backward in supporting a good cause, subscribed liberally. Nor were the contributions confined to the private citizen or public body, for many regiments gave up a day's pay to help swell the fund, and Jack Tar was no less patriotic. The seamen and marines of H.M.S. *Argonaut* gave ten shillings each out of their wages "to drive before us into the sea all French scoundrels, and other blackguards that would take

their parts." Many of the corporations throughout the country agreed to abolish all feasts and to send the money that would have been spent on them to the fund. Patriotic munificence was very much the order of the day, once the initial difficulty of overcoming public inertia had been surmounted.

The corporation and citizens of Liverpool sought and obtained powers from Parliament for the purpose of erecting batteries and taking other measures of precaution against an invading force, half of the expense to be met by the corporation, and the remainder by means of a general rate. Pitt seized eagerly upon this commendable display of public and private spirit, and called it "a most useful suggestion, and might be made the groundwork of a most excellent general defence." The ship-owners of Campbeltown, in Argyllshire, placed their vessels, aggregating some three thousand tons in all, at the disposal of Government. The male inhabitants of the various City wards were called upon to form themselves into armed associations, the able-bodied to learn the use of arms, the remainder to procure constables' staves and be sworn in as supernumerary constables. Each ward was commanded by its own alderman. The rallying point was to be the Mansion House on the appearance of Bonaparte's troops, and all the associations were to be united in one band, if necessary, under the direction of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen. It should be noted, however, that some corps were raised on the distinct understanding that they should not be required to leave their own parish unless by individual consent. Within a few months there were forty thousand members of the various associations of London and Westminster,

proof positive of the splendid spirit which animated the nation. With few exceptions, such as the Christ Church Association; the St. Pancras Volunteers; the St. George's, Hanover Square, Armed Association; the Marylebone Volunteers; and the Hans Town Association, who chose blue as the colour of their uniforms, red was the prevailing note, with blue, yellow, black, or white facings. Almost every conceivable design of head-dress was represented, including "helmet hats" with regulation feathers; black bearskins, with red feather tipped white, and small hair cockade; and hats closely resembling those worn by the C.I.V. in the late South African campaign. White pantaloons, with whole or half gaiters, usually completed a picturesque uniform which would contrast oddly with the more sombre ones of the present day. On a small breast-plate was inscribed the name or initials of the corps.

Not the least interesting body of citizen soldiers was Sadler's Sharpshooters, who were armed with a patent gun and long cutting bayonet invented by the man who did so much to bring the force into being, and whose name it bore. Sadler lived in Pimlico, and was "a very ingenious machinist, inventor of the celebrated war chariot, in which two persons, advancing or retreating, can manage two pieces of ordnance (three-pounders) with alacrity and in safety, so as to do execution at the distance of two furlongs."¹

In a letter to Lord Mornington, Pitt admirably sums up the situation: "The two great objects of our attention and exertion now are," he says, "to endeavour to raise spirit enough in the country to contribute voluntarily

¹ Description of plate in *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs*.

to the expense of the war, such a sum as in addition to the assessed taxes may bring our loan within a moderate shape, and next, to be prepared both by sea and land for the invasion which I have little doubt will be attempted in the course of the year, though the latter is much the easier work of the two. And I hope we shall have to make the option between burning their ships before they set out, or sinking them either on their passage or before their troops can land, or destroying them as soon as they have landed, or starving them and taking them prisoners afterwards. Indeed the scheme seems so romantic (without the prospect of any naval force to support it) that at any other moment it would not be credible; and it can hardly be attempted on any other notion but that it may be worth the enemy's while to devote two-thirds of an immense army to immediate destruction, for the sake of the mischief which the remainder may effect before they share the same fate. In the meantime, however (though on the whole I think the attempt will be made), there are two possible events which may prevent it. One is if there should be fresh confusion in France, which seems not distant, and of which the issue cannot be even conjectured. The other is, if the new King of Prussia and the powers of the North should at last awaken, of which there is just now some appearance, but it is not yet decided enough to rely upon. The new decree aimed at our commerce,¹ but tending to annihilate a large part of the profit of neutral nations, may perhaps

¹ By a law passed on the 8th January, 1798, the French Government decreed that all vessels that had touched at an English port should not be allowed to enter any French port. Ships with British goods on board were also declared to be lawful prize.

(added to the danger of Hamburg and the North of Europe) bring Denmark at least, if not Sweden or Russia, to be ready to enter into an effectual concert with Prussia. And this prospect may tempt Prussia to take a decided part, which if it does, Europe will at last be saved." The Prime Minister adds, with reference to the voluntary contribution, that "tho' it has begun but languidly, I have now good hopes of success; as I have been enabled today to announce to the Bank, the King's intention of giving one-third of his privy purse. . . . We in office have thought it right to give an ample *fifth* of our income."¹

Writing to the same friend three months later, Pitt is more optimistic than ever. "The voluntary contribution has succeeded to a great extent. The spirit and courage of the country has risen so as to be fairly equal to the crisis. . . . The French go on, I believe in earnest, with plans and demonstrations of invasion; but the effect here is only to produce all the efforts, and all the spirit we can wish."² On the last day of May he forecasts to Lord Mornington another attempt on Ireland, in which matter he was correct, as subsequent events proved, although neither the port mentioned nor the anticipated surprise was a successful prophecy. "The French," he says, "will probably try a magnificent project of invading Ireland from Toulon; but will be surprised at meeting Lord St. Vincent in the Mediterranean, where they least expect him. . . ."³

Bonaparte's movements at Toulon were duly recorded

¹ *Pitt*, p. 205, by Lord Rosebery. This letter is dated from Wimbledon, January 26th, 1798.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208. This letter is dated from Wimbledon, April 22nd, 1798, 9 p.m.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 210. Dated from Downing Street, Thursday, May 31st, 1798.

in the British newspapers. It was believed at first that he contemplated invading Portugal by sea, but on April 24th *The Times* printed details of the expedition, followed three days later by the intelligence that in all probability the fleet was destined for Portugal or Ireland. The publication of the following "Hints to assist in the General Defence of London, etc.," on the 25th shows that the fear of an immediate invasion of England was by no means over :—

"1st. Block Houses to be built in each square for the *Corps-de-Garde*.

"2nd. Horse to Patrole the streets.

"3rd. Barricadoes for each street, to be defended by the inhabitants of the street; the corner houses to be supplied with hand-grenades, and for the more easy communication, passages should be made from house to house on the roofs.

"4th. A bell in the centre of each street, to summon the inhabitants to their posts.

"5th. Corner houses and barricadoes to be the general rendezvous in case of an alarm.

"6th. Artillery parks to be in the squares, and as many artillery as possible to be placed at the barricadoes of the main streets.

"7th. Night cellars in the city and St. Giles's, etc., to be examined, and every precaution to be taken, that they should not harbour improper persons.

"8th. All communications to be cut off from house to house underground.

"9th. All obnoxious foreigners to be sent out of the country.

"10th. No foreign servants, male or female, to be allowed.

"11th. Prisoners to be put into prison ships, in the most secure situations; so that they may be destroyed instantly, in cases necessary for the defence of the country.

"12th. No quarter to be given the enemy when found in the actual attempt of invading the country, whether in transports, gun-boats, or otherwise.

"13th. No Dutch boats to be allowed to supply the country with fish, as they carry back much useful information to the enemy.

"14th. Every company of watermen, lightermen, lamp-lighters, coalheavers, hackney-coachmen, etc. etc., to be formed into corps for the defence of London—they are to be called out, in case of actual danger to the town, and magazines of arms to be placed in the Companies' Halls for their use.

"15th. Fire-engines to be placed in proper stations.

"16th. A large *Corps-de-Garde* to be placed to defend the water-works and pipes which supply the town.

"17th. *Têtes-de-Pont* to be erected for the Defence of the Bridges on the Thames, and *casson* works for the southern slope of the bridges.

"18th. All barges, vessels, and boats, to be taken from the Surrey-side of the Thames, in case of the enemy making good their landing."

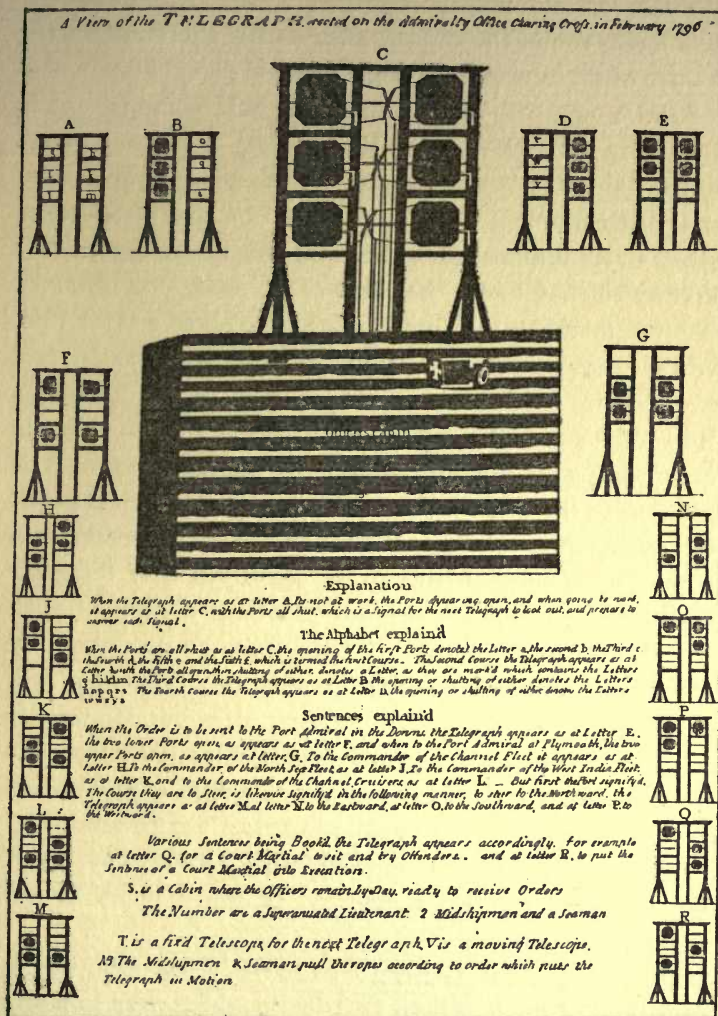
Towards the end of February, 1798, something like consternation reigned in London and several of the southern counties. A number of ships had been seen off the isle of Portland, and not having replied to the signals from the shore, were taken to be the enemy's fleet. The intelligence was telegraphed to Weymouth, to the dismay of the inhabitants and visitors, and the Prince of Wales, who was at his seat at Crichel,¹ immediately sent off a messenger with letters to the King, and to Commander-in-Chief the

¹ The Dorset seat of the Sturts, now occupied by Humphrey Napier Sturt, Lord Alington. Mr. Charles Sturt of Crichel, M.P. for Bridport (1763-1812), was detained for many years as a prisoner by Napoleon, and subsequently published his adventures in France. His widow, a daughter of the fourth Lord Shaftesbury, survived till 1854.

Duke of York, telling them of the rumour. On the latter receiving the intelligence, which had been expected daily, and looked for with enthusiasm in some quarters and dismay in others, he sent to Nepean and Dundas, and then made his way post-haste to the War Office. There the report was corroborated by an express from Dorchester. A meeting was hastily summoned, and the Duke of York, Pitt, Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, Dundas, and Nepean met at the Admiralty to consider what steps should be taken to resist the invaders. While they were discussing the matter a despatch was received stating that the enemy's fleet had resolved itself into a number of homeward-bound West Indiamen, to the intense relief of all concerned.

By the middle of April, 1798, the beacon-masts, watch-houses, and semaphore telegraphs which had been in course of erection on the east coast were completed, and it was said that the approach of an enemy's fleet could be announced from Yarmouth to the Nore in less than five minutes. There was a telegraph station at the Admiralty, and a similar apparatus was placed on one of the towers of Westminster Abbey.

In his speech of May 6th, which received applause from both sides of the House, Mr. Secretary Dundas again voiced the fears, not only of the Government, but of the whole country, as to the outcome of Bonaparte's preparations, and outlined a still greater movement on the part of the people. "The truth," said he, "is undeniable, that the crisis which is approaching must determine whether we are any longer to be ranked as an independent nation. We must take the steps which are best calculated to meet it; let us provide for the safety of the infirm, the aged, the women, the children, and put arms into the hands of



The semaphore telegraph erected on the Admiralty Office in 1796. Duplicates of this ingenious apparatus were placed on the east coast in 1798.

the people. We must fortify the menaced points, accumulate forces round the capital, affix on the church doors the names of those who have come forward as volunteers, and authorise members of Parliament to hold commissions in the army without vacating their seats. I am well aware of the danger of intrusting arms to the whole people without distinction. I am no stranger to the disaffection, albeit much diminished, which still lingers amongst us ; I know well that, under the mask of pursuing only salutary reforms, many are still intent of bringing about a revolution, and for that purpose are willing to enter into closest correspondence with the avowed enemies of their country. But, serious as is the danger of intrusting arms to a people embracing a considerable portion of such characters, it is nothing to the risk which we should run if, when invaded by the enemy, we were unprepared with any adequate means of defence. I trust to the good sense of the great body of the people to resist the factious designs of such enemies to their country. I trust that the patriotism by which the immense majority of them are animated will preclude them from ever using their arms but for worthy purposes : I trust to the melancholy example which has been afforded in a neighbouring kingdom of the consequences of engaging in popular insurrection, for a warning to all Britons who shall take up arms, never to use them but in defence of their country, or the support of our venerable constitution."

On the same day General Sir Charles Grey,¹ who was in command of the Southern District, in which were so many "danger zones," issued his General Orders :—²

¹ Afterwards first Earl Grey.

² *Annual Register*, 1728, p. 189 of Appendix to the Chronicle.

“BARHAM COURT,

“*May 6th.*

“General Sir Charles Grey, judging it necessary to announce to the troops he has the honour to command in the southern district, that, from the vicinity of the coasts of Essex, Kent, and Sussex, to that of France, and the very great preparations the enemy are said to be making to carry their long threatened invasion of this kingdom into execution, which though he cannot bring himself to believe, from the impossibility of its success, yet it is not impossible but they may be mad and desperate enough to try the experiment, to make a little confusion without a hope: he is therefore persuaded of being more successful, should the daring attempt be made on the coasts of the districts, namely, Essex, Kent, and Sussex, in which he is most immediately concerned; and he does not hesitate to say, that it is an event more desirable than not, from the reception he is convinced they will meet from the troops under his command, seconded by the loyalty, zeal, and spirit of all ranks of the community in defence of their king and country, their lives and properties, dearest interests and attachments; and, whom he doubts not, will, with the usual spirit of Britons, unite hand and heart in repelling, and severely chastising the insolent foe, who come for the declared purpose of striking at their dearest rights and privileges, by the overthrow of their happy constitution.

“And although General Sir Charles Grey will pledge himself for the result being most brilliant, honourable and glorious, for England, yet it would be unwise not to be prepared at all points, as we are; but, nevertheless, and to guard against accidents, the general apprizes the troops, that, in case a landing should be made by the enemy, and escaping the vigilance of our well-conducted and numerous

navy, to the eastward in Essex, or to the westward in Kent or Sussex, and which are certainly more immediately threatened, it may be necessary to embark a part of the troops, to make a successful landing behind the enemy, whilst an army is acting on their front, in which situation their communication would be cut off; and their flanks and rear being acted upon, it would not be a contest of many hours' duration, before the invaders would feel the fatal effects of their temerity, by being ignominiously driven back into the water, killed, or made prisoners.

“ In case of this event happening, and sudden orders given for embarkation, General Sir Charles Grey positively orders, that every regiment and corps of all descriptions, included in the orders for embarkation, leave the whole of their heavy baggage behind, under a proper guard, composed of the worst and the weakest men, commanded by an officer, the soldiers carrying only a change in necessaries, their blankets, haversacks, and canteens; and not one woman, on this occasion, must accompany the soldiers. The officers commanding regiments and corps will see them [the orders], and be responsible for their being strictly complied with.

“ General Sir Charles Grey pledges himself that every attention shall be paid by him to the care of the soldiers' wives, and having them conveyed to their respective regiments should their absence be of any length, and they not return to the quarters from whence they embarked, which is by no means likely to happen, but, on the contrary, they will quickly return.

“ The general is sure that every thinking good soldier will readily see the convenience to themselves, and propriety, of this order, and cheerfully submit to a short separation.

“(Signed)

“ JOHN VISCHER, A.D.C.”

If additional proof were necessary to show that Pitt and his colleagues felt the grave responsibility resting upon them, even if their plans were not as efficient as they might have been, it is furnished by an official book of some three hundred pages which they caused to be privately compiled and printed for their own use.¹ It is a "Report on the Arrangements which were made, for the internal Defence of these Kingdoms, when Spain, by its Armada, projected the Invasion and Conquest of England; and Application of the wise Proceedings of our Ancestors, to the Present Crisis of public Safety." John Bruce, to whom the task of obtaining the information from the musty tomes in the State Paper Office was entrusted, evidently did his work conscientiously and well, for minute details are entered into regarding the military and naval arrangements made in the days of good Queen Bess. Not the least instructive feature of the book is a chart of the Thames, reproduced from "Expeditionis Hispanoram in Angliam vera descriptio, A.D. 1588, Roberto Adams Authore," and according to the inscription said to have first suggested the designs of the tapestry in the House of Lords. Chains and forts protected the river at various points, and batteries were erected for the defence of many of the creeks.

It is evident that certain plans outlined in the Report were incorporated in later Acts of George III, and it would almost appear as if High Sheriff Clavell had adapted some of them. Dorsetshire seems ever to have been a county looked upon with favour by an enemy, and

¹ The copy in Mr. Broadley's collection belonged to Mr. Secretary Dundas. It has autograph corrections throughout by the author, together with inscription and signature. The appendixes number sixty-nine.

its inhabitants equally ready to defend every inch of their territory, for "every measure of precaution was taken" when Philip of Spain threatened. Pioneers, artificers, carpenters, smiths, and wheelwrights all had their part to play in its defence.¹

The Report contrasts the forces disposable in 1588 and 1798 as follows: "The army of Elizabeth consisted only of a few regiments, or such bands, as the nobility, counties, and towns could summon together, to support the Crown; and yet these, almost irregulars, had not only to guard the coasts against the Armada, but to watch over the northern frontier of its temporary ally, the Scots.² The army of Britain, at this time [1798], besides a large body of regulars, consists of numerous and disciplined militia and fencibles, and of a great part of its respectable yeomanry and inhabitants, in array, voluntarily embodied, and zealous to defend their lives, their families, their property, and their envied constitution."

The only portion of the Report which concerns us is

¹ In General Dumouriez's elaborate MS. volume on the defence of the British Isles (see Introduction, p. xxiv) he says: "Dorset is the pivot on which the defence of the west of England turns, and it should be strongly guarded according to the rules of the art. A descent in Dorset threatens Portsmouth and Plymouth equally, but it would be by way of a diversion and its temerity would meet with its due punishment. The coast abounds with stations and harbours of considerable strength, as Poole, Weymouth, and Lyme, etc. The hilly nature of the county gives it great strategical advantages, and the Stour, Puddle, and Frome, backed as they are by heights in amphitheatre, are excellent lines of defence."—MS., p. 174.

² According to the Report, "the total of the foot and horse, to be furnished by England, were 87,281; and by Wales, North and South, 45,408, making together, 132,689." As in 1798, the City of London acquitted itself with honour, and provided 20,696 men, not included in the above figures. Although no voluntary contributions were sought, a loan was asked from the Queen's "loving subjects," which amounted to the substantial sum of £74,462.

that dealing with the arrangements made to organize and arm the people. These are summed up by the author when dealing with the measures as "applied to the present Crisis of public Safety." He draws attention to the fact that the Crown, "by its Lord Lieutenant, exercised, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the power of calling on Counties, Towns, Bodies corporate, beneficed Ecclesiastics and others, to furnish, in cases of menaced invasion, quotas of arms, ammunition, military stores, pioneers, artificers, &c., necessary for the army; and armed vessels, mariners, and a proportion of victuals, for them, to assist in repelling the common enemy; making the Lord Lieutenant, his Deputies, and the Justices, judges of such exemptions, as might be pleaded, from any of these services. That the Crown, by the like power delegated to the Lord Lieutenants, could call on all landowners, farmers, &c., to furnish carriages, posts to convey information of the approach, or actual landing of the enemy; and by himself, or by his Deputies, to issue orders, for driving away the cattle and horses from the coasts, inland; for burning and destroying the corn, or whatever might be of use to the enemy; for breaking down bridges, cutting up roads, and, in general, for doing everything which might prevent, or might check, if he actually landed, his progress in conquest; measures which the recited acts of the legislature have in part adopted, and in which the general loyalty of the subject in the present crisis has happily co-operated."

Bruce then refers to the oath of supremacy administered to all the forces in Queen Elizabeth's service owing to her having received information that "Philip, and the Catholic party, had sent emissaries into her Kingdom, to

undermine the allegiance of her subjects." He adds: "As the law authorizes a similar measure, or the taking and renewing the oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, would it not, in the present crisis, be a test, which would detect those *reformers* who seek for *revolution*, or those rebels who have entered into a foul conspiracy to assist the enemy in bringing humiliation and ruin on their country? Should fear, or should hypocrisy, induce men of either of these descriptions, to take, or to renew the oath of allegiance to their lawful Sovereign, such men must forfeit the confidence of those associates of sedition, or rebellion, and render themselves publicly infamous and criminal."

Steps were certainly taken by Parliament to prevent foreign emissaries from spreading revolutionary notions in the British Isles. The Alien Bill was revived and amended. Those letting lodgings were obliged to send returns to Government of all foreigners living in their houses, and no aliens were allowed to set foot in England until the master of the vessel had received permits authorizing them to land. "The secret encouragement held out (to the French) by a considerable number of domestic enemies" led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for a time.

The number of armed citizens was growing daily. We are told by the *Bath Chronicle* of May 3rd, 1798, that "the first Company of the Bath Volunteers met this day and elected for their Captain, Mr. Bossier; first Lieutenant, Captain Young; Second Lieutenant, Mr. Redwood. They likewise chose at the same time for their uniform, a scarlet jacket with black collar and lappels, white waistcoat, and blue pantaloons edged with red." Such items were of frequent occurrence in the contemporary Press, and the advertisements of enterprising tradesmen who sought the



Rowlandson delin.

ORDER ARMS 2^e Motion

*The Muzzle is brought from the left shoulder to the right side, the muzzle close to the shoulder & the butt
two inches from the ground, at the 3^e Motion, the butt is dropped to the ground & the right hand placed along
the stock, the same as N° 5.*

A MEMBER OF THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY IN 1798.
AFTER ROWLANDSON

patronage of volunteers were no less evident, of which the following is a specimen :—¹

BATH

THE MEMBERS of the *BATH ARMED ASSOCIATION* may be supplied with *WARRANTED FIRELOCKS* at 2£ each at *STOTHERT & Co's* warehouse, No. 15 Northgate Street.

Likewise *PISTOLS* and *SWORDS* from the first manufactory *BELTS* and *CARTOUCH BOXES*.

On June the 4th, 1799, the anniversary of the King's birthday, a grand review of over eight thousand London and Westminster volunteers was held in Hyde Park. The corps were headed by General Dundas, and His Majesty was attended by the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of York and Cumberland. The scene was witnessed by the Queen and the Princesses from a house in Park Lane, and although the weather was unfavourable, no fewer than 150,000 spectators assembled, many of whom took up positions of vantage on roofs, walls, and trees, to watch the corps manœuvre. "The firing was, with some few exceptions, executed with great regularity. The exceptions apply to a few of the newly-formed corps and to others, which, originally small in numbers, had been incorporated with each a small time previously to the review."² Among the associations present were the Hon. Artillery Corps, St. George's Regiment, Loyal Hackney, Royal Westminster, Loyal Islington, Bloomsbury, St. James's, North-East London Volunteers, Loyal Hampstead, Temple, Loyal Pimlico, Finsbury Square, Somerset Place, Knight Marshall, the Ward Associations of Farringdon Without

¹ *Bath Chronicle*, May 17th, 1798.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIX, part i, p. 519.

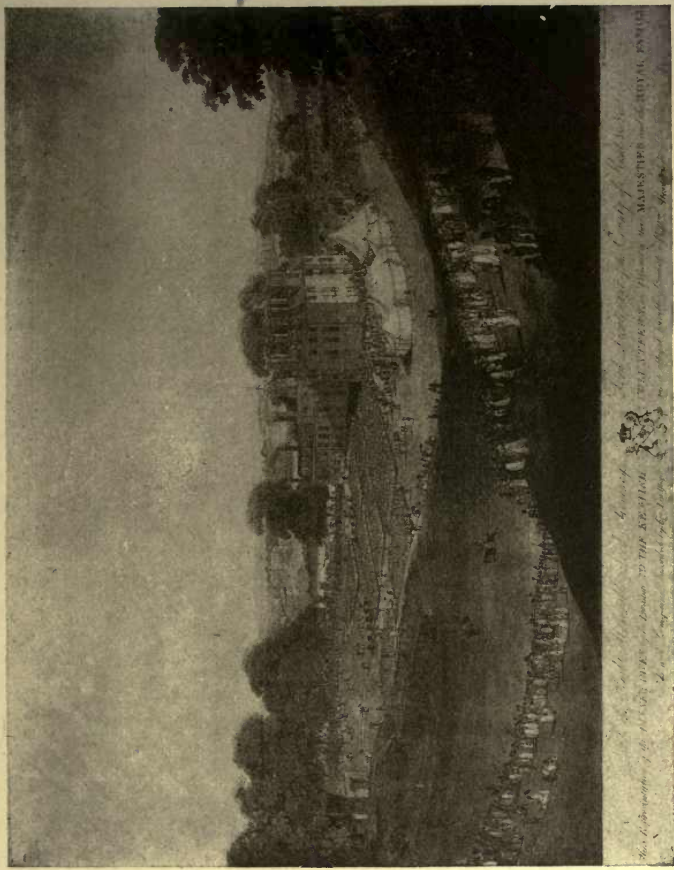
and Within, Castle Baynard, Stoke Newington, Tottenham, Enfield, Edmonton, St. Andrew and St. George, St. Clement Danes, Clerkenwell, St. Sepulchre, St. George (Bloomsbury), Loyal London Volunteers, St. Luke's (Chelsea), Brentford, St. Margaret and St. John, St. Mary-le-bone, St. Martin's, Union, Chiswick, St. Paul's (Covent Garden), Fulham, St. George (Hanover Square), South-East London Volunteers, Streatham, Limehouse, Ratcliffe, Clapham, Battersea, St. Catherine's, Poplar and Blackwall, Whitechapel, Highgate, Lambeth, St. Pancras, Wapping, Hendon, St. Olave, eight Ward Associations, and Shore-ditch. The cavalry corps of Islington, Clerkenwell, Battersea, Clapham, Wimbledon, Lambeth, and Deptford were also present. A return of the London volunteers at this time gives their strength as 12,208.¹

"After the firing," we are told, "the whole line waved their caps in the air, and gave three hearty huzzas ; which, joined to the sound of military music striking up at the same moment, and the various expressions of joy from the spectators, even the female part of them joining by waving of handkerchiefs, is said to have drawn tears of joy from their gracious Sovereign. An aide-de-camp from the Commander-in-Chief, by his special command, went round to the commanding officers of corps, to say that His Majesty's sentiments of the general appearance and military proficiency of the Volunteers assembled should be more fully expressed hereafter."²

After the review the Queen held a Drawing Room at St. James's. "Hitherto," continues the chronicler, "the war has certainly not diminished the spirits nor the wealth of

¹ *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs*, Introduction, p. vi.

² *Ibid.*, p. 519. The King expressed his thanks in the *London Gazette* of June 4th, 1799.



This engraving is the property of the Earl of Pembroke, and is taken from a drawing by Mr. G. Kneller, who was present at the Feast. The King and Queen were seated on a throne under a canopy, and the Royal Family were seated on a bench in front of them. The King was dressed in a red and white robe, and the Queen in a blue and white robe. The Royal Family were surrounded by attendants and other persons of rank. The scene was a grand and magnificent one, and was witnessed by a vast number of people.

**LORD RODNEY FEASTS OVER 5000 KENTISH VOLUNTEERS AT HIS SEAT NEAR MAIDSTONE
 IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND ROYAL FAMILY. AUGUST 1, 1799**

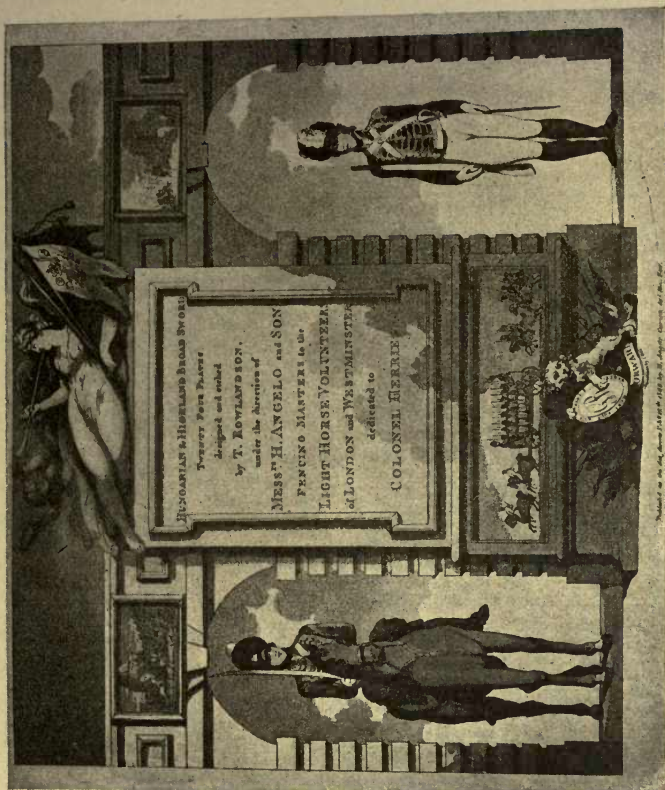
the country, which are no more than fairly represented by the gaiety and magnificence of the first Drawing Room in Europe. About half past two the Ode was performed in the anti-chamber leading to the Drawing-room; and his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered a congratulatory oration on the happy event. The noble personages present, exclusive of their Majesties and the Princesses, were the Prince and Princess of Wales, Duke and Duchess of York, Dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester, Princess Sophia, the Prince and Princess of Orange, the Imperial, Hanoverian, Danish, Neapolitan, Portuguese, Turkish, Russian, and American Ministers; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; Bishops of Norwich, Lichfield, Salisbury, Winchester, London, Durham, Chichester, and Meath, and the Dean of Wells; the Lord Chancellor, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Speaker of the House of Commons, Master of the Rolls, Attorney and Solicitor General, Lord Chief Justice Eyre, and Baron Macdonald, Sir William Scott, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, a number of officers present at the review, and an amazing show of nobility and gentry. The Court did not close till six o'clock, and it was past seven before the company had left the palace. The Royal family went to the apartments to see the procession of the mail-coaches. The Prince of Wales appeared at one of the windows with the young Princess, his daughter, in his arms, and afterwards handed her to the King, amidst the applauding shouts of the populace. The Royal family then sat down to dinner."¹ The Great Review is immortalized in Sir Robert Ker Porter's picture representing George III raising his hat to a corps in the act of saluting.

¹ *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs*, pp. 520-1.

On the 21st of the same month the volunteer corps "in and about the Metropolis" were inspected by His Majesty. Practically the whole of the circuitous route from Westminster Bridge to Islington was lined by armed citizens, and the scene in Finsbury Square was particularly brilliant. After dining with the Lord Chancellor at Islington, the monarch rode to the Foundling Hospital, where he walked through the children's apartments, and then proceeded to Hyde Park. He seemingly never wearied of encouraging the martial spirit of the nation, for the Surrey Volunteers were reviewed on the 4th July, 1799, and those of Kent on August 1st, the former on Wimbledon Common, and the latter in the lovely grounds of Lord Romney's seat near Maidstone, where a wonderful dinner was given to the 5319 men thus brought together. Every point of vantage was taken up by the large concourse of people which gathered together to show their respect for the gallant sovereign and his citizen army. Fortunately the fever which had coursed so madly through the veins of every Frenchman since the beginning of the Great War was stayed, only to break out afresh under the consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte. The supplementary militia was disbanded, and the number of the militia, including the volunteers raised under the Act of 1794, was fixed at 76,566 men for England and Wales.¹

Two important contemporary works on the volunteers by T. Rowlandson warrant special mention here. Both of them were issued in 1799. *Loyal Volunteers of London and Environs* was dedicated to the Duke of Gloucester, and numbered amongst its many subscribers the King, and several other members of the Royal Family, the Emperor

¹ Clode, Vol. I, p. 285.



FRONTPIECE OF THE RARE VOLUME OF COLOUR-PLATES DESIGNED AND ETCHED
BY ROWLANDSON, AND PUBLISHED BY THE ANGELOS IN 1799

of Germany, the King of Prussia, and the Archduke Charles of Austria. In his preface, which is dated August 12th, 1799, R. Ackermann, the publisher, states that his "primary object is to raise a lasting monument to the credit of those Volunteer Corps, who, in the moments of alarm and of imminent dangers, so readily and honourably stood forward, at their own expense, to assist the Civil Magistrates, and to preserve the tranquility of this GREAT and COMMERCIAL EMPORIUM; and to defend the PROPERTY of their less qualified neighbours from the ruffian hands of interested depredators, and from the malicious schemes of disloyalty." Rowlandson very clearly depicted the costumes of the various corps in his coloured plates, and made them of practical value by showing each representative in the act of performing a manual, platoon, or funeral exercise. For instance, beneath the figure of a clean-shaven son of Mars belonging to the Bethnal Green Volunteer Light Infantry is the following: "Support Arms, 1st Motion. At the word Arms, the right hand seizes the Firelock at the small of the Butt, leaving room between it and the lock for the left Arm, which is at the same time brought across the Body holding the Firelock tight, with the cock resting on the Arm."

A second book, "designed and etched by T. Rowlandson," was also published in 1799. The title, *Hungarian and Highland Broad Sword*, sufficiently indicates the nature of its contents. Some of the pictures are highly theatrical, and the colours have been laid on with charming inexactness and an utter disregard for detail. The artist evidently believed in picturing the worst side of war; the dead and dying—chiefly Frenchmen—are much in evidence, and in one plate a stately cathedral is in flames.

CHAPTER V

THE FRUSTRATED ATTEMPTS ON IRELAND, 1798

Great warriors all, obey the glad call,
To welcome brave Humbert who's just come to land ;
With pike, scythe, and hedge-stake, now let us the field take,
And prove to the world we can yet make a stand.

TOPICAL SONG.

ON the 23rd May, 1798, four days after Bonaparte had sailed for Egypt, the Irish Rebellion broke out. It was the far-off echo of the first phase of the French Revolution. The inhabitants of the Emerald Isle now determined to make a supreme effort to shake off the yoke of Saxon supremacy. The spirit of revolt had possibly been fostered by the harsh acts of men in authority, who hoped by this means to nip the insurrection in the bud before French help was forthcoming. The momentary success achieved in County Wexford was sufficient excuse for the Irish exiles in France to again approach the Directory with a demand for immediate assistance.¹ As usual, they were met with vague promises, much goodwill and graciousness on the surface, and the inevitable delays. Eventually a start was made, and the French Government expressed its willingness to send over one thousand men and four thousand

¹ "Ireland is not difficult to invade, the points of landing being many. But an invader can hardly hold out more than three months, even with the help of the natives."—Dumouriez MS., p. 276.

muskets to augment the resources of the insurgents, offering at the same time five frigates for the purpose of transport. This force, of course, was so hopelessly inadequate as to be of little practical value. But the Directory had been bitten and, with its greatest military commander on the high seas, was shy. Had it been seriously interested in the welfare of Ireland, it would have been quite possible to send over a formidable detachment of the Army of England, now doing nothing in particular, and this in the Brest squadron, which was in a sufficiently advanced state of readiness to allow of its being utilized. Tone begged and prayed with all his native eloquence and aggressiveness for a measure more worthy of the Great Nation, but to no purpose. The Directory preferred puny efforts, and was not at all disposed to generosity. Bruix, the Minister of Marine, determined to send over a number of French troops in vessels belonging to the Batavian Republic, but the Dutch threw cold water on the idea, protested that it was next to impossible to elude the vigilance of the British blockading force off the Texel, and prophesied nothing but failure. After much trouble, however, General Daendels again championed the cause, and two small vessels and three hundred men were granted.

Bruix, not satisfied with what savoured of a practical joke more than of anything else, busied himself with the French expedition, perhaps for no better reason than that his non-success with the Dutch might cast a reflection on his ability as an organizer. He managed to secure an addition of one ship-of-the-line and a sixth frigate. Divisional-Commander Bompard was put at the head of the venture, and over two thousand soldiers were

ordered to march to Brest for embarkation. Then followed a long pause, and it was not until the beginning of July that General Chérin was appointed Commander-in-Chief. The total strength of the force at his disposal was now increased to eight thousand men, including those stationed at Rochefort under General Humbert, who, it will be remembered, had taken part in Hoche's attempt, and those at Brest under General Hardy. They were to sail in two divisions from these ports simultaneously and effect a junction off the coast of Ireland if possible. The main body under Chérin was to have its head-quarters at Brest and to follow as quickly as possible.

Humbert was given the frigates *Concorde* (44), *Médée* (38), and *Franchise* (44), on board of which had been stowed 3000 muskets and bayonets, 3000 pouches, 400 swords, 200,000 cartridges, and 1000 French uniforms, in addition to three field-guns and the necessary ammunition.¹ He was ordered to use the utmost caution and to attempt nothing big until he had been joined by Hardy's division. Moderation was to be the golden key with which they hoped to unlock the gate which kept Ireland from despoilers. There were to be no harsh measures, no pillage, no breach of morals. By preserving strict discipline in his own ranks Humbert hoped to set a good example to the Irish insurrectionists. Special care was to be taken that national customs and religious observances were respected. This expedition, with its noble ideals, was to receive a further check before starting. General Chérin, the nominal Commander-in-Chief, fell ill, and was on bad terms with Schérer, the Minister of War, as Bonaparte had been before him. He complained that the main force was

¹ Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 70.

Confession of a Successful French Invasion.



Printed by G. Dalrymple, No. 17, Pall Mall, London.
London: Printed by G. Dalrymple, No. 17, Pall Mall, London.
N^o. VI. Plate 1^{re}. We fly on the Wings of the Wind to save the Irish Catholics from Persecution.
Defamation. I Profess not out of his Chapel, I Protest I have done so (but we English Language will be gone)
what shall the Graduals of the French Republick
shall be sung in English & Latin, in order to have the
Word to the French Nation, who will be the first
to have these Measures for the Good.

THE FRENCH INVADER IN IRELAND. CARICATURE BY GILLRAY AFTER A DESIGN BY SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE. MARCH, 1798

not sufficiently armed. Schérer turned a deaf ear to his entreaties and hardened his heart, giving Hardy and Humbert more than their proportionate share of the 200,000 livres (francs) which had been voted for the whole force. Chérin retaliated by appointing subordinates at variance with those of the Minister. Such petty spite and bickerings only served to pour contempt on the persons most concerned. Schérer held the trump card in his hand, and Chérin was ordered to Italy.

Humbert, an enterprising individual with a keen eye to the main chance, had been pushing forward his preparations at Rochefort, while his superior officers had been merely wasting time. Captain Savary had been put in command of the naval part of Humbert's division, and he hoisted his pennant on the *Concorde* on July 12th, his secret instructions being to sail at night in the hope that the British fleet might not observe his movements. He was to steer for Achill Head, the Mullet, or Cape Teelin, whichever circumstances favoured. After landing the troops he was to return to France; but should the enemy make a "successful attack during the landing,"¹ he was to reinforce the soldiers by the crews of the frigates, and burn the latter, thereby cutting off all hope of retreat—surely a quixotic way of waging warfare. These orders presumed that the junction with Hardy's division of one sail-of-the-line and six frigates had not been found possible. Should they join forces, as it was hoped, Bompard was to take charge of the combined fleet, being the superior officer in rank.

At last Humbert's three frigates set sail on August 6th, 1798, with 1019 troops on board. There had been much

¹ Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 78.

trouble about the pay of the men, but funds having arrived, the question of wages ceased to trouble them. The sheer audacity of so hazardous an exploit was fully worthy of Humbert, who cared nothing for his skin and little for his life. On the 20th land was sighted, and hoisting the British flag two days later, he stopped a brig, secured her pilot, and received on board a captain of the Prince of Wales's Fencible Infantry, who had been sent out with despatches, the port surveyor, and two sons of the Bishop of Killala, all of whom had rowed out to meet him and fell into the trap. Anchoring in Killala Bay, in the county of Mayo, the troops were disembarked, and by the following day everything in the way of arms, ammunition, and stores necessary for the desperate campaign was on shore. Three companies of grenadiers under Adjutant-General Sarrazin marched on Killala, where a tiny garrison, variously estimated at from fifty to two hundred fencibles and yeomen, was routed, with a loss to the French of three wounded. Twenty-three prisoners were made, in addition to several prominent clerics, and two killed. Some of the prisoners were let out on parole or kept in the Bishop's house; others were taken on board the frigates, which shortly afterwards made all sail for France.

Dr. Joseph Stock, the Bishop of Killala, has left a description of Humbert's men, whom he found very good fellows. He tells us that "intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline. Yet, if you except the grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexions pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse for wear: to a superficial

observer they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed, that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no covering but the canopy of heaven. . . .

“Humbert, the leader of this singular body of men, was himself as extraordinary a personage as any in his army. Of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to act, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbade you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy (the effect, probably, of much watching), cast a sidelong glance of insidiousness, and even of cruelty: it was the eye of a cat, preparing to spring on her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how (as most of his countrymen do) to assume, when it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he scarcely had enough to enable him to write his name. His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover that much of this roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting by terror a ready compliance with his commands. Of this truth the Bishop himself was one of the first who had occasion to be made sensible.”¹

¹ *A Narrative of what passed at Killalla, in the County of Mayo, and the Parts Adjacent, during the French Invasion in the Summer of 1798*, p. 34, by an Eye Witness [the Bishop], 1800. Dr. Stock afterwards became Bishop of Waterford.

On the 12th September the Directory was informed by Savary, who had arrived safely at Royan, at the mouth of the Gironde, on the 7th, of the joyful news of Humbert's landing. Its attitude towards invasion was now a little more kind, and orders were given to the captain to fit out a relief expedition—a small one it is true—but made more formidable by the addition of a frigate, the *Charente*, and the lugger *Renard*, to his existing force. The two vessels which the parsimonious Batavian Republic had grudgingly contributed were now ready, and the soldiers on board, but they seemed as securely held in check by the enemy as ever. However, the *Anacréon*, a fast-sailing brig, managed to slip out of Dunkirk with a number of refugee United Irishmen on board, the chief of whom was Napper Tandy, who had "boasted that thirty thousand would rise in arms on his appearance."¹

Meanwhile the response of the Irish in rallying round Humbert was anything but encouraging, although the General was joined by a few hundred sons of the soil, and proceeded to Ballina, eight miles from Killala. There good fortune again attended them; some yeomanry were worsted, and the place fell. On the 25th August the little army marched in the direction of Castlebar, where it was met by some seventeen hundred men² under General Lake, a name calculated to inspire fear by the sternness of his previous measures, and the victor of Vinegar Hill. His men held the most advantageous positions of the town, and it should be remarked in passing that a numerous force had been set in motion by Lord

¹ *Autobiography of Wolfe Tone*, Vol. II, p. 346.

² *History of the British Army*, Vol. IV, p. 592, by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. In his report Humbert stated that 6000 men were opposed to him.

Cornwallis, Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland,¹ and hurriedly marched to every point of importance. Humbert must have realized before a single shot was fired that nothing short of a miracle could wrest victory from the troops drawn up on the heights. It was not a question of fools rushing in where angels feared to tread when the French General gave the order to attack, but the determination of a brave man to inflict some kind of punishment on his enemy, no matter at what cost to himself. Had he failed, the verdict of history would have been that it was a mad freak to attempt an issue; but the miracle happened, and Humbert is deservedly praised. The Irishmen who had rallied round him certainly did not show their native valour to advantage, for they beat an ignoble retreat almost as soon as the English opened fire, and apparently dispersed into thin air, for they made no further appearance that day. The French troops fought with superb daring, but Sarrazin with his handful of soldiers, numbering some 480 in all, who had been held in reserve, decided the fortunes of the day. One of Humbert's battalions was holding out behind a stone wall, and another behind a ditch; both were sorely pressed. Sarrazin led the whole force up the heights, carried the trenches, captured the town and many guns, pursued the Royal troops for some distance, and thus turned what seemed inevitable defeat into certain victory, although the French lost more than the vanquished. The garrison of two hundred men which had been left at Killala also acquitted itself with honour by frustrating an attempt at landing on the part of the crews of two small English vessels.

¹ Lord Cornwallis held this post from June 13th, 1798, to March 17th, 1801.

During his stay at Castlebar Humbert issued the following Proclamation calling upon the Irish to rally round him, but the measure was not attended with the success he anticipated :

“ Liberty.

Equality.

“ Army of Ireland.

“ At the Head-Quarters at Castlebar, the 14th Fructidor, in the 6th Year of the French Republic,¹ one and indivisible.

“ General Humbert, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Ireland, wishing to organise, as soon as possible, an administrative power for the province of Connaught, orders as follows :

“ 1.—The Government of the Province of Connaught shall reside at Castlebar till further orders.

“ 2.—The Government shall be composed of twelve members, who will be nominated by the Commander-in-Chief of the French army.

“ 3.—Citizen John Moore is appointed President of the Province of Connaught. He is particularly charged with the nomination and union of the members of the Government.

“ 4.—The Government shall immediately direct its attention to the organisation of the militia of the Province of Connaught, and to securing the provisions necessary for the French and Irish armies.

“ 5.—There shall be formed eight regiments of infantry, each of twelve hundred men ; and four of cavalry, each of six hundred men.

“ 6.—The Government will declare rebels and traitors to their country, all those who, having received arms and clothing, shall not join the army within twenty-four hours.

¹ 31st August, 1798.

"7.—Every individual, from sixteen to forty, inclusively, is called upon, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair immediately to the French camp, to march in a mass against the common enemy, the Government of Ireland—the English; whose destruction alone can secure the independence and happiness of ancient Hibernia.

"The General Commanding in Chief,

"(Signed) HUMBERT."¹

The document in question was seized upon with avidity by a rhymester whose name does not transpire, and made the subject of a witty little song entitled "Humbert's Mistake," the first three verses of which are reprinted below. It was sung to the tune "Moggy Lawder."²

From Castlebar, the French declare,
 It is their sole intention,
 On Connaught forthwith to confer
 Freedom of their invention;
 What freedom this
 You soon may guess
 By Humbert's proclamation;
 "You dogs," said he,
 "You shall with me
 Go plunder your own nation."

As Cooke, when on a savage shore
 He friends would make of boobies,
 So beads and trinkets they brought o'er,
 As presents for cropt boobies;
 Of green surtouts,
 Three thousand suits,
 They gave the rabble round them,
 Who on that night
 Played least in sight,
 Nor have the Gauls since found them.

¹ *Annual Register*, 1798; *State Papers*, p. 235.

² *A Collection of Constitutional Songs*, p. 118, Cork, A. Edwards, 1799.

This novel "freedom" next "commands"
"That all men under forty
Shall in a mass, with pikes in hands,
Go fight the Orange-party";
But when they hear
Cornwallis near,
These mighty boasters scamper;
And as they run
From town to town
Their front and rear we hamper.

Humbert was now in a quandary, for he had no definite information as to the movements of the United Irishmen, upon whose help he was so largely relying. Of one thing only was he certain: that Sligo and Leitrim were but ill defended, and he therefore determined on marching to Dublin. Fortune again favoured him, but at the same time drew him nearer to his doom. He evaded meeting the main body of Cornwallis's and Lake's troops; and although he had several successful brushes with detachments of the enemy, Lake's cavalry harassed his rear-guard and disarmed two hundred of them. At Ballinamuck he found his retreat cut off by a body of regular troops under Cornwallis, and he was forced to surrender on September 8th. The French entered Dublin, not as conquerors, but as prisoners. They were sent to Liverpool shortly after, and the officers to Lichfield. A better fate awaited General Humbert, and he was allowed to return to *la belle France*, where he planned yet another attempt to snap the link which bound Ireland to England. Of the Irish fugitives who had given Humbert the benefit of their support, Matthew Tone¹ and Teeling²—the latter had

¹ Matthew Tone had almost as chequered a career as his brother. After having travelled in America and the West Indies, he crossed to France in 1794, and was arrested as an English spy. On being liberated from prison

acted as his aide-de-camp—were court-martialled and executed, while Sullivan³ was fortunate enough to make good his escape. It was not until the 23rd September that the rebel garrison at Killala, which numbered some 4000 men, was defeated by 1200 fencibles, yeomanry, and militia, under General Trench. All the French soldiers, with the exception of an officer named Charost and two subordinates, had joined their comrades at Castlebar. The defence of Killala was well maintained, but the town was retaken by the loyalists after some hundreds of the recalcitrants had been killed.

Had the Directory supported Humbert's attempt by sending over Hardy's division, the rebels might have co-operated in sufficiently large numbers to offer a serious resistance to the Royal troops. Considering that the rebellion was no longer a flame, but smouldering ashes, that the French General's resources were hopelessly inadequate, and that he did not receive the assistance from the native Irish that he had been led to expect, the result is astonishing. Well may Lecky ask what would have happened "if during the previous year or two 14,000 or 15,000 men had landed of the same stamp as Humbert?"⁴ "It was not merely vainglory," says a more modern authority,

in the following year he again went to America, returning to France at the end of 1797, and becoming a captain in the army. He was executed on September 29th, 1798.

² Bartholomew Teeling was born in 1774. He became a United Irishman and later a captain in the French army under the name of Beron. Humbert wrote personally to Lord Cornwallis, praying for clemency on behalf of his young comrade (see *Ireland in '98*, p. 398); but although the jury commended him to mercy, he was executed.

³ Sullivan was the nephew of Madgett, Secretary at the French Foreign Office.

⁴ *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. VIII, p. 212, by W. E. H. Lecky.

“when he wrote after his landing to the Directory that, if he were reinforced by two thousand men, Ireland would be free.”¹ As it was, Napper Tandy’s miniature army reached the coast of Donegal after Humbert had surrendered. Hearing that their comrades had met with disaster, the *Anacréon* was headed for the Shetlands. After having made a desperate fight with an English naval brig and captured a merchant ship, the refugees steered for Norway, being closely followed by a British man-of-war. Tandy was arrested at Hamburg, and after having been handed over to the British authorities, was tried and acquitted on a point of law.²

General (afterwards Sir) John Moore’s diary shows that the means placed at his disposal during his term of service in Ireland (December, 1797–June, 1799) were quite inadequate. “Should an invasion be attempted,” he notes on the 16th April, 1798, “there will be no head to direct, and no previous arrangements made; the scene will be disgraceful, and I wish to retire from it.”³ “The batteries erected at Bantry since the French were there would throw some impediments in the way of an enemy, but nothing but a considerable corps of troops could possibly prevent his landing. The way is too extensive to be defended by batteries.”⁴ Again, writing after Humbert had landed, “General Lake was particularly warned not to risk an action until a sufficient force had been assembled to ensure

¹ Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. IV, p. 594.

² A second trial took place in 1801, and he was condemned to death; but both Bonaparte and Cornwallis exerted themselves on his behalf, and he was released. He died in 1803.—See *Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, Vol. I, p. 54, note.

³ *The Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. I, p. 288, edited by Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice, K. C. B.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

success, as in the state of Ireland any check in the beginning might prove fatal in its consequences.”¹ After the little French army had been defeated, he acknowledges that Cornwallis’s troops were “bad and undisciplined, and if he had met with the least check the country was gone.”²

It now remains to follow the operations of the second division of the French expeditionary force. The hesitation and indecision of the Directory in sending aid was largely a question of funds, one of the causes of the delay in sending off Humbert. The crews refused to work the ships until they had been paid their wages, which were not forthcoming, and the troops were equally clamorous. So early as July 21st the one sail-of-the-line and six frigates at Brest were waiting for their complements, and General Hardy had received his instructions, which were almost identical with those of his colleague, before Humbert had sailed. The course Commander Bompard was to steer and the precautions to be taken were similar to those enjoined upon Savary.

If there was not actual mutiny there was seething discontent, much growling, and little done, although the men were full of enthusiasm as to the ultimate success of the expedition. Not until some 70,000 francs had been received and distributed did serious work begin, although the six field guns they were to take were already on board. Six thousand muskets and bayonets, 1,000,000 cartridges, 6000 pouches, 1200 swords, 2000 French uniforms, and equipment for 150 dragoons were hastily stowed away. On the evening of the 20th August, the day on which Humbert sighted the Irish coast, Bompard

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

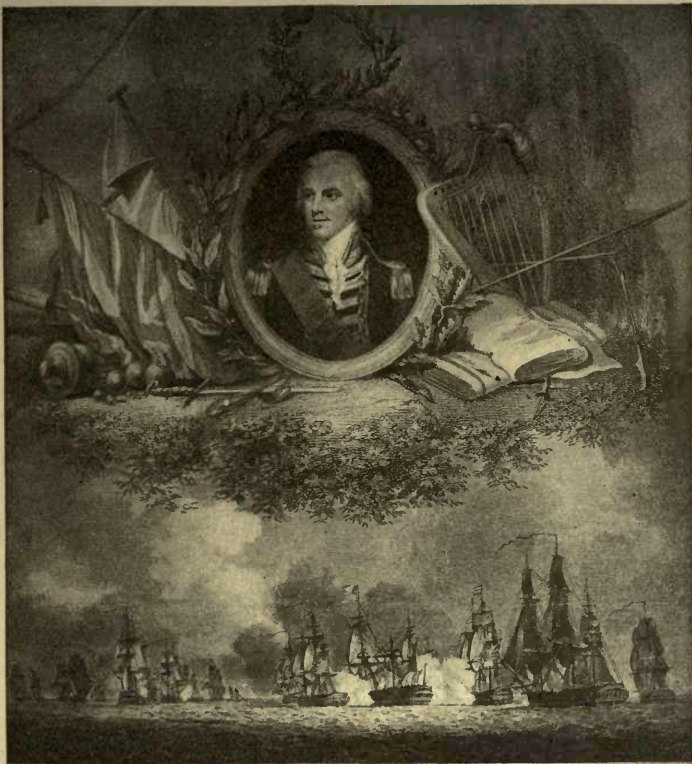
² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

slipped his cables, his naval force having been augmented, and was composed of the *Hoche*, a 74-gun sail-of-the-line, and the frigates *Immortalité* (40), *Coquille* (36), *Embuscade* (36), *Sémillante* (36), *Résolu* (36), *Romaine* (40), *Bellone* (36), *Loire* (40), *Biche* (36), and *Fraternité*, having on board some 3000 men, including Wolfe Tone, who sailed in the flagship *Hoche*. Ill fate dogged Bompard from the very start, for on his trying to pass Ushant he found a British squadron on guard, and two of his frigates collided. There was nothing for him to do but anchor in the roads until an opportunity should come to elude the enemy, which was not until September 16th, almost a month after his first start. Two frigates and a brig of the Brest blockading squadron pursued him from the following day until October 3rd, when Bompard shook them off. They therefore made for the North of Ireland, and on the 11th joined Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren's fleet, which had been sent to intercept Bompard's ships. Off Tory Island the Frenchman found three sail-of-the-line and six frigates, including the two which had given chase, quietly awaiting his coming.¹ The reports of the contestants do not agree in several particulars. Bompard makes the battle begin at 7.30 a.m. on October 11th,² while James gives the date as the 12th, and the time of opening 8.30 a.m.³ The British frigate *Magnanime* (44 guns) and the sail-of-the-line *Robust* (74 guns) closed with the *Hoche*, which was supported by the *Embuscade*, *Coquille*, and *Bellone*. The *Amelia* (38 guns) also attacked the French

¹ *Epitome of James's Naval History*, p. 141.

² Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 169.

³ There is a curious mistake in the epitomized edition of James's *Naval History*, edited by Robert O'Byrne (1888): on p. 140 the date of the battle is given as October 12th, and on the following page as the 13th.



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN BORLASE WARREN, BARRONET, IN THE VICTORY OF IRELAND

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[Small text block, likely a preface or introductory note, partially illegible due to the image's resolution.]

British Squadron

Letter	Ship Name	Commander
A	Canada	Comd. J. B. Warren
B	Palmer	J. Thompson
C	Trident	J. B. Warren
D	Argentine	J. B. Warren
E	Edinburgh	J. B. Warren
F	Mercury	J. B. Warren
G	Janet	J. B. Warren

French Squadron

Number	Ship Name	Commander	Status
1	Le Nord	Comd. J. B. Warren	Taken
2	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken
3	Le Lion	J. B. Warren	Taken
4	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken
5	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken
6	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken
7	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken
8	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken
9	Le Commerce	J. B. Warren	Taken



[Handwritten text:] This Plate is by Permission of His Most Noble THE MARQUIS of Cornwall, General and Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland.

[Handwritten signature:] J. B. Warren, Admiral of the Fleet, Cornwall, Vice-Chief of the Kingdom of Ireland.

SIR JOHN BORLASE WARREN DEFEATS THE FRENCH INVADERS OFF THE IRISH COAST, 1798

flagship, and inflicted considerable damage on her as she passed under her stern, and the *Canada* "took a distant part in the action."¹ The French vessels offered a gallant resistance, although the crowded state of their decks impeded the efficient working of the guns. In two hours the *Hoche* was little more than a hulk, with five feet of water in her hold. Tone's son says that she was surrounded by four British sail-of-the-line and one frigate, which is misleading, seeing that the *Robust* and the *Magnanime* really bore the brunt of the fight, the other vessels being engaged with the French frigates. For instance, the *Melampus*, after opening fire on the *Hoche*, turned her attention to the *Embuscade*, which she handled severely, and, the *Foudroyant* coming up, she was forced to surrender. The *Coquille* attempted to escape with the remaining frigates, but was overtaken and captured. Not until the next day did the *Bellone* strike her flag to the *Ethalion*, which carried a heavier armament and sustained severe damage. The remaining ships of Bompard's division, with the exceptions of the *Romaine*, *Sémillante*, and *Biche*, which escaped to French ports, were captured.

The honours at sea on the French side were well won by the *Immortalité*, which managed to get away, and was making for Brest when she was sighted on the 20th by the British *Fisgard*² (38 guns). From 11 a.m. till 3 p.m. a fearful struggle ensued, and at first the *Immortalité* had the advantage, the *Fisgard* being rendered almost unworkable. It was a sorry ship that towed a sorry prize into Plymouth harbour, and the most famous contemporary naval historian admits that the action was

¹ *Epitome of James's Naval History*, p. 142.

² See *ante*, p. 52.

“ably contested on both sides, doing credit to the vanquished as well as to the victor. No obtrusive vessel became a spectator of, much less a participator in, the long and arduous struggle. Considering the numerous cruisers, British in particular, that are usually roaming about the chops of the Channel, a fair single combat, from first to last, is rare, and, therefore, deserves to be prized.”¹ The total British casualties are returned at 24 killed and 100 wounded, and those of the French at over 350 killed and wounded, although no official records of the latter seem to be extant. Wolfe Tone, who had fought for his mistaken cause like a hero, was arrested and tried, but escaped execution by committing suicide.

Whatever else might be forgotten, it would seem as if the French never by any chance left their native land without taking a generous supply of more or less flamboyant Proclamations with them. Copies of the following address were found on board the *Hoche* by her captors, and incidentally shows that Hardy thought the illustrious name borne by his flagship one to conjure with.

“LIBERTY! EQUALITY! FRATERNITY! UNION!

“(Device.—A cap of liberty. Two hands united, and the rising-sun.)

“THE GENERAL COMMANDING THE FRENCH ARMY IN IRELAND, TO THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

“United Irishmen,—The persecution which you experience on the part of a Government atrociously perfidious, has excited sentiments of indignation and horror in the breast of every friend of humanity. The lovers of liberty, while they admire your fortitude, deplore the situation to

¹ *Epitome of James's Naval History*, p. 147.

which you are reduced. The complaints of your suffering country are heard in all parts of the world, but your cause has become more particularly that of the French people. It is to give you new proofs of their affection, it is to second your generous efforts, that the Executive Directory of the French Republic has sent me among you. I do not enter your country with hostile views, to spread terror or desolation around me. I come not to dictate the law. Companion and friend of the gallant Hoche, I follow scrupulously the line of conduct which he marked out. I come to fulfil his engagements ; to offer you friendship and assistance ; to bring you arms, ammunition, and all the means necessary to break the barbarous yoke under which you groan ; I present to you my brave companions ; they know no other road but that of honour and victory. Long trained in the art of humbling tyrants, under whatever form they may present themselves, they will join their courage with yours ; they will mix their bayonets with your pikes, and Ireland shall be free for ever !

“ Unhappy victims of the most execrable despotism, you who groan in hideous dungeons, where at every moment you are plunged by the ferocious cruelty of your English tyrants, let hope once more revisit your hearts ; your chains shall be broken. Unfortunate inhabitants, who have seen your houses, your property, wrapped in flames by your pitiless enemies, your losses shall be repaired.

“ Rest in peace, gallant and unspotted spirits of Fitz-Gerald, of Crosbie, of Coigley,¹ of Orr, of Harvey ;² your blood, shed for the sacred cause of liberty, shall cement the independence of Ireland ; it circulates in the veins of all your countrymen, and the United Republicans swear to punish your assassins.

“(Signed) HARDY.”³

¹ Or Quigley.

² Rebels who had been hanged, with the exception of Lord Edward FitzGerald, who died in prison on the 19th May, 1798.

³ *Popular Songs*, etc., part iii, pp. 109-11.

Shortly after the return of Savary with the frigates which had conveyed Humbert and his men, and before it was known that they had sustained defeat, General Kilmaine, who was still in command of the so-called "Army of England," expressed his willingness to go to the relief of the rebels. Being of Irish extraction, he flattered himself that he knew how to handle the men he felt would rally round his standard once he had set foot on Hibernian soil. He was not content with a fugitive experiment such as had characterized the policy of the Directory since Hoche's disaster, but boldly asked for seven thousand men. Nor was he satisfied with mere frigates; he wished to use seven of the ships-of-the-line lying idle at Brest, as well as eight frigates, and to take over with him twenty-five thousand muskets, so that he could make sure of having a presentable force when the peasants were armed, for four or five thousand of whom he intended to take over French uniforms. He also realized that the possession of a plentiful supply of ready money was necessary to successful warfare, and asked for a million francs. Contrary to what one might expect in the light of past events, the Directory entertained the proposal, and the resourceful Bruix heartily concurred. The list of "wants" for the expedition drawn up by the Minister of Marine not only shows the practical side of the Admiral's character, but also his regard for details which, at first sight, might be thought of little consequence. He included 150,000 ells of green and white ribbon to make cockades for the Irish, but reduced the number of sail-of-the-line asked for by Kilmaine to six, the money to 700,000 francs, the guns to twelve, the soldiers to 5000, and the muskets to 15,000.¹ The decrease

¹ Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 192.

in the armament was probably not from reasons of economy alone, but because supplies were running low. Everything was approved of; the Directory was in an optimistic mood. Bruix was not daunted even when he heard that Humbert had surrendered, but went on steadily with the preparations. He urged upon the Dutch the necessity for energetic co-operation, asking shipping accommodation for 1200 troops. At the end of October things were in a forward state, for Kilmaine had busied himself in gathering together his soldiers. But the inevitable happened: funds were not forthcoming, and before the Commander-in-Chief had got the members of the Directory to fulfil their financial obligations the disaster that had overtaken Bompard and Hardy crushed out all faith in the success of another attempt. Operations were suspended, and Kilmaine, disappointed of his hopes, went back to his old command of the Army of England. To complete the discomfiture of all concerned, the two Dutch frigates managed to leave the Texel on October 24th, having on board some three hundred troops, with the intention of reaching Galway Bay by sailing round the northern coast of Scotland. The British frigate *Sirius* coming up with them, they were compelled to offer battle; and although the former fought under great disadvantages, the Dutchmen were forced to surrender.

Savary, apparently unaware of the non-success of Bompard and Hardy, had set sail with six vessels for their relief on October 12th. He had strict orders to return with his 1090 men if bad news awaited him in Ireland. Two of his frigates left the main body, but the remainder reached Killala Bay. By a strange coincidence Savary was met by several British officers and men,

whom he made prisoners, following the precedent set by Humbert. The captain then heard of the unhappy fate of his comrades, but Adjutant-General Cortez, who was in command of the troops, showed some spirit and endeavoured to win over Savary to land the troops. Although the latter was inflexible as to obeying his orders to the letter, he decided to anchor for a few hours, and barely managed to escape an encounter with four British ships the following day. He was chased for seventy-two hours, keeping up a running fight with two of them, but escaping by taking the desperate measure of throwing everything overboard except the specie, so as to lighten the frigates.

Further attempts against the British Isles were mooted by General Andréossy, the still undaunted Humbert, and others, but the Directory wisely left them alone. Its members had by this time become convinced that the road to London, for the French invader, at any rate, was not practicable "by way of Ireland."

CHAPTER VI

INVASION PROJECTS OF 1801—PLANS OF ATTACK AND DEFENCE

“In war men are nothing ; it is a man who is everything.”—NAPOLEON

ALL practical thoughts of an invasion were put aside until 1801, when Bonaparte, now First Consul, and but recently returned from the brilliant campaign which had culminated in Marengo, again meditated a hand-to-hand grapple with England. A letter written by him to Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, shows how ambitious were his naval as well as his military designs.¹ This communication, an unusually elaborate one, states that the writer had received a very friendly communication from Paul, the half-witted Czar, who was destined two months after to be the victim of a dastardly conspiracy. An alliance between Russia and France is not at all so peculiar to our own time as many people believe. Bonaparte said that “Russia ought always to make common cause with France.”² Such an *entente* was evidently a favourite scheme with Napoleon at one point of his career, indeed this letter sketches a vast programme of naval expeditions to be undertaken by the allied fleets of France,

¹ *Correspondance de Napoléon I*, Vol. VI, p. 746. Letter No. 5327, dated from Paris, January 27th, 1801.

² *Talks of Napoleon at St. Helena*, p. 157.

Spain, and Holland, supported by the Northern Powers of Russia and Denmark. Powerful armaments were to be organized for the following purposes: (1) An expedition against Ireland; (2) Against Brazil and India; (3) Against Surinam, Trinidad, and the West Indies; (4) Hostile operations with similar objects in the Mediterranean. The First Consul proceeds to unfold minute details of these comprehensive schemes. Everything was to be organized on the principle of first decoying the main naval force of Great Britain to Egypt. It is remarkable, however, that while he apparently designed to conquer England's sovereign possessions and to annex the most commanding strategic positions both East and West, no mention is made of invading the Motherland. Ireland entered into his calculations, although no attempt was made to put the matter into execution until 1803, and then it was dismissed; while the crossing of the Channel was certainly contemplated in 1801, but without the aid of sail-of-the-line. The flat-bottomed boats built during the *régime* of the now defunct Directory, with new additions, were to be used for this purpose. The idea of treating some of the European nations as his feudatory vassals and making Russia his tool *par excellence* is quite worthy of this phase of Napoleonic statesmanship.

The human dynamo soon set the wheels of his mighty machine going; and the ports were busy fitting out expeditions to Egypt and India. Not until March 7th, 1801, did Bonaparte betray the fact that he entertained any notion of crossing the Channel, and then it was only by inference. Writing to Forfait, now Minister of Marine, he requests him to say how long it would take to collect at Boulogne one hundred gunboats, and also to state where

these craft are at present situated and in what condition they are in. The despatch is interrogative almost throughout. "How many men would they accommodate? How many could leave Boulogne at a single tide? And how many at a time could the harbour contain?" A fortnight afterwards Bonaparte writes impatiently to the same official respecting his report of the condition of things on the coasts. The Minister had failed to render anything like the good account which his exacting master had expected, although of gunboats proper, large and small, and pinnaces, there were 276 in the ports of St. Malo, Cherbourg, Havre, Dunkirk, Ostend, Flushing, Brest, and Lorient.

The First Consul determined that this scattered fleet, which was sadly lacking in organization and served no useful purpose, should be placed under the charge of an efficient commander. La Touche Tréville, the only French admiral approaching Nelson in genius, and certainly the best naval officer Bonaparte ever had, was chosen for the task. A man of less abundant energy or unfailing optimism would have declined the post as offering the maximum of work with the minimum of reward, for the repeated failure of previous attempts to use the vessels augured ill for the future. In Bonaparte's decree of March 13th, 1801, instituting a flotilla of gunboats, its possible objective is only remotely hinted at, but the officers were advised to keep their crews efficient by constant exercise at sea. The Admiral himself was told that the flotilla was for the protection of the coasts and coasting trade, and the addition of another powerful means of offence when opportunity presented itself. The crews were always to be on board and ready—a sufficient indication that there was a probability of an expedition being undertaken in the future,

although at the moment the sea-board departments were denuded of troops.

La Touche Tréville's innate hatred of the English prompted unremitting labour on his part, and it is clear that he had great faith in the utility of the means which he hoped to have at his disposal before many months had passed. New boats were put on the stocks and old ones placed in dry-dock for repairs. In April he was able to report that good progress was being made, although the First Consul's ambitious naval plans received a serious check. The previous year (1800) he had entered into a close alliance with Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, with the avowed object of resisting British supremacy at sea. This was practically a revival of the Armed Neutrality of 1780; but the battle of Copenhagen, fought on the 2nd April, 1801, brought the power of the Maritime Confederacy to an untimely end, and showed that Nelson was more than a match for his foreign rivals. This set-back was not at all encouraging for an attempt to cross the Channel, and Bonaparte certainly did not give much attention to the flotilla. On the other hand, La Touche Tréville visited the maritime ports, took stock of resources, and was satisfied with their general fitness for his own special purpose, with the noteworthy exception of Boulogne, which was in a destitute state, with no defences, no soldiers, and a single weak battery. These numerous disadvantages did not deter him from deciding upon it as the best place for collecting the vessels. The Admiral was already anxious to head an expedition, and told Bonaparte that from Calais alone he could embark twenty-five thousand troops, who would form the right wing of an army, the centre being at Boulogne and the left at Étaples. The

First Consul's reply was not favourable, and discountenanced the idea of concentration. Not in the least disconcerted by this ill-concealed rebuff, La Touche Tréville frankly disobeyed orders and began to collect as many boats at Boulogne as possible. Eventually he succeeded in winning over Bonaparte to his own opinion, and on the 1st June, 1801, an order was issued for an extraordinary fund of 305,000 francs to be applied to the repair and reconstruction of the jetties and quays of the port, which were to be adapted to the accommodation of vessels drawing more water than could hitherto be admitted into the harbour. This, of course, presaged the deepening of the harbour at some future time, which was done.¹

La Touche Tréville was anxious to have fifty gunboats built after the Spanish model, which he purposed to use as the vanguard of the invasion flotilla, the vessels being larger and more heavily armed than the French type. He had early recognized that the light-draught boats of the Dutch would be of great service for the transport of cavalry horses, and would make a valuable addition to the fleet of fishing-smacks which had been fitted up for that purpose. The Admiral made repeated experiments with the various kinds of vessels, and his men were frequently manœuvring within gunshot of the English cruisers. He exacted a high standard of efficiency in the comparatively few sailors he had at his disposal, and even went so far as to offer to molest the Kent and Sussex coasts "every night, with a thousand or twelve hundred braves,"² his retreat being assured by the Boulogne flotilla. For a really serious attempt on England he estimated that seventy-five thousand men would be required. It is evident from

¹ See *post*, Vol. II, p. 20.

² Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 316.

Bonaparte's note of June 23rd, 1801, to Augereau, in command of the Army of Batavia, that whatever the First Consul's initial ideas may have been concerning the Channel armaments, he had again abandoned the thought of striking a blow in England herself. "You will receive instructions," he writes, "for the formation at Flushing of five divisions of gunboats, which, added to the sixteen divisions in Channel ports, will impose on England."¹ La Touche Tréville probably surmised from the fact that there was no artillery at Boulogne, and no soldiers at Dunkirk, that the project had been postponed, but that did not prevent him from announcing in July that he had sufficient transports for thirty thousand troops, should they be forthcoming. In the middle of the same month Bonaparte gave a tardy order for a reinforcement of 3870 soldiers to help man the boats, so great was the dearth of sailors. Time showed that the plan, paradoxical as it seemed, was a sound one.

The utmost difficulty was experienced by divisions of the flotilla making their way to the port of concentration, for the British cruisers continually harassed their movements. This trouble was partly overcome by the erection of a powerful battery near Cape Gris-Nez. Repeated applications for the Spanish gunboats failed to meet with any response, and as La Touche Tréville believed them to be the key of the situation, this is additional evidence against the reality of Bonaparte's intentions. Eventually 150 boats had been gathered together at Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk before the belligerents decided to lay down their arms for a season. The number of craft actually built totalled 250, which would have accommodated about 25,000 of the 75,000 troops available for the expedition.²

¹ Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 314.

² *Ibid.*, p. 411.

The cry of "Wolf! wolf!" had been heard so often that at first British statesmen showed a disposition to wait and see, rather than to go and prepare. In January, 1801, there were not more than 198,000 armed men in the British Isles, including volunteers, and although their ranks were augmented from time to time, England was ill prepared for a really serious attack. It is true that her squadrons still kept the French fleets in their harbours, with one or two exceptions, but previous expeditions had effected an escape, and it will be remembered that the flotilla was to be protected in crossing by its own gun-boats, not by men-of-war. The British ships in actual commission included no fewer than 127 sail-of-the-line; France had only forty-nine, and many of these were in a bad state of repair. The following circular reveals the mode of internal defence for the United Kingdom so clearly that it is given *in extenso* :—

February, 1801.

Information and Instructions
FOR
COMMANDING GENERALS
AND OTHERS.

" HIS Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief thinks it necessary on the present occasion to point out the following circumstances and instructions for the guidance of the commanding generals and others, that they may be acquainted with the leading principles of defence of the country, and be the better enabled to apply them to the peculiar situation of their district.

" We must naturally suppose, from the host of foes that surround us, and from the advantages our insular situation gives us while they can be kept at a distance, that their

great object must be an invasion of these countries. The consequences of success would be to them so great, that they may be led to attempt it, notwithstanding the superiority and exertions of our navy, and the vigilance and gallantry of our seamen, who have hitherto ensured our safety; and from circumstances of wind and weather it is not impossible for them to accomplish on some one or more points of our very extensive coasts, a partial but considerable landing. Under this idea and expectation we must therefore be prepared, and in readiness to repel such an attempt, whether proceeding from the coasts of our inveterate and implacable enemy which more immediately threaten the capital and centre of the country; or from those of our more distant ones, who have such great preparations to make, such probable difficulties to encounter, and so many perils to escape, that invasion from that quarter, though not beyond the chance of possibility, may be considered as less imminent than the former.

“Before the descent of the enemy is undoubtedly expected, or the particular object of it is known, the troops will be cantoned or encamped in the manner that appears the most advantageous. The various lines of defence will in general have been ascertained. The combinations of the troops and their marches upon their several points of rendezvous, in consequence of the part of the country the enemy shall attempt, will be well understood and known to such as have an active part depending on them. The troops will be in a state of field preparation, and apprized of the general nature of the service that is to take place. Their subsistence will have been arranged and secured on their lines of march and probable operation. All the civil arrangements of Government will have been made and ready to carry into execution. Measures for reinforcing the army, for internal security, and for forming strong reserves will have been taken. Dispositions will have been made for breaking up roads, driving

and abandoning the country on the enemy's route, &c. Though our stake would be great, our advantages in defending it would be many, our principal ones ought to arise from our supplies, our certainty of subsistence, and our constant increasing force.

“When an enemy lands, all the difficulties of civil Government and the restraint of forms cease, everything must give way to the supplying and strengthening the army, repelling the enemy, and preserving as much as possible the quiet of the country; the strongest and most effectual measures are necessary for these indispensable purposes.

“On the first landing of an enemy, if he cannot be prevented in the attempt, not a moment must be lost in assembling the troops, and pushing on the most advanced, however few in number, till more can be collected. The great object must be constantly to harass, alarm, and tire an enemy, and to impede his progress, till a sufficient force assembles to attack him; the nature of the country affords every advantage for that purpose; intricate and inclosed, it is exceeding difficult for an enemy to advance, he is never to be lost sight of by the light troops, every inch of ground, every field may to a degree be disputed, even by inferior numbers.

“As soon as ever he has quitted the coast, he must be surrounded in front, flank, and rear; a knowledge of the country, and a superiority of cavalry gives that advantage. He must be obliged to fight for every article of sustenance. The country must be driven, and everything useful within his reach destroyed without mercy; this the necessity of the case, and the infinite consequence of giving him an immediate check demand; cattle and horses must at all events be removed.

“On the side of the enemy, the difficulties of advancing through an inclosed country where there is an active opponent in front, flank, and rear, seem almost insur-

mountable ; such as routes to be opened for the columns under an adversary's fire, unless the march is made along the high road, on a narrow front, and therefore the easier opposed. The means of connecting these columns and making them act and move in concert ; the disability of protecting and communicating with the flank ones, which are always exposed, and liable to an attack ; the uncertainty of where is the principal danger, and from what quarter to expect the greatest effort of his adversary, the want of every comfort, of every necessary but what the individual can himself carry.

“ The combination of these circumstances when opposed with vigour, seem to render it impossible for an enemy to make much progress forward ; for as he must have landed with a very moderate proportion of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, or at least without the effectual means of transporting them, fatigue, and the want of nourishment will soon exhaust him, despondency will begin to take place, and despair will soon follow, if unable to advance in front, a retreat must be resolved on, or a desperate and unequal action hazarded. No such retreat can be made in a very regular manner ; confusion will arise, a re-embarkation with great loss will be attempted if there is any possibility of getting off, perhaps the scene may terminate in a total surrender.

“ All this supposes in the defendant the most indefatigable and unremitting activity and valour, every circumstance should induce him to this conduct, to allow time for putting in motion each spring, and applying every resource. Each day decreases the ardour, spirit, and numbers of the attacker, and increases in a much greater proportion the confidence and strength of the attacked, not only of the soldier and the militia-man, but of the very peasant ; a sure retreat is always open ; plenty, and refreshment of every kind await them, and the support of increasing numbers.

“If, notwithstanding every effort, the enemy should advance within reach of the capital, a great action must take place, but at such a distance as to allow of the prospect of rallying and making a second stand in case of a repulse. In this situation, the advantage of artillery, cavalry, and in some degree the choice of the ground ought to decide against an enemy who would want these, and who would be encompassed on every side by superior numbers, though perhaps not of regular troops: when things are brought to this point, determined valour, with these advantages must ensure success.

“After taking possession of one of the coast towns, and of a certain district of country, should he not advance towards the capital, or towards some other material point, but endeavour to establish himself and protract the war, a new scene would arise; these previous arrangements would enable us to act with advantage, and the sequel would depend on the circumstances of the moment.

“From the moment that an enemy is discovered from the coast and pointing to a place of landing, the driving of the country must begin, be strongly enforced, and made if possible by other routes than those of probable operation of the troops, whose movements must not be interrupted, and when the acting direction of the enemy is sufficiently ascertained, nothing within the probability of his reach should be suffered to remain; nor would this incommode the advanced troops, for their supplies would readily come up from their rear, and above all the removal of horses of every description must be accomplished, if this is rigidly executed, his future movements will become exceedingly slow and fatiguing, perhaps impossible. The mode of doing all this is prescribed, and will be arranged in every county and district of the exposed coast, the execution allotted to the yeomen cavalry, and every reasonable hope may be entertained of its being carried into effect.

“Nothing will more effectually disappoint and disconcert the project of an invading enemy than the driving and abandonment of the country, and the total destruction of the roads for miles round whatever point he made his landing at, or at least for several miles on each side of the route he meant to pursue. Could this be accomplished as easily as imagined, he would find himself in a desert, unable to advance, or to give the time necessary to free himself from the first embarrassments thrown in his way, and which would only be a prelude to more considerable opposition. This alone persevered in, would stop all progress, his distresses and wants would increase in proportion to his numbers, and if his communication was interrupted by a superior naval force, he must soon be reduced to the greatest difficulties. But as this cannot be expected to the desired amount, it may be essential to point out how far the roads of the country should be destroyed, so as to be disadvantageous to the army, and advantageous to ourselves.

“It is desirable to reduce the enemy to advance on a small front, to prevent him from extending his flanks, and to throw as many obstacles in the way of his progress to the front as can be devised; but to do this, it is necessary to reserve access to his flanks, to be able to follow his rear, and in opposing him in front, to have our own rear open for a speedy retreat, or for receiving supplies and reinforcements. The reconciling all these circumstances is no easy matter, and different opinions may be formed on the subject; it is thought however that the destroying the communications between the various routes that lead to the capital, must be to our advantage, for it will not prevent light troops from harassing the flanks of the enemy's march, and it will reduce his progress to be made on one great route, including such collateral ones, as with much labour and delay he may be induced or attempt to open, and which in some parts of the

country is no easy matter ; for if under such circumstances he pressed forward on two great routes that cannot communicate or support each other, he gives us the opportunity of attacking him with an united force. From the time we take a position in front of the enemy we can only destroy direct roads in proportion as we retire, side ones we can prepare and shut up, to prevent the enemy's altering his position, but with our permission, for it is one of the great advantages which our inclosed and intricate country affords us, and from the instant an enemy has landed, we must endeavour by our various operations to determine his advance on such lines as we deem most advantageous to ourselves.

“The great extent of our coast makes it difficult to guard it everywhere, and from the nature of an invasion, an enemy if he escapes our navy and all the perils of the sea, generally arrives with a force much superior to what can be assembled to oppose him ; still he should be resisted as much as possible in the moment of descent, for it is to him a moment of weakness and may be of great loss and discouragement, but this should not be persevered in, beyond the instant of landing, if the enemy's superiority is evident and decided ; the troops that immediately oppose him, should therefore be prepared on a signal, to quit the ground in the quickest manner (always supposing the rear and flanks sufficiently open) and to assemble again, at perhaps the distance of half a mile ; everything must be methodized and in due preparation for destroying and spiking the guns and carriages on the shore batteries, before the enemy can reach them, and it is believed the ordnance have provided and furnished for each gun the means of so doing, and if any neglect should therein arise, the perpetrators should be punished in the most exemplary manner.

“Therefore when the enemy shall be master of the shore, the troops are never to lose sight of him, they are

to fall back to such a moderate distance as circumstances seem to require; they are to extend and in arriving from all quarters to endeavour to encompass him, for their general intention and application must be to draw as much advantage from attacks on his flanks and rear as they can propose to do from opposition in front. These attacks should be kept up incessantly, made by bodies both of small and large numbers, and every encouragement given to such enterprizes. And in acting in this manner the troops are thoroughly to understand, that though our object or situation does induce us at first to fall back gradually till our force can be collected on a given point, and enabled to advance upon and attack the enemy, yet that we are always to hold that event in view, and to conduct ourselves accordingly, and that it becomes us to know, and to profit from the many and singular advantages we possess.

“Nothing can be so frequently and strongly inculcated into our infantry of every description, as the advantages they possess in attacking the enemy, who has few or no cavalry to offend them, while on all occasions, they enjoy the fullest support from our own; for active individuals and light infantry may remain in perfect safety within the smallest distance of such an enemy, watching every opportunity of distressing him, and larger bodies of infantry can never be pressed or overtaken, if their rear is clear, and their cavalry bold and active. By dint of repetition, every soldier should be brought to understand, that even if he is worsted in action, and compelled to fall back, that his duty and honour require him to stop and rally, as soon as possible, that he need never hurry, and that he is perfectly safe at a quarter of a mile distance from an enemy, who has no cavalry to make a quick pursuit, therefore that he ought to face about, form, and again advance or retire in a cool soldier-like manner, and in doing this, from his peculiar advantage, he is always

protected by his own cavalry. But above all it must be impressed upon him, that although retiring and falling back gradually before the enemy, may at first be ordered and necessary, to allow the force of the country to collect ; yet our great object is to attack him on every favourable opportunity, and that not so much by fire, which is merely defensive, as by the bayonet, and by that bold, manly and vigorous exertion, which must inspire soldiers fighting for their religion, liberty and constitution—For however successful the enemy may seem to be at first, and however long it may be necessary to postpone our general attack upon him, the moment will arrive, when by our accumulated numbers and united efforts, we shall overwhelm, and may extirpate an army of unprincipled and merciless invaders.

“ There cannot be too many light infantry established, either in companies or battalions. They are essential in the country we are to preserve, and when intelligent and well led, they will by their spirit, perseverance and exertion soon attain an ascendant over those of the enemy, who have so many difficulties to encounter, and who unprotected by cavalry of their own, will not be so forward when exposed to the rapid and decided attacks of ours. To this service the small corps of militia and the unregimental companies of volunteers are peculiarly applicable, and in no other can they distinguish themselves in a manner more honourable to themselves, or more beneficial to their country.

“ Although the face of the country does not in general allow us to draw to its fullest extent from our numerous and formidable cavalry all those advantages we should otherwise possess, yet against an enemy destitute of that arm, and endeavouring to advance into the country, we seem to be placed in a most favourable and decisive situation. Many parts will allow of the action of cavalry in considerable bodies, and other parts will soon be made

so, inclosures are in general slight, and could be opened round interesting positions. But as our cavalry have no enemy of the same kind to encounter, they need not be too circumspect in their movements, and there are few impediments their horses would not surmount, great boldness and activity would give them every advantage of attack, and free them from every danger of retreat. They should never hesitate with impetuosity to attack infantry wherever they can get at them on tolerable terms, particularly light infantry, whose loose order makes no great resistance when assailed with vigour. They would be ordered to move and act more in small bodies than in line, in support of infantry and of each other. They would harass and interrupt every communication of an advancing enemy. They would give confidence and support to our volunteers and more inexperienced troops, and in any great and combined attack, they might arrive and act from so many points with an energy peculiar to themselves that must prove decisive. The advantage they would possess is of so singular a nature that unless they forgot their inherent vigour and activity, and that the existence of their country was at stake, nothing could resist their efforts.

“The excellence of our field artillery, and its capability of increase to any extent, must give us the most decided advantage against an enemy, who will be exceedingly inferior in that arm. Well horsed and under the protection of our superior cavalry, it may be moved with the greatest rapidity to the most favourable and decisive situations, at the same time that we are enabled to take care that by no sudden effort, there is any danger of its being lost or destroyed.

“The enemy has elsewhere gained so many advantages, from the rapidity of his movements, and disencumbering himself from baggage, that he would certainly persevere in the same course, and seek for no more horses than

would transport his moderate share of artillery and ammunition, and if possible mount part of the cavalry men he might bring with him ; he has been accustomed to find provisions in the countries he quickly passed through, and occasionally shelter in close cantonments, as he frequently had not with him the means of encampment.

“ We must therefore be prepared to move in the lightest manner. Start without baggage of any kind, expect to hut, not to encamp, and for this the country furnishes abundant and advantageous materials, and every fifth soldier should be provided with a bill-hook for cutting wood. The soldiers should carry their own kettles as formerly, and not of too great a size. From our rear we will be certain of plentiful supplies.

“ Circumstanced as we are, with our honour and existence at stake, against the mere persons of an insolent and unrelenting enemy, whom we and our ancestors have so often encountered, and who spurning at those generous modes of warfare so long established between civilized and rival countries, openly declares his aim to be our utter destruction as a nation.—Against such an enemy we must employ his own weapons, for a time be as ferocious as himself, raise the indignation of the country to the highest pitch, and hurl back upon him that terror which he has so successfully struck into others, who had not the same liberty, renown, and constitution to contend for. In this manner will he be successfully opposed ; and if we profit from the many and singular advantages we possess, and exert that spirit and vigour which becomes a great and free people, fighting for their laws, their religion, and everything that can be dear to them against an implacable enemy, there can be no doubt of an honourable and glorious termination of the contest.

“ In conformity to the before-mentioned circumstances, the commanding generals being thoroughly acquainted with the local situation of their districts, must have

already, or will frame a regular system of defence and operation, which they will communicate in its various degrees, and with full explanation to each person materially concerned in its execution.

“They will point out the most probable places of descent from an enemy, the works that now exist for their defence, and the arrangements to be made at each for opposing him. Supposing the enemy, notwithstanding every effort to prevent him, to have made good his landing at any one place, they will point out where the troops shall reassemble, and keep firm to hold the enemy in check, and in case of being farther pressed they will show the line of falling back, and the measures they order for throwing troops on his flanks and rear, and arresting his progress till assistance arrives.

“The generals commanding are also farther instructed to cause the greatest alertness to be observed in the execution of all duties, and that every one is ready in the instant to repair to the point of rendezvous assigned him. If the necessary horses for the artillery are not provided, to keep a sufficient look-out that they may be immediately procured on any emergency, and for the regiments to furnish such men and to train them, as are wanted for the artillery service.

“That the orders and instructions, as published concerning the Baggage and Marches of the Army in case of assembly, are strictly observed, and to take the first opportunity of punishing offenders and destroying improper baggage on the spot. Of using every means of circulating intelligence, and orders quickly, but without harassing the cavalry. Of attacking the enemy in the critical instant of landing, if there is the least chance of success; and if obliged to recede, to fall back as short a space as possible, and never to lose sight of him in front. Of detaching bodies, though ever so small, to confine him on his flanks, and of increasing those in proportion as he

advances. Of exerting every means to create delay, and give time for assistance to come in. Of hastening the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the enemy to withdraw with their cattle and horses, to enforce this by every means, and to destroy without compunction whatever provision is tardy in its removal, or can be of use to him; such removals will be made to a sufficient distance, according to the district plan ascertained, and the routes in it ordered and pointed out. Such arrangements in consequence of the general plan laid down must be made with the Lord-Lieutenants and Magistrates of the different counties, as may ensure the punctual execution of these most essential services.

“To take particular care that horses do not fall into the hands of the enemy, and also that no loss of artillery is endangered. Wherever he makes good a landing, such adjoining batteries as can no longer be preserved must be relinquished in time, the guns damaged, and ammunition and carriages destroyed. This requires discretion and no hurry, for in many situations they may still afford support to the flank corps.

“To provide for the removal of such sick, horses and baggage as may be near to, or in the probable route of the enemy. To keep an especial look-out to the providing his own troops with bread and forage, with as much regularity as possible, if no perfect and undoubted mode of supplying them is then established.

“The farther the enemy gets from the coast, the more must the cavalry be ordered to get on his flanks and rear; to give night-alarms to the enemy, however small the parties may be that do so. To destroy roads on his flanks the more to circumscribe him in an inclosed and difficult country, and at whatever point he lands, to have such a disposition ready for breaking up roads, and to be immediately executed, as will tend to prevent his extending, and force him to move in a particular line and on a

small front of operation. Wherever the enemy enters the strong woodland counties, if trees are felled on all the roads for miles around him, he will find it very difficult to advance.

“During all this possible service, small corps cannot depend on encamping. On the contrary they must trust to their own ingenuity for hutting and covering themselves, and will be provided with axes, hatchets, and bill-hooks accordingly.

“The general officers will see, and are instructed, that the infantry of all kinds in their exercises practise more than has been usual the use of their bayonets, and charge frequently with them in different situations, and under various circumstances: also that not only the light companies are adroit at their peculiar exercise, but that individuals, and divisions of other companies are occasionally detached, and understand how to act as flankers and as skirmishers, in attacking or repelling those of the enemy; also to be provident of their ammunition, and that they ought never to fire but when they have a good mark, and a good aim. All these are points and objects that should be strongly recommended to, and form the principal part of the exercise of small corps and volunteer companies, to enable them to perform the most effectual service that can possibly arise.

“A part of the force of each district, as shall be particularly named, will be established as a district reserve, and being provided with camp equipage, &c. will be held as the first to be called upon, ready to move at a moment's warning, and to unite as a body on the point attached, whether of their own, or of any adjoining district. The whole will form the general reserve; and orders will be in readiness for the march of the distant parts of it, on whatever point the enemy may land. The commanding generals of districts will be acquainted before-hand with such dispositions, and know when and from whence they

may expect assistance. They are also empowered, on the appearance of an enemy, to call out the yeomen and volunteer corps of their respective districts, with whom (having obtained a previous knowledge of their numbers, state of discipline, limitation of service and other essential circumstances) they will have made such arrangements as may ensure their speedy assembly, and the due performance of the duties allotted to them. They will also be empowered to call upon certain specified corps (according to situation) of the reserve, and of the adjoining districts.

“In consequence of all these circumstances, and of such other local ones as present themselves; the commanding generals of districts will take their measures, give their orders, make the previous preparations, and communicate such material matters as they have not already done to his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief.

“*By Command of His Royal Highness,*

“*The COMMANDER-in-CHIEF,*

“HARRY CALVERT,¹ Adjutant-General.”

The outlook was not improved by Pitt's resignation in February, 1801, but the news that the army which he had sent to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby in the previous January had routed the French was at once a tonic and a sedative to the nation. Some people thought it should be an incentive to further effort to crush the man who was rapidly becoming the military dictator of Europe; others saw in it a prospect of peace. The following

¹ Sir Harry Calvert succeeded Sir W. Fawcett as Adjutant-General of the forces in 1799, after an active military career, in which he had been frequently on active service. He eventually became Lieutenant-Governor of Chelsea Hospital, and died in 1826, by which time he had been promoted to the rank of General. The above instructions were first issued in 1800, and again in 1801 and 1803.

hitherto unpublished letter¹ from Charles James Fox to his brother, General Fox, shows the uncertain state of affairs at the time :—

“ My dear Brother,

“ I have written seldomer than I should have done from doubting whether you ever received my letters, but from yours of the 6th of last month I find that you had received one, and so, of course, I suppose the others. I am much obliged to you for enquiring about the language. I guessed, of course, that there was Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian and probably some Moorish, but I still doubt about the Irish very much. You don't say anything of Mrs. Fox and the children, so I conclude they are well. Indeed I hear with great pleasure from Caroline that Mrs. Fox was remarkably so and much better than when in England. You have probably long before this heard the fate of Egypt. Here we are all in a state of uncertainty about it and unfortunately all we know about it is that our killed and wounded amounted to near 2000 before the famous action of the 21st, 22nd and 23rd,² over all these three days which is given by various reports. Every report is in itself unauthentic, but yet there have been so many reports of an action and a victory of the English about that time makes one think something has happened, which is at least called a victory. Why Egypt should be of such importance to either the French or to us I never could discover, and I have always thought the expedition there the foolishest part—perhaps the only foolish part, of Napoleon's conduct, unless he had some views connected with it in connection with the internal politics of France of which we are not informed, or (which I have always suspected) that he had a desire to be out of the way of

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS. Purchased at the Bunbury Sale.

² Battle of Alexandria, March, 1801. Sir Ralph Abercromby was mortally wounded, and died on the 28th inst.

accepting or refusing the command of an army destined to invade England. I hope we shall soon hear that it is over, and with as little slaughter as possible whichever way it ends. Both armies have what we used to call at Newmarket 'a good hedge,' since the vanquished will probably be able to return to their own country while the conquerors must remain in Egypt.

"As to the state of things here I believe almost everybody is as much in the dark as I am. The K[ing] is certainly not quite well, nor do I believe he ever will be. When I was in Town last week he was not allowed to see any of his family. I now read in the newspaper that he walked in Kew Garden with the Queen and Princesses and that he is going very soon to Weymouth. If they allow him to go there where he is in public all day it seems very inconsistent with what has generally been given out, that he is indeed well, but that great quiet and retirement are necessary to his perfect re-establishment. In short I cannot believe that he will go, but how long things are to go on in this state nobody knowing in fact whether we have a K. or not I have no guess. The exact state of our situation as regards the Baltic is as little known as anything else, and if you ask me as to peace the same answer must be given. Nobody knows what steps have been taken towards negotiations, nor even what degree of hope is entertained of success. In short I have nothing to tell you of public affairs.

"With regard to myself I am here well and happy and should be truly sorry if anything should make it necessary for me to enter again into public business. The P[rin]ce and D[uke] of Y[ork] are supposed to be ill together. The Dukes of Clarence and Kent are supposed to side with the former. The D[uke] of Cumberland with the latter. I have not heard which way the other two Princes are. The best news here is that wheat has fallen, and is falling, in price, for the misery endured by the poor, and

indeed by those a little above the poor and who are obliged to give charity when they are in a position rather to ask it themselves has for the last twelve months been dreadful. Your mare is very well, but as I ride her so little I have had her used in the cart and at plough, which I should not have done if I had thought there was any chance of her lasting as a riding horse till Mrs. Fox returned. I have also had her covered, and I expect a fine foal from her. I hope this is not wrong. Mrs. A. desires to be kindly remembered to you. Pray give my love to Mrs. F. and the children. You say nothing of William Dixon, who has, I fear, behaved very improperly. His father is, as you may suppose, very anxious about him.

“Yours affectionately,

“C. J. FOX.

“ST. ANNE'S HILL, 15 *May*, 1801.”

Addington, the new Prime Minister, while determined upon peace at any price, discreetly made some show of continuing the preparations made by Pitt. He largely relied upon the genius of Nelson, who was appointed to a command extending from Orfordness, in Suffolk, to Beachy Head, in Sussex, to circumvent Bonaparte's plans should his hopes of a cessation of hostilities be dashed to the ground. At first Nelson was not inclined to take the First Consul's preparations at all seriously, but when he had seen with his own eye the preparations being made by La Touche Tréville, his views changed. He gave it as his opinion that the French had determined upon putting their threat into execution, but was convinced that the flotilla was not the only force he would have to contend with. “This boat business,” he says, “may be a part of a great plan of invasion; it can never be the

only one.”¹ The Admiral felt sure that the wily ruler of France would play him a trick, and came to the conclusion that the French navy would be utilized to put him off the proper scent. “Although I feel confident that the fleets of the enemy will meet the same fate which has always attended them, yet their sailing will facilitate the coming over of the flotilla, as they will naturally suppose our attention will be called on to the fleets.” On the 25th July, 1801, Nelson addressed an important Memorandum to the Admiralty on the defence of the Thames. In it he stated that the coast of Sussex and of Kent to the westward of Dover should be well protected. It was his opinion that London was the chief point aimed at by the French.

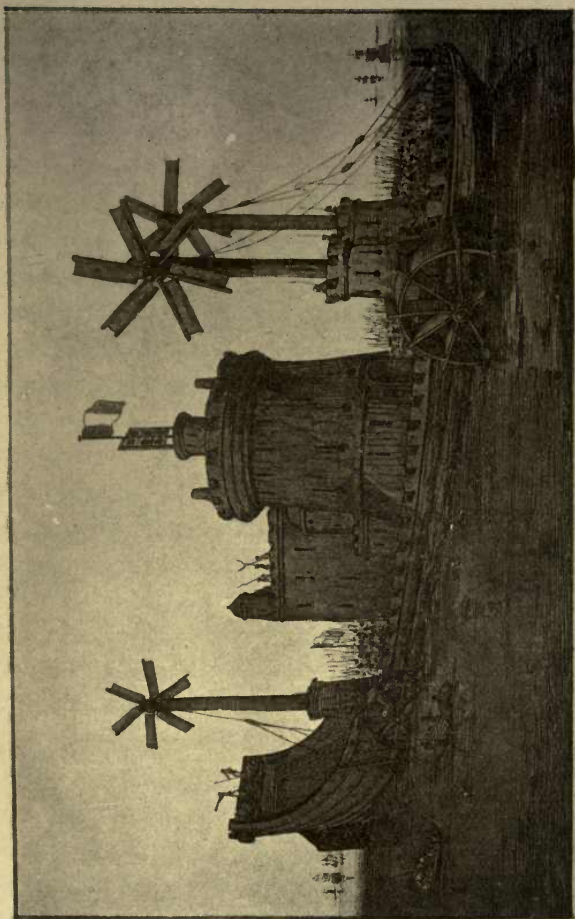
“From Boulogne, Calais, and even Havre,” the communication runs, “the enemy will try and land in Sussex, or the lower part of Kent; and from Dunkirk, Ostend, and the other ports of Flanders, to land on the coast of Essex or Suffolk . . . added to this, the enemy will create a powerful diversion by the sailing of the combined fleet, and the either sailing, or creating of such an appearance of sailing, of the Dutch fleet, as will prevent Admiral Dickson² from sending anything from off the great Dutch ports, whilst the smaller ports spew forth its flotilla.” The Admiral’s idea was that twenty thousand men would land on the west side of Dover, sixty or seventy miles from London, and the same number on the east side; “they are too knowing to let us have but one point of alarm for London.” He calculated that in calm weather the flotilla, with forty thousand men on board, could cover the distance from the

¹ *Nelson’s Dispatches*, Vol. IV, p. 500.

² Commander-in-Chief in the North Sea.

French coast to the English shores in twelve hours. If this happened the British fleet and boats were to "get into the Channel and meet them as soon as possible: if not strong enough for the attack they must watch, and keep them company till a favourable opportunity offers. If a breeze springs up, our Ships are to deal *destruction*: no delicacy can be observed on this occasion. But should it remain calm, and our flotilla not fancy itself strong enough to attack the enemy on their passage, the moment that they begin to touch our shore, strong or weak, our Flotilla of boats¹ must attack as much of the enemy's Flotilla as they are able—say only one-half or two-thirds; it will create a most powerful diversion, for the bows of our Flotilla will be opposed to their unarmed sterns, and the courage of Britons will never, I believe, allow one Frenchman to leave the beach." He thought Solebay "not an improbable place" for the landing, and conceived the notion of having "a great number of Deal and Dover boats to be on board our vessels off the Port of Boulogne, to give notice of the direction taken by the enemy. If it is calm, vessels in the Channel can make signals of intelligence to our shores. . . ." Gunboats and flat-boats were to be kept near Margate and Ramsgate, a squadron was to lie between Orfordness and the North Foreland, and another in Hollesley Bay. After giving directions as to the movements of these divisions, Nelson goes on to say that "the more fast Rowing boats, called Thames Galleys, which can be secured the better, to carry orders, information, etc., etc. . . . Stationary Floating Batteries are not, from any apparent advantage, to be moved. . . ."

¹ "The Admiralty cannot build too many small craft, even if their armament interferes with that of the ships-of-the-line."—Dumouriez MS., p. 74.



AN ACCURATE REPRESENTATION of the FLOATING MACHINE
 Invented by the FRENCH for INVADING ENGLAND. and Acts
 on the principals of both Wind & Water Mills. carries 60,000 Men & 600 Cannon.
10 of these each carry 200 Men.

[1797-1801]

“Whatever plans may be adopted,” he adds, “the moment the Enemy touch our Coast, be it where it may, they are to be attacked by every man afloat and on shore: this must be perfectly understood. *Never fear the event.* The Flat boats can probably be manned (partly, at least) with the Sea Fencibles¹ . . . but the Flat Boats they may man to be in grand and sub-divisions, commanded by their own Captains and Lieutenants, as far as is possible. . . . These are offered as merely the rude ideas of the moment,” he concludes, “and are only meant as a Sea plan of defence for the City of London; but I believe other parts may likewise be menaced, if the Brest Fleet, and those from Rochefort and Holland put to sea; although I feel confident that the Fleets of the Enemy will meet the same fate which has always attended them, yet their sailing will facilitate the coming over of their Flotilla, as they will naturally suppose our attention will be called only to the Fleets.”²

Lord St. Vincent was then at the head of the Admiralty, and he found himself unable to agree with all the propositions put forward by Nelson. “Our great reliance is on the vigilance and activity of our cruisers at sea, any reduction in the number of which, by applying them to guard our ports, inlets, and beaches, would in my judgment tend to our destruction.”³

While Addington thought of nothing but peace, Commander-in-Chief the Duke of York evidently regarded

¹ A volunteer force consisting of fishermen and others connected with the sea, who had sworn to lend their aid in repelling the enemy.

² *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, with Notes by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicholas, G.C.M.G., Vol. IV, pp. 425-8.

³ Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 121.

war as a stern reality. A secret circular was issued on July 21st, 1801, by Colonel Brownrigg, Adjutant-General, to those in command of districts throughout the country. "I have the Commander-in-Chief's commands," it runs, "to acquaint you that from unquestionable intelligence there is the strongest reason that an immediate descent upon the coasts of the Channel is intended by the enemy. I am therefore to recommend you from His Royal Highness that you give orders for the utmost vigilance to be observed throughout your district, particularly by the troops stationed immediately upon the coast, and that in general they may be held in readiness to act with the greatest promptitude and effect against the enemy. . . ."¹ The same officer also informed Colonel Hope, Adjutant-General in Ireland, of the apparent danger, and called upon him to be prepared to send reinforcements to England, should the enemy "gain a footing in the country."² This was a tacit acknowledgment of lack of readiness, for Ireland was not overburdened with troops.³ Had rebellion broken out as was anticipated, and a diversion made in that quarter by the French, as well as a landing effected in England, the consequences must have proved disastrous. But such urgent positive orders could not be disregarded, and Lord Gardner, commanding the fleet guarding the west of Ireland, was told that if the west of England was invaded, nearly 5000 men from Cork would have to be taken across. "If Scotland

¹ *Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester*, edited by Charles, Lord Colchester, Vol. I, p. 366.

² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

³ "The regular forces in Ireland, including fencibles, during this period was about 30,000, and the militia 30,000 more; the yeomanry corps of infantry and cavalry were about 60,000; the cavalry part being about 12,000."—*Ibid.*, p. 276.

or the side of Liverpool was the point, a similar force might be sent from the North and Dublin. In this latter instance perhaps shipping for the purpose might be seized in Belfast and Dublin. . . .”¹

Perhaps nothing did more to inspire Londoners with a sense of their responsibility to the nation than the frequent inspections and reviews of the volunteer and associated corps by the King or Commander-in-Chief the Duke of York. One of the most satisfactory of these was held in Hyde Park on the 22nd July, 1801, when 4,734 armed citizens assembled and went through various exercises and evolutions. “It was computed that, independent of the volunteers, upwards of 30,000 spectators attended. . . . Innumerable fair forms, sheltered from the scorching rays of the sun by the protecting parasol, were seen, escorted by their beaux, tripping over the turf. The surrounding walls were covered with men, women, and children. Every eye sparkled with animation, every heart beat with loyal fervour; the proud name of Briton was vaunted with self-congratulation; and if the chimerical idea of invasion occurred, not a man present but, contemplating this brilliant display of the ‘Amor Patriæ,’ was enthusiastically eager to exclaim:—

‘And if their *flat bottoms in darkness get o’er,*
We soon shall find means to receive them on shore.”²

Nelson issued a Proclamation to the Sea Fencibles, urging them to man the coast-defence vessels, but few responded to his appeal. They were half-hearted, lacked spirit and vim, and thought more of keeping their jobs than of defending their country. “Of the 2600 Sea-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

² *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. LXXI, part ii, p. 662.

Fencibles enrolled between Orfordness and Beachy Head," the Admiral complains to St. Vincent, "only 385 have offered themselves to go on board a Ship, and serve at the Sand-heads, &c.; the Sea-Fencibles of Margate, for instance consist of 118 men, their occupation is pier-men belonging to the Margate hoys, and some few who assist Ships up and down the River. These men say, 'our employment will not allow us to go from our homes beyond a day or two, and for actual service': but they profess their readiness to fly on board, or any other duty ordered, when the Enemy are announced as actually coming on the sea. This, my Dear Lord, we must take for granted is the situation of all other Sea-Fencibles: when we cannot do all we wish, we must do as well as we can. Our Ships fitted for the service, on both shores, between Orfordness and the North Foreland, want 1900 men, the River-barges two or three hundred. . . . I am sure that the French are trying to get from Boulogne; yet the least wind at W.N.W. and they are lost. I pronounce that no embarkation can take place at Boulogne; whenever it comes forth, it will be from Flanders, and what a forlorn undertaking! consider cross tides, &c. &c. As for rowing, that is impossible. It is perfectly right to be prepared against a mad Government; but with the active force your Lordship has given me, I may pronounce it almost impracticable."¹

On the 4th August, 1801, Nelson relentlessly bombarded the French flotilla, which was outside the harbour, for sixteen hours. The hills near Boulogne and the heights around Dover were almost black with a swarming mass of

¹ To Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, K.B., dated from Margate Roads, 7th August, 1801. *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, Vol. IV, p. 446.

spectators, and as it was a particularly clear day they were able to watch the conflict whenever the smoke from the guns and batteries cleared off a little. The action, however, was not a success, and comparatively slight damage was done to Bonaparte's miniature fleet. Nelson was not to be daunted, and he wrote on the 12th inst. to Mr. Addington: "In my command I can tell you with truth, that I find much zeal and good humour; and should Mr. Bonaparte put himself in our way, I believe he will wish himself even in Corsica. I only hope, if he means to come, that it will be before the 14th of September, for my stamina is but ill-suited for equinoctial gales and cold weather."¹

Eleven days after the attack narrated above Nelson renewed the struggle, his fleet consisting of thirty sail and many small boats. He determined to attack the crews of the flotilla at night, and all would have been well had not the French profited by their recent experience and been on the alert as a consequence. A number of boats were let down from the English men-of-war, filled with tried and trusty sailors, and formed in four divisions. With muffled oars the seamen drew near to the ships lying off Boulogne. These were defended by long poles, at the head of which were sharp spikes of iron, while strong netting had been placed round the hulls, very similar to the torpedo netting used in modern naval warfare. Each of the enemy's vessels contained from 150 to 200 soldiers. It has been repeatedly stated that the clever scheme had been conceived of fastening the ships to the shore by means of iron chains, so that no prizes could be taken; but La Touche Tréville denies that

¹ *Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, Vol. IV, p. 456.

such was the case,¹ although in the week and a half which had elapsed since the last engagement the French had placed batteries and cannon wherever it was thought they could be used to advantage. On the heights of Boulogne a line of soldiers fired ceaselessly on the intrepid British bluejackets, whose firearms had been left behind for reasons of prudence; Nelson knowing full well that one shot fired at the wrong moment would bring down a veritable hail of bullets from the men on shore. Jack Tar suffered severely as a result, although the howitzer-boats did some damage.

The second division of boats, under the command of Captain Parker, was the first to close with the enemy. The French commander refused to order his men to fire until he had given the crews of the approaching boats an opportunity to withdraw. Going to the side of his vessel, he shouted in the best English he could muster: "Let me advise you . . . to keep your distance. You can do nothing here, and it is only useless shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt."²

The British tars, however, did not flinch in the face of duty, and so the unequal contest began. One hundred and seventy-two were either killed or placed *hors de combat*, while Parker lost a leg and thigh. The French casualties were comparatively slight, being returned at ten killed and thirty wounded. Marks of distinction were conferred on twenty-two soldiers and sailors for their bravery during the action, and from this date the First Consul began to think seriously of Boulogne as the most suitable place for congregating the flotilla.

¹ Desbrière, Vol. II, p. 344.

² *Annual Register*, 1801, p. 269.

In a letter to Mr. Evan Nepean, Secretary of the Admiralty, dated August 16th, 1801, Nelson states that the darkness of the night, with the tide and half-tide, separated the divisions; and to all not arriving at the same happy moment was to be attributed the failure of the attack, which Nelson put on his own shoulders. It is characteristic of the writer that he adds, "more determined, persevering courage I never witnessed." Captain Parker died at Deal on the 28th of the following month.¹ Deeply attached as he was to his senior officer, the latter showed that the feeling was even more deeply reciprocated, for he paid the dead commander's creditors in full when he heard that he had involved himself in debt. Parker's opinion of Nelson is summed up in his own words: "He is the cleverest and quickest man and the most zealous in the world. In the short time we were in Sheerness"—that is, before embarking—"he regulated and gave orders for thirty of the ships under his command, made everyone pleased, filled them with emulation, and set them all on the *qui vive*." The Admiral's correspondence about this time shows very clearly the indomitable courage of the man who was destined to put an end at Trafalgar to Napoleon's attempt to make France a great maritime Power. His letters and despatches are full of witty remarks and brilliant metaphor, as spontaneous as the genius of the writer, and they show the soul of a hero. Thus on the 17th August he tells Lord St. Vincent, "I

¹ The death of Parker was a cause of deep grief throughout the fleet. Hardy speaks feelingly on the subject in his letters (see *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar*, p. 114, by A. M. Broadley and R. G. Bartelot, M.A.). Since the publication of that book the tomb of Parker, a somewhat ponderous structure of stone, has been discovered in one of the disused cemeteries at Deal. It bears a lengthy inscription. See Appendix II.

own I shall never bring myself to allow any attack to go forward, when I am not personally concerned ; my mind suffers much more than if I had a leg shot off in this late business. Had our force arrived as I intended, 'twas not all the chains in France that could have prevented our folks from bringing off the whole of the vessels. . . ."¹ The French stated that their repulse of the enemy at Boulogne was as glorious a victory as the English triumph at Aboukir.

Shortly afterwards Nelson proposed an expedition to Flushing with between four and five thousand troops. He felt sure that if he were able to strike a blow in that quarter, Napoleon would, at any rate for a time, be forced to give up his projected invasion. The First Lord of the Admiralty, however, vetoed the idea, and thereby aroused Nelson's ire. "Lord St. Vincent is for keeping the Enemy closely blockaded," he complains to Addington, "but I see they get alongshore inside their sand banks, and under their guns, which line the coast of France. Lord Hood is for keeping our squadrons of defence stationary on our own shore (except light cutters to give information of every movement of the enemy). . . . When men of such good sense, such great sea-officers, differ so widely, is it not natural that I should wish the mode of Defence to be well arranged by the mature consideration of men of judgment?" The last sentence was a sarcastic reference to Lord St. Vincent, who had refused a consultation with Nelson on the subject. The letter concludes with a defence of his own mode of conducting operations : "I mean not to detract from my judgment ; even as it is, it is well known : but I

¹ *Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, Vol. IV, p. 470.

boast of nothing but my zeal; in that I will give way to no man upon earth." ¹

Nelson begged repeatedly to be relieved of his command owing to ill-health, but the Admiralty only turned a deaf ear to his complaints and a "No" to his applications. "None of them cares a d——n for me and my sufferings," he comments in vexation.

Lord Howe, the "Father of the Navy," and the hero of the victory off Ushant on the "Glorious first of June," 1794, also differed with St. Vincent as to the wisdom of tightly bottling up the squadrons of the enemy in their home ports. He foresaw the difficulty which confronted Lord Melville² on his succeeding to the head of affairs at the Admiralty, when "he found a fleet of worn-out ships utterly inadequate to meet the combined fleets of France and Spain,"³ necessitating much patching-up of a more or less temporary nature to enable them to keep the sea. As regards the sailors themselves, they were then, as now, believers that "there is nothing the British Navy cannot do," but a certain proportion of them were far from competent. Four months after the breaking out of the war in 1793, Collingwood had discerned that "we do not manage our ships with that alacrity and promptness that used to distinguish our navy. There is a tardiness everywhere in the preparation, and a sluggishness in the execution that is quite new. The effect is obvious to everybody, and the moment the ships are put in motion they feel it. After recording two disasters due to this lack of adequate training, he adds: "This was not the fault of the weather,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

² Henry Dundas. He became First Lord of the Admiralty on the 15th May, 1804.

³ *Life of Lord Howe*, p. 217.

but must ever be the case when young men are made officers who have neither skill nor attention, and there is scarce a ship in the navy that has not an instance that political interest is a better argument for promotion than any skill. . . .”¹ Writing from the *Barfleur*, at Torbay, on April 8th, 1800, he shows that this disgraceful state of things in the fleet is scarcely, if at all, improved. “The truth is,” he says, “in this great extensive navy, we find a great many indolent, half-qualified people, to which may be attributed most of the accidents which happen.”² But if this was true of British sailors, the remark applied with double force to those who manned the French fleets. If history has proved anything, it is that fighting efficiency does not depend solely upon the heaviest armament, that the general morale of the men is of more importance. Sheer weight of metal never did nor never will counter-balance inefficiency in the working of a ship. It is as true in this age of steam and steel as it was in the days of the three-decker. What Trafalgar proved in 1805, the battle of the Sea of Japan seconded a century later. Discipline and courage are not analogous terms, but they ought to be in a country whose very existence depends upon the command of the sea, and whose boundaries in time of war are the enemy’s coasts.

¹ *Collingwood*, p. 24, by W. Clark Russell. This letter is dated from Spithead, July 22nd, 1793, and is to Sir Edward Blackett, Mrs. Collingwood’s uncle.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

CHAPTER VII

THE LITERARY AND ARTISTIC LANDMARKS OF THE GREAT TERROR, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POPULAR PAMPHLETS, SONGS, BROADSIDES, AND CARICATURES PUBLISHED BETWEEN THE FIRST FRENCH EXPEDITION TO IRELAND AND THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY OF AMIENS (1796-1802)

Does haughty Gaul invasion threat?
Then let the louns beware, Sir.
There's wooden walls upon our seas,
And volunteers on shore, Sir.—ROBERT BURNS.

THERE is a very marked divergence between the state of public opinion in England during the two phases of the Great Terror, divided from each other by the Treaty of Amiens and the brief cessation of hostilities which ensued. In 1796, when the invasion projects of the French Directory began to assume a tangible shape, and the energy and ability of Lazare Hoche were paving the way for the phenomenal activity and genius of Napoleon Bonaparte, the aftermath of the French Revolution still exercised an appreciable influence in English politics. Richard Price had died two years before the execution of Louis XVI, and Joseph Priestley had migrated to America; but Thomas Paine (who had only escaped the guillotine by the accident of Robespierre's downfall) was still active for evil, and his *Age of Reason*, published in 1793, gave a fillip to the waning

enthusiasm of the *habitues* of the "Crown and Anchor." The Corresponding Society, the Constitutional Club, and other kindred associations had not as yet closed their doors; and the "sentiments" of "The Democrats throughout the World" and "The Friends of Freedom; and may our Liberties never be swallowed in a Pitt" were as popular toasts with one section of the community as those of "May some plans be formed to save a sinking State" and "May Britain never want sons to volunteer their services" were with another.

Edmund Burke was from the days of his youth an uncompromising foe to Democracy and even to the moderate measures of Parliamentary Reform advocated by Pitt, whose brother-in-law, the Earl of Stanhope, one of the mainsprings of the democratic associations of 1788, had now, in despair, turned his attention to the perfecting of steam vessels, stereotyping, and microscopic lenses, because his fellow-peers steadily refused to listen to his motions for non-interference in Continental complications. Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and many of their friends still pleaded in vain for peace with France, and it thus came to pass that they one and all fell under the merciless lash of James Gillray, the Juvenal of eighteenth-century caricaturists, who, as an ardent Whig, had once regarded the proceedings of the Paris mob as the dawn of universal freedom, but who now, like Burns, Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth¹ amongst the poets, and

¹ It was the French invasion of Switzerland in 1798 which inspired Wordsworth's sublime sonnet, commonly known as "The Two Voices." There is an echo of the Great Terror in its last lines:—

"For high-souled maid, what sorrow would it be
That mountain floods should thunder as before,
And ocean bellow from his rocky shore,
And neither awful voice be heard by thee?"

Mackintosh amongst the politicians, frankly acknowledged his mistake and embraced, to some extent at least, the opinions of Pitt. From the commencement of the Great Terror the pencil of Gillray was at the service of George Canning and the *Anti-Jacobin*. As we shall presently see, the English Premier had no more powerful ally, and Bonaparte no more relentless foe. It took, however, some time to bring about that absolute unanimity of public opinion on the subject of French aggression which characterized the popular movements of 1803, 1804, and 1805. The prevailing feelings of 1796 and 1797 were half-hearted and lukewarm, compared to those which took complete possession of the British mind at the sudden termination of the "experimental" peace which no man believed in less than George III.¹

In 1796 the office of Poet Laureate was by no means a sinecure. It was then held by a worthy Berkshire gentleman who rejoiced in the name of Pye, and is now described on high authority as "Poetaster and Poet Laureate." It was the duty of Henry James Pye, as it had been that of Thomas Warton, William Whitehead, and Colley Cibber before him, to compose odes for New Year's Day, the King's birthday, and other occasions, which, being duly set to music by the Court band-conductor, were performed in the presence of the Royal Family and their guests.² As far back as January 1st, 1795, the fear of foreign invasion took possession of the mind of Pye, and we find it reflected in the last verse of the ode "performed that day at St. James's":—

¹ See p. 266.

² At Sir William Fraser's sale a volume was sold containing copies of these effusions from 1715, when Nahum Tate was Laureate, culled from contemporary sources and entitled *Laureated Leaves and Rhymes for Royalty*.

Yet if the stern vindictive foe,
 Insulting aim the hostile blow;
 Britain in martial terrors dight,
 Lifts high th' avenging sword, and courts the fight;
 On every side, behold her swains,
 Crowd eager from her fertile plains;
 With breasts undaunted, lo! they stand,
 Firm bulwarks of their native land;
 And proud, her floating castles round,
 The guardians of her happy coast,
 Bid their terrific thunder sound
 Dismay, to Gallia's scatter'd host;
 While still Britannia's navies reign
 Triumphant o'er the subject main.

George III was a "stalwart" from the first. He had celebrated his fifty-sixth birthday some months before he applauded Pye's first "invasion" ode (harmonized by Sir W. Parsons), and several years afterwards was still anxious to lead his troops, sword in hand, against the "Corsican Usurper."¹ But Pye's task was not yet complete. A verse was promptly added to the National Anthem.

Thou who rul'st sea and land,
 Stretch forth thy guardian hand,
 Potent to save;
 Lead forth our Monarch's Host,
 Check proud Invasion's boast
 Crush'd on our warlike Coast,
 'Whelm'd by our wave.

Pye did his best also to "invasionize" "Rule, Britannia"; but Anna Maria Seward took the public fancy with the lines—

Thee, haughty tyrants ne'er shall tame,
 All their attempts to bend thee down,
 Shall but arouse thy gen'rous flame,
 And work their woe, and thy renown.
 Rule, Britannia, etc.

¹ See Introduction, p. xvii.

Before the close of the year (1796) the volunteers were arming for the coming struggle, and the first abortive attempt "to get to London by way of Ireland" had brought ridicule on its contrivers. Amongst the early recruits was Robert Burns, who penned the Song of the Dumfries Volunteers when the shadow of death had already fallen upon him. It was early in 1795 that Burns donned the blue coat and nankeen breeches of his company, and just three months after the performance of Pye's first invasion ode his comrades-in-arms were singing to the heart-stirring tune of "Push about the jorum":—

Does haughty Gaul invasion threat?
 Then let the louns beware, Sir.
 There's wooden walls upon the seas,
 And volunteers on shore, Sir.
 The Nith shall run to Corsincon,¹
 And Criffel² sink to Solway,
 Ere we permit a foreign foe
 On British ground to rally.

Fal de lal, etc.

O let us not like snarling tykes³
 In wrangling be divided;
 Till slap come in an unco loon⁴
 And with a rung⁵ decide it.
 Be Britain still to Britain true,
 Amang ourselves united;
 But never but by British hands
 Maun British wrangs be righted.

Fal de lal, etc.

The kettle o' the kirk and state,
 Perhaps a claut may fail in't;
 But deil a foreign tinkler loon
 Shall ever ca'⁶ a nail in't;

¹ A high hill at the source of the Nith.

² A mountain at the mouth of the same river.

Dogs.

⁴ Ragamuffin.

⁵ Cudgel.

⁶ Drive.

NAPOLEON AND THE

Our fathers' bluid the kettle bought,
 And wha wad dare to spoil it ;—
 By heaven, the sacrilegious dog
 Shall fuel be to boil it.

Fal de lal, etc.

The wretch that wad a tyrant own,
 And the wretch, his true-born brother,
 Who would set the mob aboon the throne,
 May they be d——d together !
 Who will not sing " God save the King,"
 Shall hang as high's the steeple ;
 But while we sing " God save the King,"
 We'll ne'er forget the People.¹

Fal de lal, etc.

We have more to learn of the machinations of the "foreign tinklers" and their English friends in 1795-6. Playing at treason was not then quite so unfashionable as it became seven years later, and Burns was evidently a keen politician as well as a true poet. He for one had, at any rate, no sympathy with the specious pretexts for foreign invasion which found a few advocates in the early days of the Great Terror. It is sad to relate that the last days of Burns were harassed by pressing applications for the settlement of a debt of £7. 4s. incurred for his volunteer uniform. Allan Cunningham tells us that when the singer of this wonderful swan-song was brought home to die, he was "dressed in a blue coat with the undress nankeen pantaloons of the volunteers, and that his neck,

¹ The war-song does not appear in the *Anti-Gallican* of 1803-4, but another martial hymn written by Burns is published. The last verse runs thus :—

In the field of proud honour—our swords in our hands,
 Our King and our Country to save—
 While victory shines on life's last ebbing sands,
 Oh ! who would not rest with the brave ?

which was inclining to be short, caused his hat to turn up behind in the manner of the shovel hats of the episcopal clergy. Truth obliges me to add, that he was not fastidious about his dress; and that an officer, curious in the personal appearance and equipments of his company, might have questioned the military nicety of the poet's clothes and arms."¹ Cunningham also relates that when one of his comrades came to visit him during his last illness, Burns smiled and said, "John, don't let the awkward squad fire over me." Whether this was a jest or a request will never be known, but the national poet of Scotland was buried with military honours. On the 25th July, 1796, the Dumfries warriors fired three volleys over his grave. The *Invasion Parnassus* is, it must be confessed, distinguished by quantity rather than quality, although Burns, Scott, Coleridge, and Wordsworth all contributed to it.

The year 1796 had begun with a remarkable but now entirely forgotten trial which threw considerable light on the state of public opinion concerning the all-absorbing question of the threatened invasion. On the 28th January a certain Mr. William Stone, a gentleman both by birth and education, appeared before Lord Kenyon and the full Court of King's Bench at Westminster Hall to answer an indictment for high treason. He was also charged with conspiring with his brother, John Henry Stone ("a domiciliated Frenchman"), and William Jackson, an Irish American, to commit that crime. It was clear that under the feigned names of Benjamin Beresford, Thomas Popkins, and William Enots they had carried on an extensive correspondence with the object of gaining such reliable intelligence as would enable them to judge of the expediency

¹ *The Casket of Literature*, Vol. I, p. 40, edited by Charles Gibbon.

or otherwise of a descent on these shores. Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Sheridan, Samuel Rogers, the banker-poet, and others gave evidence. In the course of his examination Mr. Sheridan said that the accused had been "introduced to him by a Mr. Wilson, who said, that he (Mr. Stone) wanted to communicate to him what might be of advantage to the country; and then (the prisoner) said, that he had had frequent communications with his brother at Paris, and he understood, from this communication, that the idea of attempting an invasion of this country was a plan seriously and peremptorily resolved upon by the government of France; that this idea was adopted, and likely to be pursued, upon an opinion, which was very ill formed, of the general state of the public mind, and the prevalence of general discontent in this country. He then stated, that the service he thought he could effect, would be the means, through this circuitous channel of communication, to undeceive the government of France upon this subject, and by giving them the real state of the country, and convincing them how little could be expected from anything like assistance, or co-operation, from any description of men in this country, he conceived and hoped the consequence might be, their abandoning a project evidently taken up upon false information." The whole question turned on the real object of Mr. Stone's inquiries, and after three hours' deliberation the jury acquitted him; but there can be no doubt that foreign emissaries were endeavouring to assist the would-be invaders of England by sowing the seed of sedition throughout the country and exciting discontent amongst our soldiers and sailors.

In April and May of the following year (1797) dangerous mutinies declared themselves on board the King's ships at

Portsmouth and the Nore, and notwithstanding the victory off Cape St. Vincent on the 14th February, and the discomfiture of Tate's banditti at Fishguard ten days later, widespread anxiety prevailed.¹ In May the following handbill was distributed broadcast in every barrack throughout England:—

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 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 a part of them? Can you think a parliament speaking like fathers and 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 considering the price of every thing wanting for our families at least double our pay?

Why is every regiment harrassed with long marches, from one end of the 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 at 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 clothes? Don't colonels now draw half their income from what we ought to have, but of which we are robbed?

¹ See *ante*, pp. 31-66.

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 whom you know in any part of the country.

BE SOBER, BE READY.

The reply of the soldiers in every branch of the service was reassuring. Regulars and volunteers vied with one another in the force and energy with which they expressed their hatred of treason and loathing for traitors. The broadsides issued by the men of the various corps, generally offering rewards at their own expense for the detection of the author or authors of this detestable incitation to rebellion, were placarded in every garrison town. A short time ago a complete series¹ of these characteristic relics of the events of 1797 was in existence, but it has now been dispersed, several of them having been purchased for regimental collections. The broadside now reproduced from Sir George White's Bristol collection may be regarded as typical of the ideas expressed in nearly all of them :—

¹ Thirty-three of the originals and all the correspondence as to the dispersal of this interesting series of military broadsides are in Mr. Broadley's collection of Invasion MSS.

A N S W E R

TO THE INFAMOUS

HAND-BILL WHICH WAS READ BY LIEUT. GEN. ROOKE.

On MONDAY, the 22d of MAY 1797,

TO THE TROOPS UNDER HIS COMMAND AT BRISTOL.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROOKE having had the Goodness to read to us an infamous Hand-bill, pretended to be an Address from our Brother Soldiers, but which we are convinced is the Production of some designing Villains, who wish to overturn our excellent Constitution, under which we have so long lived happily; and having heard the Answer of the Marines at Chatham to a similar Hand-bill found in the Barracks there, we most certainly approve of the same; but cannot pass over in Silence such atrocious Endeavours to subvert Order and Discipline, which none but the weakest and most profligate of Mankind would ever Attempt. We, THE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATES OF THE ROYAL BUCKS OR KING'S OWN REGIMENT OF MILITIA, do most solemnly promise our Fellow-citizens and Soldiers, that we will use our utmost Endeavours to find out some of those Villains who, under Pretence of espousing our Cause and pointing out Grievances that never have existed and Oppressions that we never have laboured under, endeavour to withdraw us from our Allegiance to the best of Kings, our Duty to our Officers, and to throw the Country into Confusion; and that, should we meet with any such wicked Wretches, we will deliver them over to the Magistrates that they may be brought to condign Punishment. We further take this Opportunity of declaring, that, so far from complaining of our Pay, we have had it increased without being petitioned for; and we are perfectly satisfied and most grateful for His Majesty's paternal Goodness in ordering us such Addition as he has been graciously pleased to do since we have been called out in our Country's Defence against its foreign and still more dangerous Enemies at home, amongst whom we look on the infamous Writer and Distributors of the above Hand-bill.

With Sentiments of the highest Veneration and Esteem for the General who now commands us, and to whom we beg to offer our sincerest Thanks for the Confidence he shewed he had in our Loyalty. by reading the Hand-bill to us, and also for our own Officers, we do most solemnly declare, that we will always be ready and willing to serve when commanded, and that we will protect our Country against all its Enemies to the last Drop of our Blood.

On Behalf of ourselves and the Men of our respective Companies,

Thomas Newbery, Acting
Serjeant Major
John Dyos, Quar. Mast. Serj.
Thomas Meehan, Serj.
Joseph Thompson, Serj.
John Knapper, Serj.
Abraham Lines, Serj.
Wm. Heath, Serj. and Reg. Cl.
Wm. Davis, Drum Major.

SERJEANTS.

John Loveredge
John Perkins
James Hill
M. Westley
William Treacher
John Roberts
George Vickers
Thomas Harmon
William Carter
William Wagesfield
William Winter
Edward Goodson

Robert Gudgeon
William Chapman
John Moore
Robert Simmons
Daniel Aldrage
John Humphreys
Thomas Foster
John Chantrill
W. Toms
Thomas Hencher
Thomas Collingwood
William Goodwin
William Aris
James Webb
James Fawcett
John Field
Thomas Griffiths
Nathaniel Sawwell

CORPORALS.

John Lines
Samuel Wright
William Sherwin

Charles Warren
William Hamp
Charles Washington
Henry Perry
George Hardwell
Francis Perkins
Joseph Baldwin
John Phillips
Joseph Peyton
George Sanders
Jonas Wife
James Wingrove
Daniel Pearce
William Bishop
Richard Leusley
Richard Brown
Thomas Garrett
James Jones
Joseph Rane
Stephen Hatch
Robert Goadyer
Robert Lodge

The deep interest felt by George III in the attempt made to shake the fidelity of the "Gunnery" at Woolwich has been mentioned in the Introduction to these volumes (see page xviii), which contains several hitherto unknown letters written by the King to the Duke of York on the subject of the prevailing "unrest." Two days before the first of these communications was penned the following hand-bill had been circulated:—

100 Guineas Reward

Woolwich, May 26, 1797.

IT being believed that some disaffected Persons are endeavouring to corrupt the Loyalty of the Soldiers of the Royal Artillery in this Garrison by distributing Seditious Writings, and other improper Means :

WE, the non-commissioned Officers of the Regiment, quartered at Woolwich, from our Loyalty to His Majesty, and Zeal for the internal Peace and Happiness of the Country, do hereby offer a Reward of ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS out of our Subsistence, to any Soldier of the Regiment, who will give Information of any such seditious Attempts, so that the Person offending may be brought to Justice.

Signed on behalf of 150 non-commissioned Officers,

ALEXANDER JAMES,	} Serjeant Majors.
JAMES NIVEN,	
JAMES WILSON,	
THOMAS ATKINSON,	
JOHN HAY,	
ANDREW BRAID,	
THOMAS FORTUNE,	
ANTHONY HAIG,	
GEORGE LIDDLE,	

GOD SAVE THE KING.

In June, 1797, the June before Camperdown, the state of things on board the King's ships at Portsmouth and the Nore caused numerous loyal addresses to be presented to the King, many of which were placarded in public places and circulated as hand-bills to influence popular opinion. Here is a broadside reproducing the loyal address from the Trinity House :—

To the King's Most Excellent MAJESTY

The humble address of the Master, Wardens, Assistants and Elder Brethren of the Corporation of the Trinity House of Deptford-Strond.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the antient Body Corporate of the Seamen of England, humbly beg Leave to approach your Majesty, to express the deep Concern, which, in common with all your Majesty's faithful Subjects, We feel at the present disgraceful conduct of some of the Seamen of your Majesty's Fleet, who, instigated, no Doubt, by the wicked Insinuations of some evil-disposed Persons, Enemies alike of your Majesty's Royal Person, and to their Country, have been betrayed into Acts of Insubordination and Outrage, degrading to the Character of British Seamen, hitherto so highly distinguished for Loyalty and good Conduct, as for Intrepidity in vanquishing their Enemies : Impelled therefore by the Duty We owe to your Majesty, and to our Country, We step forward at this alarming Crisis to declare our Readiness to support with our Lives, such Measures as your Majesty in your Wisdom may think most expedient to adopt for the Restoration of good Order and Subordination among the Seamen of your Majesty's Fleet.

Given under our Common Seal this Second Day of June, 1797.

The newspapers of 1796–1805 were, comparatively speaking, few and dear. A heavy stamp-tax rendered their

price prohibitive as far as the great majority of the King's subjects were concerned, and their circulation was seriously restricted by the slowness of the post and the inadequacy of all means of communication. The influence exercised to-day by the Press (using the term in its widest sense) was then shared by the pedlars and other itinerant vendors, who brought to the doors of the tavern-keeper, the farmer, the tradesman, and the cottager a selection of broadsides and ballads, pamphlets, primers, and sermons, portraits and caricatures, song-books and story-books, together with the latest issues of a formidable array of monthly magazines like the *Gentleman's*, the *Universal*, the *London*, the *Town and Country*, and many others, all of them dealing with the topical questions of the day, and reproducing the New Year's and birthday odes, together with other popular and patriotic effusions. The age of steam and electricity, destined to effect such remarkable changes, was as yet undreamt of by the mass of the people, although Lord Stanhope, Fulton, and a small body of scientific students may possibly have foreseen its advent.¹ The word telegraph was used to indicate a complicated apparatus of wooden arms and shutters which by certain concerted movements communicated news from hill-top to hill-top until it reached Portsmouth, and later on other more distant parts of the country. The roof of the Admiralty office at Whitehall was utilized as a *point de depart* for all official messages,² and the extension of this primitive system of news-conveyance to Weymouth, when the visits of the King and Royal Family to that delightful Dorset watering-place became frequent, was regarded as an event of no small importance. The French used a very similar

¹ See *ante*, p. 196, and *post*, p. 302.

² See illustration, p. 125.

machine for the purpose of conveying intelligence between the coast and the capital.

Invasion broadsides and songs go back to the stormy days of 1715 and 1745, if not still further, and Peg Woffington won the plaudits of the town by appearing in the garb of a volunteer and singing :—

In Freedom's cause, ye Patriot Fair, arise,
Exert the sacred Influence of your Eyes,
On Valiant Merit deign alone to smile,
And Vindicate the Glory of our Isle ;
To no base coward prostitute your charms,
Disband the Lover who deserts his Arms :
So shall you fire each Hero to his Duty
And British Rights be Sav'd by British Beauty.¹

But up till 1790 ghost stories, fairy tales, love songs, murder trials, and dying speeches and confessions proved more saleable than political pamphlets or caricatures of "Charlie" Fox and "Billy" Pitt. It was, however, now deemed advisable to counteract the poisonous doctrines and pernicious practices of our Gallic neighbours which culminated in the tragic death of their King and Queen, and to a woman, Hannah More,² belongs, to a great extent, the credit of supplanting the forms of popular literature above alluded to by scattering broadcast throughout the land a myriad of small tracts (of which *Village Politics by Will Chip* may be taken as an example) that, principally through the itinerant vendors, reached and influenced an immense public of all classes. It was in 1794, when the earlier threats of invasion began to make themselves heard, that she wrote thus to her friend

¹ The scene is depicted in a very scarce illustrated sheet printed and published by M. Moore in Paternoster Row, 1746.

² Hannah More, b. 1745 ; d. 1833.

Elizabeth Montagu,¹ whose career was now nearing its end: "I have been so long accustomed to receive favour, kindness, and assistance from you on every occasion, that I am encouraged to recommend the enclosed little plan to your patronage. It is not one of the wild theories for which this age is so famous, but the fruit of real experience. I have long seen and lamented the evil it is proposed to counteract. In all the villages I know, it is surprising to see with what impatience the periodical visit of the hawker is expected, and with what avidity his poison was swallowed. You would be diverted at the immense quantity of trash I have collected; even those papers which are written with better intentions are in general calculated to do more harm than good, consisting chiefly of ghosts, dreams, visions, witches, and devils. When we consider the zeal with which the writings of Priestley, etc., are now brought within the compass of penny books, circulated with great industry, and even translated into Welsh, I begin to fear that *our* workmen and porters will become *philosophers* too, and that an endeavour to amend the morals and the principles of the poor is the most probable method to preserve us from the crimes and calamities of France. In this view, I am not above becoming the compiler and composer of halfpenny papers. If, my dear Madam, any impressive story falls in your way, pray treasure it up for me." Thus originated Hannah More's *Cheap Repository* of popular anti-revolutionary literature, which paved the way for the wholesale dissemination of those pamphlets, tracts, broadsheets, songs, and caricatures which, between 1796 and 1805, did so much to rouse public spirit, and

¹ Mr. Broadley's MSS.

make every man, woman, and child in Great Britain a personal hater of the Corsican invader, as well as to facilitate the carrying out of the defensive measures of which George III, quite as much as his ministers, generals, and admirals, was the life and soul. The literature and iconography¹ of the first period of the Great Terror is abundant enough, but between 1803 and 1805 the all-important question of resistance-to-death seems almost to have absorbed all contemporary topics.

The beautiful colour-plate books dealing with the uniforms and drill of every arm represented amongst the volunteers of 1796-8 have already been described,² and much has been said of the liberality and enthusiasm with which the national defence funds were augmented by private donations. The unanimity with which the appeal for pecuniary help was met is the more remarkable, when it is remembered that the second year of the Great Terror witnessed the mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore, and other visible signs of general unrest. Help came from many unexpected quarters. In the minutes of our English Masonic Lodges, both for 1797 and 1798, frequent reference is made to contributions in aid of national defence. Goodly sums came from the brethren of Bristol and Bath, while a certain Dr. Richard Linnekar, who presided over the still-existing Lodge of "Unanimity" at Wakefield, Yorkshire, now bearing the number 154, appears to have sent an appeal for aid to other Masonic bodies all over the country. The following record³ of the proceedings at the Bull Inn, Wakefield, on the 2nd April, 1798, is characteristic of the times :—

¹ By this convenient term portraits, views, caricatures, and every species of pictorial illustration dealing with a given subject are denoted.

² See *ante*, pp. 135-6.

³ Mr. Broadley's MSS.

“ Notice having been previously given to the Brethren
of the Master’s Intentions

“ The Right Worshipful Master LINNECAR
“ In the Chair,

“ *Moved* To take into Consideration the Expediency of
a Masonic Contribution in aid of Government at the pre-
sent alarming Crisis, when the following Resolutions were
severally put, and unanimously agreed to.

“ *Resolved,*

“ 1. That it is the grand and leading Characteristic of
Free and Accepted Masons, in every Clime and under
every Form of Government, to be obedient to the Powers
that are, and grateful to the laws by which they are
protected.

“ 2. That, accustomed as they *everywhere* are to the
Study of whatever is most perfect in the sublime Science
of *Architecture*, they are led to admire Beauty under all its
forms and various Appearances. And that *We* the in-
habitants of this happy Isle do most especially contemplate
with enthusiastic Fondness and Admiration the nice Sym-
metry and Proportion of that *Glorious Structure, the British
Constitution* ; consisting of King, Lords, and Commons.

“ 3. That the Cause and Interests of our most ancient
Institution *are more particularly maintained by, and have
ever been most prosperous under the Monarchical Form of
Government* :—That this, and other weighty Reasons and
Considerations moving us, We do avow an unfeigned love
of the King, our Sovereign—the Friend and Father of his
People ;—and look upon no Sacrifices to be too great,
which have for their Object the Dignity of his Crown, the
Safety of his Person, and the Stability of our incomparable
Constitution and Laws.

“ 4. That we are decidedly amongst the foremost of our
patriotic Fellow-Subjects *to approve and adopt any Measure,*

that may (by our competent Rulers) be thought most conducive to the general Welfare, and the Prosperity of the State.

“5. That in our *exclusive Capacity* of Free and Accepted Masons, We do *now* gladly embrace the Opportunity of acquiescing in the proposed Expediency of *A Masonic Donation to Government* in Support of its vigorous Exertions to confound the Enemies of the Land we live in:—and that we reserve to ourselves, at the same Time such other Portion of pecuniary Assistance as may be reasonably Expected in *a more general Parochial Contribution*.

“6. That the Secretary be empowered immediately to receive the Donations of the Brethren present, and without Loss of Time to collect the Contributions of absent Brethren:—that their Names together with the Amount of the respective Sums be entered in the Books of their Society, and carefully preserved as a lasting Memorial of their Spirit and Patriotism and that the whole Sum thus contributed (together with a Copy of these Resolutions) be transmitted in the Name of the Wakefield Brethren Lodge of Unanimity (under cover to Francis Freeling, Esq.) to the Mansion House Committee now sitting in the Metropolis for the Receipt of *Voluntary Patriotic Contributions*.

“7. That We do most Sincerely hope and believe that these our Proceedings will not long be permitted to appear a Solitary Instance of Masonic Love of their King, Constitution and Country.

“8. That a Copy of these Resolutions together with an Account of the Sum voluntarily contributed be respectfully presented to the Grand Lodge of England, and that the Resolutions be twice inserted in the Leeds Intelligencer.

“*That lastly*, most emphatically and unreservedly We do desire to be understood as ‘hating with a perfect Hatred’ all treasonable and revolutionary Practices;—and to solemnly deprecate that impious and atheistic System which now desolates the Continent of Europe, and which

will, if it continue to gain Ground, not only disappoint the exalted Ends and benevolent Purposes of *the Cross*, but also do away the Fear and Love of the *Supreme Being*, and root out the moral and social Virtues from the Hearts and Souls of Men.

“MAY THE GRAND ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE PRESIDE OVER THIS AND ALL OTHER LODGES ROUND THE GLOBE! *So mote it be!*”

Copies of these resolutions were extensively circulated with the accompanying commendatory letter:—

“WAKEFIELD, 17th May, 1798.

“These Resolutions, which we are extremely anxious should meet your approbation and support, we are now busied in circulating throughout the dominions of George the Third, whom God preserve.

“May every good attend your Lodge. Praise!

“(Signed) RICHARD LINNECAR.”

The activity displayed in the collection of contributions to the Defence Fund was by no means confined to the sterner sex. In his *History of Caricature under the Republic, the Empire, and the Restoration*,¹ Champfleury gives a very amusing plate, described as of English origin, but which has eluded the diligent search of the writers, in which an elderly and obese lady, pointing to a huge subscription book, is portrayed as addressing a crowd of her female friends, and in the act of uttering the words, “Ladies, let us show our patriotism. If the Bonapartes and the Sans-Culottes come we shall be all carried off and sacrificed”; to which there is a general response of “They will kill us,” “Let our liberality equal our patriotism,” “I have seen Bonaparte in my tea,” and other lines scarcely translat-

¹ Champfleury, Vol. IV, p. 272.

able. The idea is rather French than English, but the costumes belong to the early days of the Great Terror.

The ardour of the mothers communicated itself to the sons, and in 1797 we are informed that a gentleman of Exeter, Michael Dicker Sanders by name, residing in Magdalen Street, "enrolled a troop of sixty boys, trained in military manners. They wore a blue uniform with yellow facings. Their muskets at first were mounted with tin barrels, subsequently changed to small light fusils. A drill-sergeant was employed, and they had the usual non-commissioned officers as in the regular regiments. They had also drums and fifes. It was not all pastime, as they were placed under a schoolmaster in a room somewhere adjacent to the Black Lion Inn in South Street, from which they marched on Sundays in full uniform, morning and afternoon, to Trinity Church, sitting in the gallery. If any boy behaved badly in church he was reported and confined in the school-room, with a sentry at the door. On one occasion the corps was reviewed in the Castle Yard by the officers of a regiment stationed here at the time, and in this special inspection the boys' heads were powdered and queued, as was the military fashion of the day. After the review the boys were entertained at dinner at the Queen's Head, outside Southgate. Mr. Sanders married subsequently, and his lady not approving of these young soldiers, they were disbanded; each boy was presented with a gratuity, and all his clothes and books. The complete uniform of these young soldiers was a blue jacket trimmed with yellow, breeches and leggings, cap (probably mitre shape), with a tin plate on which was painted a star, and a bit of horse-hair hung from the top." ¹

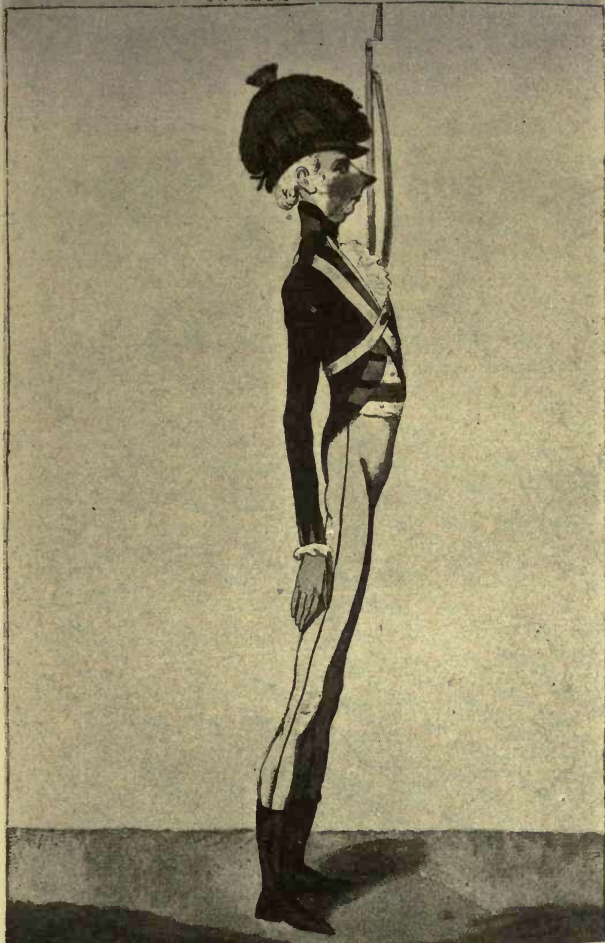
¹ The "Boys Brigade" is in 1907 one of Exeter's most popular institutions.

The first period of the Great Terror, as might be expected, had also its echo in the "pulpit utterances" of the period. On Trinity Monday, May 23rd, 1796, the Rt. Honble. William Pitt, Master, and the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House went in state to St. Nicholas Church, Deptford, to hear Dr. Thomas Rennell preach a sermon on "Great Britain's Insular Situation, Naval Strength, and Commercial Opulence, a source of gratitude to God, loyalty to the King, and concord among ourselves." It was resolved to print it on the very day the loyal address¹ to the King, already described, was voted. The "invasion" charges of Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff (June, 1798), were printed and disseminated by order of the local Court of Quarter Sessions, and attained almost as much popularity as his "Address to the People of England." While the Volunteers of South London went to hear the Rev. Rowland Hill discourse eloquently on the iniquities of Bonaparte and his followers, the Fawley "Fencibles" crowded St. Thomas's Church, Winchester, where the Warden of St. Mary's, Dr. George Isaac Huntingford, preached from the text "Remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses."² The Irish divines were commendably active in "improving the occasion" of the attempted invasions of their country, both in the form of supplication and thanksgiving, and for a time little else was preached about but "Reflections in this Season of Danger," "The Duty of Loving our Country," and "Christian Patriotism." One can understand the stentorian tones in which the assembled members of the Armed Associations of Middlesex made the walls of the

¹ See *ante*, p. 207.

² Nehemiah IV. 14.

The Royal Soldier
In his MAJESTY'S service



HE WOULD be a Soldier the sweet Willy O
The first of all persons
That gladdens the plains
All Nature above him the sweet Willy O

WILLIAM PITT AS A VOLUNTEER. [MAY, 1798]

old parish church at Stoke Newington¹ re-echo with the hymn :—

The Sword of Gideon and the Lord,
The Shield of Righteousness,
Aid to the Cause that's just afford,
And crown it with success.

The Sons of Peace in such a cause
Assume the port of war,
Arm for their Liberties and Laws,
And every danger dare.

Was it the lust of pow'r or pride
That rous'd the patriot band?
No ;—wrong received, and right deny'd,
And Justice arm'd their hand.

It was Jehovah's name reviled,
His altars overthrown,
His Holy Place with Blood defil'd,
His Vineyard trodden down.

The enemies of God are ours,—
O may His help abound
To quell the foe, and all the pow'rs
Of Darkness to confound.

Behold 'tis done, and Egypt's shore
Scoffs at the vanquished Host,
Sees his proud banners wave no more,
Sees all his triumphs lost.

If distant Realms, and distant Seas,
O Lord, Thy mercies prove,
GIVE US ONE HEART AT HOME,—AND PEACE
AND CHARITY,—AND LOVE.

On April 28th, 1798, the following resolutions were passed unanimously at a meeting of the two Archbishops² and eleven Bishops :—

¹ The Stoke Newington sermon was preached by Dr. Gaskin, Rector of the parish, on October 21st, 1798.

² Dr. John Moore and Dr. William Markham.

1st. "That it would not conduce in any considerable degree to the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and would interfere with the proper Duties of the Profession, if the Clergy were to accept Commissions in the Army, be enrolled in any Military Corps, or be trained to the Use of Arms."

2nd. "That, in the Case of actual Invasion or dangerous Insurrection, it will be the duty of every Clergyman, to give his assistance in repelling both, in any way that the urgency of the case may require."

On the following day (April 29th) a circular was addressed

"To the Reverend the Clergy of the Diocese, and the Peculiaris of the See of Canterbury.

"Reverend Brother,

"In the present situation of the Country expecting without undue alarm, but not without just anxiety, the appearance of a desperate and malignant enemy on our coasts, there is perhaps no circumstance, singly taken, on which more may depend, with Regard to the interests of Religion, the credit of our order, and the public safety, than the discretion with which the conduct of the Clergy ought to be distinguished in these moments of general and necessary exertion; when all good men are called upon to come forward and to repel the attempts of an enemy, breathing revenge against this Kingdom in general; revenge not for wrongs on our part done, but for wrongs on their part by us resisted, and fraught with particular Malice against our Holy Religion and its Ministers. Under this persuasion [*sic*], I have thought it my duty to call a Meeting of the Bishops in order to consider in what way the Parochial Clergy may most effectually promote the common cause without neglecting the proper Duties of our

Holy Calling, of which we must never lose sight, and least of all, in times of public danger.

“The Meeting consisted of the two Archbishops and eleven other Bishops, the occasion being thought too pressing to await the arrival of others from the remote dioceses. The two resolutions which I now transmit to you were agreed upon unanimously. In them we warn you not to abandon the proper business of your profession in order to take up the soldier’s occupation, in which your actual service can be but very limited, and at last may not be wanted. We assure ourselves you will in all circumstances naturally wish to make your exertions in those services in which you feel yourselves the most capable; and those will generally be such as will least interfere with your sacred functions. But, if the danger should be realized, and the enemy set his foot upon our shores, our hand with that of every man, must in every way be against those who come for purposes of rapine and desolation, the vowed champions of anarchy and irreligion, defying the Living God.

“We are servants of God; and God’s servants in God’s cause must take an equal share with their fellow subjects, in such an emergency against the blasphemers of His Holy Name. But one service in particular amongst many others, for which the country amidst the din of arms will naturally look to the wisdom and piety of the Clergy, will be, that by your persuasion, your exhortations and your good example, you will be the instruments of maintaining internal harmony and subordination, in a crisis when harmony and subordination, even with the best general disposition of the people, are most difficult to be maintained.

“I commend you to God’s high and holy protection, with good hope and confidence of your discretion and zeal in this time of trial.

“I am your affectionate brother,

“(Sd.) J. CANTUAR.”

Three days later the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Samuel Horsley) thus addresses the clerical brethren :—

“ Rev^d Brother,

“ I have observed with much satisfaction the zeal which is displayed by the Clergy of my Diocese in common with our Brethren in all parts of the Kingdom, to take an active part in the Defence of the Country against an Enemy, who threatens to come with a prodigious army, to depose our King, to plunder our Property, to enslave our Persons, and to overturn our Altars ; instigated in addition to the common motives of Ambition and Revenge which have ordinarily inflamed the animosities of contending nations, by that desperate Malignity against the Faith he has abandoned, which in all ages has marked the character of the vile Apostate. The readiness of the Clergy, to unite in the defence of objects so dear to all, against such a foe, is highly laudable and consistent with that character of rational Piety which hath ever distinguished the tried sons of the Church of England.

“ Gird yourself therefore without scruple for the Battle, in this holy cause, when the occasion shall call, nothing doubting, but that the God whom we serve and our Enemies defy, will teach the hands of his servants to war, and their fingers to fight. Offering our earnest prayers to God to give us all grace in the hour of trial which seems to be coming upon the Christian World, to hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering and to do and suffer valiantly whatever we may be ordained to do and suffer for his sake ;

“ We remain, your loving Brother,

“ SAMUEL ROFFEN.”

Ecclesiastical admonitions and sermons undoubtedly figured largely amongst the wares of the *colporteurs* who carried on the work of patriotic excitation and enthusing set on foot by Hannah More.

The stage aided the patriotic trend of public opinion quite as systematically as the pulpit. Old pieces which appealed to the rallying cry of national defence were revived and new ones written *ad hoc*. The same thing had happened in the earlier crises of the eighteenth century. The three Dibdins each did yeoman work for the good cause. In 1796 Charles Dibdin the elder was fifty-one; his sons, Charles and Thomas John, were respectively twenty-eight and twenty-five. As song-writers and playwrights they helped to stir the heart of the nation as effectually as Gillray, Rowlandson, and Woodward did with their caricatures and illustrated broadsides. In the spring of 1797 the word "invasion" was on everybody's lips. The news of Fishguard and the naval victory of the same eventful February had not lost its savour when Thomas John Dibdin wrote *The British Raft*, ridiculing the threatened descent on our shores, and its one song, "The Snug Little Island," attained astonishing popularity throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom and for years occupied a prominent position in all patriotic anthologies. It was first sung by "Jew" Davis at Sadler's Wells on Easter Monday, 1797, while Dibdin himself was acting at Maidstone, where he himself sang it before Lord Romney¹ and it won him the friendship of the Duke of Leeds. It ran as follows:—

¹ Lord Romney took a prominent part in organizing the defence movement in Kent. See *ante*, p. 136, and illustration.

NAPOLEON AND THE
THE SNUG LITTLE ISLAND
OR
THE MARCH OF INVASION.

TUNE— "*The Rogue's March.*"

Daddy Neptune one day to Freedom did say,
If ever I live upon dry land,
The spot I should hit on wou'd be little Britain,
Says Freedom, "Why that's my own island!"
 O, it's a snug little island!
 A right little, tight little island,
 Search the globe round, none can be found
So happy as this little island.

Julius Cæsar the Roman, who yielded to no man,
Came by water,—he couldn't come by land;
And Dane, Pict and Saxon, their homes turn'd their backs on,
And all for the sake of our island.

 O! what a snug little island!
 They'd all have a touch at the island;
 Some were shot dead, some of them fled,
 And some staid to live on the island.

Then a very great man, call'd Billy the Norman,
Cried d——n it, I never lik'd my land;
It would be much more handy to leave this Normandy,
And live on yon beautiful island.

 Says he, 'tis a snug little island;
 Shan't us go visit the island,
 Hop, skip and jump, there he was plump,
 And he kicked up a dust in the island.

But party-deceit help'd the Norman to beat,
Of the traitors they managed to buy land;
By Dane, Saxon or Pict, Britons ne'er had been licked,
Had they stuck to the King of their island.

 Poor Harold, the King of the island!
 He lost both his life and his island,
 That's very true, what more could he do?
 Like a Briton he died for his island!

The SPANISH ARMADA set out to invade her,
 Quite sure, if they ever came nigh land,
 They couldn't do less than tuck up QUEEN BESS,
 And take their full swing in the island.

Oh, the poor Queen of the island !
 The Dons came to plunder the island ;
 But, snug in the hive, the QUEEN was alive
 And buz was the word in the island.

These proud puff'd up cakes thought to make ducks and drakes
 Of our wealth ; but they hardly could spy land,
 When our DRAKE had the luck to make their pride *duck*
 And stoop to the lads of the island !

The good wooden walls of the island !
 Devil or Don, let 'em come on ;
 And would they come off at the island ?

Since Freedom and Neptune have hitherto kept time,
 In each saying "this shall be my land" ;
 Should the army of ENGLAND, or all they could bring land,
 We'd show 'em some play for the island.

We'll fight for our right to the island,
 We'll give them enough of the island,
 Invaders should just, bite at the dust,
 But not a bit more of the island !

.

At the commencement of the season of 1798-9¹ Thomas John Dibdin contrived in the space of a few hours to elaborate a pantomimic entertainment of song, dance, and dialogue, which was produced on October 25th, "in celebration of the glorious victory of the Nile." Of this we shall speak presently, but on February 8th of the same year it is recorded that "the Manager of Covent Garden Theatre,² with a laudable spirit of patriotism, devoted the

¹ *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1897*, Vol. I, p. 270, by H. S. Wyndham, London, 1896.

² *Gent. Mag.*, Vol. LXVIII, part i, 1798, pp. 165-6.

profits of this night's entertainment to the voluntary subscription for the defence of the country. The dramatic piece represented on this occasion was the historical play of 'England Preserved,' brought forward three or four years ago, and written by Mr. Watson, first clerk of the Irish House of Commons. After the Play, an interlude, consisting of loyal and patriotic songs, was given. There was not a crowded house, but a large and elegant audience; and as the price of admission to the boxes and pit was advanced, and all the performers and servants of the house played gratuitously, the profits must have been considerable."

OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE

To the Play of "England Preserved," performed
at Covent Garden Theatre, Feb. 8th, 1798, in Aid of
the Voluntary Contribution for the Defence of
The Country.

Oh! then let each prepare with dauntless heart,
At Britain's call, to act a Briton's part!
Ye gen'rous Youths, whom active vigour fires,
Stand forth, and emulate our glorious Sires!
Like them, inspir'd your country's rights to shield,
Remember Agincourt and Blenheim's field!
Ye titled Great, display your native worth!
Let valour vindicate the claims of birth!
Ye sons of Wealth with bounty cheer the train
Who guard our shores or thunder on the main!
Ye Fair, for whom we toil, for whom we bleed,
With smiles reward each bright heroic deed!
So shall one heart, one soul inspirit all,
Bravely to conquer, or as bravely fall:
So crown'd [with] glory may our perils cease,
And reap their harvest, a Triumphant Peace.

To revert to the later performance of the same year.



Frenchess cannot resist the pleasure both of
haunting markets... & 'Sunt Sua Regna' &c!

Frenchess could not do without and a
brother had not her 'Sunt Sua Regna' &c!
on her

A French Invasion... on the Fashionable Dress of 1798
A POPULAR INVASION CARICATURE OF 1798

In *The Times* of October 24th, 1798, appeared the following advertisement:—

“THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.

“To-morrow, *Lover's Vows*, with (1st time) a new Serio-Comic Intermezzo of Pantomime, Song, Dance and Dialogue, called ‘*The Mouth of the Nile*’; the Overture and Music composed by Mr. Attwood, with some favourite Selections from the Works of Dibdin and Mazzinghi. On Friday, *Lover's Vows*, after which, for the last time, Mrs. Mills will perform ‘*Little Pickle*’ in the ‘*Spoil'd Child*.’”

The *Mouth of the Nile* proved an enormous success, being played no less than thirty-five times, and earning a command night from the King. On the previous evening (October 24th) there had evidently been a patriotic performance of some sort at Covent Garden, for we read in *The Times* of October 25th:—

“Their Majesties and four Princesses went to Covent Garden for first time this season. They were received by the most brilliant and numerous audience we have ever witnessed at this House, with the liveliest effusions of heart-felt joy. The ardent loyalty displayed on the occasion appeared to be animated by the late glorious successes of our Navy, and expressed itself in reiterated and unanimous bursts of patriotic exultation. The free congratulations of a free people were never more zealously and more appropriately offered to the GUARDIAN of their civil and religious liberties. His MAJESTY seemed deeply affected by these testimonies of the fervent affection which Britons must ever entertain for his Royal person. The Play went off with repeated plaudits; and the lines in the Epilogue, which allude to Lord NELSON'S victory, and Sir JOHN WARREN'S recent success, produced the happiest

I.—Q

effects. Every part of the House, except his MAJESTY'S box and the seats reserved for his suite, were filled in little more than a quarter of an hour after the doors were opened."

From *The Times* of October 26th, under the heading of Covent Garden Theatre, we learn that "a new Entertainment, composed of pantomime, song, dance, and dialogue, called *The Mouth of the Nile*, was performed for the first time at this Theatre last night. As this motley composition is brought forward from the most laudable motives, and on the spur of the occasion, we are inclined to treat it in an indulgent manner. It consists of two parts, the one entirely pantomimic, the other relates to the ever memorable Victory of the Gallant NELSON. Two parts so extremely dissimilar were perhaps never yet joined to form an entire theatrical exhibition. The Pantomime, or what is dignified by the name of a *Grand Ballet of Action*, is altogether serious, and is founded on the trite, but inexhaustible subject of the disappointments and happiness of lovers. It does not bear the least relation to the title of the piece, and is so tedious and unimportant in representation, as to tire the patience of the audience, who are naturally led to expect something analogous to the glorious event which suggested the entertainment.

"The incidents in the second part are, for the most part, clumsily contrived, but the Dialogue and the Songs, written by Mr. DIBDIN, Jun. possess considerable merit. The latter abound in humour and epigrammatic point, and the poetry is above the mediocrity which is generally observed in hasty sketches of this kind.

"The Songs given by FAWCETT and TOWNSEND, in

the characters of British Seamen, were deservedly encored.

"The representation of the engagement between the two fleets was well managed, and the explosion of the French Admiral's ship, *L'Orient*, proved the most satisfactory incident in the piece.

"Several passages in the Overture were in the best style of Attwood, but he has not been happy in his selections.

"Were the Ballet entirely omitted, the *Mouth of the Nile* might, with a few alterations, become a popular Interlude."

Possibly the success of the *Mouth of the Nile* encouraged the management to put on *The Raft*, and on March 31st it was performed after Sheridan's *School for Scandal*. The success was only a qualified one, for one reads in *The Times* of April 2nd:—

"After the Comedy, a new After-piece called the *Raft* was performed for the first time. As a fugitive trifle, it possesses some merit, and abounds with loyal sentiments so well adapted to the circumstances and spirit of the times, that a few *Blackheads* in the Pit and Gallery showed every possible discountenance to the piece. A model of a raft was introduced, the folly of which caused a great deal of laughter. A song by TOWNSEND was admirably sung, and the composition does great credit to the author. We hope it will not be lost to the public. The house was not quite full, though very respectably attended." It was taken off a fortnight later, but "The Snug Little Island" lived throughout the Great Terror, and survived for many a long year afterwards. It even figures in many of the early Victorian song-books.

A few months later we hear that a piece entitled *Descent*

upon England: a Prophecy in two acts, is being played at the Paris Théâtre des Varietés.¹ The scene is laid at Dover, where a young Frenchman who has escaped from prison takes refuge in the house of Fergusson, a tavern-keeper in the town, and is concealed and fed by his daughter Clementina, who, of course, falls in love with him. Fergusson is a "patriot," and in conjunction with some other "patriots," one of whom is the colonel of a regiment in the garrison at the Castle, forms a plan for emancipating his fellow-citizens by favouring the descent of the French and assisting them in getting possession of the port. Murai, "a traitor sold to the party of Pitt," has the profligacy to detect the conspiracy and to give intelligence of it to the Governor of the Castle; the persons of the conspirators are, in consequence, secured; and having been apprehended, tried, cast, and condemned, in the course of the evening they are ordered for execution in the night, but the French land apropos to rescue their friends from the gallows. The Castle is taken, the Governor blows out his brains, and the united "patriots" of France and England determine to march to London to complete the business so happily begun.

So much for the fable, of which we may say to the author, "*Ah! quel conte!*" Now for a specimen of the dialogue. The scene is in Fergusson's house; the "patriots" are all met, Gordon at their head.

"*Gordon*. My friends, I will not remind you of the crimes of the English Government; the long tyranny which it has exercised over the seas; the disasters which it has carried into the Colonies; the perfidious means which it employs for perpetuating the war;—I will not

¹ *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 572.

talk of Pitt. You all know that cunning is his instrument, delusion his element, and that his infernal policy would sacrifice all the belligerent nations to his ambition.

"Fergusson. Yes, 'tis time to put a stop to the homicidal plots of that destroyer of the human race.

"A Conspirator. Philosophy has already devoted him to the execration of the people.

"Gordon. You have all heard the thundering eloquence of Fox. English 'Patriots,' he calls on you to assert your Rights.

"Fergusson. We shall know how to defend them.

"Gordon. His voice invokes liberty.

"Fergusson. We will obtain it at the expense of our lives.

"Gordon. But let us not waste our time in idle words, but think of executing our plan.—You are all resolved to favour the descent of the French, to burst your chains, and give liberty to your degraded country?

"The Conspirators. Yes! Yes!

"Fergusson. We swear it.

"Gordon. Our pledges of victory are Fox and his friends, yours Courage, and Buonaparte. The genius of liberty watches over the people, and will soon crush their tyrants. (He reads a paper.) In two hours the descent will be made. The regiment in garrison is commanded by the brave Houssey—on him we may rely;—but we may have everything to dread from the Commander of the Port; he is sold to Pitt and his infamous agents. We must anticipate him and strike the first blow.

"Fergusson. That is my opinion. Is it yours?

"Conspirators. Yes! Yes!

"Gordon. At the very moment when we shall make our attack on Dover the conspiracy will break out in the heart of London. Let the Cabinet of St. James' tremble;—Fox is quite ready. His powerful hand has made Scotland and Ireland rise—and while the sea is covered with a forest of masts, Republican phalanxes will come forth

as out of the bowels of the earth, to exterminate at once the oppressors of my country.—Friends, this day will decide our Fate.”

In the last scene the author gives a gentle hint to the merchants of Paris, which was very seasonable at a time when the Directory was raising a *loan upon England*.

“*Alphonse*. How happy are my brave comrades! They followed you.—They say, General, that all the people in France wished to embark in the expedition; and that the trading part of Paris, not being able to partake of its glory, all the merchants hastened to contribute to its success, by offering their treasures to the Republic.

“*The French General*. In that generous act I recognise my nation.—Englishmen! Now is your time to destroy the British Government which has caused all your misfortunes, desolated your neighbours, and set Europe on fire. It is time that the fate of the people should no longer depend on the caprice of an individual.”

The army sets forth quick march *au pas redoublé* for Canterbury, and the curtain falls.

The author was neither a prophet nor a dramatist; but his play, for a time at least, doubtless did the same work with the *badauds* of Paris as the following contemporary broadsheet accomplished a year or so later (1801) on the other side of the Channel:—

Substance of the
 CORSICAN BONAPARTE'S HAND-BILLS;
 or a
 Charming Prospect for John Bull & his Family.
 Britons AWAKE!

And though it be galling to your feelings, and make your blood boil with indignation, to read that which is to follow, it is surely far better

that you should experience this, than the direful effects of that ruin and destruction with which you are now menaced, and which must inevitably be your lot, should you not rouse and meet the danger with one hand and one heart.

KNOW THEN

That the Corsican Buonaparte, the Grand Subjugator of the French Nation, has at length thrown off the mask. This relentless Tyrant, this insatiable monster of cruelty and ambition, this eternal enemy to the repose and happiness of all mankind, no longer conceals his long buried rancorous designs of annihilating this truly happy country, the envy of all Europe. This atrocious intention he has not only made known to M. Marcoff, the Russian Ambassador at Paris in an affected fit of merriment but he has proclaimed it by handbills in every hole and corner of France.

There is not a Town or Village, between Paris and Calais where may not be read hand-bills to the following effect :—

ROAD to England.

But now mark my brave countrymen what follows. It is an invitation to every dastardly Frenchman whose courage is only to be roused by the hopes of plunder, to enlist for the Army of England ; which country, the haughty Tyrant boastingly tells them, shall be devoted to its Conquerers as their just reward. Behold ! says this rapacious Plunderer and Assassin, the Paradise of the World ! the richest and most flourishing Nation the Sun ever blessed with its beams ! Nature and art seem here to have combined to leave nothing wanting to it's happiness.—Observe the riches of her plains : not an acre but what is covered with grain and matchless cattle. Towns, villages, stately mansions, beautiful country seats, villas, gardens, orchards.—Was there ever beheld so enchanting, so lovely a scene ! Brave Frenchmen ! Could you but see the interior of these invaluable towns and happy dwellings, you would find there not only every desirable comfort of life, even among the very lowest classes of the people, (I mean compared with your own wretched hovels) but go but one or two steps higher, and there you would discover almost every article that industry can produce, or luxury ever thought of. But from whence flow all these superabundant riches ? The answer is plain—'tis their industry and their commerce ; 'tis their manufacturing towns that are her in-

exhaustible mines ; and these are the true seed of her boasted British Oak, that insolent and unconquerable navy, which has set all Europe at defiance for ages past.—

But let England boast her Sheffield and her Birmingham ; her Liverpool and her Bristol ; her Newcastle and her other numberless rich towns and cities !—All these brave Frenchmen shall be your's—Aye I repeat it, they shall be your's—Nay, your reward shall not end here ; for though the haughty Britons must bite the dust, their wives and daughters must be spared—for what purpose—I need not tell you. Rouse, rouse then, brave and heroic Frenchmen ; brave all dangers and look to your reward ; for, spite of that ridiculous lying song, Rule Britannia, I now announce to you, that Britains shall be slaves ; and what is more, they shall be most abject slaves, to all powerful, and all-conquering France.

Such, Britons, is the boast of the Corsican Tyrant, the grand Subjugator of the great French Nation ; and such are the Hand-bills spread throughout France. I do not say that the above are the very words ; but I say such are their true sense and meaning.

What answer my Gallant Countrymen shall we give to this ? Surely there can be but one ; and that thank Heaven ! will be found engraven on the bottom of your hearts.—“Or Death or Freedom ; or in other words, Annihilation to every Frenchman who shall dare to set his cloven-foot on these happy and matchless shores. Let this bloody-minded Corsican then dare to land on British ground, with his thousands and hundreds of thousands of hell-hounds at his back, and he shall find that that same spirit and bravery that enabled our gallant Egyptian Army to compel double its numbers of French to lay down their arms, shall now again, with the blessing of the Almighty, drive our enemies into the Sea, whenever their rapacity or temerity may tempt them to reach our shores.

A true Friend to Old England.

N.B. It is earnestly recommended to the Editors of the Sunday Papers to insert the above Hand-bill.

The invasion pamphlets were, as a rule, of a more serious character than the invasion broadsheets and ballads. There is a good deal of common sense in *Thoughts on a French Invasion with Reference to its Success and the*

Proper Means of Resisting it, by Havilland Le Mesurier, Commissary-General of the southern district of England, published in 1798. The earlier tract of Mr. Morton Pitt has already been dealt with, and Mr. Le Mesurier advocates a very similar policy as regards the attitude of the rural population.

"After distressing the enemy," he writes, "the next point for every individual to consider, is how best to assist the armed force and join in the common defence. Whenever troops are on their march towards the enemy, every hand will surely be active in procuring bread for them. There our generous countrywomen will be found to share in the laurels, which their husbands, their brothers, and their friends, are seeking to gather; they will be ready to provide for their refreshment and every necessary support on the march, and at every halt; the farmers will assist with their teams and waggons in transporting artillery and forage, and every one will be careful to keep the roads as clear of incumbrances as possible; for, that is a point of the utmost importance, which they, who have never seen great movements, are not sufficiently aware of.

"That the French army, if ever it should land, will come with erroneous opinions of the people, and that it will meet with confusion and dismay at landing, in consequence of that error, is evident from the declaration of their rulers; their boastings must to every firm mind appear ridiculous, and, but for the wickedness of degenerate men in our own country, would be perfectly despicable."

Another poet scarcely less famous than Burns was now to take the field with the invasion as his theme. In the spring of 1798 (while *The Raft* and *The Mouth of the*

Nile occupied the boards at Covent Garden) Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in the inspiring quietude of Nether Stowey, penned *Fears in Solitude*, dated 28th April, 1798, and stated to be written "during the alarm of an invasion."¹ It is far too lengthy for quotation in its entirety, but the following lines give a good idea of the poet's feelings on the now all-pervading topic:—

My God ! it is a melancholy thing
 For such a man, who would full fain preserve
 His soul in calmness, yet perforce must feel
 For all his human brethren—O my God !
 It weighs upon the heart, that he must think
 What uproar and what strife may now be stirring
 This way or that way o'er these silent hills—
 Invasion, and the thunder and the shout,
 And all the crash of onset ; fear and rage,
 And undetermined conflict—even now,
 Even now, perchance, and in his native isle.

Richard Cumberland at this time entered the lists as a writer of the now eagerly sought for martial lyrics. Some years later he wrote as follows to a friend:—²

" 19th September, (1804?)

" My dear Sir,

" TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

" When your letter reach'd this place I was at Ramsgate, whence I am just return'd, and at present too much occupied with a variety of affairs to solicit Invention for any thing new ; but that I may show my obedience to every wish of your's, I have rummag'd my old MSS. for what I can find, and send you y^e followin^g, rather as a mark of my good will, than as flattering myself it will be worthy y^e genius of your friend to set to music.

¹ *The Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge* (Warne's edition), pp. 139-40.

² Mr. Broadley's Invasion MSS.

THE VOLUNTEERS' SONG

" Captain, Captain, see before you
 " Phalanx firm, that pants for glory,
 " Dauntless souls, that flout at death :
 " We are stout and we are steady,
 " Give the word and we are ready, }
 " Loyal to our latest breath. }

 " Thund'ring blasts around us roaring,
 " Fiery floods of sulphur pouring,
 " Firm amidst y^e storm we stand :
 " Truth and Honour thus combining,
 " Steady, steady !—now be joining }
 " Heart to Heart and Hand to Hand ! }

Chorus.

" Steady ! Steady !—&c. &c."

THE RIFLE-CORPS' SONG

(GLEE)

" To arms, to arms ! Now give the bugle breath ;
 " Sound, sound y^e note of victory or death !
 " To the echoing woods,
 " To the mountainous floods
 " Around let it go, and around :
 " Down the terrible Steep
 " To the bellowing Deep,
 " When the Host of Invaders are drown'd,
 " Around let it go, and around !

Solo.

" Hark, hark ! I hear the hollow blast,
 " Sighing it comes, as 'twere the last ;
 " I hear the wounded victims groan,
 " The sympathetic echoes moan—
 " And now it sinks, and now 'tis past.

Full.

" See, see ! the vaunting braggarts fly,
 " Their fleet is wreckt, their hopes are lost,
 " Their floating bodies strew ye coast,
 " Now raise your voices high ;
 " Let notes of triumph rend the sky !"

" RICHD. CUMBERLAND."

“Ever-Faithful Exeter,” true to her great traditions, was, as might be anticipated, a foremost centre of resistance. The Exeter Volunteers (1797) “bespoke” at their theatre a performance of the historical drama of *Arviragus, or the Roman Invasion*, and insisted on encouraging more than once with deafening cheers the war-song of Clewillin:—¹

If to the battle ye shall go,
 All rush upon th' invading foe :
 Rush on the foe without dismay,
 Like roaring lions on their prey ;
 Or wolves, that from the mountain rock,
 Descend upon the fleecy flock.
 Let your arrows' numerous flight
 Intercept the rays of light :
 Sling the javelins,—hurl the darts—
 Infix them in the Roman hearts ;
 And advanc'd to nearer fight,
 Britons ! exert your steadfast might :
 Each meet his Roman in the field,
 With spear to spear, and shield to shield,
 And thou, Arviragus ! in scythed car,
 Break through the firmest ranks of war :
 Vengeance and terror at thy side,
 O'er warriors, shields and helmets, ride ;
 Increase the torrent of the crimson flood,
 And bathe thy horses' hoofs and rapid wheels in blood.

As will be seen by the illustration reproduced from Sir George White's collection in these volumes, “Royal and Free” Bristol (the objective of Hoche's Black Legion expedition²) proved herself worthy of the occasion. Below the picture of her volunteers are the following MS. lines:—

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXVI, part i, 1797.

² See *ante*, p. 39.

Oh ! Alla, or what remains of thee,
 Thou darling of posterity,
 Whether to curb the Warhorse be thy guide,
 Or draw the falchion glitt'ring from thy side,
 To check the daring foe.

Let Bristow's Fifty be thy care,
 Whose Volunteers in sweet Queen Square
 Go forth to taste the morning air
 And deal destruction mid the fair,
 Whose charms before had laid them low.

Let other Laurels grace their brows,
 Laurels obtained by good hard blows,
 To show us that an ardour glows
 Within their breast to check their foes
 Who dare to soil their fame.

So shall the blood-stained Frenchmen know
 Such sprigs of Liberty as his won't grow,
 Where native freedom's lovely blossoms blow
 Bright as a star and purer than the snow
 To gild a freeborn Briton's name.

(1797.)

This was in 1797, and it was in the month of February of the same year that the following effusion appeared, which may be taken as a type of hundreds of similar productions :—

Sweet is the talk to strike the loyal string
 To gallant Rodney's well earn'd praise,
 Round him shall Fame eternal garlands fling,
 Whose verdure shall increase till time decays !
 But sweeter still, our living boasts to view
 And sing how Warren and Pellew have fought,
 The oft-repeated theme renew,
 And dwell on deeds immortal Howe has wrought.
 These fill with joy the ravish'd heart,
 These to each Briton's breast impart
 The glow of conscious pride ;

Yet oft the tear is seen to flow,
 E'en amid Conquest's gorgeous show,
 For those who bravely fought and bravely died.
 But now no mortal hand repels alarms,
 In Britain's rightful cause e'en Heaven appears in arms.
 Fame with her hundred tongues proclaims,
 That France again will tempt the Ocean's rage ;
 That yet Invasion's hope her breast inflames,
 And sad experience fails to make her sage.
 Thee, Caledonia ! thee she vows to tear
 With harpy-talons, and thy sons destroy ;
 Or Albion must her ireful efforts bear,
 To dash with bitterness the cup of joy.
 And shall we fear ? Shall Britons know dismay ?
 Shall Christians from the godless Heathen flee ?
 Forbid it, Heaven ! Avert the direful day !
 For still our Hope supports itself on thee.
 Then, Gallia, come ; a larger navy bring ;
 And to Britannia's isle insulting haste ;
 But know, one breath of Heaven's insulted King
 Shall whelm thy pride and thee beneath the watery wave.¹

(February 24th, 1797.)

In the autumn of 1798 the Court, according to its wont, migrate to Weymouth. There was a "command" night at the theatre, and the following communication is sent to the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—²

"Mr. Urban,

"The following stanzas from Tasker's Ode to the Spirit of Alfred, the Founder of the British Constitution, were lately recited at the Weymouth Theatre, by Mr. Sandford, before their Majesties and received with universal applause.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXVII, part ii, 783.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIX, part ii, October 12th, 1798, p. 884.

Stanza I.

O Muse ! dispel the mists, which Time
 Hath spread round glory's lucid clime ;
 While to the mental vision bright,
 Ethereal objects strike my sight,
 Rapt in poetic extasy,
 Alfred, thy princely form I see
 'Mid heroes, sages, patriots old
 Who, (rising from their seats of gold,)
 To thee supreme their gratulations pay,
 While choral harps around attune the grateful lay.

Stanza II.

My humbler song, immortal Alfred ! hear,
 If such weak strains may reach thy polish'd ear ;
 Restorer of the sacred fane !
 Expeller of the bloody Dane !
 Hark ! with applause the distant regions ring !
 Hail ! legislator wise ! Hail warrior, patriot King !

Stanza III.

Still shall the glorious bulwark rise,
 By nations view'd with envious eyes ;
 The genius of thy favoured Isle,
 All clad in adamantine mail,
 (While storms of Anarchy assail,
 And Faction's tumults idly roar,
 Like waves against a rocky shore,)
 Shall with a flaming sword defend the pile,
 Preserve its strength entire, and pillar'd height,
 'Till fades the dome of Heaven, and every orb of light.

The deluge of patriotic verse continues, and Lord
 Howe's successes are greeted with :—

Let Gallia threaten with contemptuous smile
 To rear her Standard on our sea girt isle,
 To ravish, murder, and confusion spread,
 And rear her hellish democratic head :
 If Neptune here his feat of empire keep,
 And yield to us the Empire of the Deep,
 Britannia's navies shall triumphant reign,
 And Gallic foes know Howe to rule the main.

DE WILLOWBY.

The manifest loyalty of the next "invasion" song alone excuses the badness of the rhymes:—

SONG

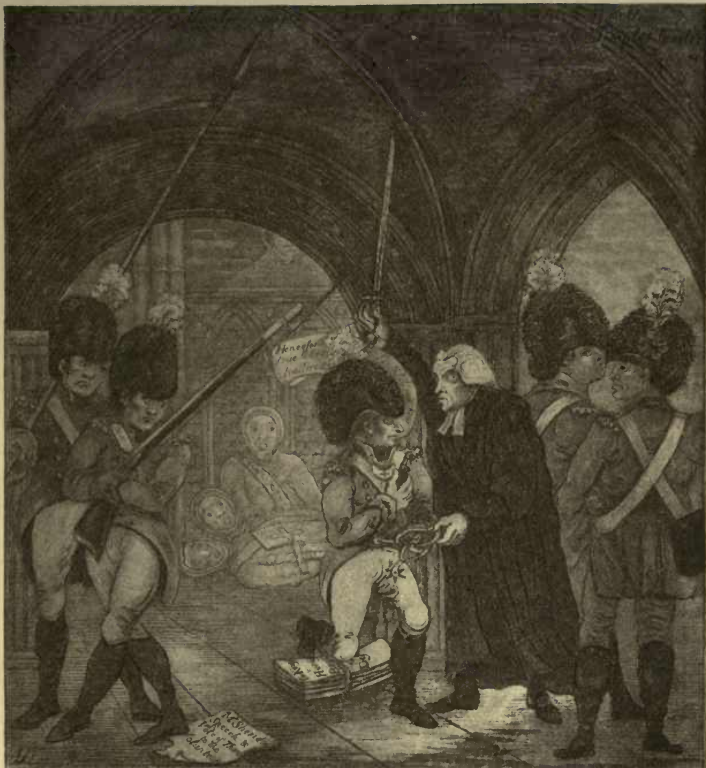
TUNE.—"To Anacreon in Heav'n."

To learn Johnny Bull *à la mode de Paris*
 Some half-starv'd Republicans made declaration
 That they would instruct him like them to be free ;
 When this answer return'd from our loyal Old Nation ;
 "Ye ragged banditti
 "Your freedom we pity,
 "And mean to live happy while frantic you sing
 "Your fav'rite *Ça ira*
 "And hymn *Marseillois*
 "For the true Briton's song shall be 'God save the King.'"

If we fall in the conflict how noble the cause,
 The stone will record it that stands on our grave ;
 Here lies one who defended his country and laws ;
 And died his religion and monarch to save.
 This and more shall be said ;
 But thank Heav'n we're not dead ;
 We can all of us yet with one heart and voice sing
 Not the Frenchman's *Ça ira*
 Or Hymn *Marseillois*
 But the true Briton's song, huzza, "God save the King."

Almost each corps had its march or camp-song. The following one, only existing in MS., was used by the volunteers of Burton Bradstock, a picturesque coast-village near Bridport, in Dorset, where Sir T. M. Hardy's first Captain Roberts lived and many gallant sea-dogs also resided:—¹

¹ See *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar*, p. 3.



Templars of old, were valiant Knights,
 Defenders of their Country's Rights,
 If one supposes Men should
 On them the general Voice bestow;
 With equal Zeal in Britain's Cause,
 To guard her Laws, and Liberty,
 But who shall heed this loyal Host,
 Ershine's Host, and claim the Post,
 And manifestly dub such Knights.

Sleep, sleep in Peace ye Templars brave,
 Nor cast a look beyond the Grave,
 To mark our Law's Dishonour;
 Two Evils press upon our Rank,
 Ershine's Command, & Sheriffs Thanks,
 Sworn Friends of tried O'Connor

SAYER'S CARICATURE OF THE "DEVIL'S OWN" [INNS OF COURT VOLUNTEERS] IN 1799

THE SONG OF THE LOYAL VOLUNTEERS OF
BURTON BRADSTOCK

1. Come my lads of courage true
Ripe for martial glory ;
See the standard waves for you
And leads the way before ye.

Chorus.

To the field of Mars advance
Join in bold alliance,
Tell the blood-stain'd sons of France
We bid them all defiance.

2. Burton's sons were always brave
On the land or ocean ;
Ready for to kill or save
Where honour's the promotion.

Chorus.

3. Burton long has had a boast
And right well deserving ;
For pretty maids a standing toast
Of Nature's sweet preserving.

Chorus.

4. Gallia's sons invasion plan,
Threat'ning to destroy us ;
Seize our maidens, houses, land,
And as slaves employ us.

Chorus.

5. We must fight or starve or fly,
Hope, nought else remaining,
Or wives may faint and children die
With no hand sustaining.

Chorus.

6. Lives are lent for laws and King,
When that they may need 'em ;
Let us then in chorus sing,
Give us death or freedom ?

Chorus.

Even the proctors of the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty
Courts appear to have loyally responded to the cry to

I.—R

arms, and amongst the broadsides of 1799 is the following :—

To the R^t Hon^{ble} SIR WILLIAM SCOTT¹

MAJOR COMMANDANT

OF THE

ASSOCIATED CORPS OF CIVILIANS

Pro Aris et Focis.

A Nation, great in Commerce, Arts and Arms
Hears with disdain the insolence of Foes ;
Firm in herself, She *fears* not War's Alarms,
Nor seeks *unwisely*, all it's direful Woes.

But when *new Doctrines* have Mankind misled,
When peaceful States in Anarchy are hurl'd,
When pow'rful Nations bend their mighty Head,
THEN ENGLAND RISES AND PROTECTS THE WORLD.

Then shall her FLEETS such glorious Vict'ries gain,
While dire disgrace the Foe infernal guides
That *Arabs* shout astonish'd, and the Main
Heaves its proud bosom, where a Nelson rides.

And still by Wisdom led RELIGION's Dome,
On its firm Basis will unshaken stand,
While CORPS of LOYALTY protect a Home
The Blessings which enrich this happy Land.

But one PECULIAR CORPS demands the Song—
Vers'd in the Law of NATIONS, well they know
The Rights inherent that to *all* belong,
When all OBEY the Law from which they flow.

ASSOCIATES CIVIL! Eloquent and Sage
Who plead for Justice, and for Virtue fight,
Or Law declare, from Learning's ancient Page,
And soften Rigour, with maintaining Right.

¹ William Scott, Lord Stowell, 1745–1836. Judge of the Consistory Court of London, 1788–1820; Judge of High Court of Admiralty, 1798–1820; Privy Councillor, 1798.

While YOUNGER SONS of this distinguish'd Band
 In vigour strong, with martial Genius soar
 Eager to take the honourable Stand
 Of active Soldiers in the CIVIL CORPS.

(1799.)

The colour-prints and aquatints relating to the first five years of the Great Terror are more numerous than one would have expected, and now fetch very high prices. Amongst them may be mentioned a pair of fine colour-prints, engraved by L. J. and N. Schiavonetti after paintings by R. K. Porter, portraying the presentation of colours to the Loyal Associated Ward and Volunteer Corps of the City of London and those of the City of Westminster. They were published May 30th, 1799. J. C. Stadler's aquatint of the "Hans Town Association exercising in their Ground at Knightsbridge" is also much prized. It was executed after a design in which S. Woolley was responsible for the landscape and J. C. Barrow for the figures. A series of four interesting plates deals with Isle of Wight volunteer subjects. These aquatints, by J. Wells after R. Livesay, depict the "Grand Review at Sandown Bay" (June 4th, 1798), the "Grand Review near Freshwater Bay" (June 17th, 1798), "West Cowes with the Volunteers on the Parade," and "Volunteers receiving the Island Banner at Carisbrooke Castle" (June 24th, 1798).¹ W.

¹ The Isle of Wight has been a favourite objective of the foreign invader ever since the days of Henry VIII. A book of great interest to future historians was recently sold in London. It is thus described :—

"ISLE OF WIGHT.—Worsley (Sir Richard), History of the Isle of Wight. London, 1781. 4to, with map and 31 plates.

"Inserted in the volume is an Original Despatch from the Council of State to the Governor of the Isle of Wight respecting the designs of the Dutch on the Island, warning him to take all precautions for its safety, signed J. Thurlow, and endorsed by Col. Sydenham, dated Aug. 27, 1652. Also an autograph letter from the Author to Sir G. Savile, and 22 ADDITIONAL ENGRAVINGS, including a large folding view of the Camp in the Isle of Wight, 1741, Prospect of Portsmouth, 1740, etc."

Alexander is responsible both for the drawing and engraving of the view of Lord Romney's mammoth dinner to 5319 Kentish Volunteers,¹ reproduced in these volumes. One of the most remarkable of these invasion colour-prints is J. Collyer's charming view of George III reviewing the Armed Associations in Hyde Park on his sixty-second birthday (June 4th, 1799), now given in facsimile by way of illustration. George Cruikshank gives an account of this striking military spectacle in his "Pop Gun"—a crushing retort to General Sir W. Napier, who in 1859 had stigmatized the volunteers of 1797-8 as "unwieldy, untaught, ill-commanded mobs." During the march past he repeated over and over again Bonaparte's gibe at the "shopkeepers" in tones of undisguised exultation, and it was on this occasion he suggested for the Bloomsbury and Inns of Court Volunteers the nickname of "Devil's Own," which bids fair to be immortal. J. Wells's aquatint after Guest of "The Situation of the Volunteer Corps assembled at Portsmouth in commemoration of His Majesty's Birthday on 4th June, 1799," relates to the events of the same memorable day. Another much-prized aquatint engraved by Pollard after a drawing by W. Mason perpetuates one of George III's numerous reviews of the troops—volunteers as well as regulars—on Blackheath, and J. C. Stadler's aquatint from R. Livesay's picture of the "Review of the Guards in Hatfield Park" belongs to the same period, although not published until January 18th, 1802.

It is manifestly impossible within the necessary limits of the present work to deal with the pictorial satire of the Great Terror in the detail one would wish. Of the 3200

¹ See *ante*, p. 136.



GEORGE III REVIEWING THE ARMED ASSOCIATIONS OF LONDON IN HYDE PARK, JUNE 4, 1799. AFTER J. COLLYER

Napoleonic caricatures supposed to exist, about 300 refer directly or indirectly to the topic now under consideration. Many of them (especially those by anonymous artists of foreign origin) are exceedingly rare, but the better-known and comparatively familiar productions of James Gillray and Thomas Rowlandson on the subject of the invasion, published between 1796 and 1805, have been chronicled and described by Mr. Thomas Wright and Mr. Joseph Grego.¹ Nothing like a complete list exists of the Invasion caricatures of Isaac Cruikshank (born in 1756) or of George Murgatroyd Woodward,² four years his junior. At the commencement of the Great Terror, George Cruikshank (the "Glorious" George of the Elba, Hundred Days, Waterloo, and St. Helena epoch of Napoleonic history) was four years old, and his brother Robert only three years his senior. As far as the invasion period is concerned, one is unable to fall back on the now quite unrivalled collection of George Cruikshank's works possessed by Captain R. J. H. Douglas,³ of Rosslyn, Blackheath. The great majority of Henry William Bunbury's military sketches relate to events which happened before the acute stage of the invasion threats, and "Pitt's own Caricaturist," James Sayers or Sayer, (1748-1823), preferred the *otium cum*

¹ See *England under the House of Hanover*, Vol. II, pp. 269-425, by Thomas Wright, London, 1849. *Account of Gillray's Caricatures*, pp. 84-255, by Thomas Wright, London, 1851. *Works of James Gillray*, pp. 204-324, by Thomas Wright, 4to, London, n.d. *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, Vol. I, p. 327 to end, Vol. II, pp. 1-57, by Thomas Wright, 4to, London, 1880. *English Satire on Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 42 to end, Vol. II, pp. 1-48, by John Ashton, 2 vols., London, 1884. *Histoire de la Caricature*, Vol. IV, chap. v, pp. 236-307, by Champfleury, Paris, n.d.

² The second name of Woodward is, curiously enough, given as "Moutard" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ The able author of *The Works of George Cruikshank classified and arranged*, London, 1903.

dignitate of his well-earned marshalship in the Court of Exchequer to dealing with the misdoings of Bonaparte and the prowess or shortcomings of our national defenders. Almost the only exception he made was in favour of the "Devil's Own," gently satirized in the print now reproduced amongst the illustrations.

Below it one reads the lines :—

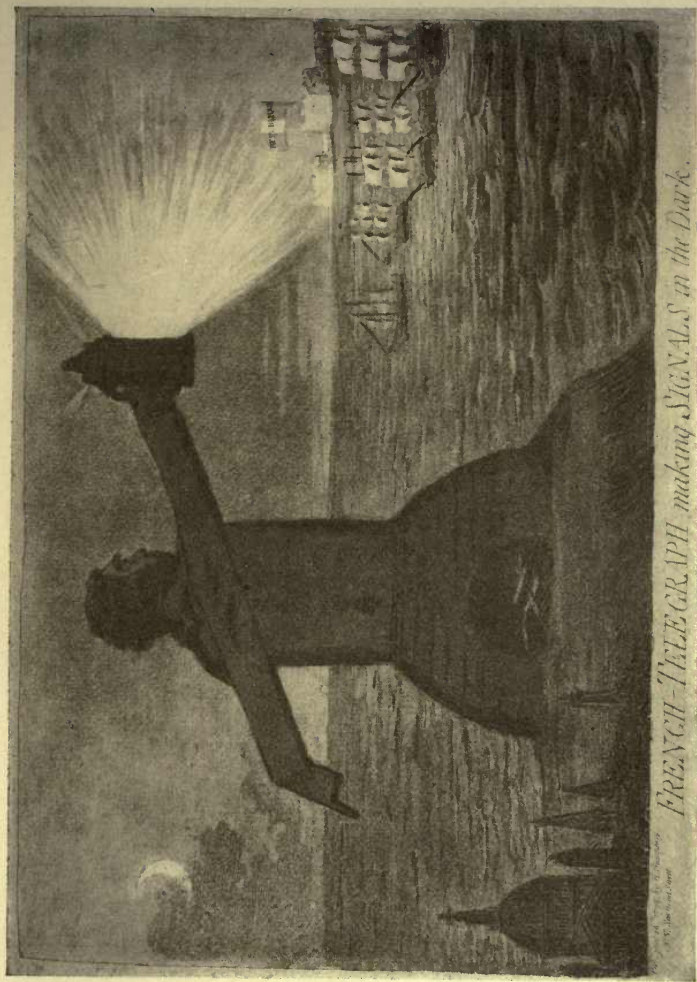
Templars of old were valiant Knights,
 Defenders of their country's Rights,
 A consecrated Band ;
 If one superior Merit Shew'd
 On him the general Voice bestow'd
 A Leader's high command :
 With equal Zeal in Britain's cause
 To guard her Liberty and Laws,
 Our Volunteers unite.

But who Shall head the Loyal Host?
 Erskine steps forth and claims the Post
 And Mansfield dubs him Knight.
 Sleep ! Sleep in Peace ye Templars brave
 Nor cast a look beyond the Grave
 To mark our Inn's dishonour.
 Two Evils press upon our Ranks,
 Erskine's Command and Sherry's Thanks,
 Sworn friends of tried O'Connor.

The Gillray plate "FRENCH TELEGRAPH making SIGNALS in the Dark" is dated 26th January, 1795,¹ and was published before the firm of H. Humphrey moved from 37 New Bond Street to 27 St. James's Street.² It is now given on account of the quaint illustration of the operation of the primitive "telegraph," and the light it

¹ *Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray*, p. 59, by T. Wright.

² As far back as 1781 the firm of Humphrey was in existence at 227 Strand, and there published several caricatures on the invasion projects entrusted to the Count de Grasse.



FRENCH SYMPATHIZERS AT WORK. GILLRAY'S CARICATURE OF 26 JANUARY, 1795

throws on the reputed sympathy of Fox and his Whig friends for the idea of foreign intervention before the invasion threats came within the sphere of practical politics. The earliest Gillray caricature on the subject of the invasion, in the strict sense of the term, appeared more than a year later (20th October, 1796). It is entitled "Promised Horrors of the French Invasion, or Forcible Reasons for negotiating a Regicide Peace."¹ St. James's Palace is in flames; the victorious invaders throng St. James's Street; a massacre of the members of White's Club is in progress; the dead bodies of the Princes who have taken refuge in the balcony are thrown down on the pavement below, and Pitt, stripped and prepared for instant execution, is bound to a pole crowned with the *bonnet rouge*, while Fox, a birch in either hand, soundly castigates his fallen foe. This may be regarded as the commencement of the system of influencing public opinion by satire and song which contributed so much to the universal enthusiasm of 1803 and the following years. A fortnight after the Fishguard fiasco (March 4th, 1797) Gillray dealt with it, as well as with Jervis's victory of 14th February, very felicitously, in "The Tables turned. Billy in the Devil's Claws. Billy sending the Devil Packing."² The conception of this caricature is remarkably clever. The Premier (Pitt) is held in the brawny grasp of Fox, disguised as a Republican fiend. "Ha, traitor!" he cries, "there's the French landed in Wales! What d'ye think of that, traitor?" "The Tables" are quickly turned by the arrival of the Gazette announcing the defeat of the Spanish fleet by Sir John Jervis. Pitt is

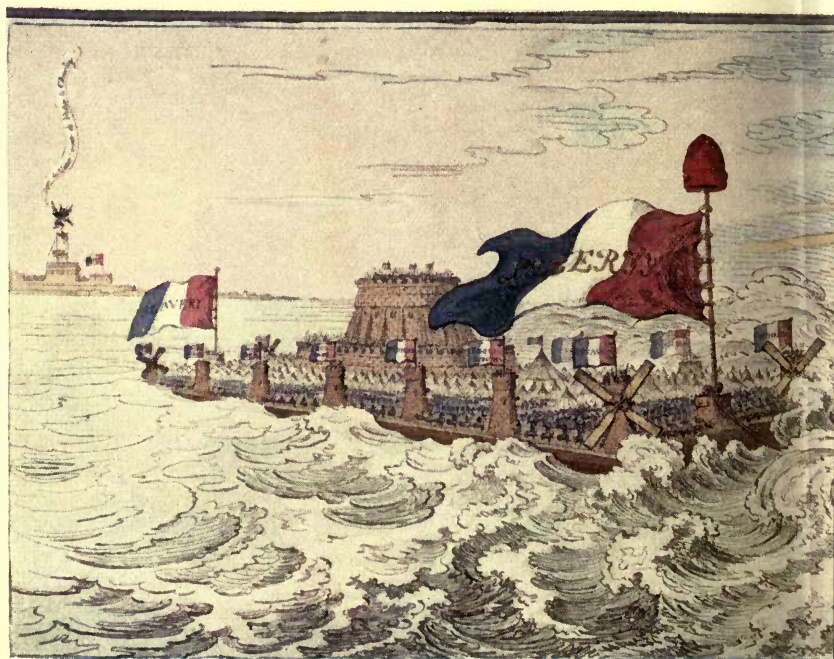
¹ *The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist*, p. 204, by T. Wright.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219, by T. Wright.

released from the grasp of his grim captor, who is escaping chagrined, while Pitt slyly exclaims, "Ah, Mr. Devil, we've beat the Spanish fleet! What d'ye think of that, Mr. Devil?" Nearly a year later, 1st February, 1798 (H. Humphrey had now migrated to 27 St. James's Street, where, during the continuance of the Great Terror, the dense crowd before the window filled with patriotic prints often made the pavement impassable), appeared one of Gillray's veritable masterpieces, "The Storm rising—or—the Republican FLOTILLA in danger," now given as an illustration in facsimile. Fox, Sheridan, Tierney, and His Grace of Bedford are assisting the threatened French "descent" by turning a mammoth windlass which brings over a still more gigantic raft filled with our foreign foes, an enormous tricolour flag surmounted by a cap of liberty at the prow. On the distant coast is seen the Evil One on the top of a guillotine playing the tune "Over the water to Charley" (Fox) on a fiddle. In most of the earlier caricatures no attempt is made to give anything like a portrait of Bonaparte, who very soon became the central figure and the all-absorbing point of interest. The *sobriquet* of "Little Boney," which stuck to him even when an exile at St. Helena, was the creation of James Gillray. It was at first considered sufficient to portray the arch-enemy as wearing a gigantic cocked hat, with boots and sword to match. This was not so in 1803, when there was at least an attempt at verisimilitude. It is curious to note this difference in the familiar series of Gillray's plates labelled "Consequences of a Successful Invasion" (I to VI), published March 1st, 1798, and other satiric prints bearing a like title which appeared in 1803 and 1804. To March, 1798, belongs a superb caricature by Thomas Rowlandson, en-



THE BRISTOL VOLUNTEERS AT DRILL IN QUEEN SQUARE



THE STORM RISING—OR—THE REPUBLICAN FLAG
Pitt's naval armaments counteracting the sympathy of



(1797). FROM AN ORIGINAL CARICATURE DRAWING

WM. PITT



A MAN IN DANGER. BY GILLRAY. FEB., 1798
 x, Sheridan, Tierney and the Duke of Bedford

FOX SHERIDAN TIERNEY DUKE OF BEDFORD

titled "England Invaded, or Frenchmen Naturalized," with a companion print published a little later, and known as "REHEARSAL of a FRENCH INVASION as performed before the INVALIDS at the Island's [*sic*] of St. Marcou on the morning of ye 7 of May, 1798." Rowlandson and Gillray were born in the same year; but the artist who made the fortune of both Ackermann and Fores survived Mrs. Humphrey's "lodger" for twelve years. One of the most popular of Rowlandson's early invasion caricatures is that entitled "High Fun for John Bull, or the Republicans put to their last Shift." It was published by Ackermann, 12th November, 1798.¹ Mr. Grego thus describes it: "The victory gained by Nelson at Aboukir Bay, over the combined fleets, disconcerted the French enthusiasts, and restored confidence at home; it was recognized that while English admirals could sweep their enemies from the seas, neither the dangers of invasion, nor the difficulties of contending with France, need be ranked of much consequence. In the print John Bull is enjoying the High Fun of setting his opponents to equip fresh fleets (or invading rafts), in order that his sailors may carry them off captives as trophies. . . . The Frenchmen are excited over their prospects; the head baker has a fine batch ready for the oven; 'Sacredieu Citoyens, make a haste wit one *autre* fleet, den we will shew you how to make one *grande Invasion*,'" and so forth.

Throughout the Great Terror the personality of Pitt was only second in importance to that of Bonaparte. In May, 1798, Mr. S. W. Fores, of 50 Piccadilly, made a great hit with his cartoon of "The Royal Soldier In His Majesty's Service."

¹ *Rowlandson, the Caricaturist*, Vol. I, p. 352, by Joseph Grego.

He would be a Soldier, the sweet Willy O!
The first of all Swains
That gladden'd the Plains;
All nature obey'd him—the sweet Willy O!

It excited much more interest than the contemporary plate labelled "A French Invasion, or the Fashionable Dress of 1798."

The French satirical prints of this period are by no means numerous, but in 1798 (An VI) M. Ruotte, of Paris, produced a highly finished caricature, which was sold at Rolland's, No. 35 Rue Neuve des Petits-Champs. The personages who figure in it are six, viz. Bonaparte, George III, the Austrian Emperor, the King of Spain, a Dutchman, and a Paris tavern waiter. The likenesses are admirable and entirely free from grotesque exaggeration. In the left-hand corner hangs a map of the Straits of Dover, showing the position of the Army of England, and the road from Paris to Calais, with the legend: "It is but one step." George III in an arm-chair is fast asleep, an empty punch-bowl, glasses, and wine-bottles on a table at his side. He murmurs, "Ah, Pitt! I should have put a little water in my wine." The Dutchman is escaping through an open door; the Austrian and Spanish monarchs crouch behind Bonaparte. The waiter is importuning them violently for the settlement of the bill. "Who is to pay the score, gentlemen?" "Go back, go back," says Bonaparte, gently pushing him, "George wanted it, and will pay for everything . . . when he wakes up." "Yes," whispers the Emperor, "it is he who will pay for all of us."

Before letting the curtain fall on this brief account of the literary and artistic landmarks, the song and satire of the first period of the Great Terror, we must return for a

moment to the poet laureate whom we left, lyre in hand, on the Royal Birthday of 1797. Mr. Pye continued to display the same poetic activity in the years that followed, both at St. James's and in his native Berkshire. On January 1st, 1798, we must imagine the gentlemen and boys of the Chapel Royal singing lustily—

While treach'rous friends and daring foes
 Around in horrid compact close ;—
 Their swarming barks' portentous shade
 With crowded sails the watery glade ;
 When lo ! imperial George commands—
 Rush to the waves Britannia's veteran bands—
 Unnumbered hosts usurp in vain
 Dominion o'er his briny reign.
 His fleets their Monarch's right proclaim
 With brazen throat, with breath of flame.

Six months later (June 4th, 1798) they chanted—

While loud and near, round Britain's coasts
 The low'ring storm of battle roars,
 In proud array while numerous hosts
 Insulting threat her happy shores—

and so forth. Mr. Pye was prophetic. It was the year of the Battle of the Nile. In August it was the birthday of the heir-apparent, and the poet laureate must not be held responsible for the following effusion "by an officer and handed round amongst the upper circle" at Windsor :—

With what firm grace he takes the lead,
 When mounted on his martial steed
 Not the Black Prince more graceful wav'd his sword,
 And with more thunder gave his troops the word.
 Mark the lightning of his eye,
 When squadrons charge, or squadrons fly !
 And Britons mark his tear, should one dismounted lie.
 For his country and his Sire,

If he e'er meet the foe,
 Each Briton he'll fire
 With his true Patriot glow
 To send the invaders to Pluto below.
 Great George, like Great Edward, will hallow his Son,
 And cherish those laurels the hero has won.

George III was far too wise to entrust a military command to the man who a quarter of a century later firmly believed that his personal presence and prowess had mainly contributed to the winning of Waterloo.

At the next New Year's musical meeting Henry James Pye wins fresh laurels with :—

Around her coast, fenc'd by her guardian main,
 Around Iërne's kindred shores,
 Hark ! loud Invasion to her baff'd train
 In yells of desperation roars.
 Along the hostile deep they vainly try
 From Britain's thundering barks to fly ;
 Their Fleets, the Victor's trophy, captur'd ride,
 In future battles doom'd to combat on our side.

Seas, where deathless bards of yore,
 Singing to the silver tide,
 Wafted loud from shore to shore
 Grecian Art and Roman Pride !
 Say, when Carthage learn'd to veil
 To mightier foes her lofty sail ;
 Say, when the Man of Athens broke
 With daring prow the Medean Tyrant's yoke ;
 Saw ye so bold, so free a band,
 As NELSON led by Nilus' strand ;
 What time, at GEORGE'S high behest,
 Dread in terrific vengeance dress'd,
 Fierce as the whirlwind's stormy course,
 They pour'd on Gallia's guilty force ;
 And Egypt saw Britannia's flag unfurl'd
 Wave high its Victor Cross, Deliverer of the World !

The King's next birthday (4th June, 1799) was not only signalized by the memorable review in Hyde Park,¹ but by the poet Pye producing, with Sir W. Parsons' assistance, an ode beginning with the lines :—

Still shall the brazen tongue of War
 Drown every softer sound :
 Still shall AMBITION'S iron Car
 It's crimson axles whirl around !
 Shall the sweet Lyre and Flute no more
 With gentle descant soothe the shore,
 Pour in melodious strain the votive Lay—
 And hail in notes of Peace our MONARCH'S Natal Day?

And ending :—

The shouts of War the Gallic Plund'rers hear,
 Th' avenging arm of JUSTICE learn to fear ;
 And low his crest th' insulting Despot veils,
 While their collected Navy's force
 Speeds o'er the Wave its desultory course.

For the harmonious ushering in of the year 1800—the last of the moribund eighteenth century—Mr. Pye, poet laureate, varies his programme by adding three verses to the National Anthem of a singularly bellicose character.

God of our Fathers, rise,
 And through the thundering skies
 Thy vengeance urge,
 In awful justice red,
 By thy dread arrows sped,
 But guard our Monarch's head,
 GOD Save Great GEORGE !

Still on our ALBION smile,
 Still o'er this favour'd Isle
 O spread thy wing ;
 To make each Blessing sure,
 To make our Fame endure,
 To make our Rights secure,
 GOD Save our KING !

¹ See *ante*, p. 133.

To the loud Trumpet's throat,
 To the shrill Clarion's note,
 Now jocund sing ;
 From every open Foe,
 From every Traitor's blow,
 Virtue defend his brow,
 GOD guards our King !

Dr. Valpy's scholars at Reading subscribed for the erection of a naval pillar, and the poet laureate furnishes a prologue to *King John*, to be spoken by Mr. Valpy in the uniform of the Reading Association, "part of the Berkshire Volunteers reviewed by His Majesty on Bulmarsh Heath." It commences in the usual key :—

To-night our scene from British Annal's shews
 How British warriors brav'd their Country's foes :
 Whether their hardy bands with martial toil
 Dar'd the proud Gaul upon his native soil,
 And by his ravag'd plains and prostrate towers
 Led in triumphant march their conq'ring powers,
 Or, on his own insulted fields, defied
 The whelming deluge of Invasion's tide.

On the 4th June, 1800, the Court listened to the inspiring strains of :—

Yet far from ALBION'S tranquil Shores
 The storm of Desolation roars,
 And while o'er fair Liguria's Vales,
 Fann'd by FAVONIUS' tepid gales,
 O'er Alpine heights that proudly rise
 And shroud their summits in the skies,
 Or by the Rhine's majestic stream
 The hostile arms of GALLIA gleam.
 Fenc'd by her Naval Hosts that ride
 Triumphant o'er her circling tide ;
 BRITANNIA, jocund, pours the festive lay,
 And hails with duteous voice her GEORGE'S Natal Day.

No. 10

Promise to pay to Monsieur Bonaparte,
or Bearer, TWO PENCE, when the Gallic Flag shall
triumph over the British and the French become the
Masters of the Sea.



London, the 17th day of November 1802.
For Self, Vincent, Duncan, Selvon & Co.

TWO.

Per Ben Bowdler.

John Bull.

AN INVASION PROMISSORY NOTE. NOVEMBER 17, 1802

On the first day of the nineteenth century the Union interrupts for a moment the thread of the invasion theme.

Albion and Erin's kindred Race
Long as your sister Isles the seas embrace—
Long as the circling Tides your shores that lave
Waft your united Banners o'er the wave.

Ten generations of Pyes sleep in Farringdon Church, and in August, 1801, the Wantage Volunteers were favoured with:—

When loud Invasion's will infuriate roar
With boastful threat'nings shakes Britannia's shore,
Should Alfred turn his sainted eyes to earth
And view the hallow'd seats which gave him birth,
How would he praise the patriot worth that calls
Their manly sons from Vinitagia's walls.

For a time Mr. Pye's warlike notes are hushed. The Treaty of Amiens brings a temporary respite to both invaders and invaded. Mr. Pye is quite equal to the occasion, and the beginning of 1802 is celebrated with:—

Lo, from Bellona's crimson car
At length the panting steeds unbound,
At length the thunder of the War
In festive shouts of Peace is drown'd.

How short the dream of peace was to last we shall see in the following chapters. The continuity of the literary and artistic landmarks of the Great Terror was scarcely interrupted.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TRUCE OF AMIENS, 1802

“An experimental peace.”—GEORGE III.

THE first overtures for peace came through M. Otto, a French agent in London for the exchange of prisoners. The war had now dragged on for eight years at a fearful cost of blood and treasure, and the British National Debt stood at no less than £537,000,000. The Prime Minister certainly believed in the good faith of Bonaparte's pacific protestations, but how little Charles Yorke, the Secretary at War of Addington's administration, was able to support his Chief's views is revealed in a letter which he wrote to Charles Abbot, then Chief Secretary for Ireland and later Speaker of the House of Commons, on August 18th, 1801. He says:—

“ . . . In the present state of France, I would not give a twelvemonths' purchase for any peace, however fair upon the face of it, that can be had with it. At the same time we certainly require breathing time, and the people will not be satisfied without the name of it. . . . France on her part, I mean the military despots of France, may possibly incline to a *truce*, with a view to throwing us off our guard, and procuring the laying up of our navy, and disbanding the greater part of our army. When this is done, Ambassador Bernadotte or Joseph Buonaparte is instructed

to offer some insult, pick a quarrel, pass over to Calais, and in a week's time the garrisons of Flanders and the Netherlands embark on the Maese¹ and Scheldt, and are in the mouth of the Thames, perhaps on the coasts of Kent and Essex. The substance of this idea should be embodied in a few words, and written in large letters over the doors of both Houses of Parliament, and on the canopy of the King's throne.

"The question of our internal defence and preparation must indisputably be very different from what it was formerly, and a very serious and weighty question it will be. Every shilling that can be spared, or by any means scraped together, must be scrupulously and zealously devoted to this object. *Libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. . .*"²

At last Otto and Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, after much discussion and innumerable delays, were able to draw up the preliminaries of peace, which were signed in London on October 1st, 1801. At seven o'clock the following morning the joyful intelligence was communicated to the Lord Mayor of London, Sir W. Staines, who had risen from being an ordinary labouring bricklayer to the proud position of Chief Magistrate of the City. That evening a special courier left England with despatches for France, where he travelled with all speed to Malmaison, Bonaparte's country seat, arriving there in the forenoon of the following day. Nobody outside those directly concerned with the matter knew of the glad tidings until they were officially informed in a

¹ Meuse.

² *Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester*, Vol. I, p. 363.

“London Gazette Extraordinary.

“Friday, October 2nd.

“Downing Street, October 2nd.

“Preliminaries of Peace between His Majesty and the French Republic were signed last night at Lord Hawkesbury’s Office, in Downing Street, by the Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, one of His Majesty’s Principal Secretaries of State, on the part of His Majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French Government.”

An inkling of what was passing the day before managed to leak through the official barriers of Downing Street, with the result that stocks rose to a high figure. *The Times* in its issue of a day later noted that “many persons were actually duped by this rumour.” The same journal saw occasion on the following Saturday (October 3rd) to remark in its leader that, “contrary to the general expectation and better than our hopes has it pleased Providence to order the issue of this great event. The fortitude of ministers has been crowned with success; and in consequence of the accession of the Republican Government to their demands, and of full powers transmitted to M. Otto for that purpose, the Preliminaries of Peace were signed in Downing Street at seven o’clock in the evening of Thursday by that Minister and His Majesty’s Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.”

When the official news became known, a wag had the following rhyme printed and pasted up on a building near the Stock Exchange:—

Peace —Ratified
 Bulls —Gratified;
 Bears —Mortified;
 Nation—Dissatisfied;
 Alley —Purified;
 All —Electrified.

Oh you lam John Bull
you have spoil my Dance
you have ruin all my Projects



I ax pardon Master Boney
but as we says Perry off King Jay
we keep this little spot in our toe
You must not Dance here
Master Boney .

JOHN BULL SAYS, "HANDS OFF!" APRIL 16, 1802

M. Otto's house was most elaborately illuminated, the word "Concord" shining out in letters of fire above the heads of the people. A sailor misread the word, and immediately shouted out, "Conquered! Not so by a great deal. That will not do." His cry created a disturbance. Among the crowd were people as illiterate as himself, and soon a tumult ensued which brought the Frenchman to the balcony. After vainly endeavouring to get a hearing, he told his servants to take down the fixture at once, and substitute the word "Amity." This was done, and the hisses gave way to cheers. England was, on the surface at any rate, in an ecstasy of delight. Every mail coach was decorated with laurels, and on many of them labels were hung in a conspicuous place bearing the magic words, "Peace with France." Others carried banners on which the same pregnant sentence was inscribed. Even the drivers decked themselves with a sprig of laurel in their hats. Many of the largest provincial cities and towns were informed by means of circulars. When the coach which brought the glad tidings of peace arrived at Ipswich, some of the soldiers stationed at the barracks there came and kissed the wheels of the vehicle. In many cases the horses were taken out of the shafts and citizens dragged the coaches along, often for a considerable distance. At Hull, for instance, the sailors drew the mail coach through the various thoroughfares of the port for three hours, eventually overturning it in the market place, fatally injuring one man, and wounding several others. "The unexpected news of peace, which we might have hoped would have cheered every heart, was not the case at Sheerness," *The Times* facetiously remarks. "To have seen the slop-

sellers and the Jews put on their long faces was truly ludicrous." At Great Yarmouth the ships in the harbour as well as the houses were decorated with flags, the church bells were set a-ringing, and the vessels fired guns at intervals. At Brighton the Steine was brilliantly lighted up, while the inhabitants of Plymouth gave vent to their feelings by raising a general subscription for a bonfire. A large sum of money was collected, and some idea of the size of the structure may be gathered from the fact that its base was two hundred and forty feet in circumference, and the height between seventy and eighty feet. When it was well alight the flames were visible upwards of forty miles.

The news of the signature of the preliminaries reached Paris at four o'clock on Saturday afternoon (3rd October). It was immediately communicated by the telegraph to every point of the Republic, and all parts of the frontiers. The Minister of the Interior forwarded the intelligence to the theatres. Discharges of artillery from the quay of the Tuileries, and on the esplanade of the National Hôtel des Invalides, announced it to other inhabitants, while a torchlight procession was arranged for the evening, in which the Commissaries of Police, escorted by detachments of light infantry and dragoons, took part. Many of the public bodies presented addresses to the First Consul, congratulating him on the conclusion of hostilities. He announced that the 9th November was to be observed as a general holiday.

Wild rumours of a contradictory nature spread with alarming rapidity throughout the metropolis. Thus, on the 5th inst., reports were in circulation that the ratification had actually arrived from Bonaparte, with the result

that Piccadilly and Bond Street were "exceedingly brilliant." The house of a firm of tea dealers was the only exception in the latter thoroughfare, the inhabitants being prevented from illuminating by Lord Camelford, who lodged over the shop, and heartily disapproved of the Peace. An angry mob speedily collected, shouted for lights to appear, and began knocking violently at the door. Seizing a bludgeon which happened to be handy, his lordship flung open the door and prepared to defend himself against all comers. Brickbats began to fly his way, but he defended himself so ably, and put on such a bold front, that many of the mob turned and fled.

By this time the other people in the house thought fit to interfere, and forcibly dragged the irascible aristocrat out of the way. No sooner was the door shut than the crowd came back helter-skelter to the position they had evacuated. Seizing any missile they could put their hands on, they proceeded to fling stones, refuse, and mud at the windows. Enraged at finding his assailants still furious, Lord Camelford eluded the vigilance of his protectors, secured a pistol, and presented himself at one of the windows, fully intending to blow out the brains of at least a few of his enemies. For a second time his lordship's friends prevailed upon him to retire, and they then proceeded to light a few candles in the upper part of the house, the window-panes of which were too high to be broken. Having satisfied their "righteous" anger the rowdy gang dispersed. When the ratifications were actually exchanged, it was remarked that Lord Camelford had repented, for a few lamps were hung out in front of the building.

It was necessary for the treaty to be ratified by Bonaparte, and he attached his signature to it on the 5th inst. He had previously given orders for a superb gold box to be made in which to place the parchment. It was a beautiful piece of workmanship, most richly ornamented and enamelled, and secured with gold clasps, an appropriate inscription being engraved on the outside. General Lauriston, *Chef de Brigade* in the artillery and first aide-de-camp to Bonaparte, was sent to London with the valuable document. Owing to a delay in the making of the casket, he did not leave Paris until two days later,¹ and this postponement of his departure caused no little trepidation to the citizens of London. He arrived at M. Otto's house in Hereford Street at ten o'clock on the morning of the 10th inst. He would have reached London earlier had not his carriage broken down on the road. The two representatives of the Republic took breakfast together and afterwards proceeded in company with M. St. Jean, brother-in-law of M. Otto and a personal friend of the First Consul's, to Reddish's Hotel, in St. James's Street. A huge concourse of people had gathered to catch a sight of the two Frenchmen, and no sooner did they make their appearance than the horses were taken from the carriage and it was dragged along by the enthusiastic throng. "Gentlemen! Gentlemen!" shouted Lord St. Vincent from his garden gate, "let me request you to be as orderly as possible; and, if you are determined to draw the gentleman accompanied by Monsieur Otto, I request of you to be careful, and not overturn the carriage."² General Lauriston expressed

¹ October 7th, 1801.

² *Annual Register*, 1801, Chronicle, p. 33.

himself as being delighted with his reception, and on arrival at his destination he showed himself at a window and bowed to the populace, who cheered to the echo. After this the crowd shouted, "Long live Bonaparte!" till they were voiceless. As soon as the ratifications had been exchanged Lord Hawkesbury communicated with the Lord Mayor. The following interesting item appeared in a *Gazette Extraordinary* of the same date: "While General Lauriston, M. Otto, and M. St. Jean were exchanging the ratifications at the Foreign Office, such a mob collected in Downing Street, that those gentlemen were absolutely obliged to change their clothes and depart one by one through the back gate in the Park."

The illuminations on this occasion, although very fine, were completely extinguished by a violent thunderstorm which broke over London during the evening. The superstitious saw in this catastrophe the forecast of a short peace. As at the signing of the preliminary treaty, M. Otto's house was the cynosure of all eyes. A large P encircled by a wreath was displayed on one side of the building; while on the other side was a transparent inscription of "Peace and Universal Happiness," in the middle of which was a crown. An olive branch formed of lights hung underneath, with the initials G.R. and F.R. A many-coloured star was also conspicuous. All the theatres were illuminated, and we are told that no fewer than six thousand lamps were found necessary for the Post Office buildings. Not a few people were attracted by a large transparency representing Pitt, the First Consul, Windham, and Joseph Bonaparte dancing a fandango to a tune played on the "union bagpipes."

At length all parties pleased to yield,
 A treaty was in London sealed ;
 And Nap with pleasure had to say
 That England own'd his Cons'lar sway.
 The Royalists were vex'd at this,
 They took the treaty much amiss ;
 It seemed (as for a time it was)
 Destructive of the Bourbon cause.
 This Amiens treaty, as 'twas termed
 Was in October month confirm'd.
 And London, tho' so ill repaid,
 Illuminations grand display'd.¹

History was again repeating itself, and had Walpole been alive he would have assuredly once more uttered his oft-quoted remark, "They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands." On hearing of the extravagant terms used by certain high officials with reference to the peace, and the unseemly conduct of the mob, Nelson waxed wroth. "There is no person in the world rejoices more in the peace than I do," he averred, "but I would burst sooner than let a d—d Frenchman know it. We have made peace with the French despotism, and we will, I hope, adhere to it whilst the French continue in due bounds; but whenever they overstep that, and usurp a power which would degrade Europe, then I trust we shall join Europe in crushing her ambition; then I would with pleasure go forth and risk my life for to pull down the overgrown detestable power of France."²

It would be impossible to exaggerate the feeling of intense relief which was evident in the navy. After months of unceasing watchfulness, officers and men would be able to see their loved ones again, and "sleep in their

¹ *The Porcupine*, October 15th, 1801.

² *The Life of Nelson*, Vol. II, p. 144, by Captain A. T. Mahan.

beds with both eyes shut." Rear-Admiral Collingwood furnishes us with an excellent word-picture of what happened, in a letter written on board his ship the *Barfleur*, off Brest. It is dated October 16th, 1801, and runs as follows:—

"I cannot tell you how much joy the news of peace gave me; the hope of returning to my family, and living in quiet and comfort among those I love, fills my heart with gladness. . . . The moment the French in Brest heard the preliminaries were signed, they sent out a flag of truce with the information to Admiral Cornwallis, and their congratulations on the approaching amity of the two countries. The British officer who was sent in with a return of the compliment was treated with the greatest hospitality and kindness, both by the French and Spanish. They feasted him all the time he stayed there, and carried him to the plays and places of entertainment. I hope now we have seen the end of the last war that will be in our days, and that I shall be able to turn my mind to peaceful occupations. . . . At present we know nothing of what is going on in England. . . . How glad will my heart be to see you all at my own home! I look on the day to be at hand when I shall be very, very happy indeed."¹

Pitt offered little opposition to the terms which Bonaparte dictated, although he strongly objected to eating humble pie, and said so in the speech quoted below. That they were humiliating terms, especially when our navy had proved itself so much in the ascendant, cannot be denied. The excesses of the Revolution, the claims of the Bourbon exiles—to whom England had given shelter—even the aggressive policy of Bonaparte, were

¹ *Correspondence and Memoir of Lord Collingwood* (third edition), p. 87, by G. L. Newnham Collingwood, F.R.S.

forgotten for the time, and the "usurper" of yesterday became the acknowledged ruler of to-day. George III, for all his fits of insanity, was never more sane than when he remarked to Lord Malmesbury: "Do you know what I call the peace? An experimental peace; for it is nothing else. I am sure you think so; and perhaps you do not give it so gentle a name: but it was unavoidable. I was abandoned by everybody: allies, and all." Sheridan put the matter even more forcibly when he declared in Parliament that "This is a peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of."

Speaking on November 3rd, 1801, the day on which the preliminaries of peace were laid before Parliament, Pitt emphasized his belief in the proverb: "In times of peace prepare for war." "The object which must naturally first present itself to every minister," he said, "must be to give additional vigour to our maritime strength, and security to our colonial possessions. It was to them we were indebted for the unparalleled exertions which we have been enabled to make in the course of this long and eventful contest; it was by them that we were enabled, in the wreck of Europe, not only to effect our own security, but to hold out to our allies the means of safety, if they had been but true to themselves."

His optimism, usually so overpowering, extended no further than "to hope everything that was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared otherwise." He spoke of the common cause which had united the people of Great Britain and Ireland, "and led to that happy union which adds more to the power and strength of the British Empire, than all the conquests of one and indivisible France do to that country." Pitt concluded with another reference to

the navy and an implied acknowledgment that it was the command of the sea which had alone enabled his country to dare and do: "If any additional proofs were wanting to prove her ability to protect her honour and maintain her interests, let gentlemen look to the last campaign, and they would see Great Britain contending against a powerful confederacy in the North; they would see her fighting for those objects at once in Egypt and in the Baltic, and they would see her successful in both. We had shewn that we were ready to meet the threatened invasion at home, and could send troops to triumph over the French in the barren sands of Egypt, before a man could escape from Toulon, to reinforce their blocked-up army; we had met the menaced invasion by attacking France on her own coasts, and we had seen those ships which were destined for the invasion of this country moored and chained to their shores, and finding protection only in their batteries. These were not only sources of justifiable pride, but grounds of solid security. What might be the future object of the Chief Consul of France he knew not, but if it were to exercise a military despotism, he would venture to predict that he would not select this country for the first object of his attack; and if we were true to ourselves we had little to fear from that attack, let it come when it would. But though he did not entertain apprehensions, yet he could not concur with those who thought we ought to lay aside all caution; if such policy were adopted, there would indeed be ground for most serious apprehensions: he hoped every measure would be adopted which prudence could suggest, to do away with animosity between the two countries, and to avoid every ground of irritation by sincerity on our part. This, however, on the

other hand, was not to be done by paying abject court to France. We must depend for security only upon ourselves. If, however, the views of France were correspondent with our own, we had every prospect of enjoying a long peace. He saw some symptoms that they were, though upon this he had no certain knowledge; but he would never rely upon personal character for the security of his country. He was inclined to hope everything was good, but he was bound to act as if he feared otherwise."

This proves that although Pitt was willing to try the experiment of peace, he was far from sanguine as to the good intentions of Bonaparte. He confessed to Wilberforce that the terms were not all that he should have wished, but that they were "on the whole highly honourable to the country and very advantageous. The event is most fortunate both for Government and the public, and for the sake of both gives me infinite satisfaction."¹ That Pitt had a singularly clear conception of the First Consul's character is evident; it was as though he had already dreamed of Ulm and Austerlitz, and saw vaguely the compensations of Trafalgar and Waterloo.

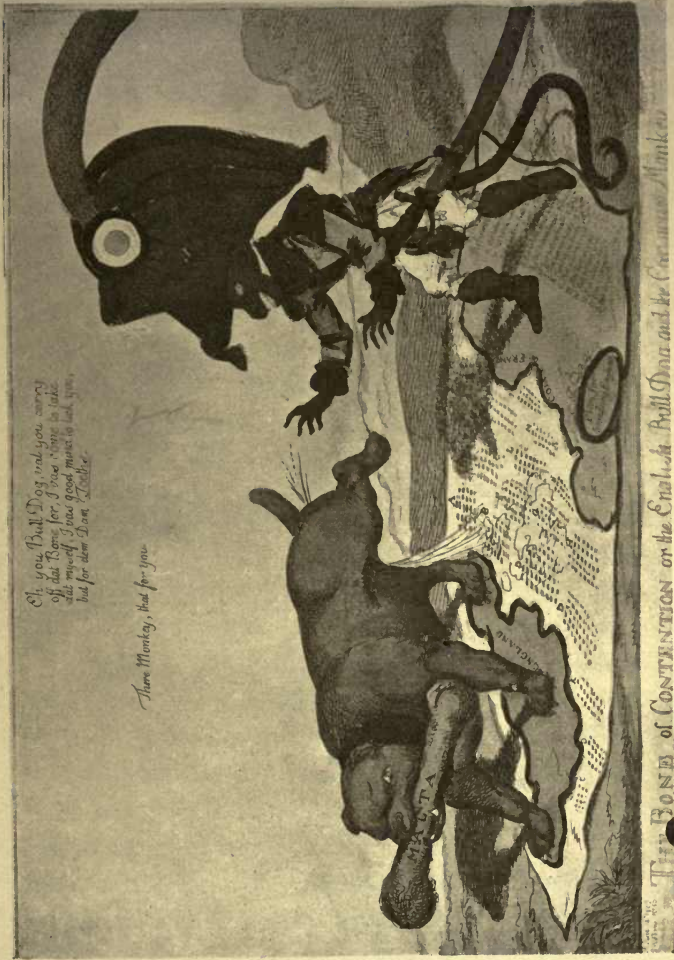
Lord Cornwallis, who was then over sixty years of age, was sent to Paris as Ambassador Plenipotentiary to represent Great Britain in the drawing-up of the definitive treaty. The First Consul gave orders that he was to be "received with the greatest distinction. On his arrival at Calais a salute must be fired, and he must have a guard of honour to escort him on his journey."² He had

¹ *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 30. This communication is addressed from Park Place, October 1st, 1801.

² To General Berthier. Paris, 14th October, 1801. Bingham, Vol. I, p. 372.

Oh, you Bull Dog and you sorry
 off dat Bone for I does 'em in take
 de monkey I was good master of look you,
 but for dem Bone, *Bother!*

There Monkey, that for you



THE BONE OF CONTENTION or the English Bull Dog and the Cecilian Monkey

MALTA, THE BONE OF CONTENTION. JUNE 14, 1803

a long interview with the First Consul. In his correspondence Cornwallis states that Bonaparte "affected a frank, liberal, and conciliatory spirit." The conferences were afterwards transferred to Amiens, a city which served the purpose of a half-way house between London and Paris. Talleyrand and Joseph Bonaparte represented France while the matter was being discussed, the Chevalier d'Azara looked after the interests of Spain, and M. Schimmelpennick attended on behalf of Holland. Lord Cornwallis, it is to be feared, was as clay in the hands of such skilful diplomatists. For some months the negotiations went on, both countries haggling over comparatively trivial details. Eventually their differences were settled, and on the 27th March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was signed. Great Britain agreed to give up Egypt to the Sublime Porte; the Cape of Good Hope was handed over to Holland, along with Berbice, Demerara, Essequibo, and Surinam; Malta was to be evacuated and restored to the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; and all the French colonies taken in the war were to be given back. For these concessions Great Britain obtained Ceylon and Trinidad, France also agreeing to withdraw from Naples and the Roman States; Portugal was to be an independent kingdom, and the Newfoundland fisheries were to be on exactly the same footing as before the outbreak of war.

The British Government lost no time in showing in a practical manner its satisfaction at the harmonious relations which now existed between England and France, and orders were given for the disbanding of all the sea fencibles and the discharge of the press-gangs. The militia, which had been nine years under arms, was disembodied, but

the services of certain of the volunteer yeomanry corps were retained in large centres. Shortly afterwards Nelson with his fleet quitted his station off Boulogne and anchored in the Downs.¹

The Peace of Amiens stood Bonaparte in good stead so far as personal ambition went, for the Tribune and Legislative Body decided that he should have some mark of esteem paid to him. A further ten years was therefore added to his consulate on the expiration of his term of office. Shortly afterwards he was made Consul for life, the second step leading to the imperial throne.

¹ At the end of the war Great Britain had sixty-seven more sail-of-the-line than when hostilities began, while in 1801 France had only thirty-nine sail-of-the-line against the eighty she possessed in 1793. See Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, Vol. II, p. 73.

CHAPTER IX

THE LULL BEFORE THE STORM, 1803

“England is not asleep, she is always on the watch.”—NAPOLEON.

FOR a time Bonaparte devoted himself to national reforms, such as reinstating religion, furthering education, and encouraging commerce in every direction. He also paid particular attention to the construction of military roads and canals, and had a number of new ships put on the stocks. His aggressive schemes on the Continent were not, however, allowed to lapse for long. In an incredibly short period the First Consul became President of the Italian Republic, subdued Switzerland, seized Piedmont, occupied Parma and Piacenza, and obtained Elba from the King of Naples. He also desired a great colonial empire, and with this object in view he endeavoured to reorganize the island of St. Domingo;¹ Louisiana was ceded to France by Spain in exchange for an extension of territory in Italy; Guiana was also secured; and India once more became the object of his solicitude. He again declared Europe was too small for him, and that the East and West contained vast tracts of land as yet unopened to the civilizing influ-

¹ In one of Napoleon's conversations with Gourgaud at St. Helena, he characterized “the Saint Domingo business” as the “greatest error that in all my government I ever committed.” See *Talks of Napoleon at St. Helena with General Baron Gourgaud*, p. 112.

ence of commerce. Moderation was the one great attribute Bonaparte lacked; it would have consolidated his interests and established his line; unfettered ambition took away every shred of power, and left him at the mercy of the country he had vowed to conquer. Tronchet was right when he remarked to Cambacères: "This young man begins like Cæsar: I fear that he will end like him."¹

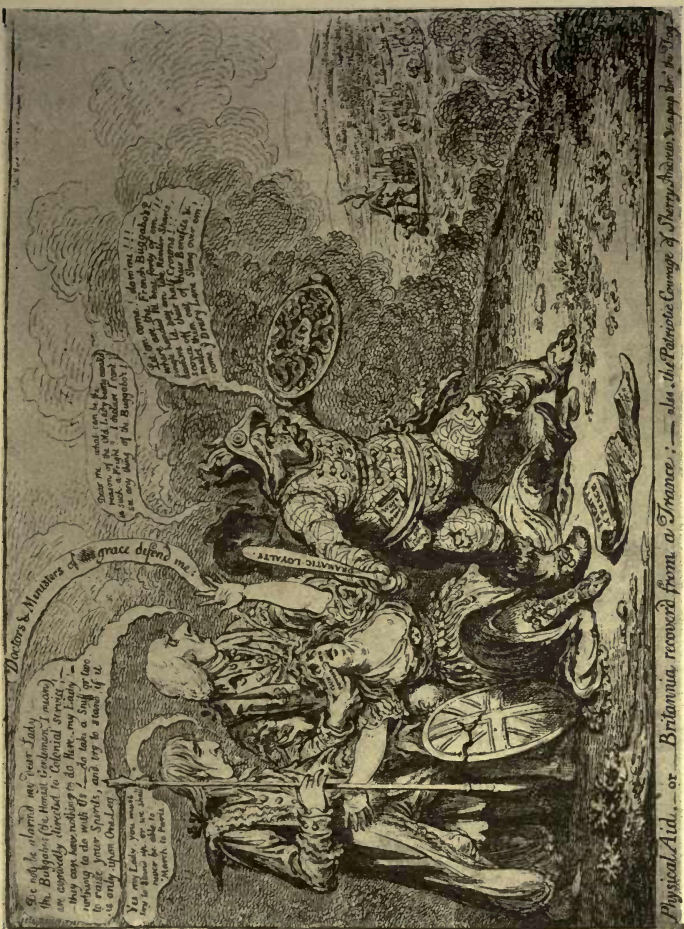
The Peace of Amiens lasted one year and sixteen days, and its rupture plunged Europe into a twelve years' war. Neither side kept strictly to the conditions set forth in the treaty, and it was evident that before long swords would leave their scabbards once more. In the words of Hazlitt, the peace "was a sponge to wipe out old scores and begin the game over again on new ground."² "You know how much under all the circumstances I wished for peace," writes Pitt to Wilberforce, "and my wishes remain the same, if Bonaparte can be made to feel that he is not to trample in succession on every nation in Europe. But of this I fear there is little chance, and without it I see no prospect but war."³

On the 18th February, 1803, Lord Whitworth, the English Ambassador at Paris, had a long interview with the First Consul in his cabinet at the Tuileries. The First Consul asserted that his efforts to live on good terms with England had met with no friendly response. He also complained bitterly of the attacks which were continually made upon him by the Press, and persisted in

¹ Cambacères was Second Consul, and afterwards became Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.

² *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Vol. II, p. 486, by William Hazlitt.

³ This letter is dated from Bath, October 31st, 1802. *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 34, collected and edited by A. M. Wilberforce.



Physical Aid, or Britannia recovered from a France; — also, the Patriotic Courage of Perry, Anderson, & company, then the King

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF MAY, 1803. ADDINGTON ALARMED. SHERIDAN AS A PATRIOT

the statement that he had executed the Treaty of Amiens with scrupulous fidelity. "As a proof of his desire to maintain peace," runs Lord Whitworth's report,¹ "he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England? A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greater part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea? . . . He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprize. He then expatiated much on the force of the two countries. France, with an army of 480,000 men, for to this amount, it is, he said, to be immediately completed, all ready for the most desperate enterprize; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years."

King George III informed Parliament on the 8th of March, 1803, that though there was still a chance for the peace to continue, the "very considerable military preparations" going on in the ports of France and Holland,

¹ Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, Paris, February 21st, 1803. "War with France: Official Papers, presented by His Majesty's command to both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday, the 18th of May, 1803, relative to the negotiations between Great Britain and the French Government," p. 37, Dublin, 1803.

though "avowedly directed to colonial service," called for further precautions to be taken for the defence of Great Britain. Accordingly an addition of 10,000 men to the naval force of the country and the calling out of the militia was voted. In 1802, owing to Bonaparte's restlessness, Parliament had sanctioned an addition of 20,000 men to the navy, and 66,000 men to the army in order to provide for the safety of Ireland, which it seemed probable would be invaded at the earliest favourable opportunity.¹

The French preparations in Holland were, in theory at any rate, intended for Louisiana. Some 6500 troops were stationed at Helvoetsluis in accordance with articles signed on February 1st, 1803, and of these 3040 were for the expedition.² But by the Treaty of Lunéville, which guaranteed the independence of the Batavian Republic, and also by the convention concluded at the Hague on the 29th August, 1801, five half-brigades and five companies of artillery were to be allowed to remain in Holland only "until the final conclusion of peace with England."³ Napoleon had not thought it well to evacuate the country. The Cape of Good Hope had been but recently restored to the Dutch, and there was the probability that it might "at any time become the base of operations of French cruisers and privateers preying upon British East Indiamen,"⁴ thus menacing Britain's Eastern Empire. An expedition under Decaen had been already sent to India with the express purpose of finding exactly what discontent there was

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 102.

² Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 17.

³ Coquelle's *Napoleon and England*, 1803-1813, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xviii.



NAPOLEON'S RECEPTION IN THE ENGLISH CAPITAL, A CARICATURE OF MARCH, 1803

among the rajahs and princes, and the probable number of troops likely to be required to conquer the country. No child crying for the moon was ever more eager than the First Consul was for India. Bonaparte had done much the same kind of thing while he was at Cairo in 1799, when he had written to Tippoo Sahib announcing that he had arrived "on the shores of the Red Sea, with a numerous and invincible army, animated with the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England."¹ He then asked for news regarding the political position there; he was asking for the same information now. He suggested to Decaen that although "the English are masters of the continent of India," there was no reason why they should continue as such, provided he carefully followed out his instructions. The First Consul went so far as to plan Decaen's course of action "in the event of war," which he anticipated would not break out before September, 1804.² As to hostile naval preparations, Lord Whitworth clearly states in his despatch of March 17th, 1803, to Lord Hawkesbury, that no armaments of any consequence were being carried on in the French ports. A fortnight before, notice had been given "to equip what there was in the different ports; and the absence of by far the greater part of the naval force renders such an order almost nugatory."³ The army was supposed to be on a peace footing, but troops were concentrating in the north-east of France; surely a warlike proceeding!

No commercial treaty existed between Great Britain and France, and Bonaparte had taken advantage of the

¹ Bingham, Vol. I, p. 244.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 209.

³ *England and France in the Mediterranean*, p. 190.

truce to send over a number of so-called "agents" or consuls, ostensibly for the purpose of furthering more amicable relations in this respect, but really to spy out the nakedness of the land. In a declaration afterwards laid before both Houses of Parliament, this double-dealing was fully exposed. The suspicion that these agents had more than one object in view "was confirmed, not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, but by the actual discovery that several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside."¹ A letter sent to Marès, the French "consul" at Hull, was intercepted by the Post Office authorities, and proved the perfidy of Bonaparte beyond doubt. It contained a plan of Hull harbour and details of its approaches. The agents were simply secret service men, who spent their time in obtaining information likely to be of service in effecting a descent upon the British Isles.²

Sunday, March 13th, was the day fixed for a reception at the Tuileries. Bonaparte had been reading the despatches of his Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, and also a verbatim copy of the King's message of March 8th.³ Entering the salon, in which some two hundred people

¹ *War with France: Official Papers*, p. 81.

² See *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Letter No. 6475.

³ Napoleon's own statement of the 21st of February, 1803, to the French Legislature was quite as capable of being turned into a declaration of war as was the message read in the British Parliament. "The Government," it ran, "guarantees to the nation peace on the Continent, and it may entertain hopes for the maintenance of peace on the high seas. The Government will make every effort to preserve it, compatible with the national honour, which is bound to maintain the literal execution of treaties. . . . Five hundred thousand men must be in arms ready to defend their country and to avenge her."

were assembled, he went straight up to Lord Whitworth and asked in an angry tone, "Why those preparations for war? Against whom are those precautionary measures taken? I have not a single ship-of-the-line in the ports of France; but if you will arm I shall also arm. If you will fight I shall also fight. You may possibly be able to destroy France but never to intimidate her."¹

The prudent Ambassador made a bow, but did not venture to reply. The First Consul then went his round, and shortly afterwards withdrew to his cabinet. There was nothing of the violent "scene" mentioned in so many histories, but Bonaparte was certainly agitated.² Diplomatic notes were exchanged between the two Powers for some weeks. Important concessions were proposed by Great Britain; "explanations" of Sebastiani's report on the situation in Egypt were given which were not explanations, but a mere play upon words; finally Whitworth told Talleyrand that "actual war was preferable to the state of suspense in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a space of time."³

On May 16th, 1803, England declared war, and an embargo was laid on French ships, and those of other Powers under her jurisdiction, which happened to be in British ports or fell in with our men-of-war. Although a number of seamen were taken prisoners, no French civilian was interfered with. Bonaparte retaliated by issuing the following order from St. Cloud on the 22nd May, which duly appeared in the official *Moniteur*:—

¹ Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, Paris, March 14th, 1803. *War with France: Official Papers*, p. 41.

² See *England and Napoleon in 1803*, by Oscar Browning.

³ April 29th, 1803.

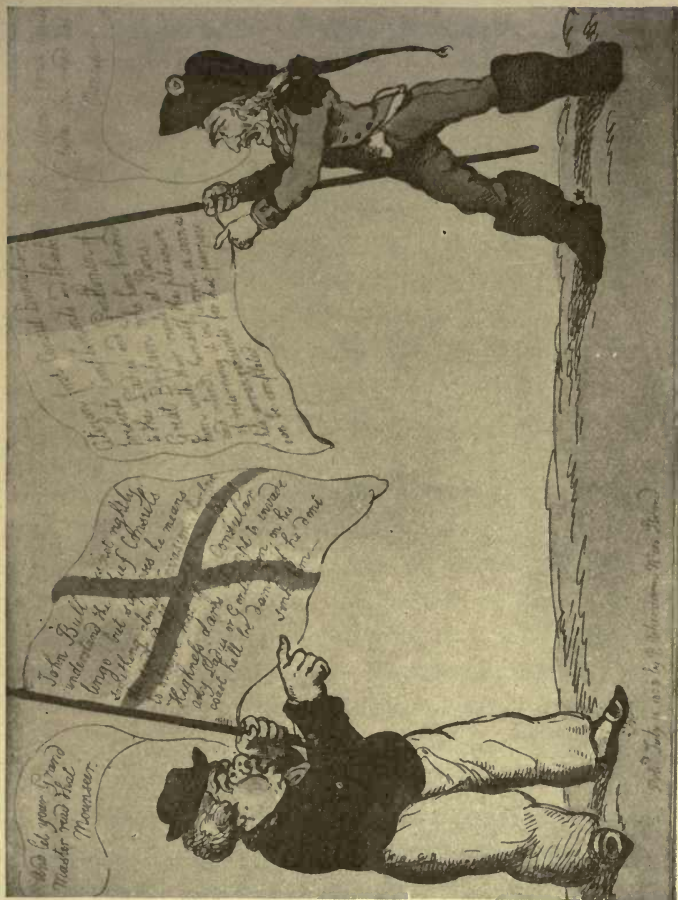
“The Government of the Republic, having heard read, by the Minister of Marine and Colonies, a despatch from the Maritime Prefect at Brest, announcing that two English frigates had taken two merchant vessels in the Bay of Audrieu, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations :

“All the English, from the ages of eighteen to sixty, or holding any commission from His Britannic Majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be constituted prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the Republic who may have been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of His Britannic Majesty previous to any declaration of hostilities.¹

“(Signed) BONAPARTE.”

Junot was then Governor of Paris, and long before dawn a messenger arrived from the First Consul summoning him to his study immediately. “Junot,” said the latter as soon as the General entered the room, “you must, before an hour elapses, take measures so that all the English, without one single exception, shall be arrested. The prisons will hold them ; they must be seized. This measure must be executed at seven in the evening. I am resolved that in the obscurest theatre, or the lowest restaurant in Paris, not an Englishman shall this night be seen !” The result was that some thousands of British subjects in France, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland were seized and confined within the gloomy walls of the prisons of Lille, Valenciennes, and Verdun. Bonaparte’s act was absolutely unjustifiable, for he had instructed Louis Gold-

¹ No prisoners were made previous to the declaration of war. The two ships mentioned were captured on May 18th. See *post*, Vol. II, p. 159.



MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS. JULY 10, 1863

smith, who, besides being the editor of the *Argus*, a French journal issued in London, was also one of the First Consul's confidential agents, to state in his paper that British tourists in France would have their rights respected, as that country, unlike its rival, respected the law of nations. The French prisoners in England were those legally taken in war.

The French army was now being actively mobilized, and in a couple of weeks the tramp of armed feet was heard throughout the length and breadth of France. General Mortier, at the head of 25,000 French troops, invaded Hanover, of which George III was Elector, and on the 13th June, 1803, His Britannic Majesty received the tidings of the loss of his hereditary continental possessions. The Hanoverian army certainly offered some resistance, and the Duke of Cambridge, who was Viceroy, and General Walmoden, endeavoured to call some of the German States to their aid. The appeal was disregarded, and consequently Hanover was surrendered to France. The Duke of Cambridge agreed that his troops should retire behind the Elbe and not serve again till exchanged, while General Walmoden disbanded his army and left his assailants with 30,000 muskets, many pieces of cannon, and 3500 horses. Thus Bonaparte was able to furnish himself with a considerable supply of munitions of war at little expense of blood and treasure. A contribution of 8,000,000 livres was imposed on the newly annexed territory, and the timber in its extensive forests began to fall before the woodman's axe, ready to be conveyed to France to be made into boats for the conveyance of the soldiers destined for England.

An interesting description of the First Consul's personal

appearance was published in the *Moniteur*¹ a little while previous to the events just recorded, and gives a fairly reliable pen-portrait of the man who sought to use England as a step-ladder to universal Napoleonism :—

“The person of the First Consul is small, below the ordinary size of men. The consular garb does not become him ; he looks best in the plain uniform of the National Guard, which he, at present, generally wears. His face is strongly marked with melancholy, reflection, and deep thought ; the lines of premature age are very visible upon it. He is said to be impenetrable even to his friends. His head is remarkably large, and his eyes are well formed and well set, animating a countenance which has been seldom known to smile. His voice is the deepest toned, and seems to issue as from a tomb. His head is large and handsome ; and, in general, it may be asserted there is that harmony of features which denotes an entire character. The various likenesses of him are tolerably exact ; though they by no means do him justice, nor give his look, which is extremely interesting and impressive.”

Bonaparte's colonial projects were far from successful. The St. Domingo expedition, which had left France late in December, 1801, and consisted of thirty-two men-of-war and thirty-one frigates, had met with disaster, and seeing that the time was not yet ripe for expansion across the seas, he sold Louisiana,² a colony then but little developed, to the United States for 60,000,000 francs. It must have cost him a bitter pang to part with that vast domain, so rich in promise. For hours on the night of

¹ January 5th, 1803.

² France received Louisiana in 1800 “in return for the cession of Tuscany to the heir of the Duke of Parma.” See Rose's *Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 366.

Bye! Patric,
no other Bull, now we have got
one of that great little Maudlin,
we have nothing to trouble us

It's hard to see down
Brother Pat,
I'd like to see you



Ireland



Great Britain

Conquer'd
Countriez

London, 13th July 1803. Printed by W. Woodcut, 21, Pall Mall. - removed from before 18

The Last Step over the Globe!!

ENGLAND AND IRELAND DEFEAT BONAPARTE. JULY 13, 1803

Easter Sunday, 1803, Napoleon pondered, and it was not until dawn broke that he arrived at a decision. The despatches lying on his table told of England's preparations for a coming struggle. His mind was made up. "I renounce Louisiana," he said to Talleyrand on April 11th.¹ "It is not only New Orleans I will cede: it is the whole colony, without reserve; I know the price of what I abandon. . . . I renounce it with the greatest regret: to attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate the affair." The treaty was signed and sealed May 4th, and much of the money received was spent on preparing for the execution of his third and greatest project for the long-talked-of invasion of England.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

CHAPTER X

HISTORIC SIDELIGHTS ON BONAPARTE'S INTENTIONS AFTER THE RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1803-1805

“What battle ever promised the results that we may look for from a descent on England?”—NAPOLEON.

BONAPARTE had candidly confessed to Lord Whitworth that the invasion of England was a perilous undertaking and fraught with difficulties, but “to extraordinary circumstances we must apply extraordinary remedies,” was a Napoleonic precept, and the First Consul certainly put it in practice as soon as the British Ambassador had left Paris. He made the most gigantic and determined efforts to collect a formidable flotilla, revised the plans for its organization a dozen times, built new docks and enlarged existing ports, and when it was proved to him beyond the shadow of a doubt that a temporary command of the sea was indispensable, he worked towards that end with almost superhuman energy. Bonaparte was a good hater, and he loathed England with a fiercer intensity as each year found her still unconquered. He wanted “ships, colonies, and commerce.” Great Britain destroyed the first, captured the second, and fought for the third with a doggedness unrivalled in the history of nations. Although

Trafalgar crushed the navies of France and Spain, circumstances alone vetoed the Emperor's later plans for the subjugation of his rival by striking a blow at her very heart. To him London was more important than Paris; for the greater includes the less. It is difficult therefore to understand the attitude taken by certain historians who have endeavoured to prove that Bonaparte's real object was not to invade England or Ireland, but to gather together an immense army to use against Austria and Russia. It seems highly improbable, however, that the First Consul would have spent millions of francs in building the flotilla had such been the case. He was not given to squandering money on castles in the air. The cost of the wars in which he had already engaged had told heavily on the resources of the French treasury, and the money could have been used for many other purposes than excavating harbours and constructing flat-bottomed boats.

At St. Helena the Emperor frequently and frankly discussed his plan of invasion, and always referred to it as a serious undertaking. Another weighty argument in favour of reality, as opposed to mere bluff, arises from the fact of his giving so much of his time to visiting the various ports and examining everything of importance personally, amazing those who were directly engaged in the work with his knowledge of apparently unimportant details. For three years he concentrated his mind and energies on the proposed expedition, perfecting designs, attending manœuvres, and accepting or rejecting schemes either originated by himself or submitted by others. His position as head of the Government was no sinecure. He was already the Emperor Napoleon without the crown and the royal purple. His court was as brilliant

as that of any monarch by "Divine Right," while he gathered round him the master-minds of the nation. Pressing business calling for the most careful statesmanship was for ever intruding itself upon his restless brain. It is therefore scarcely feasible to think that such a man would dissipate his already overtaxed energies on a gigantic policy of sham.

During his stay at Elba, and especially while he was on his voyage to St. Helena, the projected invasion of England was a favourite topic of conversation at the dinner-table. The subject naturally appealed to naval men, and Napoleon never showed himself unwilling to gratify their curiosity. The Diaries of Admiral Sir Thomas Ussher, who conveyed the "King of Elba" to his last possession, and of John Glover, secretary to Rear-Admiral Cockburn, of the *Northumberland*, to which may be added that of Lady Malcolm at St. Helena, all bear witness to the rigid cross-examinations the Emperor voluntarily underwent on this particular subject. As Dr. J. Holland Rose remarks in his admirable introduction to *Napoleon's Last Voyages*, "those who note the enormous extent of his preparations on the northern coast in 1804-5, as set forth in his 'correspondence,' and the retentiveness of his memory, even of small details, as proved by the conversation with Ussher, *will find it difficult to believe that he did not really intend to strike at London.*"¹ Although in details he sometimes failed to accurately state the case, as when he told Colonel Campbell that the arming of the

¹ *Napoleon's Last Voyages*, being the Diaries of Admiral Sir Thomas Ussher, R.N., K.C.B. (on board the *Undaunted*), and John R. Glover, Secretary to Rear-Admiral Cockburn (on board the *Northumberland*), with Introduction and Notes by J. Holland Rose, LITT. D. (1906), p. 16.



JOHN BULL'S CHALLENGE TO BONAPARTE. APRIL 6, 1803

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flotilla was merely to deceive the enemy, and that he never intended to cross without a superiority of fleet to protect it, a statement he reiterated to Admiral Cockburn,¹ he consistently maintained that it was always his intention to invade England. A certain allowance must also be made for the diarists. Bingham,² for instance, makes a curious error in asserting that "twenty thousand men [*sic*] were ready at Boulogne to embark at a moment's notice," and in the sentence immediately following renders the statement absurd by saying that Napoleon "could have debarked this army in twenty-four hours."³

Referring to his plan of September, 1804, for the conquest of Ireland, the Emperor told Cockburn that "if he could have got safely over to it the force he intended sending, the party there was so strong in his favour that he had every reason to suppose they would have succeeded in possessing themselves of the whole island."⁴

A conversation which is briefly noted in Glover's Diary under dates September 10th and 11th, 1815, is narrated at greater length by Bingham as having occurred on Tuesday, 12th (September). According to the latter, the Admiral had told Napoleon that many English people had regarded his invasion scheme as a feint.

"'Mr. Pitt never thought so,' was the reply; 'I had well weighed the consequences, and I calculated that if I did not succeed the demonstrations would do me great dis-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 140.

² Sir George Bingham, K.C.B., was on board the *Northumberland* with Napoleon. During the first year of Napoleon's captivity he commanded the second battalion of the 53rd Regiment at St. Helena, when he was appointed Brigadier-General on the Staff of the island.

³ "More Light on St. Helena," in *Cornhill Magazine*, 1901, p. 22.

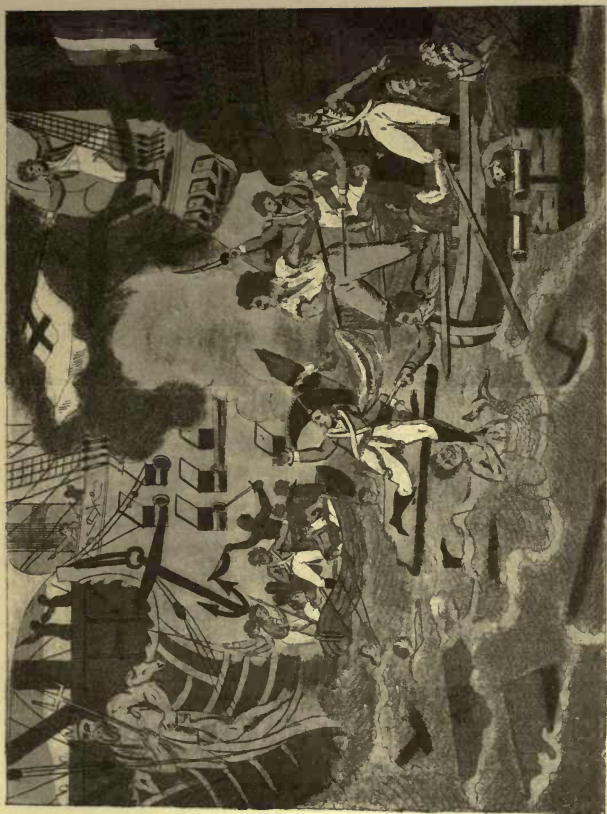
⁴ *Napoleon's Last Voyages*, p. 194.

service, as it would make the English a military nation, and at the same time would give the ministers a command of money, since no other measure could authorise them to call for so large a sum as in this case was requisite. I was very well pleased to see the preparations the English made on the coast opposite Boulogne, at which place it was never my intention to have attempted a landing. I kept up this farce by frequent embarkations and by the exercise of my flotilla. My real point of attack would have been somewhere between Margate and Deal. I calculated that I could have possessed myself of the lines of Chatham as a point of retreat. I should then have pushed for London, and, had I arrived there, I should have offered very moderate terms of peace, taking care, however, so far to cripple you that you could have done no further mischief, nor have disturbed my future plans. Whether I should have succeeded or not I can't say, but such were my objects." The Emperor also alluded to the Irish expedition: "My sole object was to divide it from England, and to have occupied the attention of the English in reconquering or tranquillising it. Could the division once be effected, peace, and the ultimate ruin and subjugation of both countries, would have been the consequence."¹

Dr. O'Meara, one of Napoleon's physicians at St. Helena, asked his patient point-blank if he had really intended to invade England, and if so, what were his plans? The exiled Emperor replied: "*I would have headed it myself.*"² After describing one of his projects, he added: "I would have hastened over my flotilla

¹ *Cornhill Magazine*, 1901, pp. 28-9.

² *A Voice from St. Helena*, Vol. I, p. 349, by Dr. Barry O'Meara.



THE UPSHOT OF THE INVASION,
or BONY in a fair way for Daver's Locker.

Published for James & Red Cross.

FRONTISPIECE TO THE ANTI-GALLICAN 1803

with 200,000 men, landed as near Chatham as possible, and proceeded direct to London, where I calculated to arrive in four days from the time of my landing.”¹ Again, Las Cases, who was nothing more or less than his master’s mouthpiece, quotes him as saying: “It was supposed that my scheme was merely a vain threat, because it did not appear that I possessed any reasonable means of attempting its execution. But I had laid my plans deeply, and without being observed I had dispersed all our French ships; and the English were sailing after them in different parts of the world. Our ships were to return suddenly and at the same time, and to assemble in a mass along the French coast. I would have had seventy or eighty French or Spanish vessels in the Channel, and I calculated that I should continue master of it for two months. Three or four thousand little boats were to be ready at a signal. A hundred thousand men were every day drilled in embarking and landing, as a part of their exercise. After landing my troops, I could calculate upon only one pitched battle, the result of which could not be doubtful; and victory would have brought us to London.”²

Count Balmain, the Russian Commissioner at St. Helena, relates a conversation on the same subject between Admiral Malcolm and the Emperor.³

“Malcolm: ‘What was the real object of the great preparations you made at Boulogne?’

¹ This statement exactly coincides with the details he gave to Sir George Cockburn. See *Napoleon’s Last Voyages*, pp. 140–1.

² *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 278 (English edition, 1823), by Las Cases.

³ “Napoleon’s Imprisonment: Memoirs of Count Balmain.” Translated and edited by Alder Anderson. Published in the London *Daily Mail*, Nos. 2000–2028.

“Napoleon: ‘To take my soldiers across the Channel, of course.’

“Malcolm: ‘Did the conquest of England, then, appear to you to be such an easy undertaking?’

“Napoleon: ‘No, but it was surely worth while attempting it.’

“Malcolm: ‘Nobody was ever able to guess what your plan was.’

“Napoleon: ‘It was quite simple. My fleet was despatched towards America, as if for the purpose of disembarking troops there; I was convinced that the bulk of your fleet would follow it. Villeneuve, taking advantage of the first favourable opportunity—there are so many at sea—was to suddenly turn about and make for the Channel, reaching there a fortnight before the English Admiral, and was to cruise about while my boats were crossing.’”

A visitor to Elba in 1815 records an interview he had with the fallen Emperor, and adds: “I regretted much it had not occurred to me to touch upon a point on which there has always existed much diversity of opinion;—whether he had ever contemplated the invasion of England. However, I took an opportunity on the following day of introducing the subject to Count Bertrand, during a conversation I had with him.—He reasoned for a considerable time, as if it had really been Bonaparte’s intention to make the attempt;—the Emperor, he said, had forty sail of the line collected in the Mediterranean and at Cadiz; it was intended that the ships in the different ports should form a junction, and then proceed to the Channel, where the fleet would have been joined by ten sail of the line kept in readiness for that purpose. This force, he remarked, would probably have given them the

I am for coming on, with my hat on without
knocking, but hearing a nation thumping in your
works hop - thought I may as well step up stairs,
and see what the youngster is about.

Don't be alarmed, Schermy, I am only
making a few little ships for my
own Private amusement



Little "Ships" or John Bull very "maiusituzie"

JOHN BULL AND THE FRENCH SHIPBUILDER. [EARLY IN 1863]

command of the Channel for a fortnight or three weeks, which time would, it was calculated, have elapsed before Nelson could have discovered their real destination, and reached the scene of action. When the combined fleet had once obtained the command of the Channel, a force of 100,000 men, or more, could have been assembled on the French coast in forty-eight hours, and might have been passed over before the arrival of the British fleet. The invading army, it was conceived, would have been sufficiently strong to overpower any opposition that could have been made to its progress before it had reached London, and taken possession of the seat of Government. I replied, that supposing all these plans had succeeded according to their wishes, their army must inevitably have been destroyed, as they could not have obtained reinforcements. He observed, that they could have kept possession of some small ports, and could have smuggled men over; for as the run is so short, this could not have been wholly prevented by any precautions on the part of the English. I said that the opinion in England was, that the threat of an invasion was a mere pretext for bringing a large force together in order to be prepared to pounce upon one or other of the Continental Powers, as in fact the Emperor had done in the case of Austria. He replied, '*Cela est possible.*' Here the conversation ended. . . . Some of the Imperial Guard, with whom I conversed at Elba, were decidedly of opinion that, had the invasion of England been attempted, the enterprise would have failed."¹

Thiers, the great French historian, who was probably

¹ *Minutes of a Conversation with Napoleon Bonaparte during his Residence in Elba, in January, 1815*, by J. H. Vivian. London: Ridgway, Piccadilly. 1839.

the first writer to thoroughly peruse the State papers and other documents having reference to the invasion,¹ dismisses the question of whether the First Consul really meant to descend upon England in a single sentence. He says: ". . . . If the credulous who have questioned the reality of his [Napoleon's] project could read his private correspondence with the Minister of Marine, the infinite number of his orders, and the secret communication of his hopes to the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, they would no longer entertain any doubt as to the reality of that extraordinary resolution."² Captain Mahan also most emphatically asserts that the great commander certainly meant to attempt to cross the Straits; but Captain Édouard Desbrière, the most recent historian of this period, inclines to the belief that Napoleon was not serious, and largely bases his conclusions on the fact that there are strange discrepancies and oversights in his plan of maritime strategy. In other words, the organization is not worthy of the Emperor's genius, because it proves that he was sufficiently human to make mistakes. The campaign which ended at Trafalgar was a small affair when compared with the disasters which overtook the army and its head at Moscow. The latter was a colossal miscalculation on the part of the military man *par excellence*; the former, especially in the opening operations, was largely successful, although planned by the same mind, which never thoroughly grasped the difference between manœuvres on land and those at sea. There are few living naval authorities of equal eminence to Captain Mahan, who avers that

¹ Many of these letters are to be found in *Correspondance de Napoléon I*, thirty-two volumes, and also in Captain Desbrière's *Projets*.

² Thiers' *Consulate and Empire*, Vol. III, p. 241.

the last phase of the invasion projects was "profoundly conceived and laboriously prepared."¹ It seems to the present writers that the plan was right, but that the men who were charged with carrying it out were wrong. France had no admiral equal in activity to Nelson, who, like Napoleon, was without a compeer. Cornwallis, Collingwood, and Pellew were more than a match for Ganteaume, Villeneuve, and Missiessy. Coquelle sums up the bitterness of the blow to Napoleon's ambition in a single sentence: "The failure of his preparations for an invasion, and especially his defeat at Trafalgar, were wounds which never healed."²

Without going so far as the late Judge O'Connor Morris, who summarily dismisses the matter by saying: "It is useless to argue with those who have denied, or doubted Napoleon's real intention to invade England," we fully agree with him in his conclusion that the Emperor "hesitated more than once; but no one who has carefully read his correspondence can question his purpose."³

Captain A. Crawford, R.N., who served as a young man in the British frigate *Immortalité*, of the Downs squadron, and not only watched the goings on in Boulogne, but had many an encounter with sections of the flotilla from the beginning of the war until Trafalgar, says: "I am of opinion that Bonaparte fully intended the invasion of England, which only the rupture with Austria, and the mismanagement of Admiral Villeneuve, in 1805, prevented his attempting. In this opinion I am fortified by what I learned from Admiral Lacrosse, some years ago, at Bor-

¹ *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 181.

² *Napoleon and England, 1803-1813*, p. 273, by P. Coquelle.

³ *The Great Campaigns of Nelson*, p. 106, by W. O'Connor Morris.

deaux. This Admiral was second in command under Admiral Bruix, at Boulogne, and in consequence of the latter's feeble state of health, had been nominated Director-General of the flotilla. In that situation, he had the entire management and arrangement of the naval force there and in the contiguous harbours; and upon the death of Admiral Bruix, which took place in 1805, he succeeded to the chief command."¹

Méneval, who was one of his secretaries at the time, is equally positive as to Napoleon's intentions. He further adds:—

“His habits changed: his genius, which had appeared to slumber, awoke, full of courage and daring. He raised himself to the height of the formidable circumstances which our eternal enemies had created, and indeed rose superior to them. His activity became prodigious, and was all-sufficient. From that time forward a new life began for him, a life of action, of combat, a life given up to the hardest labours, to dangers of every kind, to the most fruitful and the most audacious of conceptions; a life from which no diversions of any kind were even for a moment allowed to turn him aside. Like an intrepid athlete, he entered upon this gigantic struggle, which was to produce such marvels—to raise him so high, and to cast him down so low.”²

But for the fact that Bourrienne's *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte* is a much-quoted and widely read work, it would not be necessary to refer to the opinion of its alleged author as to the reality of Bonaparte's project. Referring to the Emperor's visit to Boulogne in 1804, the writer

¹ *Reminiscences of a Naval Officer during the Late War*, Vol. I, p. 192, by Captain A. Crawford, R.N.

² Méneval's *Memoirs of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 219.

says: "At his departure, it was generally believed at Paris that the distribution of the decorations of the Legion of Honour was only a pretext, and that the grand object to be realized was the descent on England. It was indeed only a pretext. The Emperor wished to excite still more the enthusiasm of the army, and to show himself to the military invested with his new dignity; to be present at some grand manœuvres, and dispose the army to obey the first signal he might give." Having strained at this gnat we are asked to swallow a camel. "How, indeed, could it be supposed, after such extensive preparations—so many transports—and the whole army ready to embark—that it really was never intended to attempt a descent upon England? But so it was—the blow was to be struck in another quarter."¹

There is abundant evidence that the book in question is not the work of a single individual, but of a number of collaborators, who were helped by a few incomplete notes of Bourrienne's, and much information culled from more or less accurate sources. Méneval gives the lie direct to the "pretext" supposition. "If M. de Bourrienne had written these memoirs himself," he says, "he would not have said that Napoleon had confided to him in 1805 that he had never had any serious intentions of an expedition against England, and that the project of a landing, the preparations of which were made with so much noise, was only a trick to amuse fools."²

Although Chancellor Pasquier does not deal with the matter at length in his *Memoirs*, he maintains that Britain's rule of the sea "compelled" Napoleon to fall

¹ Bourrienne's *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*, p. 290 (Crosby Lockwood's edition, 1888).

² Méneval, Vol. I, p. 132.

back on the old method of invading England by means of a flotilla in 1803. He regards the former attempt made "during the interval which elapsed between the Treaty of Lunéville and that of Amiens" as pretence, "but this time it was taken up with far greater ardour. The whole of France's resources were set in motion."¹

Lanfrey,² who certainly holds no brief for Napoleon, after showing that Bonaparte did not hesitate to risk a war with the whole Continent, proceeds to call to task "several very sensible writers" who have concluded "that the project of the descent on England was only a feint, intended to mask his plans of conquest upon the continent. If this project was serious," he asks, "how can such reckless policy be explained? Why did he, who was about to throw all our available forces upon England, with the almost certain probability of being immediately surrounded there by the British fleets, set all the Continental Powers at defiance, and put them into such a state of irritation, that their first step would infallibly be to take advantage of his absence to rush down upon France unarmed? If the descent was anything else than a feint, the policy was that of a madman. If the policy was calculated, the descent was only a false demonstration. It is impossible to escape this dilemma, and we can understand how historians, penetrated above all with the sublimity of Napoleon's genius, have preferred to solve the difficulty by denying the reality of the project of expedition, rather than suppose that this extraordinary genius wanted common sense, and could not see things that would have struck the intelligence of a child. But it is impossible to

¹ *Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier*, Vol. I, pp. 176-7.

² *History of Napoleon*, Vol. II, p. 398, by P. Lanfrey (Eng. edition).



GEORGE III AND BONAPARTE. AN INVASION FORECAST, JULY 20, 1803

retain the slightest doubt in regard to this, when we see the thousands of orders, of projects and counter-projects, which Napóleon's correspondence has revealed ; when we see the interest, the passion, the obstinacy, the incredible resources that he employed in the realization of his favourite enterprise, the profound and breathless anxiety with which he followed its various phases and definite failure, and history is forced to admit the amazing contrast that is presented to us in the same man, of marvellous faculties in action, associated with a weak and radically false judgment in the appreciation of general facts."

Reference is very frequently made to the Emperor's remarks to the Council of State in January, 1805, that the Boulogne organization was nothing but a demonstration to deceive the Continental Powers as to his real intentions. "I now have," he assured the Councillors, "the strongest possible army, a complete military organization, and am this moment on the footing which I generally have first to secure in case of actual war. To raise such forces in time of peace—20,000 artillery, horses and trains complete—there was need of a pretext in order to levy and bring them all together without rousing suspicion in the other Continental Powers. This pretext was afforded by the project for landing in England. Two years ago I would not thus have spoken to you, but it was nevertheless my sole purpose. I am well aware that to maintain such an equipment in time of peace means throwing thirty millions out of the window. But in return I have the advantage of all my enemies by twenty days, and can take the field a whole month before Austria can even prepare the artillery. . . . You now know the explanation of a great many things ; but we shall not have war, for I have just

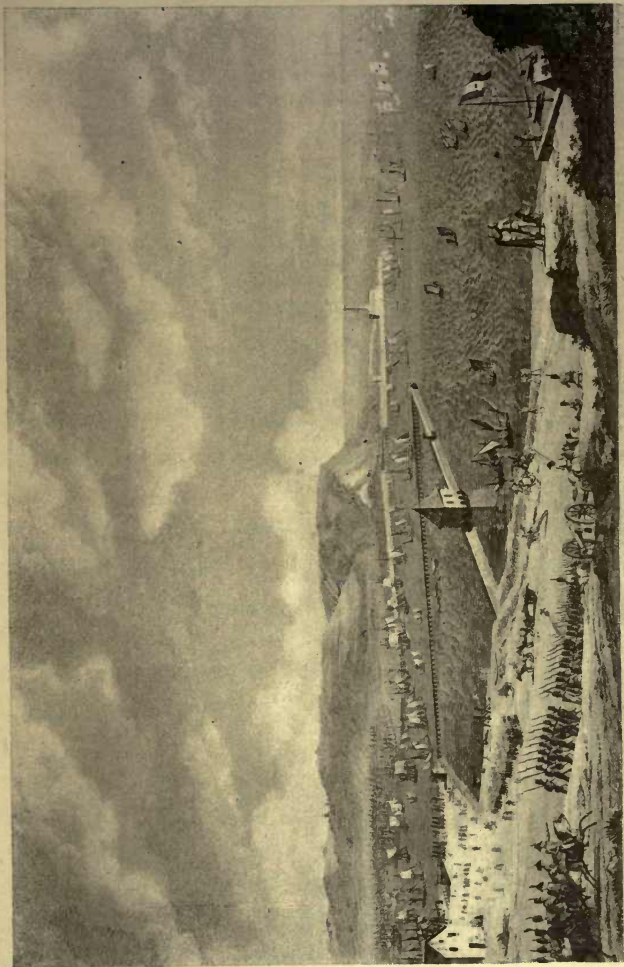
opened direct negotiations with the King of England with a view to conclude peace.”¹

We are inclined to think that the above statement is one of many which Napoleon made to meet the exigencies of the moment. It served the double purpose of announcing that peace with Great Britain was possible, and if it did not come about it would be through no fault of his, and it warned the Council of a probable war with Austria. Truth to tell, he was in a very awkward position. He knew that a third coalition was being formed against him, and as he was always the last man to acknowledge the failure of his own designs, the idea of pretending that the expedition was solely to throw dust in the eyes of his antagonists, to keep England on tenter-hooks while preparing for war against another Power, must have appealed very strongly to him.

In referring to Bonaparte's plans of 1803 Miot de Melito says: “He was making astonishingly active preparations for a descent on England. . . . Yet it is doubtful whether he ever seriously intended to attempt this great enterprise. He was too good a judge in matters of the kind not to have recognized how small were the chances of success, and in any case I do not believe that he ever intended to undertake the invasion in person, to risk his fortune and his life on so slight a probability of victory.”² Miot goes on to suggest that the soldiers were at Boulogne for spectacular purposes; to fire the imagination of the people; or to enable Austria “to repair her losses, and to avenge the insults she had recently endured, by a sudden aggression in which victory would seem certain to her.

¹ Miot de Melito's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 234.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 580.



VUE DU PORT ET DE LA RADE DE BOULOGNE, AU MOMENT DU DÉPART DE LA FLOTTILLE, LE 16 AOÛT 1803

BOULOGNE DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE GREAT TERROR

Thus war, the object of all the First Consul's desires—war, which only could save him from the critical position in which he stood—would again break out on the Continent." These statements prove nothing, and are merely Miot's own criticisms. "It is doubtful," is not a fact, only a supposition, and a poor one at that. Strangely enough, almost his next mention of the invasion is a report of a conversation between Bonaparte and his brother Joseph, with whom the Count was on intimate terms. "I have made up my mind," said the First Consul, "I shall try a descent on England. Victory would enable me to carry out anything I wished ; while if, on the contrary, I should fail, it matters little to me what happens afterwards!"¹ Surely it must be admitted that this statement is as worthy of credence as Miot's own ideas on the subject, which they appear to contradict.

The Count only begs the question when he says: "Whether the Emperor had in reality prepared for an expedition against England, with the sole design of concealing his military preparations from Continental Powers, or whether he had given it up on perceiving the extreme difficulty of the undertaking, the fact remains that for a long time past all his measures for a war on land had been taken."² This leaves the reader in blissful ignorance as to the real solution of the problem. As to the preparations for a land war, the wretched state of the commissariat at the opening of the Austerlitz campaign proves that Bonaparte was not prepared in this respect for immediate hostilities, for most of the provisions were stowed in the boats of the flotilla. In 1814 the Emperor referred to Miot as an "imbecile," and it is worthy of note

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 115.

that when any plan went amiss or failed, the Count, according to his *Memoirs*, appears to have always foretold, or at least foreseen, that such would be the case.

The Emperor's remarks to Metternich, which have been seized upon with such avidity by those who hold the view that the invasion was nothing more than a threat, seem to come under the same category as those of Miot de Melito. "By far the greater part of the political prophets," says the Prince, "the camp at Boulogne was regarded as a preparation for a landing in England. Some better-instructed observers saw in this camp a French army held in readiness to cross the Rhine, and that was my opinion. In one of my longer conversations with Napoleon on the journey to Cambrai, whither I accompanied the Emperor in 1810, the conversation turned upon the great military preparations which he had made in the years 1803-5 in Boulogne. I frankly confessed to him that even at the time I could not regard these offensive measures as directed against England. 'You are very right,' said the Emperor, smiling. 'Never would I have been such a fool as to make a descent upon England, unless, indeed, a revolution had taken place within the country. The army assembled at Boulogne was always an army against Austria. I could not place it anywhere else without giving offence; and, being obliged to form it somehow, I did so at Boulogne, where I could, whilst collecting it, also disquiet England. The very day of an insurrection in England I should have sent over a detachment of the army to support the insurrection. I should not the less have fallen on you, for my forces were echeloned for that purpose. Thus you saw, in 1805, how near Boulogne was to Vienna.'"¹

¹ *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, Vol. I, p. 48, note.

How does this passage support the contention which it is supposed to prove? Far from removing all doubts as to the unreality of a projected invasion, Napoleon admits half the truth to the crafty Austrian: "the very day of an insurrection in England I should have sent over a detachment of the army to support the insurrection." His agents tried to provoke a revolution in Ireland, that being the most unsettled and therefore the most likely place for the planting of the seeds of sedition, and had the crop been plentiful, a second harvest would probably have been gathered in England. Of course "the army assembled at Boulogne was always an army against Austria"—or any other country if it had served the Emperor's purpose. The time of this conversation must also be taken into account. Napoleon had only just married Marie Louise, and it is more than probable that he wished to flatter the Austrian Minister by allowing him to think that what he had surmised was really what had been intended.

Such cogent evidence as that furnished by the documents preserved in the French Archives, and which would seem to be irrefutable, cannot assuredly be explained away by the statement that Napoleon used the soldiers he had concentrated at Boulogne for another purpose. Neither does it seem reasonable to suppose that the orders which he issued were prevarications and the two exceptions cited—oral evidence, be it remembered—the only occasions on which he told the truth regarding his real intentions. With half a million of men preparing to oppose him—the armies of the alliance of Continental Powers which the skill of Pitt had brought about—the movement of his soldiers from the coast was one of necessity and not of choice. Before Austerlitz had been

won Trafalgar had been lost, thereby necessitating the abandonment, for the time, of all thoughts of invasion. Obviously the matter had to be shelved until the French navy was reconstituted, which could not be for several years. We shall see in a later chapter that he cherished this hope of a successful descent on the British coasts in 1807, and again in 1811—the year after his conversation with Metternich—when his dream of a Russian campaign first took practical shape.

Again, if the enormous armament which he called into being was meant only as a threat, why did he set so much store by the carefully considered combination of fleets? There was certainly nothing to be gained by sending a number of vessels to the West Indies on what could be little else than a fool's errand unless the great *dénouement* of utilizing them to cover the passage of the flotilla was really intended. This was certainly not planned in the hope that his admirals would destroy the British squadrons, for they carefully evaded action whenever they could possibly do so. Sir W. Laird Clowes holds that the "elaborate mystification" theory is "untenable." "It is absolutely clear," he says, "from the testimony of many of the naval and military chiefs who were engaged in the preparations, that Napoleon did intend to cross the Straits of Dover, and that, if his plans had not been rendered palpably hopeless by Cornwallis, Calder, Villeneuve, and Nelson, he would have actually made the attempt."¹ More convincing still is the fact that from 1801 till the autumn of 1805 Napoleon's sword was sheathed as far as the great Continental Powers were concerned. All his energy was concentrated in pushing forward his naval measures, and

¹ *The Royal Navy*, Vol. V, p. 181, by W. Laird Clowes.



BONAPARTE AND DANIEL LAMBERT—A CONTRAST. THE INVASION POSTPONED. MAY, 1806

preparing in other ways for the invasion of England. Napoleon's skill as a soldier reached its zenith almost at the same moment as his ambitious efforts as a naval tactician came to naught. Not until his hopes were shattered beyond possibility of revival by Villeneuve's retreat into Cadiz did Napoleon cross the Rhine on his victorious march to Vienna. Then it was that the dying Pitt with trembling finger pointed to the map of Europe on the walls of Bowling Green House, Putney, with the memorable words, "Roll up that map; it will not be wanted these ten years."¹

¹ 12th January, 1806.

CHAPTER XI

FULTON AND HIS INVENTIONS IN RELATION TO NAPOLEON'S INVASION SCHEMES

“The project of Citizen Fulton may change the face of the world.”

NAPOLEON.

WHY did not Napoleon utilize steam power for his projected expeditions? This question has been often asked by modern writers. The answer is simple enough. The great force of the near future had not then been sufficiently developed to be of any known practical use for the purpose of propelling craft on the sea.¹ Fulton's first complete steamboat was not in running order until the year 1807, and although the Emperor was then thinking of making yet another attempt at invading England, it would have taken far too long to build a sufficient number of these vessels to serve his purpose, even if he had been able to come to a working arrangement with the inventor. Writers have also commented on Bonaparte's apparent disregard of Fulton's other inventions, namely his diving ship and submarine torpedo. That the ruler of France took some interest in his experiments is proved

¹ The *Charlotte Dundas*, a tug built by William Symington, was running on the Forth and Clyde canal in 1802. It towed two loaded vessels nineteen miles in six hours against a strong wind.

by the fact that he not only advanced ten thousand francs to aid the enterprising American, but authorized the Minister of Marine to give him "certain sums by way of recompense."¹ It is foolish to suggest that the immense army at Boulogne could have been conveyed across the Channel in the diving boats. Fulton had only the germ of practicability in his contrivance. When one remembers that it is only within recent years that submarines have proved their seaworthiness, and that in none too satisfactory a manner, Bonaparte's judgment is shown not to have been at fault.² Nor were Fulton's torpedoes perfected at the time, although the inventor had such faith in them that he believed England would be compelled to surrender if they were placed in Torbay or outside Plymouth and Portsmouth. When they were tried by the British Government against the Boulogne flotilla in October, 1804, they did little damage, although Admiral Lord Keith recognized that under different circumstances there was "a reasonable prospect of a successful result."

Fulton's plans were submitted to the Directory in 1797. Its members were disposed to take the matter up, and Bruix was called upon to form a Commission to report on their value. The following unique letter bears at the top a curious device symbolizing the liberty of the seas, and the words "Liberty" and "Equality" on either side.

¹ 30th March, 1801.

² According to Admiral Fournier, the French manœuvres of 1906 in the Mediterranean showed that submarines were almost perfect for coast defence, and this would seem to imply that their services are necessarily restricted. Although the submarine is now a recognized engine of warfare, it is scarcely more suitable for the purposes of transport than was Fulton's diving boat.

" *Eustace Bruix,*

" *Vice-Admiral, to Citizen Adet,*

" 810 RUE DU REGARD, PARIS.

" PARIS, 13th Thermidor, Year VI (JULY 31, 1798)
of the Republic One and Indivisible.

" Citizen,

" Citizen Robert Fulton having invented a machine for the destruction of the enemy's marine forces, you are informed that I have appointed you one of the commissioners for examining the same. I invite you in consequence to the residence of Citizen Fulton, No. 515 Rue du Bacq on the 15th of this month at 11 a.m. The other commissioners will also attend, and you will come to an agreement with them as to the report which you will make to me relative to Citizen Fulton's machine.

" (Signed) E. BRUIX.¹

" *The Minister of Marine and the Colonies, to Citizen Adet,*
" 810 RUE DU REGARD, PARIS."

The Commission seems to have reported favourably, but Bruix would have none of it. Fulton, who was an American by birth, had no patriotic scruples, and approached the Dutch Government with no better success. In France, however, he had one very good friend in Forfait, who seems to have taken a special interest in Fulton's schemes. He granted him a passport in 1801 allowing him to carry on his experiments "dans les divers ports de la Manche ou de l'Océan par terre ou par mer," a privilege which was made good use of by Fulton, who had now built the *Nautilus*. He had spent the previous summer at Havre, studying the intricate problems of

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS.

submarine navigation. His efforts had been attended with some success, for he writes: "You will learn with great pleasure that all my experiments in submarine navigation have fully succeeded." The inventor had overcome the initial difficulties of lowering and ascending, but was unable to make the *Nautilus* go backwards. For this purpose he fixed an Archimedean screw to the stern, but finding this did not answer so well as he had hoped, he "applied two wings, similar to the four wings of a wind-mill. The wings are four feet in length, their angle is about thirty degrees, they describe a circle in the water of four feet in diameter. . . ."¹ His next difficulty was to so balance the *Nautilus* when it was submerged and going astern that it would neither ascend to the surface nor sink to the bottom, but maintain any desired level. This trouble was overcome by means of a pair of horizontal wings which, when revolved, created a resistance and enabled the boat to keep at a depth of from four to six feet. Motive power was furnished by two men who, by turning the cranks attached to the wings, were able to proceed about seventy fathoms before the want of air necessitated the boat ascending to the surface.

Fulton's third, and perhaps greatest problem had now to be faced. How could he keep the *Nautilus* in the same position in the midst of the strongest currents? "For this purpose," he writes, "I made a cone-shaped anchor of lead, weighing 350 pounds. This anchor is attached to a cable twenty fathoms long, which is wound on a capstan, and passes from the interior of the ship to the bed of the sea. When this anchor is left at the bottom it lightens the *Nautilus* to the extent of 350 pounds. Therefore,

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 307.

when it is necessary to sink in the Channel, where the depth does not exceed twenty fathoms, let go the anchor, fill the *Nautilus* with water to the weight of 100 pounds, then turning the cable on the anchor it will have a strain of 250 pounds at the bottom, and the *Nautilus* will have a tendency of 100 pounds to rise. All danger is then taken away."¹ The boat was so far successful that on July 3rd, 1801, it descended to a depth of over twenty feet in Brest Harbour without mishap. Fulton and three friends remained below the surface for about an hour. As there was no means of allowing light to enter they were obliged to continue in darkness. Fulton subsequently remedied this defect by inserting "bull's eyes" in the conning tower.

In 1803 Robert Fulton came under the notice of Bonaparte. The inventor desired him to test his diving ship, but the matter was referred to Forfait, and that expert reported on the subject to the First Consul on the 2nd September, 1803, as follows: "By your orders I have seen M. Fulton, the American inventor of a plunging boat. He seems very much disposed to try fresh experiments, and assures me that he is confident of success; but he makes a condition without which he will not work; it is to have a short interview with you. He has, says he, political views to impart of the greatest importance." St. Aubin, a French officer, also spoke well of the invention. "In making his experiments," he said, "M. Fulton not only remained a whole hour under water with three of his companions, but had the boat parallel to the horizon at any given distance. He proved that the compass points as correctly under water as on the surface, and that while

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 308.

under water the boat made way at the rate of half a league an hour by means contrived for that purpose." Fulton felt himself justified in again approaching the French Government, and offered to sell his ship for 40,000 francs. He also made the suggestion that he should have a certain sum for every vessel he was able to destroy by means of his torpedoes, but he received no further encouragement. Disheartened, but persevering, the inventor then prepared plans for a submarine boat on a larger scale. This was to have a crew of eight men, and to be big enough to carry provisions for twenty days. By means of an air reservoir he calculated that they could remain submerged for at least eight hours. It was to be so solidly constructed that it would resist the pressure of the water at one hundred feet below the surface, and could travel when at that depth.

Although Fulton was now apparently concentrating his energy and resources on the perfection of his "plunging boat," he had already made experiments in the application of steam to navigation, and he designed a boiler which M. Calla, a mechanic living in the Rue du Faubourg Saint Denis, built under his directions. Unfortunately the hull of the boat on which the trials were made was not strong enough for the purpose; the bottom fell out, and the engine found a resting-place in the soft mud of the Seine. In July, 1803, after the machine had been recovered and the boat patched up, the predecessor of the *Lusitania* made a successful trip. It attained a speed of a little over two miles an hour. But it was nothing more than an experiment, and it was not until four years after, when Fulton had returned to America, that the *Clarmont*, his first practicable steamer, was

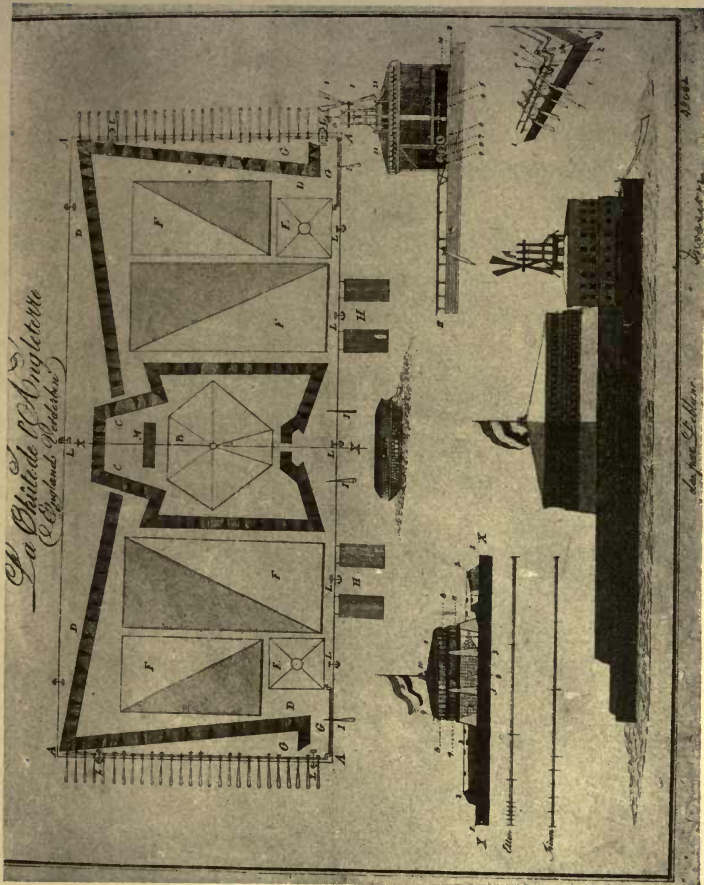
launched. It travelled from New York to Albany, a distance of about 150 miles, in thirty-two hours.¹ Bonaparte lost little time in showing his appreciation of Fulton's efforts, and appointed a commission to go into the question. His faculty for seizing on the essential points of a novel idea was never better typified than in this instance. How keenly alive he was to the possibilities of the invention is shown by his wanting the whole matter settled within a week!

"I have just read the project of Citizen Fulton, engineer," writes the First Consul, "which you have sent me much too late, since it is one that may change the face of the world. Be that as it may, I desire that you immediately confide its examination to a commission of members chosen by you among the different classes of the Institute. There it is that learned Europe would seek for judges to solve the question under consideration. A great truth, a physical, palpable truth, is before my eyes. It will be for these gentlemen to try and seize it and see it. As soon as their report is made, it will be sent to you, and you will forward it to me. Try and let the whole be determined within eight days, as I am impatient."² The members of the Institute may or may not have formally reported to Napoleon, but no mention of the fact is to be found in the Archives, although the letter is registered as having been received on 20 Thermidor (8th August). The column headed "*Date des décisions de l'Institut*" is blank, and there is no other reference to Fulton's steamboat.³ In November, 1803, however, Bonaparte's attention was drawn to the invention of a Swiss, upon whose idea he commented to

¹ The engines were designed by Boulton and Watt.

² 21st July, 1804. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 312.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 313.



SECTION OF FRENCH INVASION RAFT. [1797-1801]

Talleyrand. "For a great length of time," he says, "people have occupied themselves with the means of propelling boats without men. The solution of this problem offers such immense advantages that it is improbable anything reasonable can have been imagined by a Swiss mountaineer." Pasquier calls Napoleon severely to task for not having received Fulton and his steamboat with enthusiasm.¹ "Its value was not recognized," he avers, "and it was disdainfully cast aside," but he ultimately does Napoleon justice, after stating that "never was he more badly served by his instinct," by doubting whether the "almost insurmountable difficulties" of manufacture could have been overcome at the time of his greatest attempt at invasion.

The British Government, on the other hand, viewed Fulton's experiments with alarm, and as the inventor was unable to obtain satisfaction from Bonaparte, he approached the First Consul's rivals with a view to their taking the matter up in a more business-like way.² He appears to have abandoned his application of steam to navigation and reverted to his old loves, the plunging boat and the torpedo.³ A personal audience was arranged with Pitt

¹ *Memoirs of Chancellor Pasquier*, Vol. I, p. 178.

² On 8th May, 1794, Robert Fulton was granted an English patent, No. 1988, for "his new invented machine or engine for conveying boats and vessels, and their cargoes, to and from the different levels in and upon canals without the assistance of locks, or other means now known and used for that purpose." This is the only patent recorded in the official series.

³ In the *Life of Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Bentham, K.S.G.*, who was Inspector-General of British Naval Works at this period, his widow gives an instance of the prejudice against steam and machinery which obtained among dockyard hands during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth: "In the spring of the year [1799] the steam engine and the pumps worked by it were put to use with all the success which the Inspector-General had anticipated in planning them. On the 7th of June Lord Hugh Seymour accompanied him to witness this novelty. To the surprise of all, the piston rod of the pump broke whilst at work. The millwright

and Lord Melville. Both statesmen came to the conclusion that the inventions were capable of development, and Fulton was encouraged to perfect them. A commission, consisting of the two Ministers, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Castlereagh, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Cavendish, Major Congreve, Sir Charles Rennie, and Admiral Sir Home Popham, was appointed. As the last named was the only naval representative, it cannot be said that the Commission was overburdened by the weight of expert advice. The report was as unfavourable as St. Vincent's view of the matter, which was one of contempt. He referred to Fulton as a "gimcrack," and endeavoured to dissuade Pitt from having anything to do with him, "for so he was laying the foundation for doing away with the Navy, on which depended the strength and prestige of Great Britain"—surely an illogical way of expressing an opinion. He went further, and called Pitt "the greatest fool that ever existed to encourage a mode of war which those who commanded the seas did not want, and which, if successful, would deprive them of it." Notwithstanding such ill-concealed aversion to the trial of a new invention, the Navy Board eventually consented to an experiment being made on the flotilla at Boulogne.

James thus describes Fulton's "torpedo":—¹

who had charge of the machinery found a broken copper nail in the packing of the pump piston . . . ; the master blacksmith, a working blacksmith, and all others present, attributed the breaking of the rod to this nail. . . . It had been said by all, including the Navy Board, and perhaps some members of the Superior Board itself, that the introduction of a steam engine would cause risings of the workmen" (p. 155). Such was not the case, however, for the Inspector-General was careful that the men who worked at the pumps should have other duties given to them, and "a murmur amongst them was no longer heard" (p. 156).

¹ James's *Naval History*, Vol. III, p. 231.

“It consisted of a coffer of about twenty-one feet long and three and a quarter broad, resembling in appearance a log of mahogany, except that its extremities were formed like a wedge. Its covering was of thick plank, lined with lead, caulked and tarred. Outside this was a coat of canvas, laid over with hot pitch. The vessel weighed when filled (done, of course, before the covering was wholly put on) about two tons. The contents consisted, besides the apparatus, of as much ballast as would just keep the upper surface of the deck of the coffer even with the water’s edge. Amidst a quantity of powder (about forty barrels) and other inflammable matter was a piece of clockwork, the mainspring of which, on the withdrawal of a peg placed on the outside, would at a given time (from six to ten minutes) draw the trigger of a block and explode the vessel. This “catamaran,” as it was called, had no mast and was to be towed to the spot of its operation. On the opposite end to which the tow-rope was fixed was a line with a sort of grappling iron at its extremity, kept afloat by pieces of cork, and intended to hook itself to the cable of the object of destruction and swing the coffer alongside.”

A favourable opportunity was presented towards the end of September, 1804, when from 150 to 160 boats were anchored in a double line outside Boulogne Harbour. Lord Keith, who had already experimented with various types of fire-ships, tells the result of his attack by means of Fulton’s catamarans on Bonaparte’s flotilla in the following despatch to the Admiralty:—

“‘MONARCH,’ OFF BOULOGNE,

“3rd October, 1804.

“Sir,

“Their Lordships are aware that my attention has for some time past been directed to the object of ascer-

taining the most effectual mode of annoying the enemy's flotillas at their anchorage in front of their ports under protection of their land-batteries. Having on the afternoon of the 1st instant arrived at the anchorage, and finding the weather promising, and about 150 of the enemy's flotilla on the outside of the pier, I resolved to make an experiment on a limited scale of the means of attack which had been provided.

"The first arrangements for this purpose were made on the morning of yesterday. The officers named on the other side were put in charge of the principal vessels which at this time were to be employed. Manned launches and other boats of the squadron were appointed to accompany and protect them. The *Castor*, *Greyhound*, and some smaller vessels were directed to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering their retreat, giving protection to the men who might be wounded and boats that might be repelled, and for towing off the boats in general in the event of the wind freshening and blowing upon the coast. The operation commenced a quarter past nine o'clock last evening, and terminated a quarter past four this morning, during which time several vessels, prepared for the purpose, were exploded amongst or very close to the flotilla; but on account of the very great distance at which they lay from each other, no very extensive injury seems to have been sustained, although it is evident that there has been very considerable confusion among them, and that two of the brigs and several of the small vessels appear to be missing since yesterday. I have great satisfaction in reporting that, notwithstanding a very heavy discharge of shell, shot, and musketry was kept up by the enemy throughout the night, no casualty on our part has been sustained. The enemy made no attempt to oppose their rowing-boats to ours. Their lordships will not expect that at the present moment I am to enter much into details;

Plate 1.

Prospective representation of a RAFT with APPARATUS as invented by the FRENCH for their proposed

INVASION OF ENGLAND.

(From a French drawing)
 Page 15th

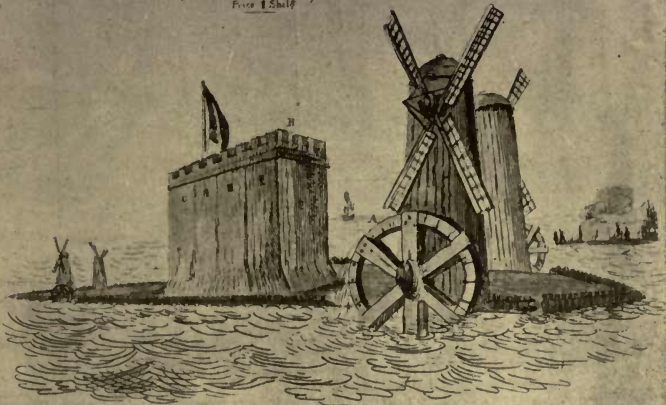
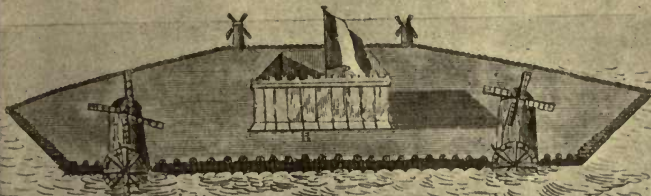


Plate 2

Flat View of a Raft



The Machine which measures 2,100 Feet in Length by 1,500 Feet in breadth, is to be navigated by four Wheels (A) turned in the Water by the action ~~of~~ of the Wind, to move with equal facility from whatever point it may blow. In the middle of the Raft (B) this and Sir Martin & Perrin's for the defence of the Troops in their disembarkations. The Raft is to contain provisions for 60,000 Men &c. for six months with 56 & 48 Pounders the whole compassing a battery of 500 Pieces is intended to carry 60,000 Men &c.

FRENCH INVASION RAFT, 1797-1801

but I think it my duty to state to them my conviction that in the event of any great accumulation of the enemy's force in their roadsteads, an extensive and combined operation of a similar nature will hold forth a reasonable prospect of a successful result. . . ."¹

Further light on the subject is given in a letter written by an officer of one of Keith's ships:—²

"We took on board, from Dungeness, several large coffers, something of the shape of Hambro' chests, only rather longer; they were filled with combustibles, and covered over with pitch about two inches thick. We also took on board a quantity of large casks filled up in the same manner, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's ships and gun boats in Boulogne roads. Different ships in the fleet had a number of these machines on board, on each one of which was affixed a machine somewhat of the nature of a clock; out of it a pin was to be drawn, and at the expiration of ten minutes the machine would catch fire, when driven in by the tide. Last night being extremely dark, this scheme was attempted to be put in execution. No sooner had we approached near the shore, than the enemy spy'd us, and began to fire upon us from every quarter, when they saw the explosion of our machines, which they kept up from nine o'clock, till four this morning, and we on our part, kept sending in the machines at every opportunity. Had one of the enemy's shells fallen on our ship, and set the *infernals* (as they are termed by the fleet) on fire, there would have been an end of us. I am happy to inform you, there were no lives lost on our side; and we have some reason to think, the enemy sustained very little, if any injury, our machines not

¹ *Memoir of Admiral Lord Keith*, p. 343, by Alexander Allardyce.

² This letter is dated October 3rd, 1804, and appeared in *The Times* of the 8th inst.

answering the purpose for which they were intended. We could perceive this morning some of them were driven on shore, without having either taken fire or exploded, and unfortunately fell into the enemy's hands, some thousands of whom were assembled on the beach to look at them. We expect to go to the Downs tomorrow, to return the remainder of the machines into store, from which, as a true friend to the service, I heartily wish we had never taken them."

Sir Evan Nepean, then Irish Secretary, and formerly Secretary of the Admiralty, was no more disposed to welcome Fulton's invention than was Lord St. Vincent. He writes:—¹

"DUBLIN CASTLE,

"*9th October, 1804.*

"My dear King,

"I have received both your letters with the papers which accompany them containing the intelligence which has been obtained of the operations of the squadron employed against the enemy at Boulogne, and have communicated its contents with the Lord-Lieutenant, who has desired me to thank you. The newspapers of the same day, the 5th [October], represent that much greater injury has been done to the enemy's flotilla than your letters represent. I hope your relation is correct, not from any desire that the enemy's craft should be spared, but because I think we had better taken our chances of getting them at sea than to have used the means we have taken for destroying them. If the plan which I am told has been resorted to should have been carried into execution with success, we may expect that the enemy will some time or another retaliate,

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS.

and we have much more to lose than they have by such retaliation. In short it appears to me if navies are to be destroyed by such means as have been pursued, our naval strength can no longer be counted on. Believe me to be, my dear King,

“ Ever sincerely yours,

“ EVAN NEPEAN.

“ JOHN KING.”

The cause of the failure at Boulogne was partly due to a mistake in the construction of the torpedoes, and an attack against Fort Rouge, at Boulogne, by Sir Home Popham, acting under Keith's instructions, was decided upon in the following December. The affair was again a fiasco, and the frequent trials made did little damage to the flotilla; indeed, Bonaparte referred to the explosions as “breaking the windows of the good citizens of Boulogne with English guineas.”¹

The tenacity of the inventor is usually second only to his poverty. In October, 1805, Fulton persuaded Pitt to allow him to experiment in blowing up an old brig, the *Dorothea*, in the Downs. The vessel was anchored within sight of Walmer Castle, and the Prime Minister, Sir Sidney Smith, General Don, and other military and naval officers were eye-witnesses. Two torpedoes were used on this occasion, each charged with 170 lb. of gunpowder, and fired by clockwork. The boat was completely shattered, but the Admiralty would allow no further experiments.

This was apparently the inventor's last attempt in

¹ *Reminiscences of a Naval Officer during the Late War*, p. 128, by Captain A. Crawford, R.N. (1851).

England, for Trafalgar was fought and won six days afterwards, and the pressing need for such a contrivance was no longer the question of the hour. Fulton returned to America, where he survived until 1815, the year following the successful trial of his new vessel, the *Demologos*, which was the first warship to be driven by steam. It remained for the elder Brunel to propose the use of the great force in the British navy which, in the words of Napoleon, "may change the face of the world." It was not until 1822 that the *Comet*, a wooden paddle-steamer of 80 horse-power was added to our "first line of defence," thereby ringing the knell of the stately three-decker that was the pride and glory of England in the days of Nelson and his captains.

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Wheeler, Harold Felix
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Napoleon and the invasion
of England

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NAPOLEON
AND THE INVASION
OF ENGLAND VOL. II

NAPOLEON
AND THE INVASION OF
ENGLAND
THE STORY OF
THE GREAT TERROR

BY H. F. B. WHEELER & A. M. BROADLEY
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS FROM
CONTEMPORARY PRINTS, CARICATURES, ETC.
EIGHT IN COLOUR. TWO VOLUMES. VOL. II

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NAPOLEON
AND THE INVASION
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NAPOLEON AND THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER XII

ACUTE STAGE OF THE FRENCH INVASION PLANS OF 1803—THE MAKING OF A NEW ARMADA

“Celerity is better than Artillery.”—NAPOLEON.

WITH few exceptions, all the leading officers in the French navy considered that flat-bottomed boats propelled by oars, sails, or both, were best suited for crossing the Channel, but Bruix and Decrès afterwards realized the fact that a covering fleet was essential to success. Even supposing that a sufficient number of sail-of-the-line to carry over an army to the shores of England could be provided, the problem of disembarking the troops was as difficult of solution as that of getting the squadron under weigh, and that probably in sight of a hostile fleet. On the other hand, the small craft built for former expeditions of the same kind had the distinct advantage of being able to sail close to the shore, as they were of very light draught, while many of them could be hauled on to the beach if necessary. The vessels to be used for invasion purposes

11.—B

were of four classes, viz. *prames*, *chaloupes canonnières*, *bateaux canonniers*, and *péniches*. *Prames* resembled a sailing barge as much as anything, and lacked the necessary stability to withstand a heavy sea. They were big ships, over one hundred feet from bow to stern, measuring twenty-five feet in the beam, and fitted with three keels. Rigged like a corvette, and armed with twelve 24-pounders, they were intended to carry thirty-eight sailors and 120 soldiers. Their cost, some 70,000 francs (£2,800), was more than double that of the second type of boat upon which Bonaparte relied, namely, the *chaloupe canonnière*.

These were from seventy to eighty feet in length and seventeen feet in width, with a draught of from five to six feet. They were rigged on the lines of a brig, and had three 24-pounders and a howitzer of from six to eight inches calibre—a really formidable armament, and capable of doing much damage. At first the guns were placed in grooves, and consequently could not be brought to bear on an enemy's vessel unless it happened to be immediately in front, or until the gun-sloop was turned in the direct line of attack. This manœuvre, of course, involved the loss of a good deal of time, and while the vessel was taking up a suitable position, in all probability its opponent would have seized the golden opportunity thus presented and annihilated it. The mistake was soon remedied, and proper gun-carriages were built, which allowed the cannon to be pointed in any direction. A crew of twenty-two sailors was necessary to handle the ship, and a company of infantry (130 men) could also be taken on board without unnecessary overcrowding. As might almost have been expected, the first few sloops completed had several defects, but the most serious was pointed out to Bonaparte

by Decrès, the Minister of Marine, who on his first tour of inspection had carefully examined one of them. "The result is very poor," he reports, "but with favourable weather these boats will fulfil our object." Of the crews he has nothing to say but praise; they are "splendid." "The officers have excellent spirit; the sailors are so fine and so well-behaved that I greatly regret that I do not possess them for our vessels-of-the-line."¹ Unfortunately he did not always have the same cheerful tale to tell, for passing on to Fécamp, he writes that "the spirit of the sailors has given me but little satisfaction."²

Gunboats (*bateaux canonnières*) were put on the stocks for the purpose of transporting the horses, ammunition, and artillery. These three-masters were rigged on the lines of a lugger, and were not unlike small fishing smacks in appearance. Each had a stable fitted in the hold, with stalls for two artillery horses. On deck was a fully loaded artillery waggon, a 24-pounder stood at the bow, and either a howitzer or a piece of field artillery at the stern. The latter was to do service on land as well as at sea, and all the necessary tackle to get it in and out of the vessel was placed in position ready for instant use. Everything was done to take advantage of the precious minutes on which very often so much depends. With this object in view the stable was constructed with a movable roof, so that a horse could be lowered or taken out of it very rapidly. The crew consisted of six sailors and its military complement of one hundred soldiers and officers, two artillery drivers, and a number of artillerymen. These vessels cost from 18,000 to 23,000 francs each. Many

¹ 17th June, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 92.

² 20th June, 1803. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

fishing smacks and trading ships already in use were purchased from the owners for the purpose of conveying horses, fodder, provisions, and the heavy artillery necessary for use after landing in England. In many instances from 12,000 to 15,000 francs was paid for these vessels. It was Bonaparte's original intention that the *flottille de transport de chevaux* should be made up of four divisions of twenty-seven boats each—108 in all—and capable of carrying 2160 horses and the same number of cavalry. This of course did not nearly represent the total number of animals that would be required, but the difficulties insuperable to their transport were not easy to surmount. Many suggestions were made, and one after another abandoned as impracticable. Eventually it was decided that six thousand horses only should be embarked, and that the soldiers who were without animals should take the necessary equipment with them and endeavour on landing in England to commandeer a sufficient number of beasts to supply their needs. This trusting to luck, especially in so important a section of his army as the cavalry, was not in accordance with Bonaparte's usual way of overcoming obstacles, and was unquestionably one of several weak spots in his plan of campaign. In later years, on the snow-mantled plains of Russia, this over-confidence in good fortune was to place a barrier between him and the throne of the Czars.

The main part of the human units of the Army of England was to be transported in pinnaces measuring sixty feet in length and ten feet in width, and either propelled by lug-sails or a number of oars. These also carried arms, having either two small howitzers, a Prussian howitzer, or an eight-inch mortar; but it is difficult to

understand of what practical value the armament would be for defence unless the sea was as calm as a mill-pond, the slender proportions of the vessel making a voyage even in moderate weather a risky experiment. Sufficient rations could be taken on board for the troops, together with their guns and baggage. Their full complement was five sailors and fifty-five soldiers. These pinnaces cost between 8000 and 9000 francs each. Many *caïques* of even more frail construction than a pinnace were also built, but subsequently abandoned.

The command of the flotilla, an exceedingly arduous post, was given to Admiral Eustache Bruix, and it is not surprising that the exacting nature of the work made such inroads on a constitution never too robust, that he died before he had completed his difficult task. Born in 1759, he was perhaps the most brilliant sailor of the Revolutionary period, and was known chiefly for a dash and audacity which would certainly have carried him far but for his early death at forty-five. His first experience of actual warfare was during the American War of Independence, when he served on board the *Fox*, a frigate attached to one of the French squadrons sent to assist the rebellious colonists, and rose to the grade of ensign. As commander of the *Pivert*, he devoted some time to making charts of St. Domingo, and became a member of the Academy of Marine. The year 1791 found Bruix cruising in the Channel, and the next saw him sailing to the Windward Islands on the frigate *Sémillante*. Some years of unemployment followed, due to popular suspicion of his nobiliary principles, and it was not till Truguet became Minister of Marine that he once more hoisted his pennant on the *Eole*, and soon after joined Villaret-Joyeuse's

squadron as Major-General. In course of time he was promoted to the position of Rear-Admiral, and lastly found an outlet for his remarkable energies at the Ministry of Marine.¹ His most notable exploit followed. Masséna was besieged at Genoa and needed relief. Bruix hurried to Brest, where the French fleet was blockaded by the British, seized the opportunity offered by a gale to elude the latter, revictualled Genoa, rallied the Spanish fleet on his way home, and returned with it into Brest. This was a daring *coup de main*, though it would have borne greater fruit had the Admiral sailed for Egypt from Genoa and relieved Bonaparte, whose army was doing wonders in those distant climes.

Admiral Denis Decrès, Minister of Marine, was a man of greater resource than his colleague, and possessed an astounding capacity for hard work as well as a thorough grasp of details. His life is one long record of achievement, bravery, and intense application. Born in 1761, Decrès first distinguished himself as a youth of nineteen by fixing a tow-line to the dismantled vessel *Le Glorieux* under the enemy's fire. This deed saved the ship, and promoted him to ensign. After taking part in the capture of the English ship *Argo* in 1783, he was charged with a series of official secret missions for the space of three years, one being to discover the presence of lakes of bitumen in Trinidad. In 1792, as major of the division under the command of M. de St. Félix in the Indian seas, he boarded a French merchant vessel that had been captured by the Mahrattas and brought it back in triumph to the fleet. On his return to France he found that he had been deprived of his grade as a noble, and went into the country in

¹ See *ante*, Vol. I, p. 139.

retirement till 1795. Under Admiral Brueys he served in the Mediterranean, and had a very sharp brush with the galleys of Malta. At the battle of the Nile he was in the rear-guard and sustained for three hours a murderous fire from the enemy, and managed to reach Malta in the frigate *Diane*. Here he was entrusted with the command of the outposts. After seventeen months of repeated assaults the French were besieged in the city of Valetta, and Decrès was ordered to leave for France in the *Guillaume Tell*, with one thousand men and two hundred sick. He had hardly set sail before the *Lion* and *Foudroyant*, two British sail-of-the-line, and the frigate *Penelope* brought him into action. For eight hours he fought with stern and relentless courage. Covered with wounds, Decrès finally surrendered to his antagonists, who could not refrain from paying him an official tribute of praise. On his return to France the First Consul presented him with a sword of honour, and in 1801 made him Minister of Marine, a post he occupied during the whole course of the Empire. He aroused envy and criticism, but the work he did had great and lasting value. In 1801 the French navy totalled thirty-nine battleships and thirty-five frigates; arsenals were empty and resources *nil*. At the time of the Emperor's first abdication in 1814 he left behind him 103 sail-of-the-line and fifty-five frigates, an astounding result and a further proof, if such were needed, that Napoleon had made no mistake in his choice of Minister of Marine.¹

The First Consul constantly sent for Bruix and Decrès, and together they discussed the pros and cons of the organization. Bonaparte strengthened various weak points, and not infrequently abandoned schemes he had elaborated

¹ Based on Hoefer's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*.

for months, and this with the same nonchalance as a child flings away a toy he has grown tired of, and forthwith drew up an entirely new plan to take the place of the one he had decided was a failure.

By a decree dated March 11th, 1803—that is, three days after King George III's message to Parliament—the First Consul had already provided for the construction of several hundred craft at Dunkirk and Cherbourg, all of which were to be kept at the former port on completion. It was not until a month later that he decided to make Boulogne the chief place of concentration, and he subsequently estimated that between 2200 and 2300 boats would be required for his purpose. The scheme now propounded is so far-reaching as to warrant a detailed account. Two national flotillas, complete in every detail, were to be established at Dunkirk and Cherbourg. That at the former port was to be of 100 sloops and 320 gunboats, "fully equipped with rigging, anchors, masts, and artillery." The Cherbourg flotilla, although it was to be got ready simultaneously, was much smaller in numerical strength, consisting of twenty sloops and eighty gunboats similarly equipped and armed. Orders were also given for a supply of material "sufficient to construct, arm, and rig 100 sloops and 500 gunboats." All existing craft were to be inspected forthwith, and if their condition warranted repair instructions were to be issued by Bruix to that effect, "but he will only proceed to do this when some of the newly constructed gunboats or sloops are ready to replace those ordered to be repaired."

Thirty gunboats and fifteen sloops, after having been overhauled and placed "in the best possible order," were to be sent to Dunkirk, and sheds for one hundred sloops



BONAPARTE AND HIS DUTCH ALLIES. AUGUST 12, 1853

and five hundred gunboats were to be put up on the north bank of the Mardick Canal. In his usual business-like way the First Consul saw that the sheds would be ready much sooner than the boats, and they were therefore to be erected as needed, so that when each vessel arrived at Dunkirk it could be placed under cover without delay. In twenty other ports of the Channel seventeen new sloops and fifty-eight gunboats were required by the 24th September, 1803. These had to be sent to Dunkirk also, and there disarmed and placed in sheds. All the vessels of the flotilla were to be treated in this way, the rigging, masts, and artillery being placed in stores from which they were not allowed to be taken without the express permission of Decrès. The orders for the building of the vessels were to be given "without publicity, and by six different persons at intervals of seven days each."

The above is an epitome of the first eight articles of the *arrêté*. The ninth is to the effect that before the end of July, 1803, seventeen additional sloops and fifty-eight gunboats were to be put on the stocks at twenty different Channel ports, and assembled and placed in dry dock at Dunkirk at latest before the 22nd March, 1804. Article 10 states that, "Before the 1st January, 1804, the same orders will be given in a similar way for the construction in different ports of the same number of vessels of the same kind, to be assembled and disarmed at Dunkirk." The date for completion is the 23rd September, 1804. Before the 19th July, 1804, the provisions of the ninth article were to be repeated; consequently in the first three months of 1805 seventy-five new vessels would be ready at Dunkirk. Article 12 stipulates that before the end of January, 1805, the same instructions would be given for the fifth time, to

be carried out in the first six months of 1805. Thus in due course eighty-five sloops and 290 gunboats would be added to the force, making, with thirty *bateaux canonnières* and fifteen *chaloupes canonnières* ordered to be repaired, a grand total of 420 boats for the flotilla to be assembled at Dunkirk. The fleet to be built at Cherbourg, consisting of 100 vessels, was to be started in 1805 and finished the following year.¹

Reports soon dispelled any hope the First Consul may have entertained of making extensive use of the flotillas of 1798 and 1801. Out of 193 gunboats still existing at Dunkirk, Cherbourg, and St. Malo, all, with the exception of twenty-seven, were "in the worst possible state," and ten of these were engaged in carrying stones for the repair of the breakwater at Cherbourg. There were also twenty-eight sloops, six at Havre, two at Cherbourg, four at Brest, seven at Lorient, three at Rochefort, and six at Dunkirk, in a more or less unsatisfactory condition, and all unarmed. Those not actually in a derelict state were ordered to be overhauled at once, but there was a lamentable dearth of naval stores; Brest was practically without anything of the kind. Inquiry into the number of fishing boats at Havre, Dieppe, Fécamp, and Honfleur elicited the information that there were some 650 of from one to eight tons. Many of these were requisitioned for the flotilla.

On the 25th March, 1803, Bonaparte issued his first orders regarding the defence of the coast from Calais to Ostend. He particularly requested that General Berthier would see that everything was carried out "without exciting alarm." Not until the middle of April did he order

¹ Desbrière gives the *arrêté* in full. See Vol. III, pp. 22-5.

the general armament of "all the coasts of France." In a despatch to Decrès of the 31st March he states that his most pressing requirements for the flotilla are oars and masts, and requests the Minister of Marine to inquire if wood can be had for this purpose from the pine forest of Rouvray, near Rouen. He again enjoins secrecy, mentions the necessity for economy, and requests information about the fishing boats at Dunkirk likely to be of use for the invasion. Special attention was to be given to the defences of Cherbourg, and the islands of Ré, Oléron, Aix, and Yeu, the latter to be provided with a garrison of 400 men. At the same time three battalions were appointed to occupy Elba. No concentration of troops is apparent,¹ but on the 25th April Berthier is instructed to tell General Montrichard to send the whole of the 95th half-brigade for the defence of the isle of Walcheren, on account of the appearance of Sir Sidney Smith's squadron off the coast of Holland. Four battalions were also to be sent to Breda, as well as three squadrons of hussars and dragoons respectively. The invasion idea at once became exceedingly popular, for the lust of conquest was rampant in France. The consummation of so grand a project as the humbling of the island "over the way" appealed to all. As Madame De Rémusat remarks: "The idea of a conquest of England fired the general imagination."² Twenty millions of francs were loaned by bankers to the Government for the purpose of buying materials for what the English satirists aptly termed "walnut shells." It was eminently necessary to push things forward in every way. If serious trouble were to occur on the Continent all would

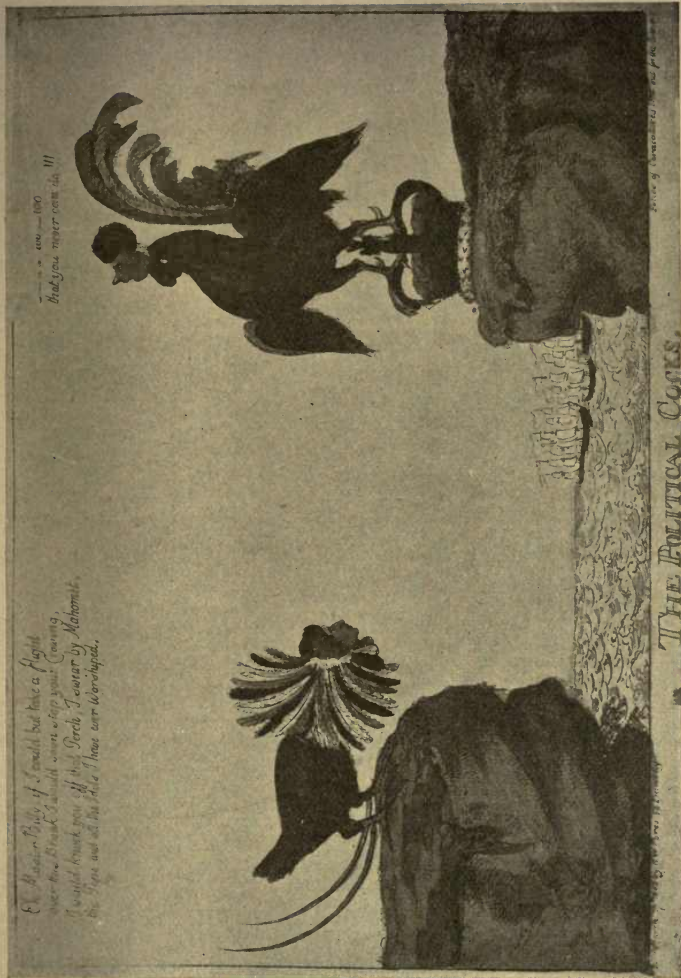
¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 17.

² *Memoirs of Madame De Rémusat*, Vol. I, p. 114.

have to be abandoned. We shall soon see that these apprehensions were well grounded. The arsenals of France vomited fire and smoke day and night; almost every port rang with the blows of the shipwright's hammer, and ammunition was turned out in thousands of tons. The dogs of war were about to be loosed from their leash, and the ceaseless activity everywhere apparent proclaimed the fact that it would be a struggle to the death. The greatest Land Power sought to encroach upon the domains of the mightiest Sea Power of all time, and to wrench from her grasp the sceptre of Father Neptune. The world had never before witnessed a more desperate duel than that waged by Napoleon on the one hand and Nelson on the other.

For a time Bonaparte certainly cherished a vague hope that he might be able to cross the Channel without the assistance of a strong covering fleet, but he had taken the precaution to recall the various squadrons which had been sent to relieve the French colonies, including St. Domingo. With the exception of several vessels which had taken refuge in Spanish ports, his commands were faithfully carried out. Some of the smaller ships, however, were intercepted by captains acting under Cornwallis, and either captured or sent to the bottom. Unfortunately for the First Consul, no sooner had his squadrons entered the various harbours than a British fleet or detachment took up its position outside and securely blockaded them. To elude these ships and their lynx-eyed commanders was a complex problem which Chance helped Napoleon to solve.

In summer it frequently happens that the Channel is comparatively calm for days together, and in winter dense



*It is a pity if I could but have a fight
 with the French I will soon whip you. Coming
 it will knock you off your perch I swear by Mahomet.
 The Pope and all his tribe I have ever worshipped.*

*— 1800 —
 that you never come to!!!*

BONAPARTE AND PITT. MARCH 27, 1803

fogs often envelop it.¹ Bonaparte calculated to effect his gigantic movement under one of these conditions, when the sails of the British ships would be lying dank against the masts. As time went on his ideas underwent a change, and he realized how remote his chances of success would be unless he gained at least a temporary command of the Channel, either by a skilful manœuvre on the part of his "naval army," or by sheer force of numbers and superiority of seamanship. As over two thousand vessels were to concentrate and start at approximately the same time, it will be seen that the mere task of sending them off required a most perfect organization. If for some reason neither of these contingencies came to pass, a third chance offered itself. Just as there are periods when the Channel is almost as smooth as a mill-pond, so are there times of boisterous weather. The enemy's fleet would then be obliged to stand out to sea, and thus leave the coasts unguarded so far as large vessels were concerned. Immediately the storm subsided would be the psychological moment to strike, and thus anticipate the return of the

¹ "A fog is a very good cloak to the approach of from six to sixty rowing boats, which may be sent to perform some *coup de main* at no great distance, by surprise; or to cover the approach of an unsuspected enemy to some shore, battery, town, or castle; but to say that in an enterprise, in which probably 200,000 men may be employed, on an extent of coast of more than 200 miles, from Flushing to Cherbourg, in which everything ought to be seen, everything clear, and everything well regulated; on the success of which, much will depend on the conjunction, compression, and co-operation of the different flotillas of which the hostile force may be composed; to say, I again repeat, that a fog is favourable to such an enterprise, is the height of folly; as well might it be averred, that a man can see better how to read in the pitchy darkness of the night than in the noontide glare of day. Fogs are favourable to some enterprises; to this they must be fatal."—"A Letter published in *The Courier* of Thursday the Sixteenth of February, 1804" (signed "Néarchus"), published in pamphlet form. London: Printed by C. and R. Baldwin, New Bridge Street.

British forces. Needless to say, this proposition was fraught with more danger than the other combinations.

Never was the First Consul more enthusiastic than after his rupture with England in the spring of 1803, when he definitely decided to "leap the ditch." Great interests were at stake, and he clearly perceived that although a mere twenty to thirty miles separated him and his army from the cliffs of Dover, they were not ordinary miles, nor were they to be traversed in an ordinary way. A narrow strip of sea kept him from the throne of the world; a self-reliant and patriotic people barred him from achieving universal influence, and the welding of nations into one cosmopolitan dominion, with himself as its dictator. Having founded a new order of things in Europe, and substituted progress for precedent, his imagination conjured up a yet more brilliant picture. He saw himself not only Emperor of the French, but Emperor of the World. Having pacified a continent, he would become arbiter of the destinies of two hemispheres.

The First Consul had already taken a preliminary step towards obtaining a more efficient navy by foisting his unwelcome attentions upon Holland and Spain. The bad state of the French maritime forces was no doubt a valid excuse for stringent measures from Bonaparte's point of view, but the burden fell on shoulders that were already bowed beneath a multitude of cares. Napoleonic diplomacy never succeeded in making friends of conquered nations, which is, or ought to be, the real aim of statesmanship. Its guiding spirit was too keen a political bargain-hunter, and he overreached himself as a natural consequence. Having promptly put the screw on the Batavian Republic, Bonaparte next turned to Spain. He did not for an

instant minimize the difficulties of the struggle before him. To quote his own summing-up of the situation: "It will be with the utmost exertions, their means and resources united to ours, if we shall succeed in conquering those tyrants of the sea. Isolated in our efforts, reduced each of us to his own peculiar powers, we will prove unequal to the conflict, we will be beaten." Sémonville, the French Ambassador in Holland, in a private note to Talleyrand,¹ pointed out how the Dutch regarded their conquerors, and his remarks were not encouraging. He hopes that "in the exercise of our absolute power in Holland, the First Consul will not take advantage of this to cover our new departments with a line of fortified places." He wisely suggests that the Dutch should direct the finances as well as the military and naval forces of the country, and sounds a note of alarm by warning Talleyrand that the Republic cannot support a numerous army on its territory, and that there is already a debt of 33,000,000 florins. The Ambassador is not wholly pessimistic, however, for he believes that the country can be of use to France, provided it is not reduced to a state of despair. The army is with Bonaparte, indeed it "will take it as an honour to belong to France," and General Daendels will certainly support the First Consul's cause. As to the navy, Sémonville has reason to believe that, although its sympathy is not so strong, "a portion of the officers adopt the sentiments entertained by the army. Moreover, the Catholics, who form a quarter of the population, can also be looked upon for support."

In June, 1803, a definitive treaty between Holland and France was signed, and duly ratified the following month. The Batavian Republic was made responsible for the

¹ Dated 6th April, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, pp. 46-8.

upkeep of 18,000 French soldiers and 16,000 of its own troops, but what was even more important at the time, it undertook to supply or build by December, 1803, at latest, five vessels-of-the-line, an equal number of frigates, fully armed and equipped, together with a sufficient number of transports for the embarkation of 25,000 men, including 9000 Dutch, and 2500 horses for the purpose of "a descent on England."¹ One hundred *chaloupes canonnières* and 250 flat-bottomed boats armed with from one to four guns and able to carry 36,000 men and 1500 horses, were also requisitioned. This, it must be admitted, was a poor bargain for Holland. No Shylock ever exacted his pound of flesh with more certainty or less delicacy than Bonaparte. France on her part was to make an effort to recover for Holland the island of Ceylon should peace be proclaimed, but no separate treaty with England was to be made by either nation. No Dutch European or colonial possessions were to be touched by France. Even before this agreement had been signed the First Consul had turned his attention to the valuable resources of Holland for furnishing material for the flotilla.² The first opportunity was to be taken to purchase everything in the way of naval stores, such as wood, rope, and masts, that the country had to offer and to bring them together at Flushing. Nor was this all, for the arsenal at that port was to be reorganized and put in working order, and the services of workmen in Belgium and on the Rhine utilized. Five vessels "constructed on the Dutch model" were also to be built.

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 67.

² Bonaparte to the Minister of Marine, 29th May, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 83.



Appiani pinxt.

Chatargnier sculpt.

PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON PAINTED BY APPIANI IN 1803—THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE INVASION PROJECTS

Forfait was appointed Inspector-General of the flotilla, subordinate only to Decrès. The new office was to carry with it the same rank as an inspector-general in the army, and entailed much responsibility. Everything connected with the boats was in his charge, and under him committees representing each of the six *arrondissements maritimes*, and consisting of a naval officer, an engineer, and an *administrateur de la marine*, were to attend to the thousand and one details connected with the making of the new armada. The most important duty of each committee was to purchase trading and other boats suited to the special requirements for which they were needed. The vessels would be divided into three classes of 350 each—three hundred from the ports of the North Sea, the Channel, and the Atlantic, and the remaining fifty from Mediterranean ports. The committees were also to find the most suitable places for the building of new craft, and see that all contracts made with private firms were kept, under penalty of a time limit. The individual commissioners were liable to be employed in the port where the scattered units of the flotilla would be collected, and the naval members had to direct their armament, equipment, and movement. Charts for this purpose were to be prepared and given to the captains. Everything was to be done decently and in order. The commissioners had strict injunctions to begin their tasks before the 30th May, 1803. Fifty sloops, ninety gunboats, and 170 pinnaces were ordered to be ready by the 23rd December, but on the 30th May Bonaparte writes to Decrès that they must be finished three months earlier, and adds in his curt, imperious manner, "Since it *can* be done, it *must* be done."¹ He communicates

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 84.

with Forfait in the same strain, and says that the 310 boats asked for is the minimum required. "Try to get double; there will be no lack of money"; and "Remember that the hours are precious" are two characteristic phrases used in this note.¹

The commanding genius of this comprehensive plan issued instructions for the formation of camps at Utrecht, Ghent, St. Omer, Compiègne, and St. Malo, in addition to the one at Bayonne, which was ready to march into Spain should necessity arise. Such an event seemed very probable, for the King refused to succour the crews of the French battle-ships which had taken refuge at Coruña, and Cadiz. Augereau was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and under him were men whose names were to resound through Europe, including St. Cyr, Andréossy, Dumas, Donzelot, and the incompetent Grouchy. "Recruiting is the first great business of the State," Bonaparte had told Berthier. Conscription accordingly was put into force, and the army raised to 480,000 men. For the purpose of recruiting the standard height was reduced to five feet two inches. In course of time several of the camps were advanced to Boulogne, which thus became the nursery of the Grand Army, destined to fight its way from Austerlitz to Waterloo. No fewer than 150,000 veterans and recruits were eventually quartered at or near the point of concentration,² commanded by the most able of the First Consul's lieutenants, Sault, Ney, Davoust, and Victor. Before long Boulogne, now the head-quarters of the expedition, was a hive of military activity. Huts of mud and sticks, ranged in long streets named after a great victory or an eminent general,

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 85.

² *Lettres inédites de Talleyrand*, p. 121.

were built for the troops now rapidly gathering. The houses of private citizens were bought and altered in such a way as to make them suitable for storing provisions, ammunition, and firearms, until they could be placed in the boats. Many of the smaller residences were converted into offices for the clerks whose duty it was to look after the business of the army and its equipment. The men who showed themselves quick and energetic speedily rose until they became head of the particular department in which they worked. Almost as much attention was bestowed on the commercial as on the military side of the scheme, for Bonaparte knew that a good administration at home meant additional fighting weight in the field.

Writing to his Chief on the 20th June, Decrès, who had just arrived at Boulogne, tells him that "the greatest activity reigns here. There are 2400 workmen and 400 horses. Within three months all the quays will be finished." He adds that the breakwater and sluice, which had been ordered in 1801, must be proceeded with at once, and not allowed to wait until the building and uniting of the flotilla was nearer accomplishment. "Without this breakwater it seems impossible to me to get three hundred boats out of the port in a single tide."¹ He has to record a "regrettable incident," one of many that happened from time to time while boats of the flotilla were passing from their place of construction to one of the ports of concentration. Two *canonnières* were feeling their way to Dunkirk, when they were met by British cruisers and forced to run aground. The boats were captured and afterwards refloated, the captains being made prisoners. The crews managed to escape.

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 93.

Although the First Consul decided that Boulogne was the best port for his purposes, it was certainly never intended by nature to shelter a fleet. But the man who had forced the passage of the Alps was not to be defeated by a sluggish stream. At low tide boats drawing only a few feet of water were left high and dry on the mud. Obviously the only way out of the difficulty was to excavate to a sufficient depth, and form an artificial basin by means of a dam, closed in the middle by a sluice. Even then sufficient anchorage could not be provided for the vast number of boats which had to be collected before the word was given to set sail. Soldiers laid down their arms, picked up shovels, and became navvies in the intervals between drills, sometimes working up to their waists in mire. Extra wages were paid to all those engaged in this arduous labour. When Bonaparte was not present personally, he exacted a strict account of the movements of those in command. Messengers brought him the latest intelligence from Boulogne, and if things did not move with the rapidity he was able to secure himself, Bruix heard of it in no measured terms.

Writing to Decrès on the 29th May, the First Consul suggests that models of a flat boat costing not more than from 4000 to 5000 francs, armed with a howitzer at the bow and stern, and capable of carrying 100 men, should be made. "A great number of private people and corporations wishing to build these boats at their own expense, it would be as well to have models, and also to build one at Paris."¹ Upon Cambacérès,² Lebrun,³ and Talleyrand devolved the delicate duty of finding individuals sufficiently

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 83.

² Second Consul.

³ Third Consul.

wealthy and unselfish to provide the necessary funds for the building of a boat for the flotilla, "which would be named after them." Towards the end of June, Chaptal, Minister of the Interior, took the bull by the horns and boldly addressed a letter to the chief magistrate of all the departments of the Republic, begging for funds: "In the present position of France and with the kind of enemies with which we have to combat, the bravery of the French would remain fruitless on the shores of the ocean, if the means of reaching their enemy were not furnished them by numerous vessels. It is to the construction of vessels, therefore, that all our efforts ought to be directed; commerce, agriculture, and industry will suffer the less, the more speedy the execution. A flat-bottomed boat of the first kind¹ will cost 30,000 francs (£1200); one of the second,² from 18,000 to 20,000 francs; and one of the third,³ from 4000 to 6000 francs. Two feet of water are sufficient to carry a flat-bottomed boat not armed; there are few towns, therefore, that cannot execute an enterprise of this nature. These boats will be distinguished by the names of the towns and the departments which have constructed them. The Government will accept, with satisfaction, anything from a ship-of-the-line down to the smallest transport. If each department, and each large town, by a general and rapid movement, put vessels on the stocks, the French army will soon go and dictate laws to the British Government, and establish the repose of Europe and the liberty and prosperity of commerce, on the only basis by which their duration can be ensured."⁴

¹ Gun-sloops.

² Gunboats.

³ Pinnaces, which really cost from 8000 to 9000 francs.

⁴ *Annual Register*, 1803, Chronicle, p. 399.

Their loyalty being appealed to in such a direct manner, meetings were held all over the country, and millions of francs were promptly voted for the purpose of adding to the armament which was destined at once to be the largest ever collected for invasion—and the most complete failure known to history! In 1760–3 and again in 1798 the public had subscribed liberally for a similar purpose,¹ a proof of their willingness to spend money for offensive as well as defensive measures. First came the department of the Loiret with an offer to build a frigate of 30 guns to cost 300,000 francs, and Deux-Sèvres, l'Oise, and l'Ourthe contributed similar sums. The department of La Seine-Inférieure undertook to construct a ship-of-the-line of 74 guns, and Seine-et-Marne a three-decker. Côtes-du-Nord presented a 30-gun ship. Towns and cities vied with one another to furnish the finest vessel. Lyons made herself responsible for a battleship of 100 guns, Bordeaux for one of 84 guns, and Marseilles for one of 74 guns. Even the gifts of departments did not prevent the principal commercial centres from opening their coffers to enrich the war-chests of the Republic. Gironde raised 1,600,000 francs for the purpose of building vessels as outlined in M. Chaptal's communication, and Seine-et-Oise gave 200,000 francs, while the Italian Republic subscribed no less than 5,000,000 francs to be expended on two ships, one to be called the *President* and the other the *Italian Republic*. Many other departments and towns besides those mentioned followed suit. France showed a splendid example of practical patriotism. Subscription lists were opened, and while the rich man donated his thousands of francs, the peasant added his

¹ Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power*, p. 76. See also *ante*, Vol. I, p. 82.

mite in the form of a few sous. Business houses presented money or material, while various regiments of the army gave up one day's pay in order to subscribe. The *corps de la garde* raised 20,000 francs towards a sloop. The gifts reached a total of some 30,000,000 francs.¹ The Capital voted a ship of 120 guns, and the Senate did the same, in this way setting a good example to the rest of the nation. All kinds of contributions were "thankfully received" by the Government. Thus the department of Côte d'Or made itself responsible for 100 pieces of ordnance, another department furnished sailcloth, followed by a third with an offering of provisions for the flotilla. The already overburdened taxpayer cared little that his obligations to the Government were still further added to, for was not the money levied in this way to be spent in subjugating the richest country in the world? The average *citoyen* regarded the increased taxes as an investment. England under the rule of *la belle France* would in a few months make every Frenchman rich, prosperous, and amply repay the present sacrifice.

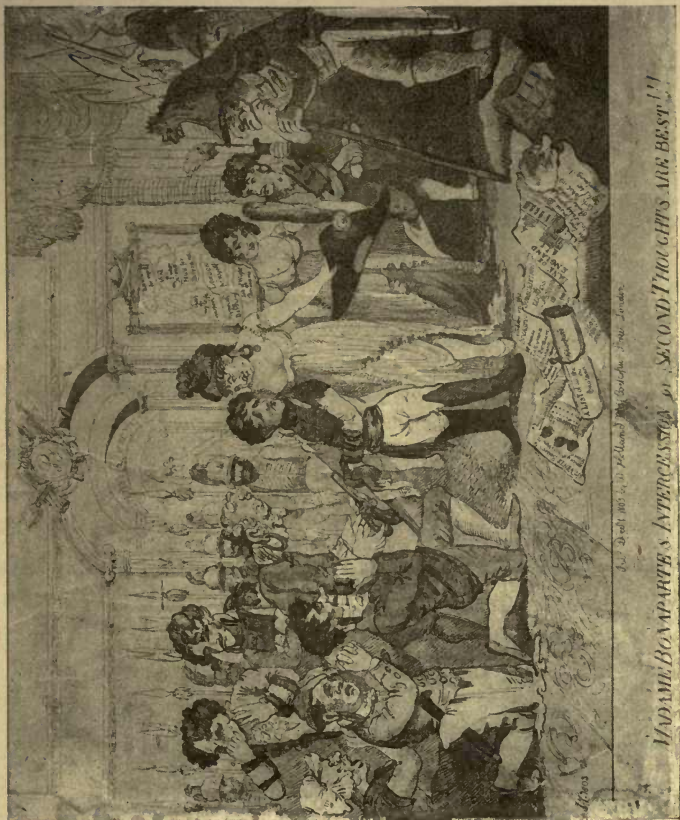
About this time the First Consul conceived the notion of having some of the flotilla constructed on the Seine at Paris, which boasted two shipbuilding yards. On the 1st June, 1803, instructions were accordingly given for the laying down of twenty sloops, twenty gunboats, and the same number of pinnaces; sixty in all, complete in every detail. These were to be ready by the 23rd September; "they will be the finest ornaments of the fête of the foundation of the Republic."² In the same despatch the First Consul outlines a scheme for erecting shipbuilding yards outside the gates of Paris. He thinks

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 112.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 85.

that a foundry for casting cannon ought to be established, and proposes to use the Parc de Vincennes, or the Champ de Mars for the purpose of putting the artillery together. At another place the masts, sails, and rigging for the boats of the flotilla could be made. His purpose was to so arrange every branch of industry connected with the scheme that all leakage of time and money would be avoided. To this end also all workmen employed on the banks of the rivers in the departments of the Seine, the Seine-et-Oise, the Oise, and Seine-et-Marne, were to be transferred to the works at Paris. The First Consul again urges upon his subordinates the necessity for ceaseless energy: "as from now to the 23rd September there is only the necessary time for an operation of this kind, it is essential to bring the greatest activity possible to bear on the matter. These sixty vessels should take the names of the sixty principal *quartiers* of Paris." It may be inferred from this that he wished to enlist the active sympathies of the worthy citizens of the *Ville Lumière*. Forfait was to choose in the ports along the coast from Antwerp to St. Jean-de-Luz the three hundred best merchant vessels capable of holding from ninety to one hundred men and above, but they must not draw more than seven feet of water. They were to take their armament on board immediately, and then proceed to Boulogne. Fifty more were to be bought in the Mediterranean.

At the end of June Bonaparte set out on a tour of inspection, accompanied by Josephine, Duroc, and other important personages, and visited Calais, Dunkirk, Ostend, and Antwerp. He at once realized the importance of the latter as a naval base by having a dockyard constructed at a cost of £2,000,000, capable of holding a large number



MADAME BONAPARTE'S INTERFERENCE IN SECOND THROUCHIPS ARE BEST!!

JOSEPHINE AND THE BONAPARTE FAMILY OPPOSE THE INVASION. DECEMBER, 1803

of vessels, including twenty-five sail-of-the-line. Almost wherever he broke his journey he was the recipient of the most fulsome and laudatory addresses. Thus the Prefect of the Somme concluded his speech in the following bombastic manner :—

“ Father of thy country, continue through our abundant fields, through our embellished cities, amidst universal joy, thy pacific and triumphant march ; but let England tremble. Let the English, abandoned to the feebleness and arrogance of their ministers, to the folly and audacity of their orators, contemplate with affright the hero of France, advancing to punish perjury, to impose on the pirates of the sea the yoke of peace, and to proclaim on the ruins of Albion the commercial independence of France ! ”

Bonaparte's love of the theatrical prompted him to allow the Bayeux tapestry, which, as every one knows, deals with the invasion headed by William the Conqueror, in whose footsteps the First Consul fondly hoped to follow, to be taken on tour.¹ It was shown in public places in order to stimulate patriotism in the breasts of Frenchmen, who might well be pardoned for having forgotten the valorous feats of their forefathers over seven centuries before. The idea was no doubt a sound one in those days, when education in France—as well as in England, for that matter—was at a very low ebb. At an official dinner given by the Commissary of Calais three toasts were drunk : “ To the men who shall execute the vast project of placing French and English in their due and respective positions.” “ To the barrack-master who shall issue the first billets at Dover.” “ To the first review of the French troops in St. James's Park.”²

¹ *Memoirs of Madame De Rémusat*, Vol. I, p. 115.

² *St. James's Chronicle*, July 5th, 1803.

Bonaparte's own doings were occasionally reported in London newspapers by eye-witnesses, but more often than not by extracts from continental sheets. Considering that daily journalism was then in its infancy and that the first John Walter was having a desperate struggle to establish his paper, it must be conceded that *The Times* kept its readers well informed on French matters, even if its remarks on the First Consul were not always discreet. The following is an example of how the "Thunderer" dealt with the all-absorbing subject of the summer of 1803. We read as follows:—

"The First Consul reached Calais at five o'clock on Friday afternoon (the 1st of July). His entry, as might be expected, was in a grand style of parade. He rode on a small iron grey horse of great beauty. He was preceded by about three hundred Infantry, and about thirty Mamelukes formed a kind of semi-circle about him. Immediately after dinner he went, attended by M. Francy, Commissary of Marine, Mengaud, Commissary of Police, and other Municipal officers, through the Calais gates, to visit the different batteries erected there. As soon as he and his attendants had passed through the gates, he ordered them to be shut, to prevent their being incommoded by the populace. The execution of this order very much damped the ardour of the Corsican's admirers, who remained entirely silent, although the moment before the whole place resounded with *Vive Buonaparte!* The same evening the General went on board the *Josephine* packet, Captain Lambert, and after examining everything there minutely, he took a short trip upon the water in a boat as far as the pier head to the Battery at the entrance of the harbour, where he himself fired one of the guns; afterwards, he visited all the different Forts, and at night slept at Quillac's Hotel."¹

¹ *The Times*, July 4th, 1803.

Madame De Rémusat, who was one of Madame Bonaparte's suite, says that the tour "strongly resembled the progress of a king," but that "the enthusiasm cooled down when we got beyond the former boundaries of France. At Ghent especially, we detected some coldness in the popular greeting. In vain did the authorities endeavour to stir up the zeal of the inhabitants; they were curious, but not enthusiastic." On the other hand, at Antwerp "we were received with a special ceremony," while Madame De Rémusat goes into superlatives over their entry into Brussels, which, she declares, was "magnificent," and their stay there "a succession of brilliant fêtes."¹ Bonaparte now made several amazing discoveries. The boats which had been constructed under the Directory were undergoing repair, but no new vessels were yet laid down. The harbour works were in a deplorable condition, and even the batteries were neglected. In a peremptory note to Berthier he says: "It is very strange that four months after the message of the King of England I have found the coasts without defence and without protection for commerce. This cannot be called administering the artillery and answering the needs of the State."² He fired a gun, but found that its range was not what he had been led to believe. Shot was weighed and ascertained to be wanting. Only by continually going into such details could Bonaparte ensure anything like efficiency. While on the one hand men were relieved of their posts, on the other enterprise was rewarded. The energy of the First Consul being apparently inexhaustible, subordinates were obliged to follow his example whenever and wherever

¹ *Memoirs of Madame De Rémusat*, Vol. I, pp. 121-7.
July 7th, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 118.

he showed himself. He hated idlers; he wanted "more head and less tongue."

An incident which was duly corroborated at the time by an English lady residing at Boulogne shows at once the rigid discipline enforced by Bonaparte and his extreme irritability. The famous *Immortalité*, now a fine British frigate, attacked seven vessels of the flotilla, with the result that within half an hour of the beginning of the engagement two of them were forced to run aground. At first few of the shots from the land batteries found a billet, but as soon as the men working the guns ascertained the correct range, a much more effective fire was kept up, and the *Immortalité* was obliged to stand off. The First Consul immediately made his way to one of the batteries to ascertain why they were so badly served. "He became fidgety—uttered a few *sacrés*—then examined the pointing and elevation of the guns; but upon further inquiry, finding that the cartridges were only filled with the quantity of powder used in saluting, his rage and indignation became uncontrollable—he flew towards the unhappy subaltern—upbraided him with his ignorance and neglect, and, with his own hands tearing the epaulettes from his shoulders, told him he was no longer an officer in the French army."¹

Still Bonaparte was not satisfied. On the 5th July he gave a new fillip to the undertaking by ordering over 1400 additional boats for the flotilla, including fifty *prames*, 300 sloops, and 300 gunboats. The *prames* were to be similar to the ones already at Dunkirk, and were to carry twelve 24-pounders, and sixty horses, with their riders. These boats, as well as the sloops and gunboats,

¹ Crawford's *Reminiscences of a Naval Officer*, Vol. I, p. 112.

were to be fitted with lee-boards. The rigging of the sloops was to be simplified, and the sides heightened, although on no account was the working of the oars, which they carried for use in case of a calm, to be interfered with. Ten bomb-ketches were to be equipped at Boulogne, armed with two mortars each, or with one only should it be found more convenient. Seven hundred pinnaces were also provided for in this new programme, and one thousand small fishing boats of all sizes suitable for the purposes of transport were to be bought. Boulogne, Ambleteuse, and Étapes were to be the head-quarters of the flotilla; and to these ports all the boats either bought or newly constructed were to be sent.¹ All might have been well had the shipbuilders been able to turn out the boats which had been ordered previous to the issue of the new programme. Only one *chaloupe* was building at Rouen and six at Havre, and the First Consul notes with apparent disgust that "it seems to me that this number could be made five times over, and that thirty *chaloupes* could be built at Havre and six at Rouen."² He sees no reason why boats should not be laid down at Honfleur and some of the smaller ports. In a later communication he says that he has "given orders at Dunkirk, Havre, Cherbourg, Brest, and Rochefort to hurry the repairs of twenty sloops which are there and the despatch of the same to Boulogne, where four gunboats and six *chaloupes à l'espagnole* are united. Out of one hundred gunboats at Dunkirk, sixty-five only seem fit to be repaired. These are to proceed to Boulogne, in addition to those at Cherbourg and thirty-three at St. Malo, fifteen of the latter being ready to start at once, but the remainder

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, pp. 87-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

are still in the hands of the shipwrights. Thirteen worthless vessels are also at St. Malo, but in such a state of dilapidation that it is well-nigh hopeless to do anything with them.”¹

The physical side of man works slower than the mental, and it was impossible to keep pace with the orders which the First Consul issued with bewildering frequency. They tended to overlap, causing no end of confusion and waste of money, but a definite plan for the arrangement of the various sections was decided upon in July. The Dutch wing, with head-quarters at Flushing, was to consist of 100 sloops and 200 gunboats; the Right wing, at Ostend and Nieuport, of 300 boats; the Centre, at Dunkirk, Gravelines, and Calais, of at least 300 boats; and the Left, at Wissant, Ambleteuse, Boulogne, and Ètaples, of 30 *prames*, 300 sloops, 300 gunboats, 50 *caïques*, 700 pinnaces, and 1000 transports. These 3000 odd vessels provided transport for 100,000 men, 3000 horses, and 125 field guns.²

After a journey lasting six weeks Bonaparte returned to St. Cloud, but he had been grossly misled as to the real state of the flotilla. At Boulogne he had been shown a number of boats built for a previous project, but which were now unseaworthy, and if not actually rotten, certainly beyond repair. Appearances apparently deceived him for once, and relying upon the fidelity of those whose interests should have precluded them from stooping to deceit, he believed that the boats were really in the good condition they were made out to be. Decrès, writing to Admiral Bruix, evidently under Bonaparte's orders, for the despatch is dated from St. Cloud, the 22nd August, gives further alterations in “the composition of the flotilla such as it

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 86.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

seems to me to be definitely settled." There were now to be twelve divisions of sloops, each division composed of three sections or battalions of nine boats each, making a total of 324. Each sloop was to be accompanied by a large and a small pinnace. Sixteen divisions of twenty-seven gunboats and large pinnaces added 864 vessels to the fleet, which was also to include 112 armed fishing boats, and 60 *bateaux de grand échantillon*; in all over 2000 boats. "Everything leads me to think," Decrès concludes, "that all these boats will be ready by the 22nd November, as there is still a large number being built, and almost all of these are nearly half ready."¹

The real state of affairs, as disclosed by Forfait, was this: there were either ready or under construction in five *arrondissements*, 43 *prames*, 241 sloops, 392 gunboats, and 393 pinnaces; 1069 boats instead of the 2008 required. It was absolutely impossible to make up the deficit in the three months which remained before Bonaparte required that the whole organization should be complete.² Even when these facts were put before him the First Consul apparently failed to recognize that his officers and the ship-builders were not keeping faith with him, and misquoted Forfait's figures in a letter to Decrès a week later. "It only reports 250 sloops," he says, "including those at Bayonne, and in the roads of Brest, Boulogne, and Havre. I think, therefore, it would be well to accept the offer of the Dutch and to give them a contract for thirty sloops, already rigged, to be delivered at Flushing between the 7th and the 12th November. There are more than 500 gunboats; these are all that are wanted. We are minus 200

¹ 28th August, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

to 300 pinnaces. . . . The Italian Republic has offered twelve sloops. . . . I think that the best places to build them are Paris and Compiègne.”¹

On the 4th September Bonaparte tells Bruix that there were enough gunboats, but not enough sloops and pinnaces. “You have everything on your shoulders,” he adds, “and it is your place to see that everything is carried out.”² That the Admiral fully realized the responsibility of his position and the confidence placed in him by his Chief, subsequent events will show.

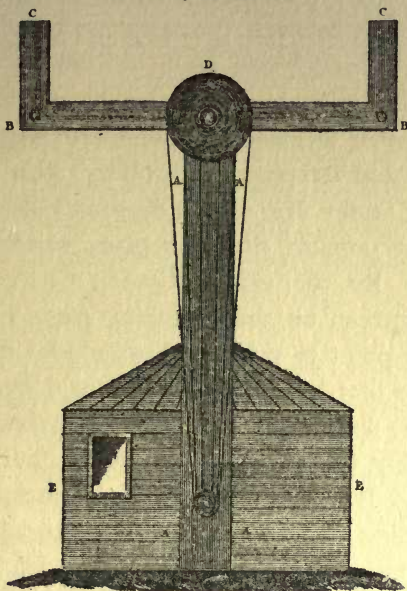
It was only when the boats were concentrating at Boulogne that the First Consul began to realize the extreme difficulty of the operation. If they hugged the coasts in their passage from the port of construction to head-quarters they ran the risk of grounding on shoals, and if they put out to sea their capture by the enemy followed almost as a matter of course. The former plan was adopted as being less dangerous, and land batteries erected on every available headland afforded some protection to the little vessels. Two powerful stone forts were begun at once on the Pointe de Crèche and the Pointe de l'Heurt, which commanded the right and left of Boulogne respectively, and a third of wood, erected on piles, and facing the entrance of the harbour, mounted ten heavy guns and several mortars. Temporary batteries, which were submerged at high tide, and served to shelter the workmen engaged on the forts at low water, were also employed. Corps of horse artillery, stationed at suitable points, gave their aid when occasion arose. It was the special duty of two generals of brigade to see that this was

¹ Bonaparte to Decrès, 29th August, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 96.

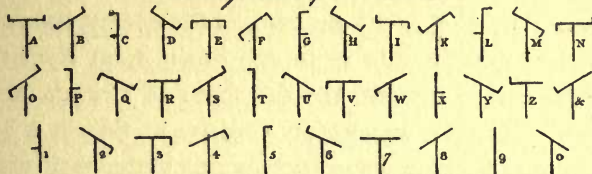
² *Ibid.*, p. 97.

THE TELEGRAPHE.

or Machine for conveying intelligence with wonderful quickness.
as used by the FRENCH.



Various positions of the Machine.



EXPLANATION OF THE PLATE.

AA A beam of wood about 16 feet high, fixed upright on an eminence.

BB A cross beam, 28 feet long and 10 broad, made moveable at the center D.

CC Pieces of wood also moveable by joints.

EE A small Observatory.

This simple Machine may be changed to a great variety of Positions, (as above) by means of Corls which pass through Grooves in the Main Axle, and made easily manageable in the Observatory, where three Persons are employed, one to observe the Movements of the Machine stationed north to it, another to make corresponding Movements, and a third to write them down.—One Movement is made in four or five Seconds, and the Machine remains half a Minute in one Position. The Signs are either in Words or Letters; when Words are used, a Flag is hoisted, and as the Alphabet may be altered at pleasure, the Signs are only understood by the Correspondents at the two most distant Machines.

When a Signal is given and answered, all the Machines are set in Motion, and will convey a whole Sentence 100 Miles in five Minutes.

N B This Machine conveyed Intelligence of some length, from Lille to France, in fifty Minutes. The time of conveyance is according to the number of Sentences contained in the Intelligence.

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II.—D

faithfully carried out. One of these officers patrolled the coast from Calais to Dunkirk, the other being responsible for the stations between the latter port and the Scheldt. In all some 60,000 men were utilized in guarding the coasts. "Let piquets of cavalry be so disposed as to cross each other incessantly," Bonaparte writes to General Davoust,¹ "and let pieces of artillery, with horses, be so placed that, at the first signal, they may be able to reach in the least possible time the place where vessels have grounded." By the aid of Claude Chappé's ingenious machine pictured on the preceding page, news was conveyed from point to point with wonderful rapidity.

From the first the enemy's cruisers dogged the movements of the flotilla, setting at defiance these precautions. It was doubly unfortunate that, during the First Consul's first visit to Boulogne, two gunboats making their way from Flushing should have been captured by a British frigate and two sloops. He was an interested, if not a happy, spectator of this incident. Even when the boats were successful in eluding the vigilance of the enemy, the voyages were so painfully slow as to call down upon the head of the officer in command the full force of Bruix's irascible temper. Nor can we express surprise at this in a man of the Admiral's active disposition, acting under such a master, when we find that seven boats took over a fortnight to traverse the distance from Cherbourg to Havre.

The first division of the Dunkirk flotilla, consisting of twenty-seven gunboats and a *prame*, all of which were old, was ready to sail on the 12th September; but the in-

¹ October 30th, 1803. Quoted in Thiers' *Consulate and Empire*, Vol. III, p. 72 (English edition, 1893), translated by D. Forbes Campbell and John Stebbing.

evitable happened, and Admiral Saumarez¹ with a frigate and several smaller vessels appeared on the horizon and prevented them from putting to sea. The enemy gaily bombarded the port, causing little or no damage, and nine *canonnières* attacked the frigate without success, but on the morning of the 14th, no hostile sail being visible, a start was made. Captain Saint-Haouen, in charge of the division, although an able officer, erred on the side of over-prudence, and ran into Calais on the appearance of a single British cruiser, where he remained until the 28th. His report avers that the boats were not good sailers, being unable to tack properly. Bruix was furious when he heard of the Captain's timidity, whose motives he stigmatized as "very poor." Although he had been up all night at Boulogne, the Admiral at once hastened to Calais, and from thence to Dunkirk, to send off a second division, which was now ready, and thus strengthen the armament at Saint-Haouen's disposal. He tells the officer that he is to "take the offensive and board the enemy," and Rear-Admiral Magon, in command at Boulogne, was advised to render every assistance he could by ordering the gunboats at his disposal to meet the divisions. On the 28th a start was made from Calais, the *prame* bringing up the rear and returning the fire of the enemy. This time they doubled Cape Gris-Nez and reached their destination, with the exception of two boats which put in at Ambleteuse. The second division, under Captain Pévrioux, was also on its way, but was becalmed off the cape. Magon and Saint-Haouen came up with it off Wimereux, and after offering considerable resistance for three hours, ably seconded by

¹ Admiral Sir James Saumarez, Bart., G.C.B., (1757-1836). In 1831 he was created Baron Saumarez of Saumarez, in Guernsey.

the land batteries, the divisions succeeded in reaching Boulogne. They had faithfully fulfilled the peremptory order of Bruix to "face the enemy." Engagements of this kind were frequently repeated; sometimes the little boats ran aground and were captured, on other occasions they managed to reach the port for which they were bound without any untoward incident marring their passage. But as Forfait facetiously remarks: "It is better to lose boats by fighting than by incompetency."¹ Bonaparte was certainly not blind to the fact that even if the flotilla succeeded in crossing without opposition, it would meet with a warm reception when the English coast was reached. "Expedite as much as possible," he tells Bruix, "the arrival at Boulogne of a great supply of military stores of all kinds, for much will be needed, seeing that more than one fight is certain."²

It is significant that the First Consul had already caused an analysis to be made of all the descents which the English had effected on the French coasts since 1700, "mentioning the object proposed and the result obtained."³ He wished to profit by the experience thus gained; to find out how landings had been negotiated, for future imitation on the other side of the Channel, and also if there was suitable anchorage for sections of his flotilla at the points selected by his enemies for disembarkation.

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 235.

² *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Letter No. 7126. Dated from St. Cloud, September 21st, 1803.

³ To General Berthier, St. Cloud, 23rd August, 1803. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 28.

CHAPTER XIII

ENGLAND IN ARMS, 1803

No parleying now ! In Britain is one breath ;
We all are with you now from shore to shore ;
Ye men of Kent, 'tis victory or death.—WORDSWORTH.

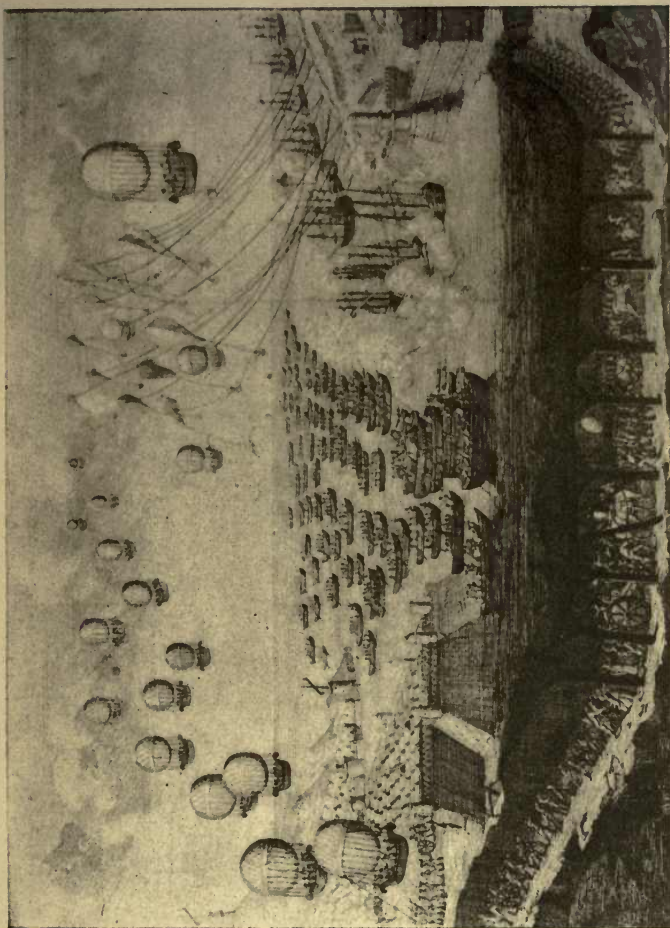
ONE of the most remarkable facts in connection with the invasion scare of 1803 is that at first certain statesmen in high positions positively refused to believe that Bonaparte entertained the idea of crossing the Channel. Lord Grenville shows how he spent his time, and how little he shared what he would probably have termed "alarmists' views," in a letter to his brother which he wrote from Dropmore, his country seat, under date of April 12th, 1803.

"You will find me here," he notes, "very peaceably rolling my walks, and watering my rhododendrons, without any thought of the new possessor to whom Bonaparte may dispose them."

The general public, on the other hand, felt equally positive that the attempt would be made, and aroused themselves for the defence of hearth and home. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens the number of armed men was reduced by some 40,000; a most unwise policy in view of the fact that the First Consul still showed no disposition to curb his ambition. As a consequence, when a state of war again existed between

the two countries, there was hurry and scurry to get the army up to fighting strength. The lack of organization and of foresight was as evident then as it was at the beginning of the late South African War. It is a fortunate characteristic of the British that when once they are aroused they do not cease their vigilance or doggedness until affairs are put to rights, otherwise the Empire would long since have perished. It is true that a warning note had been sounded in Parliament five months before the declaration of war, but the majority of the Cabinet still preferred to turn a deaf ear to those who asserted that the ruler of France did not intend to keep his part of the bargain. The lack of confidence in the Government was voiced by a member of the House who remarked that, "However great are the horrors of war, yet the horrors of seeing Bonaparte's flag on the Tower of London, or his political principles current in this country, are still more terrifying to me." In a notable speech Sheridan referred to Bonaparte's ruling ambition to conquer England. "This is the first vision that breaks on the First Consul through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he may address it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet, to the Goddess of Battles or to the Goddess of Reason."

When reviewing this period of our country's history it must not be forgotten that superstition was rampant and education was almost entirely neglected. It follows as a matter of course that the lower classes were somewhat credulous when they were informed that their implacable enemy deliberately poisoned his sick at Jaffa, that he gloated over the sight of a corpse-strewn battlefield, and that he was a second Nero. They believed in the state-



THE GENESIS OF THE CHANNEL TUNNEL. A FRENCH CARICAURE OF 1803

ments implicitly, and short-tempered nursemaids nearly scared fractious children out of their wits by continually dinning into their ears :—

Baby, baby, naughty baby,
Hush, you squalling thing, I say ;
Hush your squalling, or it may be
Bonaparte may pass this way.

Baby, baby, he's a giant,
Tall and black as Rouen steeple ;
And he dines and sups, rely on't,
Every day on naughty people.

Baby, baby, he will hear you
As he passes by the house,
And he, limb from limb, will tear you
Just as pussy tears a mouse.¹

With a childlike faith they blindly followed Mistress Rumour when she spread abroad a *canard*, however improbable it might be. One to the effect that the First Consul was about to erect a bridge from Calais to Dover was seized upon with avidity. The Army of Invasion was to cross over in this way, directed by officers in air-balloons stationed above the purely mythical structure.² A Channel tunnel was mooted and actually proposed by the mining engineer Mathieu. Many a time it was passed from mouth to mouth that the little Corsican masqueraded as a British seaman and was actually on board a south-coast

¹ *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar*, p. 148, by A. M. Broadley and R. C. Bartelot, M.A.

² The Channel was first crossed by balloon on the 7th January, 1785, the passengers being M. Jean Pierre Blanchard and Dr. Jeffries, an Englishman. They landed safely in the forest of Guînes after a voyage full of adventure. The aeronaut Garnerin ascended in a balloon at the time of Bonaparte's coronation, and travelled as far as Rome. It is said that the relic is still preserved at the Vatican.

fishing smack, trolling at sea by night and spying on shore by day.

Some one industriously spread a report that one of his brothers had crossed from France and been hospitably received by the nuns of Marnhull, in Dorset. The supposed object of his visit was to ascertain the true feeling of the English people towards France. A large quantity of fire-arms and ammunition was believed to have been landed at night and smuggled into the nunnery in order to assist the enemy's army should it effect a landing. It was decided that the matter ought to be investigated immediately, and accordingly the Rev. Mr. Blackburne, a Justice of the Peace, was chosen to superintend operations.

Nothing of a warlike character was found, although the reverend gentleman and his attendants minutely inspected the sacred building from garret to cellar. The lady abbess was amazed, not to say alarmed, at the proceedings, and gave vent to her indignation. "We were not more surprised," she said, "when, in the beginning of the reign of Tyranny in France, a domiciliary visit had been paid us at our convent, under the idea that Mr. Pitt, the English minister, was secreted there."¹ Nor was England the only place where the "Arch-tyrant" was believed to be in hiding. A Mr. James Neild, while on a tour through Wales in September, 1803, narrowly escaped being made a State prisoner near Radnor. The story is best told in his own language.

"They have got a strange notion in Wales," he writes, "that Bonaparte has escaped from France, and is lurking among the mountains, so that they eye every stranger par-

¹ *Annual Register*, 1803, p. 418.

ticularly ; and (would you believe it?) absolutely took me for the First Consul, and challenged my guide. I observed a great buzz among the women, and being informed of the cause went up to them, and assured them I was old enough to be Bonaparte's father. One of them fortunately observed, that she had taken particular notice on my first entrance into the town, of my eyes, and that Bonaparte squinted. They say he was born in Wales, and that two of his brothers were transported."

Mrs. Piozzi, the charming authoress and friend of Dr. Johnson, in writing to James Robson, of Bond Street, London, a few months earlier, from the same Principality, not only gives us a glimpse of her own affairs and shows that domestic servants were almost as difficult to obtain then as they are now, but compares the salary of a cook with that of a "Lieutenant of our Men of War that defend us against Buonaparte and his 400,000 men."

" BRYNBELLA, NEAR DENBIGH

" N: WALES. 21: *May* 1803

"Dear Mr. Robson—You never come to See Your Country Friends, though I think every Spring when it renews other Matters—renews our Hopes. At present indeed whatever Friends come to see *us*, are ill off—in one Respect: *We have no Cook*. Could you find me a neat-handed Smart Woman who would willingly be under a Housekeeper to keep her own Kitchen clean &c?

"I do not want a fine Lady, nor would such a one come to Wales—without a Great Salary—larger than the King gives his Lieutenants of our Men of War that defend us against Buonaparte and his 400,000 men.

"I should think some Girl who has been Kitchen Maid under the profess'd Men Cooks might suit me nicely . . .

our Housekeeper sees to the Desserts, 2d. Course &c but Honesty and Activity are Indispensable; and she need not think herself in Banishment because we visit either London or Bath every Winter. *Do* dear Sir, enquire me out such a Damsel for 12 or 14 Guineas a Year. I wrote to Mr Smith Your Neighbour the Perfumer for some Articles in *his* Way, but forgot to mention my Distress for a Cook. . . . Will you let him *know*? It will be done very kindly indeed.

“The Perfumery by the way was never sent, & now do tell me are there no Annual Registers out since the year 1800? That is my *latest*, and we are *here* very hungry for Intelligence and Amusement. I wish to be told likewise what Publications attract Notice, and how the World stands towards the new War. We have a strange Antagonist it must be confess'd, and his Conduct wholly *new* so far as I have been conversant in Historic Annals: but if Buonaparte shews more Sincerity than Discretion our King certainly shews Europe a true Model of Dignity temper'd with Moderation: There is a wide Door *yet open for Peace*.

“I have not seen Mr. Robson yet, but We are expecting the Bishop down now very soon. Mr. Piozzi is so much and so often confined by Gout—tis a great drawback on his comforts, but nobody can look better, or enjoy better *General Health*. Let me have a long Letter, & say how you escaped the Influenza.

“It bore exceedingly hard on Dear Sir

“Your old friend and

“Faithful Ser^{vt}

“H. L. P.

“If you send me any Books—let them go to Mayhew and Ince's Warehouse Broad Street Carnaby Market: They have Things coming down hither and yours might be sent with them.”¹

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS.

Invasion scares were very frequent at places on the south coast. Eastbourne was almost deserted during the month of August owing to a rumour that the French contemplated landing in that neighbourhood. A barrack was hastily constructed on the beach capable of containing ten thousand men, and another was built near Pevensey Bay, but on a much larger scale. The corn crops in the district were ordered to be set on fire should the enemy effect a landing, and houses were to be subject to the same treatment if deemed necessary. Tickets would be given to the owners and farmers which, on being returned to the Government, would secure their possessors against any losses incurred. It was at this very time that Charles James Fox wrote the following letter from St. Anne's Hill, Chertsey, to his brother, Lieutenant-General Fox, in Ireland, giving his views as to the probability of Bonaparte's crossing the Channel:—

“CHERTSEY, *August 8th*, 1803.

“My dear Brother,

“I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 2nd. I think as you do all will be quiet for some time. The Disaffected will probably wait until they hear of something being attempted here by the French, and whether that will ever happen is very uncertain. I am very glad you like your L^d L^t so well, I fancy his general disposition with regard to Ireland will be right. I do not think highly of Lord Redesdale's¹ understanding in any way, but believe him to be an honest and good sort of man. It may be right to tell you that in London, where I have been since I wrote last, many People say some blame is to be imputed to the Irish Government, for not having been more ready

¹ Baron Redesdale (1748–1830); Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1802–6.

for the insurrection of which it is supposed they had at least some hours' notice from the country people flocking to Dublin.¹ Your letter says positively you knew nothing of it till it happened, but did the L^d L^t? if he did not was there not some remissness in gaining intelligence? if he did, why did he not communicate it to you, in order that the military might be ready in time? Upon looking over your letter I see your expression is you knew nothing about Saturday *Morning*, but perhaps you did hear something before the event happened and the military were preparing as fast as they could. My Guess is that the Government knew nothing of the matter, and may be, from many false alarms they had had before, did not pay attention to the rumours of a rising of any kind. Nothing has been said of the thing in this view in the H. of Com^s, but if in conversation one were able to explain how it happened that the Surprise should have been so complete, it would not be amiss. I am very happy indeed to hear Mrs. F. was not much alarmed, for I was very much so for her, as her Nerves seem to be but weak. I had no doubt of Lady Lou and L^y Sarah bearing it well, but I do not like your paragraph about the Duke of L^t. I hope our cousin has not been getting himself into any scrape. We have just begun our harvest here, as some suppose for Bonaparte, but I am as stout as a Lyon. 1st I believe he will not try, next that if he does he will be destroyed or at least driven back

¹ The insurrection planned by Robert Emmet (1778-1803), the central idea being to seize the Castle and arsenals of Dublin. On June 23rd, 1803, Emmet, accompanied by some eighty followers, a mere handful of the large number of men he had expected to come to his aid, marched on the capital, and in the *mêlée* which ensued Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice, his nephew, and Colonel Brown were killed. Russell at Belfast, and Quigley at Kildare, also attempted to stir up strife on the same day, but their efforts were but partial and failed. Emmet escaped to the Wicklow mountains, but he was afterwards captured, tried, and hanged at Newgate, with several of his accomplices. His abortive plot has been aptly termed "the Irish No-rising of 1803."

at Sea, and lastly that even if he does land, he will frighten more than hurt us, though the arming of the People goes on much slower than it should do, and I think they have spoiled the plan by their alterations. At all events an army in an enemy's country, without any communication with their own or any force at Sea, is in my judgment in a very bad situation. I fear the D. of Y. will be very much displeas'd at my motion for a military council, but I am sure some such thing is necessary.

“Yours affec^y

“C. Fox.

“ST. ANNE'S HILL, *Monday* [August 8th, 1803].

“I send you back Urquhart's letter, which I found among my own papers. I know no more of him than you do.

“ADDRESS: RT. HONBLE. GENERAL FOX,
“ROYAL HOSPITAL, KILMAINHAM, DUBLIN.”

It is not proposed to enter fully into every detail of the various laws passed for the security of the British Isles, but to give a general outline of the more important of them. As Major-General Sir J. F. Maurice has so pithily put it: “The scheme of home defence, at the time when war began again, was based on the notion of our attempting in England what Wellington carried out in Portugal. The idea was to ‘drive the country,’ as it was called, that is to say, to endeavour to leave the enemy without means of subsistence.”¹ This was afterwards abandoned for the simple but all-sufficient reason that it was impracticable; England was far too well stocked with everything likely to be of service to an enemy to admit of so drastic a measure being taken. The Act known as 38 Geo. III, c. 27, passed in anticipation of the invasion of 1798, was but a

¹ *The Diary of Sir John Moore*, Vol. II, p. 70.

temporary measure, and on the signing of the definitive Treaty of Amiens, the majority of volunteers and armed associations had been disbanded. The Government, however, introduced a Bill¹ to allow certain corps to remain on the old footing, and their members were, under certain conditions, exempt from either serving in the militia or having to provide a substitute. The laws governing the militia for both England and Scotland were also amended, and the total number fixed at 40,963 men and 7950 respectively.² The former Act was afterwards altered in certain respects to meet the more urgent needs of the moment by 43 Geo. III, c. 121, and the privileges mentioned were withdrawn from men not marked as efficient on the returns required to be sent to Government.

On the last day of March, 1803, Lord Hobart³ addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of each county accompanied by a plan which was to be "considered more with a reference to a permanent system than a situation of emergency; the application of it in point of extent to depend upon and be regulated by circumstances."

The following are the official regulations for the

"PAY, CLOATHING, AND ALLOWANCE FOR
CONTINGENT EXPENSES,

"For Corps of Volunteer Infantry during War.

"I. Every corps claiming pay, to engage to serve in the military district in which it is situated.

"II. Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private man, to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majesty.

¹ 42 Geo. III, c. 66.

² Clode, Vol. I, p. 287.

³ Baron Hobart (1760-1816); Secretary for War and the Colonies, 1801-4.

“III. To a battalion of ten companies, or a corps of from two hundred and fifty to five hundred private men and upwards, constant pay to be allowed for an adjutant and serjeant-major; and to a corps of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty private men, constant pay for a serjeant-major.—*Per diem*, Adjutant 6s. Serjeant-major 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. per day in addition.

“IV. A company claiming pay, to consist of not less than fifty, nor more than one hundred private men, with one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, (two lieutenants to the flank companies, and to such as consist of eighty private men,) together with three serjeants (including the drill serjeant,) two corporals, and two drummers per company.

“V. Serjeants receiving constant daily pay, and all drummers receiving pay, either at a daily or weekly rate, to be attested, and to be subjected to military law.

“VI. One officer in each company, not above the degree of captain, if taken from the half-pay, having served at least eighteen months on full pay as a commissioned officer in the regulars, marines, embodied militia, fencibles, or East India Company's service, to have the constant pay of his volunteer commission, during his service in a volunteer corps; or one officer in each company, not above the degree of captain, if not on half-pay, but having formerly served two years on full pay as a commissioned officer, in any of the above-mentioned military services, to have constant pay equal to the half-pay of his volunteer commission during his service in a volunteer corps: the other captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, to have pay for the like number of days as the men; but no officer to receive pay for two commissions—Captain (taken from half-pay) 9s. 5d. Lieutenant 5s. 8d. 2d Lieutenant or Ensign 4s. 8d.—Captain (not on half-pay) 4s. 10½d. Lieutenant 2s. 3½d. 2d Lieutenant or Ensign 1s. 9½d.

“VII. When a charge of constant full pay, or constant half-pay is made for an officer, his former services must be

particularly stated in the pay-list wherein the charge is first made.

“VIII. When not called out on actual service, constant pay to be allowed for one serjeant and one drummer per company, at the same rates as in the disembodied militia; the pay of the drummer to be distributed at the discretion of the commandant; pay (as disembodied militia) for the rest of the serjeants and drummers, and for the corporals and private men to be allowed for two days in the week, from 25th February to 24th October, and for one day in the week, from 25th October to 24th February, both inclusive, being eighty-five days' pay per annum, but for effectives only present under arms, on each respective day. Pay may, however, be charged for persons absent by sickness for a period not exceeding three months, on the commanding officer's certificates to that effect.—Serjeants 1s. 6d. Corporals 1s. 2d. Drummers and Privates 1s.

“IX. If a corps, or any part thereof, shall be called upon in cases of riot or disturbance, the charge of constant pay to be made for such services, must be at the rates before specified, and be supported by a certificate from his Majesty's lieutenant, or the sheriff of the county; but if called out in case of actual invasion, the corps is to be paid and disciplined in all respects as the regular infantry, the artillery companies excepted, which are then to be paid as the royal artillery.

“X. The whole to be clothed in red, with the exception of the corps of artillery, which may have blue cloathing, and rifle corps, which may have green with black belts.

ALLOWANCE FOR CLOATHING.

	£	s.	d.
Serjeant, each	3	3	9
Corporal, do.	1	12	0
Drummer, do.	2	3	6
Private Man, do.	1	10	0

and to be repeated at the end of three years; the serjeant-major, and one serjeant, and one drummer per company, to have cloathing annually.

“XI. An annual allowance to be made for each company in lieu of every contingent expence heretofore defrayed by government, viz.: Twenty-five pounds for companies of fifty private men, with an additional allowance of five pounds for every ten private men beyond that number.

“XII. Field-officers and adjutants to be allowed the tax for one horse each.

“XIII. The pay-lists to be made up quarterly, viz. From the 25th December to the 24th March following; from 25th March to 24th June; from 25th June to 24th September; and from 25th September to 24th December, and to be transmitted by post, under cover, addressed to the secretary at war.

“XIV. A general agent will be immediately appointed by government to act for the whole of the volunteer corps receiving pay; and the necessary instructions on that head will be circulated from the War-Office to the respective commandants.

“All mounted soldiers that are lightly armed and accoutred for desultory service may be considered as light horse. Thus light dragoons, fencibles, cavalry, mounted yeomanry, &c. may be considered as light horse; while light infantry consists of an active strong body of men, selected from the aggregate of battalion companies, and made up of the most promising recruits that are occasionally enlisted.

“*Home Service.*

“The carriages allowed, if circumstances will permit, to be with each regiment of infantry, of ten companies of eighty each, are two bread waggons; each to carry four

days' bread for four hundred men, or 2400 lb.; one ammunition ditto; two battalion guns; one waggon; one cart with entrenching tools; two sutler's carts; one waggon for sick; or more as may be permitted.

"The carriages allowed to be with each regiment of cavalry, of eight troops of seventy-five each, are two bread waggons; each to carry four days' bread for four hundred men, or 2400 lb.; one ammunition cart; two sutler's carts; two forge carts; one carriage for sick. Regiments on lower establishments to be allowed carriages in proportion to their effective strength.

"The carriages of the general officers allowed with or near the column of the army will be:—for lieutenant-generals, one chaise and two carts—for major-generals, one chaise and one cart. The carriages at head quarters will be exceedingly limited by the Commander-in-Chief. All other private carriages whatever will be considered as belonging to the heavy baggage of the army, will be ordered to a great distance in the rear; and if at any time found near the army, will be ordered to be destroyed by the baggage-master general. All other baggage therefore, whether tents, blankets, or necessaries for the officers, is to be carried on bât horses.

"The number of horses which officers of each rank may have in common situations in the field, is specified by regulation. But as it is impossible in the service that may occur, to calculate for the carriage or use of large tents, or other conveniences, it is recommended to each officer to make his arrangements for moving in the lightest manner possible.

"The personal baggage of each officer must be contained in a small portmanteau. One small tent is all that the officers of each company or troop can calculate upon. To carry the above, blankets, provisions, three or four days' corn, and other useful necessary articles, two bât horses per troop or company will be sufficient.

“The bât horses of each battalion of infantry of ten companies, at eighty each, will therefore be,

For the tents and poles of the regiment	...	20
For the company officers	... ..	20
Field officers and staff	... ..	4
Surgeon's chest	... ..	1

“Regiments on a lower establishment, allowed bât horses in proportion. The bât horses of each regiment of cavalry of eight troops, of seventy-five each, will therefore be,

For the tents and poles of the regiment	...	16
For the troop officers	... ..	16
Field officers and staff	... ..	4
Entrenching tools	... ..	1
Surgeon's chest	... ..	1

and in proportion for regiments on a lower establishment.

“The infantry will carry tents at the rate of sixteen men per tent, and the cavalry twelve men per tent. The necessary outlying guards and detachments, and the readiness of hutting and other cover that a woody country affords, will make this a sufficient number. The troops and company bât horses can therefore easily carry the tents, poles, and pins. The blankets of the cavalry will be divided and carried under the men's saddles. The blankets of the infantry must be divided and carried by the men, unless some other provision is in future made.

“The picket ropes of the cavalry will be carried on bât horses. Half the usual number of pickets must be considered sufficient, and be carried by the men. The camp kettles will be carried by the men, if horses are not provided for that purpose.

“A reduction and critical inspection of what every

soldier should carry as his baggage should be made in time, and every thing superfluous destined to be lodged with the heavy baggage, which will remain in the present quarters of the regiment, till otherwise ordered to be disposed of. Two shirts, a pair of shoes and stockings, combs, brushes (and a horseman what is necessary for the care of his horse) is all a soldier ought to carry.

“The heavy baggage of the army, including everything not mentioned above, under a proper escort, will be ordered to some place of security. Each regiment of infantry will be allowed to send a serjeant and six men, and each regiment of cavalry one corporal and four dismounted men as a guard: such men must be the least fit for marching duties, but should be fully adequate to the service, and by no means convalescents recovering from indisposition. Proper officers will be ordered to command the whole, and no part of this baggage will be allowed to join the army but by public orders. If at any time carriages not allowed in this regulation should be found in the army, they will be conducted to head-quarters, and there destroyed, or confiscated to the advantage of those who make the discovery.

“Two battalion guns with one waggon will be attached to each regiment of infantry. Should it be necessary, one bât horse will be allowed for the artillery detachment. Such artillery as remains in the park will be limited as to number of guns, carriages, and according to the specification given to the commanding officer of the artillery. The bât men allowed are two for each company and troop, also two for the surgeon and staff of each regiment.

“Each battalion will give a non-commissioned officer and eight men; each regiment of cavalry will give a non-commissioned officer and six men, as a guard to their bât horses.

“The following number of men on the several after-mentioned duties of the regiment, will never exceed

	Infantry		Cavalry	
	<i>Non-com.</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Non-com.</i>	<i>Men</i>
Camp colour-men	2	10	2	8
Bât horse guard	1	4	1	3
Bread carriage guard	1	4	1	2
Heavy baggage	1	6	1	4
Regimental carriages	1	4	1	3
Allowed bât men	0	22	0	8
	6	50	6	28

“Each regiment of infantry will receive twenty pick-axes, twenty spades, twenty shovels, forty bill-hooks, ten axes, amounting in weight to about four hundred pounds. These tools will be carried in the cart allotted for that purpose; and that cart will at all times, and in all situations, march at the head of the regiment.

“Each regiment of cavalry will receive eight pick-axes, eight spades, eight shovels, sixteen bill-hooks, and eight axes. These tools will be carried on horseback, and on a horse with hampers allotted for that purpose, and will at all times march at the head of the regiment. These tools are meant to be ready at all times for making the openings so necessary in this embarrassed country, consequently [they] should be kept in the front of each regiment or column. Spare appointments and arms of each kind must of course remain with the heavy baggage.

“The battalion guns will always march at the head of the regiment, whichever flank leads. The ammunition waggons and carts will immediately follow the troops of the column. The place of march of the artillery of the park and carriages will be specified in the order of march.

“It is to be wished, that at all times each soldier be provided with four days' bread in his haversack, and four days' more carried in the regimental carriages. When this is delivered out, those carriages, under the guard of a

serjeant and 4 men per battalion, and a corporal and 2 men per regiment of cavalry, will be sent to the bakery to be again loaded.

“Each infantry soldier will always carry 60 rounds. Each horseman his cartouch box full. The cavalry will always carry two days’ corn if it can be got, and hay according to circumstances.”¹

Further Acts for the defence of the country were brought before Parliament and passed in such rapid succession that they tended to overlap and create confusion, but the matter was one of extreme urgency to a country not steeped in militarism, and possessing relatively only a small standing army. Immediately after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens the militia was called out. Following that came the General Defence Act, the Army of Reserve Bill, “the boldest military measure that any British Minister had ever ventured to propose,”² the Levy *en masse* Act, and others. In explaining his views on the scheme for raising bands of armed citizens, Mr. Charles Yorke, the Secretary-at-War, boldly stated that Government was not satisfied with the defence of the country. The First Consul’s forces, which he erroneously computed at the same figure as the new Army of Reserve, “might come more or less disunited,” he suggested, “more or less in full vigour of health or in sickness, more or less provided with the means of able operation as soon as they should land. This country should be, therefore, prepared to meet their attacks. It should have its first and second line: it should have legion upon legion ready to meet and to repulse the invasion. We must not, when so menaced,

¹ *Anti-Gallican*, Vol. IV, pp. 187-90.

² *The Great War with France*, p. 170, by Lieut.-General Bunbury.

look to ordinary means, nor even to the effect of a ballot. The King must needs resort to his prerogative of compelling all his subjects to take arms." The Minister appealed to the precedent of history, "to the example of the Plantagenets and the Tudors." "The conduct of our ancestors, in those illustrious times, had defeated every effort of foreign enemies. Would we again defeat such efforts, we must have recourse to similar means."¹

Both Pitt and Fox supported the Bill, the latter having been absent from the House for some weeks owing to his disagreement with the policy of the Administration. "This is the first measure," he confessed, "which I could, consistently with my own opinion, come down to support, being a measure for the defence of the country." He did not look to "the regular army, but the mass of the country; acting, not in single regiments, but as a great mass of armed citizens, fighting for the preservation of their country and their families, and everything that is dear to them in life." He added that he regarded the militia and the army of reserve "in the same light as the regular army; and I cannot but believe, on that account, that this measure is the best calculated for the defence of the kingdom, and to defeat the daring efforts of an invading army." Pitt expressed his surprise and concern that the measure had not been brought forward sooner.

On the 24th July the Army of Reserve Act became law, but in the early days of August it was slightly modified. Men were to be levied by ballot, after the manner of the militia, 40,000 in Great Britain and 10,000 in Ireland, those between 18 and 40 years being liable to serve for five years. Parishes could be exempted, however, which furnished a

¹ *National Defence in Practice*, p. 14, by Toulmin Smith.

large number of ordinary volunteers. Two ways were open for a man to escape should he be chosen and not wish to serve: by supplying a substitute, or paying a fine of £20 and submitting to a new ballot, in which case, of course, he ran the risk of again being drawn.

The Defence Act,¹ which enabled the King "to accept the voluntary services of His Majesty's loyal subjects for the defence of the United Kingdom," was based on the methods of Mr. Clavell, referred to in the first chapter,² returns being made of all able-bodied males of from 15 to 60 years of age, and capable of using arms. The following month saw the passing of the Levy *en masse* Act (43 Geo. III, c. 96), a much more vigorous measure, calling for a census of youths and men between 17 and 55, who were divided into four classes, thus:—

1. All men of the age of 17 and under 30, unmarried, or having no child living under the age of 10.
2. All men of the age of 30 and under the age of 50, unmarried, or having no child living under the age of 10.
3. All men of the age of 17 and under the age of 30, who are or have been married, and who have not more than two children living under the age of 10 years.
4. All men not included in the foregoing classes.

In order to make it as difficult as possible to escape this menaced conscription, those giving a false return were mulcted to the extent of £20, and £50 for attempting to bribe the official, usually a constable, charged with obtaining the necessary information. All persons drawn out and embodied were liable to be sent to any part of Great Britain, and "after the defeat and expulsion of the enemy

¹ 43 Geo. III, c. 55.

² See *ante*, Vol. I, p. 27.

from our realm, or suppression of any rebellion or insurrection," all volunteers were entitled to an additional sum of one guinea. In the event of death while on active service, the widow and children of the deceased were entitled to relief similar to that granted to those of the militia.

His Majesty was authorized to direct parishes to provide, at their own expense, the necessary implements of warfare for the male inhabitants, to be kept in the parish church or other suitable building under the custodianship of a churchwarden or other parochial officer. If necessary, the men were to be "trained and exercised two hours at least every Sunday, either before or after divine service, or on some other convenient day in the week, in England, or on any convenient day in the week to be appointed, in Scotland, between the twenty-fifth day of March and the twenty-fifth day of December in every year, and cause public notice of such times and places of exercise and training to be given in the churches and chapels of the respective parishes during divine service, and be affixed on the doors of such churches and chapels, and in the market-places, or other convenient and conspicuous places; and it shall also be lawful for the Deputy-lieutenants in their respective subdivisions, to order and direct that such men shall be exercised on any other additional day or days in the week, so as to interfere as little as may be with their occupations." If necessary, the men were to be drilled three or more days a week, but the total drilling was not to exceed twenty days. A constable was charged to attend these meetings, for which service he was paid £5 per annum out of the poor rate. Neglect of duty, unless through illness, led to a fine

of 10s. a day, which was double the amount forfeited by an absent volunteer, although the fine for neglecting to attend on any three successive days was 40s. Badly behaved members of a corps surrendered 5s. for each offence, or were sent to gaol "for any time not exceeding one week." If from conscientious scruples a volunteer objected to fulfilling his military obligations on the Sabbath, he was put through his paces on a week-day. If wished, out-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals were allowed to drill the men, their remuneration being fixed at a sum "not exceeding 2s. 6d. per day," also derived from the poor rate. In this way many old veterans earned a few extra shillings, and "fought their battles o'er again" on the village green after the exercises were over, to the admiration of the younger sons of Mars. The Lieutenants and Deputy-lieutenants were, of course, in actual command of the men in their respective counties, and had the appointing of officers of the various companies. As it was not always practicable for a tiny village or hamlet to raise its own corps, provision was made for this contingency by allowing parishes to combine for this purpose.

If at the end of twelve months a volunteer showed himself proficient in the use of arms, a certificate was granted securing him from further attendance at drills, but he was to hold himself in readiness to resist the enemy. When on active service officers and men ranked as regards pay and discipline with the regular army.

While the Levy *en masse* Act was certainly more business-like and straightforward than several of its predecessors, it had one disadvantage in that if the number of volunteers enrolled amounted to more than was deemed



ARMED-HEROES. *From a sketch by G. B. S. published in Punch on 5 May 1863.*
 (The man in the top hat is Lord Palmerston, and the man in the military uniform is General D. G. Walker.)
 (Great Britain and America are the two nations.)

ADDINGTON AND BONAPARTE. MAY 18, 1863

necessary, "not being less than three-fourths of men enrolled for service of the first class,"¹ the Crown was at liberty "to suspend the operation in the districts of such Volunteer Corps of the Act under consideration." This caused so much inconvenience and annoyance, that on August 18th, 1803, a circular was issued from Downing Street to the effect that His Majesty had determined "not to authorise at the present any additional Volunteer Corps in any County where the number of effective members of those corps, including the yeomanry, shall exceed the amount of six times the militia, inclusive of the supplementary quota."

Thus, having worked up the enthusiasm of the nation to fever heat, cold water was poured upon further patriotic efforts. There was much wailing and gnashing of teeth on the part of the 280,000 men who had offered themselves as volunteers; resolutions passed at meetings held all over the country began to pour into ministerial letter-boxes; and Addington's feeble hold on the people was by no means strengthened. The accompanying petition is a fair example of the kind of communication those in charge of the internal defence of the kingdom continually received:—²

"My Lord,

"The Magistrates and Deputy Lieutenants acting for the County of Anglesea, deeply impressed with a sense of the common danger at this momentous crisis, and conceiving that the general safety of the British Empire depends on the relative security of all its component parts, beg leave most respectfully to represent to your Lordship,

¹ Section 53.

² Record Office. *Internal Defence, 1803*, Vol. I. Addressed to the Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Anglesea, and forwarded by him to Lord Hobart.

and through your Lordship to His Majesty's Ministers, the present weak and defenceless state of this County.

"The number of Volunteers who had expressed their readiness to defend their country with their lives, a *great part* of whom were willing to *arm, and clothe themselves at their own* expense;¹ and all consented to march to the utmost limits of the Kingdom in case of Invasion or Insurrection. In order to render this force (which was hourly increasing) as effective as possible, a County subscription had been set on foot, for the purpose of Arming and clothing as many more as that Fund would admit of; and from the known liberality and Patriotism of the Inhabitants there was every reason to expect that the voluntary contributions would have been very considerable.

"Thus roused was the spirit of this Loyal County; thus animated were the Inhabitants with the most ardent zeal for the General welfare, when they learnt with the greatest mortification and concern that it was the intention of Government to limit the number of Volunteers to six times that of the constitutional Militia, and consequently that the number to be raised in this county would be no more than 768; a force so perfectly inadequate to the purpose of repelling a foreign foe, that in case of an attack it might not be found more than sufficient for the preservation of internal order and regularity.

"However gratifying it is to them to observe that the spirited exertions of Individuals have far outstript the most sanguine expectations of the Country, and however wise it may be in His Majesty's Ministers generally to arm no more men than are deemed necessary, it is presumed that there may be some *local circumstances* which may make it prudent to deviate from the general system of defence with respect to those parts of the Kingdom which may be considered as most defenceless. In this state they

¹ The construction of this sentence is peculiar, and it seems probable that some such expression as "was very large" was accidentally omitted.

conceive this County to be. If, as is commonly supposed, it be the design of the Corsican Tyrant to cause diversions and distract the councils of Government by landing in many places at the same time then there is no part of His Majesty's dominions however remote from the enemy secure; and they have reason to believe it is not at all impossible that this Island may be one object of the general Attack. That this is far from improbable, will, it is presumed be admitted when it is considered that Anglesey is an Island on the Irish Channel possessing an extent of Sea Coast 60 Miles in circumference, vulnerable at all points; that situated as it is at the utmost extremity of the North-Western District, and there not being (as they believe) a single Regiment within six days march of this place, nor a single soldier in the Island, they are utterly destitute of the means of resistance. . . ."

If it were necessary, many similar cases could be cited. Writing on the 24th August, the Duke of Gordon, Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire, points out to Lord Hobart that "the offers of service already given in to me . . . far exceed the number allowed for the county of Aberdeen (3840)." When forwarding to the Rt. Hon. Charles Yorke his arrangements for the volunteer infantry of the same district the Duke admits that he has "thought it proper to confine his Force chiefly to the Coast, and by doing so have been under the necessity of declining the acceptance of numerous offers of Service from the Internal parts of the county—the whole offers within the County amounting to very near 12,000 men."¹ At the end of October neither arms nor accoutrements had been sent for the men, and in the middle of the same month a meeting of the Lieutenancy of Aberdeenshire was held which severely condemned

¹ 8th September, 1803. Record Office. *Internal Defence, 1803.*

the lack of attention on the part of the War Office. The continual changing of plans put so many stumbling-blocks in the way, "that as yet none of the Corps are embodied." The only regular troops in "this extensive Military District, reaching from Montrose northwards to the extremity of the Island, are two young regiments of Militia, one Troop of Dragoons, and some recruits for the Army of Reserve." The meeting also petitioned for "a more considerable naval force on the coasts of this part of the Kingdom. It is at present, as they are informed, confined to one vessel lying in the Firth of Forth."

Written in pencil on the back of the above document are these remarks: "Ackn[owledge] H[is] G[race]'s letter; and inform him that the Resolutions transmitted by H.G. have been transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief for his information. That V[ice] A[dmiral] Bligh¹ has received orders to proceed to Scotland to take the command of the . . . vessels stationed for the defence of the Coast, that H.G. may be assured that the Admiralty are not unmindful of the protection necessary to be given to so important a part of H.M.'s dominions. (insert here some paragraphs from the Admiralty letter, somewhat softened.) I have further the honor to inform H.G. that the Earl Moira sets out for Edinburgh on this day to take the Command of H.M.'s forces in Scotland, and that H.G. may rely upon it that everything will be done for the defence of Aberdeenshire that the exigencies of circumstances can require."

This reply may have palliated the heartburnings of the worthy citizens of Aberdeen for a short time, but on the 5th November, 1803, the Duke of Gordon remarks that up

¹ Sir Richard Rodney Bligh (1737-1821); Commander-in-Chief at Leith, 1803-4; G.C.B., 1820.

to that date "three corps only were supplied with arms. Application has been made to the Board of Ordnance for Arms, &c to the others, but they are not issued."

In this hopelessly inadequate way the Government was "preparing" for the coming of Bonaparte's veterans. A letter sent from the Secretary-at-War to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties in October admits the tangle into which the various Acts had got. "Whatever difficulties may have attended the execution of these important measures of preparation and defence, it is a great satisfaction to reflect, that they have arisen, in a great measure, from a zeal and alacrity on the part of the people, which have exceeded even the hopes and expectations of the Government. They have proceeded from the spontaneous and unanimous feelings of a high-spirited nation, determined to maintain its independence against the utmost efforts of an insolent and implacable enemy; and pressing forward, instantaneously, with one heart and mind, to uphold the honour of a beloved Sovereign, and to preserve its ancient and invaluable laws and liberties."¹

Eventually Scotland was divided into four military districts, the Northern with head-quarters at Aberdeen, under Major-General the Marquis of Huntly;² the Centre with head-quarters at Dundee, under Brigadier-General Donald M'Donald; the Western with head-quarters at Glasgow, under Major-General W. Wemyss; and the Southern with head-quarters at Musselburgh and West Barns, the former

¹ *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 325.

² This distinguished General (1770-1836) raised the regiment now known as the Gordon Highlanders, which played a conspicuous part in the Napoleonic wars. The Marquis succeeded to the dukedom of Gordon in 1827.

under Major-General Sir J. St. Clair Erskine, and the latter under Major-General Don.¹

Ap[ro]pos of the unguarded state of the North British coasts, the Association for Promoting the Defence of the Firth of Forth and Scotland in General was started in July, 1803, and met with well-deserved success, the expenses being defrayed by voluntary contributions. In order to call attention to the objects of the Association, and to awaken the people to a sense of the danger which threatened them, a mass of patriotic literature and placards was sent broadcast all over the country. The sea fencibles were armed with pikes, but an apathetic Government had failed to supply anybody to teach the men the use of the weapon. A sum was therefore set aside for this purpose and a drill-master obtained, with good results. A premium was also paid to the first twelve men in the force who by their skill proved that they were capable of imparting their knowledge to others. The ordinary volunteers were not forgotten, for a large number of silver medals was also struck for presentation "to the best shots of those competitors whose regularity of conduct, and punctuality of attendance at drills, were approved of by the commanding officer." The first Report of the Association states that "many of the companies in this district have by practice acquired so great a degree of proficiency, that in their exercise every fifth or sixth shot is made to take place in a target of three feet diameter, at the distance of about 100 yards. This, with the common battalion firelock, is a high degree of precision; and if accuracy on a proportional scale may be expected from them in battle, the efficiency of the military

¹ *History of the Edinburgh, or Queen's Regiment Light Infantry Militia*, p. 39, by Major R. C. Dudgeon.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF BONAPARTE



Published by G. S. B. R. 1804

THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND DYING BEHAVIOUR OF THE UNHAPPY MALFACTOR

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

HE was born at Ajaccio, a little town in the island of Corsica, of poor parents, whose lineage is very much doubted. Being attracted to the military life, he quitted his father's stall (he was a butcher) and obtained a commission of Captain, who he was promoted, by the Ducal House, for inventing a more speedy way of destroying the females of that town. This kind of the assumption of despotic power, his more unassisted Britain, whom he outworked.

Having overturned the liberties of France, he subverted those of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, for these acts of crime the impostors of all those countries.

DEIFIED THE MONSTER;

and by a servile rout, celebrated the triumph. The British Nation alone firmly refused to worship him; not only this, they openly

questioned his divinity, asserted, he scarcely merited to be numbered, as to class him among the brute creation; Some maintain that he belonged to the genus *Felis* of the Linnaeus; others, to the subgenus *Canis* of the genus *L. var.* He was a black-rook, because the insolence which he displayed in Britain, and brought upon himself the diabolical catastrophe those depicted. This is the *STRACCIUS* signified to be a culprit; the just reward of his numerous robberies and murders.

The evening before his execution, he showed symptoms of contrition, and confessed he was the man who, in 1793, fired grey-shot at his friends, the people of Paris; that he had stolen the systole municipality of *Paris*, and burnt every house and every soul in the town of *Brissot*, chiefly to give *relief* to the conqueror of *Italy*. Showing in relate, this hardened offender remarked, that the blood of 100,000 persons, who had fallen in consequence of his successes there,

would render it a beneficial quantity more fertile. Being asked whether he had intended, in forcing the plow in this island by the same means, he indignantly confessed that he was contented with the deepest hatred for every thing English—not only the people, but the manufacturers, merchants, ships, and the land itself. Above all, he hated their transports, their freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. He attempted to palliate the poisoning of his own neck, by stating that they would refer death to falling into the hands of the English. After a pause, he confessed there was no cause for the daughter of the surviving inhabitants of *Alexandria*, nor for the murder of 3000 *Melancholians* at *El Arish*, four days after their surrender, those massacres in cold blood, could give such compensation to the sufferer, and gave a gloom to his aspect. As to his religious faith, nothing could be ascertained for certain, but it is believed he died a *Mahometan* or an *Alchist*.

AN INVASION BROADSIDE OF AUGUST, 1803

defence of the country will thereby, it is evident, be greatly augmented."

Colonel Crichton, one of the committee, invented a machine "to be fixed on coach or chaise-wheels," and drawn by two horses, which was large enough to carry from ten to twelve men with their arms and accoutrements. Experiments showed that this light vehicle could be hauled at the rate of seven miles an hour over fairly rough country, and was therefore of special value for conveying men from one place to another with fair rapidity should occasion require. Nearly one hundred of these vehicles were built and handed over to the Lord Lieutenant, and several suitable for artillery were stationed at Dunbar. Premiums were paid to farmers and others who had the greatest number of wheel-carriages mounted with these frames ready for use on the shortest notice. A new gun being introduced to the Association, facilities were given to the inventor to carry on his experiments, and trials were made at Leith Fort.

A contract was entered into with some of the shipbuilders of Leith for the equipment of several vessels of from fifty to seventy tons, to be used as an auxiliary force for the defence of the Forth. The largest of these carried two 24 and two 18-pounders. Another vessel was fitted out on experimental lines, and twelve herring boats were also secured for purposes of defence. A sum of £300 was voted for the purchase of greatcoats for the volunteers.

Within a short time military schools sprang up at various places in the south of England, the most important being Shorncliffe camp, which was under the command of General John Moore, and Essex, Kent, Sussex, and many other counties were dotted with the tents of soldiers; but the hesitancy of Ministers as to some definite plan of

action, and the inordinate number of Acts of Parliament relating to internal defence, precluded complete efficiency.

“That the Emperor of the French was thoroughly in earnest can no longer be doubted,” says Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury, who was on the staff of the Quarter-master-General’s Department in Kent and Sussex at the time. “It is also pretty evident, that it was his design to land upon that part of the coast of England which lies nearest to Boulogne, that part which stretches from the cliffs of Dover to the borders of Sussex. The landing of the enemy must have been made good in face of the numerous batteries which lined our shores, and of about eighteen strong battalions of infantry (some of them militia) and twenty squadrons of cavalry which lay close at hand.¹ But carriages and fish-carts would have brought several thousands from the rear within a very few hours; and of volunteers and yeomanry there would have been considerable numbers.

“Sir David Dundas held the chief command in Kent and Sussex. It was his intention, if he should be beaten on the shore, to withdraw his troops, not in the direction of London, but throwing back his right and centre to retreat upon the intrenched camp at Dover. In that strong position he could have brought the enemy to bay, and gained time for the gathering of the strength of Britain around the metropolis. Or, if the general had found that Napoleon disregarded him, and was marching straight upon London, then Dundas would have sallied forth and pressed close upon the rear and right flank of the enemy’s columns. The direct road from Canterbury and the passage of the lower Medway were barred by the

¹ The number of the infantry may be taken at fully 12,000 rank and file, the cavalry at about 2800 sabres. About fifty pieces of field artillery would have been present.—Bunbury.

intrenched camp at Chatham. The French must have taken their routes by Maidstone, etc., through a more difficult country, where their columns would have been delayed by the breaking up of the roads. Sir James Pulteney commanded in Sussex; Sir James Craig in Essex. With the help of carriages the former would have reached the great chain of chalk hills before the enemy; or he might have brought 10,000 men to bear on their left flank while it was embarrassed by the difficulties of the way through the Weald of Kent. Craig would have crossed the Thames from Tilbury, or have hastened directly to London.

“It would have been madness in the British to have risked a general battle in the field, even in such tempting positions as the chalk hills offer. Our troops were not then of a quality to meet and frustrate the manœuvres of such an army as that which Napoleon would have led to the attack. We needed every advantage which numbers and positions could afford. It was in London itself, or rather along the skirts of Greenwich, Southwark, and Lambeth, that it was our business to fight the great battle to the uttermost, day after day, and night after night; bringing to the relief of every post fresh combatants as they arrived in quick succession from all parts of the Kingdom. What mattered the burning of some hundreds of houses, when compared with the mighty stake which was at issue? Our best reliance was upon the numbers and the daring courage of Englishmen; upon the resolution of millions to vanquish tens of thousands.”¹

In an incredibly short time over 300,000 yeomanry and volunteers were enrolled, while on the high seas no fewer than 120,000 men were in the service of Old

¹ *Narrative of some Passages in the Great War with France, from 1799 to 1810*, by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury, K.C.B., pp. 176-7.

England.¹ The wealthy gave generously of their supply of this world's goods for the defence of their country. Lloyd's voted the sum of £20,000 3 per cent consolidated annuities for the relief of maimed warriors, for the granting of rewards for valour, and such like. It speaks volumes for the charitable instincts of our forefathers that within a couple of months over £150,000 was raised by voluntary contributions alone. Of no less practical character was the gift of the East India Company of twenty armed ships for the protection of the Thames; the Trinity House Brethren voting ten frigates, completely equipped and manned, for a similar purpose. These were moored across the river, in the Hope. In addition, a smart corps of volunteer artillerymen was formed and kept up at a cost of over £10,000.

At a crowded meeting held on July 26th, 1803, in the Stock Exchange, the following declaration was proposed, and unanimously carried by between four and five thousand prominent representatives of commerce. The citizens of London determined to contest every inch of ground should circumstances require it.

“We the Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood, deem it our bounden duty, at the present momentous period, to make public our unanimous determination to stand or fall with our King and Country.

“The independence and existence of the British Empire—the safety, the liberty, the life of every man in the Kingdom are at stake. The events perhaps of a few

¹ According to the official returns, up to December 9th, 1803, no fewer than 380,060 men for England, Scotland, and Wales, and 82,941 for Ireland, making a grand total of 463,001, had volunteered their services for internal defence.—59 Com. Journal, p. 502. Quoted by Clode, Vol. I, p. 313.

months, certainly of a few years, are to determine whether we and our children are to continue free men and members of the most flourishing community in the world, or whether we are to be the slaves of our most implacable enemies—themselves the slaves of a foreign Usurper!

“We look on this great crisis without dismay. We have the most firm reliance on the spirit and virtue of the people of this country. We believe that there exists a firmer as well as nobler courage than any which rapine can inspire; and we cannot entertain such gloomy and unworthy apprehensions of the moral order of the world, as to think that so admirable a quality can be the exclusive attribute of freebooters or slaves. We fight for our laws and liberties—to defend the dearest hopes of our children—to maintain the unspotted glory which we have inherited from our ancestors—to guard from outrage and shame those whom nature has entrusted to our protection—to preserve the honour and existence of the country that gave us birth.

“We fight for that constitution and system of society, which is at once the noblest monument and the firmest bulwark of civilization! We fight to preserve the whole earth from the barbarous yoke of military despotism! We fight for the independence of all nations, even of those who are the most indifferent to our fate, or the most blindly jealous of our prosperity!

“In so glorious a cause—in the defence of these dear and sacred objects, we trust the God of our Fathers will inspire us with valour which will be more than equal to the daring ferocity of those who are lured, by the hope of plunder, to fight the battles of ambition.

“His Majesty is about to call upon his people to arm in their own defence. We trust, and we believe, that he will not call on them in vain—that the free men of this land, going forth in the righteous cause of their country, under the blessing of Almighty God, will inflict the most signal

chastisement on those who have dared to threaten our destruction—a chastisement, of which the memory will long guard the shores of this Island, and which may not only vindicate the honour, and establish the safety of the British empire, but may also, to the latest posterity, serve as an example to strike terror into tyrants, and to give courage and hope to insulted and oppressed nations.

“For the attainment of these great ends, it is necessary that we should not only be an unanimous, but a zealous, an ardent, an unconquerable people—that we should consider the public safety as the chief interest of every individual—that every man should deem the sacrifice of his fortune and his life to his country as nothing more than his duty—that no man should murmur at any exertions or privations which this awful crisis may impose upon him—that we should regard faintness or languor in the common cause as the basest treachery—that we should go into the field with an unshaken resolution to conquer or to die—and that we should look upon nothing as a calamity compared with the subjugation of our country.

“We have most sacred duties to perform—we have most invaluable blessings to preserve—we have to gain glory and safety, or to incur indelible disgrace, and to fall into irretrievable ruin. Upon our efforts will depend the triumph of liberty over despotism—of national independence over projects of universal empire—and, finally, of civilization itself over barbarism.

“At such a moment we deem it our duty solemnly to bind ourselves to each other, and to our countrymen, in the most sacred manner, that we will employ all our exertions to rouse the spirits, and to assist the resources of the kingdom—that we will be ready with our services of every sort, and on every occasion, in its defence—and that we will rather perish together, than live to see the Honour of the British Name tarnished, or that noble inheritance of greatness, glory, and liberty destroyed, which has de-

scended to us from our forefathers, and which we are determined to transmit to our posterity.

“JACOB BOSANQUET,
“Chairman.”¹

Resolutions of a similar character, but often in more emphatic terms, were passed by the inhabitants of many other districts and towns. Bonaparte was anathematized from one end of the country to the other. The good people of Lambeth styled him “an obscure Corsican, who began his murderous career by turning his artillery upon the citizens of Paris—who boasted, in his public letter from Pavia, to have shot the whole municipality—who put the helpless, innocent, and unoffending inhabitants of Alexandria, man, woman, and child, to the sword, till slaughter was tired of its work,” and so on. “Such is the tyrant we are called upon to oppose,” this resolution concludes; “and such is the fate which awaits England should we suffer him and his degraded slaves to pollute our soil.”

In *The Times* of the 6th August, 1803, a writer sums up the progress of the volunteer movement as follows:—

“Eleven weeks are barely passed since the declaration of war, and we defy any man living to mention a period when *half so much* was ever effected, in the same space of time, for the defence of the country. 1st. A naval force such as Great Britain never had before, has been completely equipped, manned, and in readiness to meet the enemy. 2nd. The regular military force of the kingdom has been put on the most respectable footing. 3rd. The militia has been called forth, and *encamped* with the regular forces. 4th. The supplementary militia has also been embodied, and even encamped. 5th. An army

¹ *Anti-Gallican*, No. 2, pp. 37-8.

of reserve of 50,000 men has been already added to this force, and is now in great forwardness. 6th. A measure has been adopted for calling out and arming the whole mass of the people, in case of emergency; and we are confident that our information is correct, when we say, that at *this moment* there are nearly 300,000 men enrolled in different Volunteer, Yeomanry, and Cavalry Corps, of whom at least a *third* may be considered as already disciplined and accoutred."

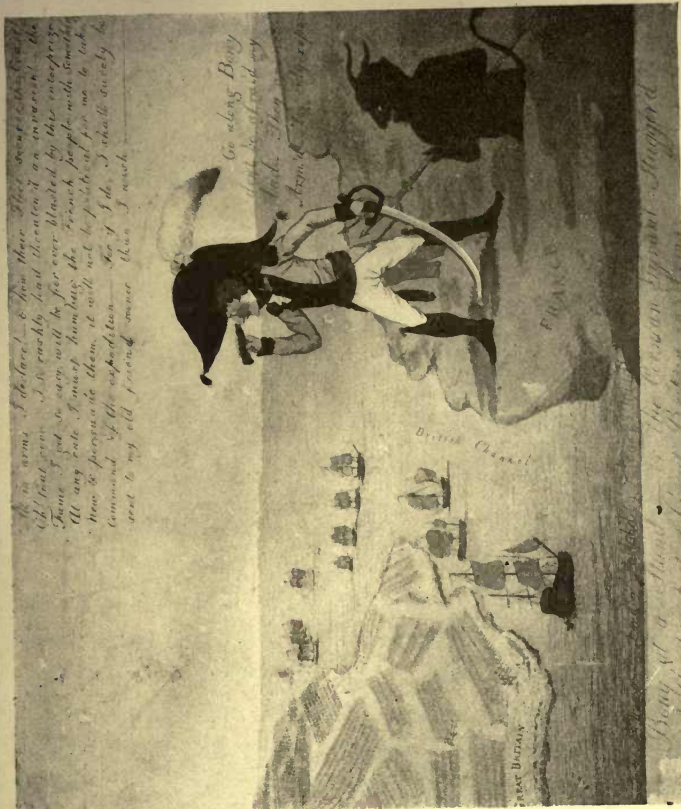
Patriotism was in the air. Men left the counting-house and the factory to snatch an hour at drill. Members of Parliament showed their appreciation by a resolution—

"That the thanks of the House be given to the several Volunteers and Yeomanry Corps of the United Kingdom for the promptitude and zeal with which, at a crisis the most momentous to their country, they have associated for its defence.

"Ordered, *nemine contradicente*.

"That a return be prepared, to be laid before this House in the next Session of Parliament, of all Volunteers and Yeomanry Corps, whose services shall have been then accepted by His Majesty; describing each Corps, in order that such return may be entered on the journals of the House, and the patriotic example of such voluntary exertions transmitted to posterity."

The male population indulged in a universal game of follow-my-leader. Just as soon as it became known that a neighbour was making strenuous efforts to improve himself in drill by exercising privately, so others imitated his example. Not a few accidents occurred in the streets through enthusiastic citizens handling guns about which they knew very little. One man fired a musket loaded



BONAPARTE STAGGERED AT THE BRITISH PREPARATIONS FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE.
 [CIR. 1803]

with six cartridges, with results fatal to himself and disastrous to several others. The military tendency of the day even influenced Dame Fashion. One of the ladies' dresses then much in vogue is described as "a short, round dress of white muslin, with a rifle dress of dark green velvet and a rifle hat to correspond."

On one memorable occasion the volunteers showed their usefulness in peace in averting what would have been a truly national calamity.¹ Some workmen engaged in repairing the roof of Westminster Abbey carelessly left their melting-pot unprotected while they were having dinner, and soon a portion of the venerable building was well alight. London was not then protected by a County Council Fire Brigade, and before sufficient water could be pumped on the burning mass the roof of the tower fell in. Soldiers, volunteers, and others, encouraged by the Duke of York, formed a line to the river and passed buckets of water to the firemen, who succeeded in arresting the progress of the flames after damage to the extent of some £5000 had been done.

Much information as to military and political affairs leaked out on both sides, but perhaps the most valuable capture in this respect was a mail-bag containing eighty-four letters found on the East India Company's ship the *Admiral Aplin*, bound for Madras, which was taken by a French squadron under Linois. There were communications from Lord Grenville to Marquis Wellesley, from Henry Wellesley, Sir Lionel Darell, the Marquis of Titchfield, and other more or less prominent men, all of which Bonaparte caused to be translated and inserted in an enlarged edition of the *Moniteur* of the 16th September,

¹ July 9th, 1803.

1804. The letters themselves bear dates in July or August, 1803, and for this reason are inserted here. The all-absorbing topic is the invasion, followed by grumbles about Addington's lax administration, the bad state of business, the great increases in taxes, and the affairs of the East India Company.

Lord Grenville, writing to Marquis Wellesley, while admitting that his "difference with Addington becomes every day more marked, all the motives which made Pitt and me differ in opinion and conduct, daily decrease," is pessimistic, and remarks: "I hope nothing will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit. . . . The papers, if you have them, will inform you that all our conversation at present turns on invasion, and that we at length begin to take measures for enabling us to face our enemies, if they should be able to effect a landing, which, though very improbable, is certainly not in any manner impossible." This is very different to the note already quoted.¹ Another correspondent says: "The preparations to repel the projected invasion are immense: it is better to be always ready to oppose such an enterprize; by an act of parliament, therefore, everybody is to become a soldier." A third writer avers that there is "such a demand for military accoutrements, that bear-skins have risen from £12 to £50 apiece, and sometimes we wait above two months before we can have our musquets from the hands of the armourer; it is thus comparatively with all the rest. We exercise in the morning and afternoon, two hours at a time. Government has long had the intention of throwing up entrenchments round

¹ See *ante*, p. 37.

London, to commence at the River Lea, near Blackwall, pass through Hackney, Highgate, Wilden-green,¹ and return behind Holland House to Battersea Bridge; but I imagine there will be no occasion to put this plan in force. We are perfectly unanimous, and proceed heartily; and really we desire nothing so much as the arrival of the French." A Mr. Taylor, the author of several political works upon Egypt and India, says that "the pen and the sword rival each other; and military songs, defiances, proclamations of every kind, to animate the people in general in the good cause, would make a cargo for the largest ship that ever anchored in the Ganges." To the following letter the editor of the *Moniteur* added a note to the effect that "Mrs. — seems to judge pretty well of the state of the country." "You learn by the public papers the difficulty in which we are; subscriptions are established for everything: all the articles of the first necessity are at a higher price than ever. I fear the people, in their discontent, would join the French if they should endeavour to come; all the world has become military; great preparations for defence are made throughout all England.—The times are sad indeed." No more optimistic is another writer: "No day passes without witnessing the ruin of the most opulent commercial houses; judge then of the situation of those possessing less brilliant resources." "The impending crisis is terrible." "When this reaches you the grand blow will have been struck," prophesies one correspondent. "Two hundred thousand men upon the coast of Calais wait only for the orders of the conquering Bonaparte. My hope and my confidence are in the arm of the Almighty. Our

¹ ? Willesden Green.

coasts are lined with soldiers, and the greatest consternation prevails throughout. . . ." "This terrible war coming so suddenly upon us, has given such a shock to the commercial world, that no one dares trust his neighbour, not knowing what may happen to-morrow," and so on. Less truthful but more amusing is the news that "the public papers of the day announce that the nephew and niece of Bonaparte are brought prisoners to Portsmouth."

CHAPTER XIV

THE RÔLE OF THE FRENCH NAVY, 1803

“They want to make us jump the ditch, and we will jump it.”

NAPOLEON.

THE bewildering array of statistics dealing with the means of transporting his huge army and its necessary impedimenta to the fertile shores of England which the First Consul prepared would only tend to confuse the reader if quoted *in extenso*. Suffice it to say that on the 10th September, 1803, Bonaparte drew up a complete schedule of the flotilla which, while following in its general details his plan of the 22nd August, is infinitely more comprehensive, and abounds in that wealth of minutiae which is the leading characteristic of all his military and naval correspondence.

Fifty-four *prames* in two divisions were to form a *flottille de grande espèce*. Each boat was capable of carrying three officers, twenty-five infantry, fifty cavalry, and two non-combatants, making a total of eighty men. The cargo would consist of a formidable array of munitions of war: twenty-seven muskets, twenty bayonets, 200 tools, 12,000 cartridges, 1200 rations of biscuit, 500 rations of oats and the same of bran, fifty horses, sixty saddles, and six sheep. In the fifty-four vessels 4320 men were disposed of.¹

¹ September 10th, 1803. Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 101.

The flotilla of sloops was to remain at 324 vessels, as already planned, and each was to be accompanied by a small pinnace. Three officers of a company, ninety-one officers and soldiers, two officers of the battalion staff, one officer of the general staff, three gunners, three waggoners, and eight surgeons, making a total of 111 men, was the complement of each *bateau*, or 35,964 in all. Twenty-seven muskets, twenty bayonets, twenty-seven pioneers' tools, 1200 flints, 12,000 cartridges, 1200 rations of biscuit, 150 pints of brandy, and four sheep were also to be stowed away in each sloop.

The gunboats, of which there were to be 432, were each to carry 130 men, making a total of 56,160 men, including 3456 surgeons, formed a third flotilla. A piece of field artillery in addition to the 24-pounder with which they were armed was to be carried, and a cargo similar to a sloop, plus two horses, ten bushels each of oats and bran, and 200 rounds of shot. As in the case of the sloops, a pinnace was to go with each gunboat. A further 2160 soldiers were to cross the Channel in 540 *caïques*, loaded with 216,000 cartridges, 21,600 rations of biscuit, 1080 rations of brandy, and 108 sheep.

A fifth flotilla of eighty-one corvettes, each holding forty soldiers, added 3240 men to the number already noted. These also carried the same kind of cargo as the *bateaux canonnières*, but without the artillery and ammunition. Fishing boats to the number of 108 were to transport 2160 horses and riders, with a double supply of saddles and bridles. Biscuits, brandy, sheep, and fodder also found a place in the hold.

The figures quoted above can only convey a crude idea of the enormous amount of munitions of war it was

necessary to carry to England. The transport flotilla was to be composed of six distinct classes of fishing vessels, 464 of which were calculated to carry no fewer than nearly three million cartridges and 1208 horses, as well as food, guns, bridles, and the thousand and one things indispensable to a campaign. Canteen women to the number of 1760, and 3560 men and officers, in addition to the crews, were also to be accommodated. Moreover, from 100 to 150 large armed fishing vessels disposed of a further 200 horses, 1000 men, 10,000 biscuits, and 1000 rations of brandy, oats, and bran respectively, and 200 sheep. The army of invasion as then planned was to have a total strength of 114,554 men, including 76,798 infantry, 11,640 cavalry, 3780 artillery men, 3780 waggons, and 17,467 non-combatants. It may be noticed that there were several thousand troops in excess of the number allowed for in the boats, but it was found that each vessel was able to accommodate from twelve to fourteen men in excess of their official complement.¹

The two months following his return from Boulogne were spent by the First Consul on the project which was now the darling of his heart. So anxious was he to complete his armada that messengers bringing despatches relating to its progress arrived at all times of the day and night from the various ports of concentration. In some cases he sent half a dozen different orders under separate covers to the same man within twenty-four hours. His sea of correspondence was always at high tide, and additional secretarial assistance became necessary. But just as his work grew more arduous, so his powers of adaptability seemed to increase. He wore out the men

¹ These figures are based on Desbrière, Vol. III, pp. 98-105.

under him and replaced them by others. From a thousand different sources he gathered information as to the progress of the work in hand. What one commander omitted to mention in his despatch Bonaparte found detailed in a communication from another officer. The soldier always had first claim on his sympathy; his well-being was his constant anxiety. An ill-clad, half-starved army is not a good fighting machine. The First Consul complains to Soult that he is told the provisions on the flotilla are bad, and especially the biscuits, "which make war." He asks to be informed as to the truth of this report, and remarks, "We shall have quite enough cold weather, and other inconveniences to combat, without making things worse by bad food." "Money shall not be lacking," he adds. "Let me know if you have received the 160,000 francs asked for. The 50,000 francs which you still request shall also be paid. All measures shall be taken to prevent any delay in the operations."¹

A letter he had written to Berthier, the Minister of War, two days previously, is particularly interesting because it shows the high state of efficiency he required of every soldier of France:—

"As to the instruction of the gunners, General Sebastiani² . . . must direct the practice of the four batteries every day, selecting some spot on the sea and there placing a white mark or other signal. If he himself is not sufficiently familiar with artillery practice he must take with him a captain residing at Havre, who will accompany him everywhere, and so the gunners will be well instructed. The 300

¹ Dated September 30th, 1803. *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Letter No. 7144, Vol. IX, p. 10.

² Sebastiani had previously been sent by Napoleon to inspect the condition of Turkey and the Levant. See *ante*, Vol. I, p. 277.

hussars whom he has with him can also serve the horse artillery batteries. They can rapidly be converted into horse artillery men, and General Sebastiani should see to this formation of the new service. He should take care that there are infantry cartridges for all the batteries, and that the hussars are always supplied with these so as to be able to protect with their carbines any forts that are disabled. He must remind the Hussars that *a French soldier ought to be at one and the same time a horseman, a foot-soldier, and an artilleryman*; that he must be competent to do everything. General Sebastiani should repair with all haste to the points that the enemy would attack, to encourage the inhabitants, and to use all needed means.”¹

The First Consul studied the tides and winds, endeavouring by this means to calculate how long it would take the flotilla to reach England, but he failed to arrive at a definite conclusion, the time varying from six hours to three days. He did not blind himself to the fact that the experiment was a risky one, and he discerned that if the enemy's vessels were to come up with his own, a conflict in which many lives and ships would be lost must certainly ensue. The soldiers were therefore taught to board a ship in case such a contingency should occur. A hand-to-hand conflict would decide the issue, provided the little boats were not swept clear by British broadsides.

Admiral Decrès drew the attention of Bonaparte to this matter, but his chief had already made allowance for such an eventuality. “By sacrificing one hundred gunboats and ten thousand men,” said the naval officer, “it is not impossible that we may repel the assault of the enemy's squadron and close the Straits.” “One loses that number

¹ Dated September 28th, 1803. *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Letter No. 7137, Vol. IX, p. 5.

in battle every day," the First Consul replied in his cold, calculating way. "And what battle ever promised the results which a landing in England authorizes us to hope for?"

Anxious to win the approval of his exacting master, Bruix published the following proclamation at Boulogne. It bears the date July 30th, 1803, and is written in the style so much affected by Bonaparte himself. The Admiral calculated upon rousing the dormant powers of the laggards by his dramatic epistle, as well as encouraging those who had already entered heart and soul into the project:—

"The First Consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your Admiral. He sends me to you to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised above himself? Who would doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen! the choice of Bonaparte renders me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance. Our towns and districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes. All Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a Government which is an enemy of the peace of the world; and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprise. To you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be assured that you will fulfil your noble destiny. Recollect that the victory begins in your docks, and in your navy and military exercises. Let those ships which insolently cruise along our shores, at sight of your labours, return and say to their Government, 'A fearful day is preparing; the winds of the sea, again favourable to the Conqueror of Egypt, may in a

This is to give information for the benefit of all Jacobin Adventurers, that Polver is now
spend at Lloyds - where the deposit of one Guinea is entitled a Hundred of the
Corticant Cut-throat is Alive 48 Hours after Landing on the British Coast



Ha my little Boney
what dost think of John Bull now
Plunder Old England thy
make French Slaves of us all 'hax
ravish all our Wives & Daughters has
O Lord help that silly Head
to think that John Bull would
ever suffer those Lanthern Jews to
become King of Old England Roust
Boy & Plumtadding

THE PROBABLE END OF THE INVASION ACCORDING TO GILLRAY.
JULY 26, 1803

few hours bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory.' To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts; that can alone add to the activity of your labours. Sailors, we are on the scene of action! To lose a moment would be criminal cowardice! Redouble, therefore, your zeal; multiply your services; and the nation which oppresses the seas will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

“BRUIX.”

In printing the above, under the heading of “Foreign Intelligence,” the editor of the *European Magazine* makes some pertinent comments which must have been particularly pleasing to his subscribers at the time. He says:—

“The more the First Consul and his agents rage and storm, the more decisive proof they afford of their *impotence*. The Manifesto of Admiral Bruix is, in our mind, a proclamation of British security. While he treats us with a shower of words, our brave seamen are treating him with a shower of balls. His thunders may be as loud, but they are more innocent. The French themselves must feel their degradation, when their Admiral-in-Chief is announced as commanding *boats*, instead of *ships-of-the-line*; a flotilla, instead of a navy. We can assure him that he will be more happy in his effort to excite *ridicule* than to inspire *terror*. We know not where the First Consul has ever seen the terror of Englishmen. Perhaps at Acre—Perhaps at the Nile! Perhaps Menou can tell him how they were panic-struck at Alexandria—at Cairo! Perhaps he has lately heard of it from *Boulogne* and *Dieppe*. We can tell him, the only fear that Englishmen experience, is the *fear that he will not venture out of port.*”¹

¹ *European Magazine*, September, 1803, p. 235.

About this time the First Consul organized a corps of *Guides-Interprètes*, consisting of 117 men who wrote and spoke the English language. Not a few of them had lived in England, and Irishmen were specially welcome. It was conjectured that they would be of the utmost value when the enemy's shore was reached. Shortly afterwards a marine guard was formed of soldiers who had distinguished themselves in former campaigns. These veterans were to form the crew of the vessel on which Bonaparte would embark. Lannes,¹ the hero of a hundred fights, was to have the honour of first putting foot on English soil.

Bonaparte was now wearying of the delays and mistakes which were continually reported to him, and a small château in a village called Pont-de-Briques, just outside Boulogne, was rented by his orders.² He wished to have a house in which to work and reside whenever it was possible for him to leave Paris. "The Little Corporal" was not unaware of the personal magnetism which he exercised on those about him, and he felt that flying visits to the scene of operations would be highly beneficial to all concerned, from conscript to general. This château he made his head-quarters, several members of his staff residing with him. Pont-de-Briques was about half a league from Boulogne, and setting out in his carriage or on his horse, he frequently put in an appearance at the port. In the evening he would return, usually accompanied by several men who

¹ Jean Lannes, Marshal in 1804, and created Duke of Montebello in 1808. He was mortally wounded at Aspern, May 22nd, 1809, and died on the 31st of that month.

² This château is still in existence, and is used as an orphanage. The main parts of the building, including the privy apartments of the Emperor, have undergone no alterations.—Communicated by M. H. Hiance, Town Archivist of Boulogne.

played important parts in the project. When the ministers in Paris wished to communicate with him personally, they were obliged to make the tedious journey of one hundred and fifty-seven miles between the two places. He also had a wooden hut erected on the Tour d'Odre so that he might have a bird's-eye view of the town. Standing at the door of his abode, he watched the movements of the British ships which guarded the Channel. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, they would fire in the hope of damaging a batch of boats as they stealthily made their way to the point of concentration, hugging the shore as much as they dared, occasionally grounding in their efforts to escape. With the aid of a telescope Bonaparte could discern the white cliffs of Albion, which were in very truth "so near and yet so far." While that squadron appeared on the horizon there was little hope of embarking the troops and horses on board the flotilla and making a start, but if he could only succeed in decoying the most important divisions of the enemy's fleet by making them chase one or more of the French squadrons, the matter might be very different. The time for such a movement was speedily drawing near.

No sooner had he taken up his residence on the Tour d'Odre than Admiral Bruix was expected to do the same. A lean-to close to Bonaparte's hut was hastily constructed, and the officer took up his quarters there. Worn out by over-exertion, exposed continually to inclement weather, walking, riding, or driving from one part of the camp to another, the "Admiral of the Flotilla destined to carry War to England" was wearing himself to death. But the ruler of France required ceaseless vigilance in all associated with him, and so it often happened that the two

sat poring over documents and maps from sunset till dawn. As Decrès well said, "The First Consul requires so much activity, and what an extraordinary example he sets of it himself!"¹ A tiny house on a bleak cliff is not inviting at the best of times, and when winter approached it is not to be wondered at that Bruix felt the loss of ordinary comforts to no little extent. Decrès and Soult were also accommodated in wooden residences within a stone's-throw of the others.

A number of large guns with long range, and capable of hurling explosive shells, were fixed on the Tour d'Odre. The glass in the windows of the First Consul's *baraque* was frequently broken, and the shock and noise made by the firing brought blood to the ears of the unfortunate fellows whose duty it was to work these death-dealing batteries, which were the heaviest on the coast.

The autumn of 1803 had set in, and the soldiers were anxious for a start to be made. By constant practice on board the gunboats and pinnaces they had become expert sailors and rowers. The "Instructions for the Crews of Pinnaces," issued under Bonaparte's auspices, occupied seven printed pages, and dealt exhaustively with the art. His despatches teem with references to his personal work. "I spent part of last night in making the troops perform night evolutions, a manœuvre which well-trained and well-disciplined troops may sometimes employ with advantage against levies *en masse*," he writes to Cambacérès on the 9th November, 1803.² Mounted on his horse, he frequently rode along the sands from point to point in fair weather and foul. "I have passed these three

¹ Dated 7th January, 1804. Thiers' *Consulate and Empire*," Vol. I, p. 573 (ed. 1845).

² Thiers, Vol. III, p. 79 (ed. 1893-4).

days amidst the camp and the port. From the heights of Ambleteuse I have seen the coast of England, as one sees the Calvary from the Tuileries. One could distinguish the houses and the bustle. It is a ditch that shall be leaped when one is daring enough to try.”¹ The First Consul’s latest campaign had become more popular than ever with the soldiers and the people. The clergy did their utmost to stir up the feeling and patriotism of the Church militant. “Choose men of good courage,” wrote the Bishop of Arras, “and go forth to fight Amalek.”² The excitement even spread to the Jewish portion of the population, the Chief Rabbi giving instructions that prayers for the success of the Army of Invasion should be said for forty days.

As soon as Bonaparte had discerned that it was impossible to concentrate the whole of his armada at Boulogne, notwithstanding the enlargement of that port, he decided that several smaller harbours should be used for the little boats. Wimereux and Ambleteuse, some five miles north of Boulogne, were therefore made over to the engineers under M. Sganzin. Étapes, twelve miles distant, was not forgotten, and the three ports together eventually contained no fewer than seven hundred vessels. Each one became a miniature Boulogne, and Dieppe, Havre, St. Valery, Caen, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Calais, and Ostend were filled with shipping. The two latter, with the Dunkirk flotilla, were to provide a reserve. This scheme was afterwards abandoned, and the ships helped to swell the continually growing number of gun-brigs and transports at Boulogne, Wimereux, Ambleteuse, and Étapes.

¹ 16th November, 1803. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

² *Memoirs of Madame De Rémusat* (London, 1880), Vol. I, p. 159.

Holland, although a Republic in name, was scarcely more than a province of France. The work on the flotilla which was being built at Flushing and Ostend did not proceed with the celerity desired by the First Consul. On September 28th we find him writing from Paris to General Berthier complaining that General Davoust reports to him that the commander of the artillery division of the *corps d'armée* has not yet appeared. Says Bonaparte :—

“I cannot conceive whence this negligence arises : owing to which the artillery is in the greatest disorder. Six pieces of 36 have arrived from Luxembourg, but without carriages or ammunition ; you yourself have ordered the latter to be made at Bruges where are neither workmen nor an arsenal. These pieces of 36 will therefore be useless. . . . The mortars which have been sent from Strasbourg to Ostend will only carry 21 lbs. of powder. I am told they are of the worst possible manufacture. The artillery at Ostend has no fuses for shells, indeed is without every needful accessory. Ten mortars have been sent to Ostend, but the carriages which accompany them do not fit and are much too light ; consequently they are rendered useless.”¹

At this period he was exacting the utmost amount of work from himself and his secretaries, and it is evident that he was concentrating the whole force of his master mind on this gigantic effort. He demanded precise information on every detail connected with the flotilla. The letter quoted above shows in no mean manner that he required the highest state of efficiency in his generals, and that he would allow no instance of mismanagement to pass unnoticed.

¹ Dated 28th September, 1803. *Correspondance de Napoléon*. Letter No. 7138, Vol. IX, p. 6.

“Get your information so that when you do answer me, there shall be no ‘buts,’ no ‘ifs,’ and no ‘because,’” was the exacting rule laid down for the guidance of correspondents. The First Consul followed it himself in cabinet and camp. He had no precious minutes to squander in pandering to the insipid conventionalities of society, and he seldom did so unless it was to serve his own ends. After the field of battle his favourite place was the study, and it is absolutely impossible to assume that he could have achieved what he did had he not spent practically the whole of the day and frequently the greater part of the night in plotting and planning, scheming and thinking.

Bonaparte could not keep his fierce energy under restraint, for fogs often covered the Channel at this time of the year, and would afford him an opportunity of crossing to England. He urged zeal in everybody connected with the project. Even the ordinary soldiers received encouragement from him, for he made minute personal investigations, stopping at every place where work was in progress, and speaking to the men in those piquant sentences which thrilled his hearers whenever they were uttered. A born actor, he gave sufficient of the dramatic touch to his speeches, letters, and actions, without betraying too obvious an appearance of striving after effect.

As an instance of the true Napoleonic “touch,” the following, taken from the *Moniteur*, is a very good example :—

“BOULOGNE, 18 *Brumaire*, an *XII*
[10th November, 1803].

“On Tuesday last, the First Consul reviewed the army and put it through several manœuvres. . . .

“It has been remarked, as a happy omen, that in digging the ground for the First Consul’s camp, a battle axe was found, which belonged to the Roman Army which invaded England. In pitching the First Consul’s tent also, at Ambleteuse, medals of William the Conqueror were found. It will be admitted that these coincidences are at least extraordinary; but they will appear much more singular if we recollect that GENERAL BONAPARTE on visiting the ruins of Pelusium in Egypt, found an engraved head of Julius Cæsar.”

Work on the enlargement and deepening of the harbour at Boulogne had been deferred, but now began in earnest. Bonaparte was in feverish haste to provide sufficient accommodation for the flotilla. While one battalion of soldiers was excavating, another was carting the refuse away, and a third unloading stone for the strengthening of the banks, sawing timber, or driving piles for the quays, but the task was of such magnitude that progress was both slow and discouraging. A man less resolute than the First Consul would not have proceeded with the undertaking, but he had yet to meet any obstacle, either human or material, which could bar his way. With an extraordinary tenacity of purpose he ordered the enlargement of the harbours of Étapes, Wimereux, and Ambleteuse in his frantic effort to provide sufficient anchorage for his miniature fleets.

The already complex scheme became daily more complex. Not until the extreme difficulty of concentrating the scattered units of the flotilla at these ports was so obvious that it could not be evaded did he come to the conclusion that little could be expected from it unless the regular navy was also used. Ganteaume, the Maritime

Prefect at Toulon,¹ early realized the futility of the undertaking on its present basis, but both Forfait and Admiral Verhuell, who was in command of the Batavian section and the most able man in the Dutch service, held the opposite view, and were in favour of the boats fighting their way across the Channel. If only Bonaparte could gain temporary command of the sea! This was the biggest "if only" of his life, and he straightway set to work to remove it. The germ of the idea—a daring combination of fleets by means of which he hoped not only to out-manceuvre Nelson and evade his colleagues, but to cover the passage of the flotilla also—was gradually growing in his fertile brain; soon the time would come for him to make it known to the persons who would be responsible for carrying it out.

A long series of defeats sustained at the hands of

¹ The following hitherto unpublished letter from the Minister of Marine to Ganteaume announcing that the First Consul had appointed the latter to the important post of Maritime Prefect at Toulon, is of special interest. It is from Mr. Broadley's collection of Napoleonic MSS., and was purchased in Paris, November, 1906:—

“PARIS, 5 *Thermidor*, An XI [24th July, 1803].

“The Minister of the Marine and Colonies to
Rear-Admiral Ganteaume at Aubagne.

“I inform you with the greatest pleasure Citizen General, that the First Consul has nominated you Maritime Prefect of the sixth *arrondissement*. This proof of confidence is the more flattering to you because you owe it to your excellent services, to your long experience, to your energy of character, and to your devotion to the Republic. The First Consul does not ignore the fact that after the arduous campaigns which you have undergone during the last war you have need of some rest; but he expects on your part a fresh proof of your zeal, and in appointing you to an administrative post he wishes to afford you an opportunity of being useful to the Government under conditions which will allow of your restoration to health. I beg you Citizen General to proceed to Toulon as quickly as possible to take charge of the Prefecture.

“I salute you.

“DECRES.”

British admirals had left the French navy lamentably weak in both vessels and seamen. At the outbreak of war in May, 1803, the First Consul found that the naval force at his disposal was hopelessly inadequate to the situation. There were only five line-of-battle ships and ten frigates ready for sea in French ports, and the fleets in being totalled but twenty-three men-of-war, twenty-seven frigates, thirty-three corvettes, and twenty-four gun-boats, advice-boats, brigs, etc. ; in all, 107 craft, to which may be added some forty transports scattered round the coasts. Bonaparte's finest vessels were thousands of miles away, either at or about to leave St. Domingo, Martinique, French Guiana, Senegal, and the Indian Ocean. They ran the grave risk of being captured or destroyed by any British squadron which might make its appearance at an inopportune moment. With a single exception the nine vessels ordered to leave the West Indies for France made a safe voyage, for two reached Rochefort, five put in at Coruña, and another at Cadiz. Such an escape from the hands of the enemy was looked upon as a happy omen. In addition to the three ships in the roads at Brest, four three-deckers, sixteen 74-gun ships, and four frigates were either under repair or dismantled in the harbour. A number of new vessels were on the stocks and would help to swell Bonaparte's disposable forces in the course of a few months, and he gave explicit directions that an *Escadre du Nord* of ten vessels should be proceeded with at once in the yards at Flushing, Ostend, Nantes, Bordeaux, and Marseilles. As to the Batavian navy of sixteen line-of-battle ships, six only were of modern construction, and had neither ammunition nor stores on board, six were in India or on the high seas, and the remaining



Upon my word - a very pretty sight Breakfast.

merry on us what a monster
- hell swallows all my ships
at a mouth full. I hope he
dont see me.

1803.
JOHN BULL PEEPING into BREST
THE BRITISH FLEET BLOCKADES THE FRENCH COAST. 1803

four required urgent repairs. Out of twelve frigates two only were available, three were building, and seven were in the colonies. Not until Midsummer, 1803, was Bonaparte able to get together anything like an efficient navy in French ports, by which time he had thirty-two sail-of-the-line and twenty-six frigates.¹

At Brest, the most important western naval station, the three ships under the command of Rear-Admiral Dordelin were of little immediate use, for each had at least 100 sailors short of their full complement. Dordelin was told that he must not allow the port to be blockaded by inferior forces—a remote contingency, seeing that Cornwallis had more than three times the number of vessels at his disposal. The Rear-Admiral's trio were to make frequent cruises, the sailors were to be exercised, and protection afforded to vessels making for the harbour, but on no account was he to engage the enemy. It is not a matter for astonishment that Dordelin replied that his outings would be "much too dangerous."²

The British Admiralty had immediately commissioned an adequate number of men-of-war to hold the actual and potential French fleets in check. In May, 1803, there were no fewer than fifty-two sail-of-the-line in service,³ a force augmented from time to time as necessity arose. So great was England's superiority at sea that at Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest she "had about twenty-eight per cent more sail-of-the-line, about thirty per cent more frigates, but 600 per cent more of small vessels,"⁴ than the enemy. Bonaparte, always inclined to underrate his

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, pp. 36-41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³ *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 210.

⁴ *Essays on Naval Defence*, by Vice-Admiral P. H. Colomb, p. 132.

opponent's strength in maritime warfare, and to exaggerate his own, immediately wanted to make use of the navy. As early as August, 1803, his thoughts were directed towards Ireland, and Decrès was told to offer to the agents of the United Irishmen then in Paris 25,000 men and 40,000 muskets, with artillery and ammunition, provided that 20,000 of their countrymen joined the French army on its landing. The First Consul was also willing that peace should only be concluded with England on condition of Irish independence.¹ The expedition was to be a diversion only, and could not be undertaken before the autumn or winter of 1803. Emmet's desperate attempt at revolution² was ill-timed and a failure, and Bonaparte thought so little of the men who continually endeavoured to persuade him to succour their country that he refused to see any of them personally. "They were divided in opinion and constantly quarrelled amongst themselves."³ Twenty vessels were to be got ready at Brest by November 22nd, but by that date only eight sail-of-the-line, four frigates, and four corvettes were in the roads, under Admiral Truguet, who had superseded Dordelin. At the end of October the First Consul decided that the Brest and Rochefort squadrons should be united, and everything was to be completed by January 22nd, 1804. Berthier was to make it known to the Irish leaders that "the General in command of the expedition will be furnished with sealed orders, by which I shall declare that I shall not make peace with England until the indepen-

¹ To Rear-Admiral Decrès. Sedan, 8th August, 1803. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 25.

² See letter from C. J. Fox, *ante*, p. 43, and footnote p. 44.

³ *Napoleon's Correspondance*, Vol. XXXII, p. 328.

dence of Ireland be recognized.”¹ From its very inception the expedition was doomed. The French squadrons were too closely watched by “the ravening wolves of the sea,” to use Bonaparte’s own expressive term for British seamen, and the Irish Legion in France, who were to constitute the major part of the army of invasion, consisted of but forty-nine officers and thirteen soldiers. On December 2nd, 1803, the First Consul issued peremptory orders for sixteen sail-of-the-line and six frigates to be ready at Toulon by the middle of the following month. Even had it been possible with the scanty means at his disposal to fit out these vessels, the acknowledged superiority of the blockading squadrons made a serious attempt at invasion, if not actually impossible, at least exceedingly hazardous. Bonaparte’s navy was as weak as his army was strong; it was now his task to bring the former to the same standard of excellence as the latter. All the ship-carpenters and boat-builders from the age of fifteen to sixty were requisitioned, and boatswains of the navy were placed over them. The whole country became an arsenal, and on moonlight nights the men continued to hammer and saw while the blast from the foundries threw a lurid light about the yards. Activity reigned, ceaseless, relentless, and untiring.

The chief interest of the arduous naval campaign on which the First Consul was so soon to enter centres upon the personalities of the admirals who conducted it. Those who fought and won for Great Britain are dealt with in a later chapter, but at this stage it is well to deal with their French contemporaries, La Touche Tréville, Ganteaume, and Villeneuve. La Touche Tréville was appointed

¹ 13th January, 1804.

Commander-in-Chief of the Toulon fleet on the 30th December, 1803. He was unquestionably one of the ablest and most daring commanders of his generation. Born in 1745, he saw action for the first time at the early age of twelve. After a short period of military service, he returned to the navy and never left it again, his life being spent chiefly in colonial and other expeditions. In 1780-2 this officer served with distinction in North American waters, but on the signing of peace in 1783 he returned to France and gave his attention to politics, his activity being crowned by a seat in the States-General of 1789. In 1792 he was promoted to Rear-Admiral, and led expeditions to Cagliari, Nice, and Naples, exacting from the latter court a tardy apology for a slight put upon the French Ambassador. Disgrace and imprisonment followed in 1793-4, but with the advent of the Consulate he was restored to his rank and position, and entrusted with the command of the Brest Squadron. At the end of 1801, after serving as naval commander at Boulogne, as we have already seen, he set sail for the West Indies, where he captured Port-au-Prince, and managed his ships with the utmost ability in the face of great odds. La Touche Tréville returned to France in 1803, and was shortly afterwards given the important post mentioned above.¹

Honoré Joseph Antoine Ganteaume, the Maritime Prefect at Toulon, and who was to supersede Truguet at Brest in May, 1804, had also seen much active service. He came of naval stock, and when scarcely more than a boy sailed in a merchant vessel of which his father was captain. At twenty-two he had seven voyages to his credit, five in the Levant and two in the West Indies. When the

¹ Hoefler's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Vol. XXIX, p. 815.

American War was waging he took part in the last fights sustained by the frigates *Surveillante* and *Apollon*. During the peace Ganteaume sailed in one of the East India Company's ships, and reached Suez *via* the Red Sea. When war broke out in 1793 he returned to the French navy as lieutenant. The following year saw him in command of the 78-gun ship *Trente-et-Mai*, and under Villaret-Joyeuse he took part in the great engagement of June 1st, 1794, in which he received three wounds. Ganteaume's chief sphere of activity after this was the Mediterranean, where, at the request of Bonaparte, he was appointed to the command of the naval forces off the Egyptian coasts, and was present at Jaffa and Acre, Gaza and the Nile. In 1799 he brought back the future Emperor from the Land of the Pyramids, but two years later he signally failed to relieve the French army there. In 1802 Ganteaume was successful in reinforcing St. Domingo, and he seems to have curried a certain amount of favour with his exacting master.¹

¹ "Personal.

"[Stamp, Minister of the Marine.] To General Ganteaume, Prefect Maritime of the 6th Arrondissement at Toulon.

"No date [*August*, 1803].

"The First Consul has received your letter and will probably reply to it, for I believe he is extremely pleased with you. I was yesterday with him from one end of Paris to the other. He spoke of you during our peregrinations in the most flattering manner, he even made certain comparisons, and the pretensions of certain people would have been considerably shaken if they had heard him. Put quickly two other vessels on the stocks. Press on the increase of the squadron. He has a grand object in view. You shall know it. I embrace you and your wife, Tabele, as well.

"DECRES.

"Villeneuve is called to the command of the Rochefort Squadron by the immediate will of the Hero. Your Captain Martin has come to me to cry misery. You told me he was a smart fellow. He certainly is able to disguise that fact. Madame B.P. informed me that you had strongly recommended him."²

² Mr. Bradley's collection of Napoleonic MSS.

Vice-Admiral Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de Villeneuve, who was to bear the brunt of the actual fighting when the British and Allied fleets met at Trafalgar, lacked initiative rather than personal bravery. Born on the last day of the year 1763, he went to sea at an early age, and like the commanders of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, took part in the American War, when he became acquainted with Decrès, who, at a later period, shielded his friend from Napoleon's charge of incompetence. Villeneuve became Rear-Admiral in 1796, but adverse circumstances prevented him from taking part in the expedition to Ireland, which was then about to sail, and he and his ships were left behind.¹ He went with the conqueror of Italy to Egypt, however, and commanded the French rear at the battle of the Nile. Far from distinguishing himself on this occasion, he made no attempt to come to the aid of Brueys, and thinking only of his own skin, beat an ignominious retreat. In the words of Captain Mahan, he "culpably failed."² In August, 1803, Villeneuve was appointed Commander-in-Chief at Rochefort,³ and twelve months later succeeded the far more able La Touche Tréville at Toulon.⁴

The same year that had seen the downfall of Holland

¹ See *ante*, Vol I, p. 9.

² Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 272.

³ Desbrière, Vol. III, p. 576.

⁴ We are told by the author of *Seadrift* (p. 253) that Villeneuve was "a tallish, thin man, a very tranquil, placid, English-looking Frenchman." When he surrendered at Trafalgar "he wore a long-tailed uniform coat, high and flat collar, corduroy pantaloons of a greenish colour, with stripes two inches wide, half-boots with sharp toes, and a watch-chain with long gold links." The Admiral died at Rennes in April, 1806. He was found dead in bed with several stabs in his chest. Foul play was suspected, but the facts of the case point rather to suicide.

had also witnessed the signature of an offensive and defensive alliance between France and Spain. By a secret article in the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, signed on August 19th, 1796, it was agreed that if either ally were attacked the other should come to her assistance within three months. By the terms of this understanding Spain made herself responsible for the supply of a minimum of 18,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and artillery in proportion. A call was also to be made in the event of war upon the resources of the Spanish navy to the extent of fifteen sail-of-the-line, six frigates, and four corvettes, manned for one year and provisioned for six months. Added to these conditions was a clause with reference to commerce. The Prince of the Peace, the power behind the throne, showed a tendency to temporize. An armed threat in the nature of a camp of 40,000 French soldiers at Bayonne probably did more to make him "reasonable" than all the efforts of Beurnonville, the Ambassador at Madrid, skilful diplomatist though he was. Truth to tell, the state of the Spanish armaments, both military and naval, was worse than bad; it was disgraceful. There was scarcely a vessel that did not need repair, the arsenals were empty, and the number of men in the two services was considerably below normal strength. On paper the army stood at 130,600 men, but the actual force was between 60,000 and 70,000 men, including troops on duty in the colonies. Obviously the First Consul could not make a demand upon such scanty resources with any good results. So Spain was to pose as a neutral, to serve two masters; but such double-dealing did not last for long.

A movement of Spanish troops to Valladolid and Burgos disturbed the hitherto unruffled temper of Bona-

parte, who ordered Beurnonville to leave the country unless satisfaction was given. The First Consul had now abandoned the idea of making use of the Spanish navy for the present, and would take nothing but cash for her withdrawal from actual participation in hostilities. The price of her "fettered freedom" was 6,000,000 francs per month, dating from the beginning of hostilities.

In the Spanish ports of Cadiz and Coruña six French sail-of-the-line, two frigates, a brig, and a corvette, all under the orders of Rear-Admiral Bedout, had taken refuge. Not only had the town authorities refused to render assistance to the half-starved crews of these vessels, but the Governor of Algeciras had allowed the enemy to capture two French vessels without so much as firing a gun from the batteries. Eventually King Charles, seeing that Bonaparte was not to be trifled with, signified his assent to a secret treaty¹ which stipulated that the Governors of Cadiz and Algeciras were to be dismissed, and the King of Spain undertook to see to the safety of all French ships then in Spanish ports, or any that might put in later. He also guaranteed to repair such vessels, provision them, or render any assistance necessary, the cost of which would be defrayed by the French Government. A third of the Spanish subsidy was to be kept back in payment or part payment of any disbursement made by that country on behalf of French vessels, and towards compensation after the cessation of hostilities. Furthermore, Spain in her anxiety to prevent the violation of her territory consequent upon any Franco-Portuguese conflict, undertook to make the sister kingdom provide a subsidy of 1,000,000 francs a month to the Republic. Article 6 of this treaty

¹ Dated Paris, 19th October, 1803.

My dear Sir - your front room
is quite sufficient - therefore if
you please, I will dispense with
the other five and thirty!

Mr. Bull - I certainly intended to destroy you
and your country before now - but some trifling
accidents have delayed my designs - however
I see you are all and thirty Reasons why I
have not sent over my Ships - in the first
place I have no Ships to send - -



Published by R. Seymour, 19, Strand 1803.

Mutual Politeness: or Reasons for Delay!!

THE INVASION DELAYED, 1803

provided that "France will recognize the neutrality of Spain, and promises not to oppose any of the measures of neutrality which may be taken." A remaining article was inserted with a view to fostering commerce, and allowed cloths and other French manufactures to be sent to Portugal without duty.

The expense of maintaining the French army of nearly half a million men was alone enormous, but to this had to be added the pay of the mechanics and other labourers engaged in preparing the flotilla. Spain's subsidy helped to replenish the war chest of the Republic, as did that of Portugal later. But men were wanted even more than money, and Genoa was to be called upon to furnish 6000 sailors. Switzerland was to supply half her army, and nearly the whole of it if France was attacked. The modern Alexander was steadily and surely getting his grip on Europe, and then he would close her doors and shut out Great Britain's commerce. He would conquer the sea by the land if he could not achieve his object in any other way.

After Bonaparte had gone carefully through the mass of detailed information which, in accordance with his desire, had been sent to him from the various commanders, he found that it would be quite impossible to invade England for some months to come. Many of the vessels which had been put on the stocks at the time of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens were still incomplete. The Batavian flotilla, as well as the Brest and the Texel squadrons, were specially backward, and as the navy was now to play an important part in the *modus operandi*, delay was inevitable.

At the beginning of November, 1803, only one *prame*, four sloops, eighty-six *bateaux* of various kinds, and

seven *caïques* were at Boulogne, fifty-seven were on the way, and thirty-five at other ports—a grand total of 190, to which must be added 416 vessels acquired by purchase. Either on the stocks or ordered were 2453 boats of various kinds.¹ The Head of the Army was again at the sea-shore, and spent the whole of one day superintending the internal arrangements of a gun-sloop and a gunboat. “Everything is beginning to take a satisfactory turn,” to use his own words, but the above figures as regards concentration at the chief port of departure do not seem to justify the statement. He asks for Ganteaume’s opinion as to the practicability of the flotilla. “Do you believe it will carry us to the shores of England? It is capable of transporting 100,000 men. Eight hours of a night favourable to us will decide the fate of the universe.”²

Although we find the First Consul writing in the early days of 1804 that “the season is advancing; whatever does not reach Boulogne in the course of January can be of no use to us,”³ the projected invasion was postponed. No amount of persuasion could possibly complete the organization in so short a time. Bonaparte was bitterly disappointed, for he had even chosen the boat, *Le Prince de Galles*, in which he intended to cross the Channel personally,

¹ Desbrière, Vol. III, pp. 236–237.

² Bonaparte to Ganteaume, Paris, 23rd November, 1803. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 39. “It is absurd,” says Dumouriez, “to suppose that a flotilla of from 1200 to 1500 small boats could cross the Channel in perfect order even in calm weather and never break its formation; but even if it did, then on the English coast it would have to fight another flotilla of rowing boats, backed up by block-ships, land batteries, and troops: disorder would ensue, and the vessels and frigates would catch the invading flotilla in the rear and smash it between two fires against the coast it was seeking to land on.”—Dumouriez MS., p. 5.

³ Bonaparte to Citizen Daugier, 12th January, 1804. Thiers’ *Consulate and Empire*, Vol. III, p. 81.

and 100,000 troops were massed on the coasts; but State duties at once important and urgent precluded his giving quite so much personal attention at the camp as formerly. The work, however, continued with great activity, but the misfortunes which frequently happened to detachments of the flotilla when at sea, and the confusion which arose owing to the multiplicity of orders, forces the First Consul to admit that, if it continues, "We shall no longer know where we are!"¹

Bonaparte, the young Corsican democrat of a dozen years before, was now within sight of the crown of Charlemagne.

¹ Bonaparte to Decrès, Paris. 6th February, 1804. *Correspondance de Napoleon*, Letter No. 7528, Vol. IX, p. 239.

CHAPTER XV

FURTHER BRITISH PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE, 1803 AND 1804

“All men of sense in England confessed that England had never been so near her ruin.”—NAPOLEON.

MANY contemporary writers, statesmen, poets, and humorists amongst them, have left interesting accounts of the social condition of England in the warlike days of 1803 and the two succeeding years, when the name of the “Corsican Ogre” was on every one’s lips, and false alarms of his arrival an everyday occurrence. One of these authorities lived far into the “seventies” of the last century, forming as it were a living link between the alarm excited by Bonaparte and that occasioned more than fifty years later by Napoleon *le Petit*. George Cruikshank witnessed the marching and counter-marching of the volunteers of the Great Terror. He lived to be one of the pioneers of the national defence movement of 1859–60. He has bequeathed to us a delightful glimpse of those stirring times when “Good King George” was ready to take the field against the foe, of whom the three Cruikshanks made so many ludicrous portraits.

“Every town,” writes George Cruikshank,¹ “was, in fact,

¹ *A Pop-Gun fired off by George Cruikshank, in defence of the British Volunteers of 1803, etc.*, p. 11.

a sort of garrison—in one place you might hear the ‘tattoo’ of some youth learning to beat the drum, at another place some march or national air being practised upon the fife, and every morning at five o’clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets, to call the volunteers to a two hours’ drill, from six to eight, and the same again in the evening, and then you heard the pop, pop, pop, of the single musket, or the heavy sound of the volley, or distant thunder of the artillery, and then sometimes you heard the ‘Park’ and the ‘Tower’ guns firing to celebrate some advantage gained over the enemy. As soon as these volunteers were taught (by the *regulars*) how to load and fire, they were set to practise ‘ball-firing,’ and when these regiments were thought to be pretty well instructed in all points, they were inspected by general officers, and if the inspecting officer thought them sufficiently advanced, a day was appointed, and they were marched off to a ‘grand review.’ I was but a boy, a little boy, at that time, but I had a sharp, critical eye for all those military movements, and used to be much amused at the occasional blunders of the ‘awkward squads’; and as I often had the opportunity of witnessing the *regulars* ‘exercise,’ I judged of and compared the evolutions of ‘my father’s regiment’ by this standard; and I remember feeling considerable pride and pleasure when I saw the ‘Loyal St. Giles’s, and St. George’s, Bloomsbury, Volunteers’ wheel out of the old gate of ‘Montague House’ (then the British Museum, and the site of the present building) to march to Hyde Park to be reviewed, where they acquitted themselves in so soldier-like a manner as to gain the approbation of the reviewers, and, of course, of themselves.” Cruikshank specially remarks on the excellence of the City Light Horse. “I

once saw this regiment go through their exercise on a field-day on Finchley Common. A finer regiment of cavalry I never saw, nor have I ever seen regulars more perfect in the evolutions."

The martial wave spread until it engulfed the whole country, children and all. Says the caricaturist: "Not only did the men in 1803 form themselves into regiments of volunteers, but the boys of that day did so likewise, and my brother . . . who was my elder by three years, formed one of these juvenile regiments, and appointed *himself* the colonel. We had our drum and fife, our 'colours' presented by our mammas and sisters, who also assisted in making our accoutrements. We also procured small 'gun stocks,' into which we fixed mop-sticks for barrels, kindly polished by 'Betty' with a tinge of black-lead, to make 'em look like *real* barrels. The boys watched their fathers 'drill'; and, 'as the old cock crows the little one learns,' so we children followed in the steps of our papas, and we were ready for inspection quite as soon as our elders, and could march in good order, to have *our* 'Field-day,' from Bloomsbury Church to the fields, where Russell and Tavistock Squares now stand."¹

And so another trait of the nursery can be put down to heredity, and the little mobs of children who marched along the city streets and the country lanes at the time of the Boer War were only following the instinct implanted in them by their forbears of a century before.

Madame Vigée Lebrun, whose portrait of herself and her daughter is still one of the favourite pictures in the Louvre, was staying in England in 1803, and found her

¹ *A Pop-Gun fired off by George Cruikshank, in defence of the British Volunteers of 1803*, p. 19.



BONAPARTE RECEIVES A WARM WELCOME IN LONDON

From an original drawing by Isaac Cruikshank, August, 1803

visit to Brighton scarcely conducive to her peace of mind or an incentive to work. "At the time I was there," she says, "the English feared a descent by the French. The generals were perpetually reviewing the militia, who were for ever marching about with drums beating, making an infernal din."¹

This display of patriotism was not confined to the poor and lowly. A man's social standing had nothing whatever to do with it. The squire forgot "caste" and stood shoulder to shoulder with the ploughman. Pitt, as Colonel of the Cinque Ports Volunteers,² drilled his troopers at Walmer Castle every day, Fox became a private in the Chertsey Volunteers, and the Duke of Clarence commanded a corps near his seat at Bushey, thereby setting a splendid example to others in high places. Even the peace-loving Addington put in an appearance at the House of Commons wearing a military uniform. In a letter written at Walmer Castle, the probable date of which is August 8th, 1803, Pitt tells Wilberforce: "We are going on here most rapidly, and in proportion to our population, most extensively, in every species of local defence, both naval and military, and trust I shall both add very much to the security of essential points on this coast, and set not a bad example to other maritime districts."³

The following day the recipient of the above, who knew Pitt intimately, although he often "agreed to disagree" with his friend on political matters, confesses that he is uneasy about Pitt's command. "He does not engage on equal or common terms," he says, "and his spirit will lead

¹ *Memoirs of Madame Vigée Lebrun*, p. 195.

² Pitt was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1791.

³ *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, p. 35.

him to be foremost in the battle ; yet, as it is his proper post, one can say nothing against it."¹

Nor was Pitt's activity confined to military measures, for the patriotic inhabitants of Deal made him an offer of fifty gunboats, which was not despised by the Government when he brought the matter to their attention. Fifty more were forthcoming from other places, and subsequently the number was increased to one hundred and seventy, stationed between Margate and Hastings. For the moment those in authority congratulated themselves on securing a small but valuable addition to the means of defence at little cost. Lord Hobart went so far as to privately communicate with the former Premier as to the probability of his being able to secure further additions, but when Pitt wrote to the Admiralty requesting them to fit up the second batch of vessels which he had already in hand, he was surprised to receive an answer to the effect that there were no carronades to spare, and that other arrangements were being made for the supply of gunboats. In other words, they were about to adopt Chaptal's plan of appealing for these ships to be fully equipped and complete in every respect.

At a dinner given by the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, every one present enrolled himself as a volunteer. "The sight," notes Rose² in his Diary, "was really an extremely

¹ *Rose's Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 68.

² The Rt. Hon. George Rose (b. 1744) held several Government positions, which enabled him to follow with keen interest the political events of this stirring time. He was appointed Keeper of the Records at Westminster in 1772 ; Secretary to the Board of Taxes, 1776 ; Secretary to the Treasury, 1782. He was in turn M.P. for Launceston (Cornwall), Lymington, and Christ Church. In Pitt's second ministry Rose became Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces and Vice-President of the Board of Trade. On Pitt's death he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy, in which position he continued until his decease in 1818.

affecting one ; a number of gallant and exceedingly good old men, who had during the best part of their lives been beating the waves, now coming forward with the zeal and spirit of lads, swearing allegiance to the King with a determined purpose to act manfully in his defence, and for the protection of the capital on the river.”¹ Pitt threw himself heart and soul into the preparations made in his district, and constantly drilled and inspected his various battalions. Writing to Rose, with whom he often corresponded, he apologizes for not visiting him at Cuffnells, “but I do not like at present to go so far from my post, though we have certainly no immediate indication of any intention from the other side of the water to give us employment. Before the long nights we hope to be very well prepared to receive them, both afloat and ashore.”² Writing a few weeks later to the same correspondent, Pitt shows his belief in the flotilla on the south coast which was prepared to do battle with that of the French. He thinks it “will contribute not a little to giving the enemy a good reception whenever they think proper to visit us. By the intelligence I collect, and by the orders for extraordinary preparations which are received from London by this post, I am much more inclined than I have ever been hitherto to believe that such an attempt will be made soon. In this situation I am likely to have my time very completely occupied by the various concerns of my regiment and my district. . . . I wish the arrangements for defence were as forward everywhere else as they are in Hythe Bay, under General Moore. We begin now to have no other fear in that quarter than that the enemy will not give us an oppor-

¹ *Rose's Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 64.

² Walmer Castle, September 8th, 1803. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

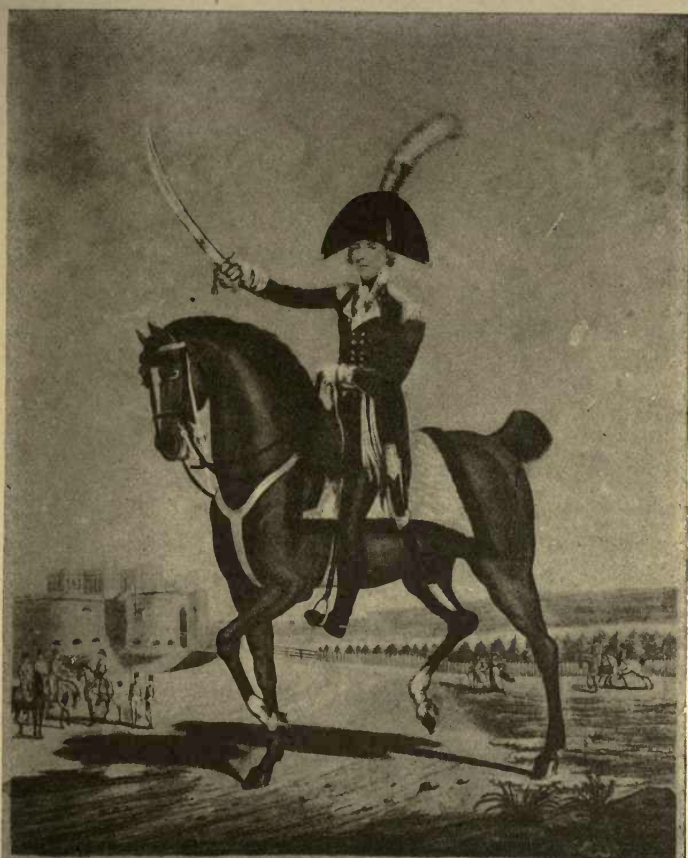
tunity of putting our preparations to the proof, and will select some other point which we should not be in reach of in the first instance."¹

After another short interval Pitt is able to report further progress, but there is a certain hesitancy as to the ultimate issue. He speaks of the "unaccountable negligence and inactivity" of the Government. Of his own district he is able to say that "our state of defence is certainly (comparatively speaking) very complete, though still, in many respects, very far short of what it ought to have been, and what it easily might have been. On the whole, I think there is very good ground to expect that we shall be able to give a very good account of any force that seems likely to reach any part of this coast, and shall be able to prevent its penetrating into the interior. But if, by any accident, we were to be overpowered in the first instance, I am by no means satisfied that any adequate force could be collected in time to stop the enemy's further progress till they had arrived much nearer the capital than one should like, I have been turning my thoughts a good deal to the object of rendering the volunteer force throughout the country permanently more efficient than it seems likely to be (except in a few instances) under the present arrangements. . . .

"Till within these two days I had persevered in the intention of going to town for the 22d,² but the state of the preparations on the opposite side, and the uncertainty from day to day whether the attempt may not be made immediately, makes me unwilling to leave the coast at present. I have, therefore, nearly determined to give up attending the first day; but I am still inclined to think

¹ Margate, October 18th, 1803. *Rose's Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 70.

² The opening of Parliament.



The Right Hon. Wm. Pitt
COLONEL COMMANDANT OF THE CINQUE PORTS VOLUNTEERS
in the uniform of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards

WILLIAM PITT AS COLONEL OF THE CINQUE PORTS VOLUNTEERS

that it may be right (if I can find an interval of two or three days) to take some opportunity before the recess to notice the principal omissions of Government in providing for our defence, and to suggest the measures which seem still necessary towards completing it.”¹ Not until the wind was in a wrong quarter to allow the passage of the French flotilla did he attempt to leave the coast. He even gave up going to Bath for fear of not being able to assist in the defeat of Bonaparte’s army.

A flood of oratory greater than that which submerges the country at the time of a general election followed in the wake of the volunteer movement. Politicians, soldiers, and bishops vied with each other in their endeavour to stir up the military ardour of their fellow patriots. From a thousand platforms and pulpits the gospel of war was extolled. County people convened meetings, men were enrolled, and ladies of quality presented them with colours. Many a gallant little speech is laid to the credit of noble British gentlewomen at this period. The veterans of the army were in great demand as chairmen and speakers. At a big meeting held at Leicester on Friday, the 1st August, 1803, Lord Moira² delivered an animated speech of some length, but full of good points, during the course of which he said:—

“There was an hour when I thought danger (but even then danger of a limited nature) very possible; it was whilst an erroneous belief appeared to be entertained that it was impossible for the enemy to make any landing at all, under which fallacious security it seemed to me very

¹ Walmer Castle, November 10th, 1803. *Rose's Diaries*, Vol. II, pp. 71-2.

² Earl of Moira (b. 1754-1826). Fought in American Civil War; Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, 1803; Master of Ordnance, 1806-7; Governor-General of Bengal, 1813-22; defeated Mahrattas, 1817-18; d. 1826.

feasible for the French to throw ashore five or six thousand men, upon some part of the coast not remote from London, and by a forced march to push for the capital, in the hope of being joined by that profligate rabble, which must be found in greater or less number in every debauched metropolis, and which, having no real national attachment, must be ever ready to seize any opportunity for riot or pillage. That danger you perceive exists only on our refusing to believe invasion impracticable, and consequently our being unprepared for it; now that we are upon our guard, the hazard is dispelled; still, as some attempt will almost certainly be made, it is right to be prepared, not only to meet it, but so to meet it as that the foe shall be crushed before he can have had time to do much mischief.

“Were Bonaparte (though the supposition is beyond the possibility of realisation) in the heart of this country, at the head of 40,000 men with all the stores, artillery, and appendages he could wish, I should not have a moment's uneasiness as to the result; for, I should be confident that, before the end of the month, that army would be annihilated: that confidence, however, is built upon the assumption, that the enemy would be judiciously encountered; but to enable any General so to encounter them, you must put yourselves into a state of discipline, such as would render you capable of comprehending and fulfilling the orders of your leader. Observe this too, that, although it appears to me impracticable for the enemy ever to have any very serious force united in this country, you must always in war provide against dangers that seem beyond ordinary calculation. . . . It is not probable that it would ever be thought requisite to lead you in battalions against the enemy: this I mention that the short time you have for discipline may not be unprofitably employed in learning evolutions, which you are not likely to be called upon to practise in the field; a ready habit of priming and loading, and a facility of understanding and obeying the

orders of your immediate officers, are the points which I deem the most essential for you to attain; I should imagine that the General under whom you serve would wish to detach you in small bodies, to hang upon the flanks and rear of the enemy, bidding you avail yourselves of every little bank or inequality of ground behind which you would cover yourselves, whilst your shot would do execution at its utmost range in the columns of the enemy, unavoidably obliged to keep in a compact body, instructing you to retire whensoever the enemy should advance in considerable strength against you, and to return to harass them whensoever that detachment fell back to its main body; you must not think this is unworthy of your courage. If the safety of your country demanded the sacrifice of your lives, I should be the last to check the devotion which I know you would deliberately feel; but if that necessity did not really exist, it would be absurdity to prefer even a dignified death to the honest triumph of consciously participating in the glory of having crushed the invader of your country: were I to propose to you a principle for your conduct, it should be that which was held so praiseworthy by the Greeks of old, and which has been thus happily described:—

They fought, but not as prodigal of blood,
Or thinking death itself was simply good;
But in their country's weal they plac'd their pride,
And as that bade, they either liv'd or died."¹

The Church was militant in thought, word, and deed. The clergy were exempted from bearing arms, but as the Bishop of Chester shows in a letter to a correspondent who asked him "how far it would be expedient for clergymen to enrol themselves in volunteer associations, at the present crisis," there were many and varied ways of helping

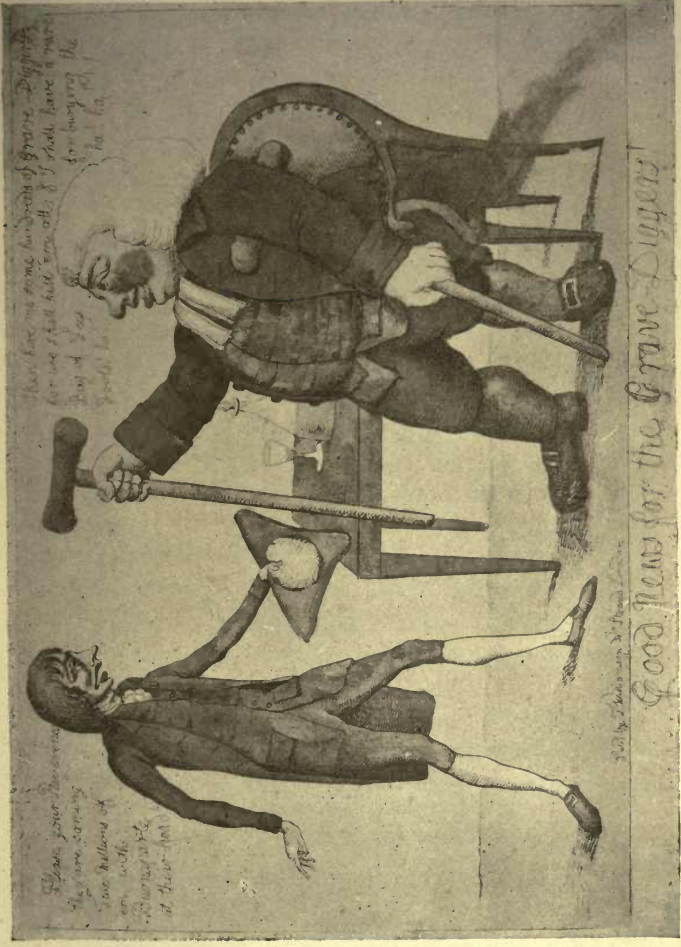
¹ *Anti-Gallican*, Vol. I, p. 135.

in the defence of the country other than by wearing a red coat and shouldering a musket. "If the enemy," he says, "should effect an invasion, or internal commotion require that the male inhabitants of parishes should march to a distance from home, the clergyman would then be most actively and suitably occupied, in my judgment, in the general superintendence of the property and female parishioners and children left behind; by his weight and influence he might, in some measure, protect the former from abuse or alienation, while he would be constantly at hand to administer comfort and assistance to the latter. In this situation, if the necessity of the country should require it, he will do far more good than if he exerted his individual bodily powers in the ranks of an army; he will keep himself more at liberty to apply to those studies, which the proper discharge of his duties require; and, above all, preserve that ascendancy over the minds of the people, which is of so much importance to the effectual discharge of the sacred office he has sworn to execute."¹

Another eminent prelate of the time, Dr. R. Watson, F.R.S., Bishop of Llandaff, issued a stirring address to the clergy of his diocese. He certainly held no brief for the common enemy, as is certified by this brief extract from his somewhat lengthy epistle:—

"You will not, I think, be guilty of a breach of Christian charity in the use of even harsh language, when you explain to your congregations the cruelties which the French have used in every country they have invaded; for no language can reach the atrocity of the fact. They everywhere promise protection to the poorer sort, and they everywhere strip the poorest of every thing they possess; they plunder

¹ Dated August 6th, 1803. *Anti-Gallican*, Vol. I, p. 112.



THE BRITISH PARSON AND HIS SEXTON IN HIGH GLEE AT THE PROSPECT OF BURYING THE INVADERS. 1803

their cottages, and they set them on fire when the plunder is exhausted; they torture the owners to discover their wealth, and they put them to death when they have none to discover; they violate females of all ages; they insult the hoary head, and trample on all the decencies of life. This is no exaggerated picture; whoever has read the account of the proceedings of the French in Swabia, in Holland, in Italy, in Switzerland, knows that it is not. And, can there be men in Great Britain, of so base a temper, so maddened by malignity, so cankered by envy, so besotted by folly, so stupefied as to their own safety, as to abet the designs of such an enemy? It is said there are such men; but I have too firm a confidence in the general good sense of the people of Great Britain to believe, that such men are either many in number, or respectable for character, or formidable for connexion. The men of this principality, at least, have nobly shown, in a late instance,¹ that they inherit the spirit of their ancestors, and have too ardent a love of their country to submit to a foreign yoke, under whatever specious promises of supporting 'the rights of men,' of introducing 'liberty and equality,' the invaders may attempt to deceive them. . . .

"Are the French coming hither to enrich the nation? Will they pay attention to the poor of this country, when they have so many thousands of infinitely poorer persons in their own? Will they reward their seditious adherents amongst us? Yes, they will reward them, as all history informs them, with contempt, pillage, beggary, slavery, and death. The nation will be ruined by exorbitant impositions—our naval policy will be destroyed—our commerce transferred to France—our lands will be divided (not amongst those who wickedly covet their neighbour's goods), but amongst French soldiers, who will be everywhere stationed, as the Roman soldiers were of old, to awe the

¹ The Fishguard Invasion. See Vol. I, chapter ii.

people and collect the taxes—the flower of our youth will be compelled to serve in foreign countries, to promote the wicked projects of French ambition—Great Britain will be made an appendage of continental despotism. . . .

“. . . I am sincerely of opinion, that few of us will live to see such a system established in France as will procure to its inhabitants half the blessings which our ancestors have enjoyed, which we do enjoy, and which it is our interest to take care that our posterity shall enjoy, under the constitution of Great Britain.”¹

A special prayer was written invoking the aid of Divine Providence “for the protection of this Country and Government against foreign violence, and for the preservation of unanimity at home, in defence of our liberties, laws, and religion.”²

The Press played a not unimportant part in the formation of public opinion, and although the days of colossal circulations had not yet arrived, it is probable that in a restricted sense the stirring exhortations penned for the benefit of readers carried as much weight as the less dogmatic utterances of modern leader writers. “If you have qualities for a soldier,” writes the editor of the *Bath Herald*,³ “you are imperiously called upon, by everything valuable to man, to be a Soldier. Honour and Pride urge you to it, and your Country demands your exertions. Serve it then in the manner most consonant to your station and to your feelings, and be—a *VOLUNTEER!* Since writing the foregoing we are happy to find that the enrolment at the Hall is rapidly increasing. Sixteen honest Sons of St.

¹ *Anti-Gallican*, Vol. I, pp. 55-56.

² *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 76.

³ July 23rd, 1803.



JOHN BULL and BONAPARTE!!

TO THE TUNE OF THE

Blue Bell of Scotland.

When and O when does this little Boney come?
 Perhaps he'll come in August!—perhaps he'll stay at home;
 But it's O in my heart, how I'd hide him should he come.

Where and O where does this little Boney dwell?
 His birth place is in Corsica—but France he likes so well,
 That it's O the poor French, how they crouch beneath his spell.

What clothes and what clothes does this little Boney wear?
 He wears a large cock'd hat for to make the people stare;
 But it's O my oak stick! I'd advise him to take care!

What shall be done, should this little Boney die?
 Nine cats shall squall his dirge, in sweet melodious cry;
 And it's O in my heart, if a tear shall dim my eye!

Yet still he boldly brags, with consequence full cramm'd,
 On England's happy island his legions he will land;
 But it's O in my heart, if he does may I be d—d!!

SHAW, PRINTER, BEEWICK STREET.

AN INVASION BROADSIDE OF AUGUST, 1803

Crispin have been just taken down by their employer, Mr. James Phipps,¹ of St. Margaret's buildings, and entered as Volunteers—each man determined to sacrifice his all, and to stand up to the *last* in support of his Country, and wishing from his soul for a speedy opportunity to *leather* the FRENCH and well *strap* their quarters." The same issue also contains the announcement that "we are informed on good authority that Government has accepted the patriotic offer of Mr. Lye,² of this City, in offering for their use in case of invasion, 20 filled waggons and 150 horses!!"

The spring poet had the satisfaction of seeing his effusions printed in and out of season. The journal quoted above published a long poem by Samuel Whitchurch, ironmonger, of Market Place, Bath, entitled "The True Briton to his Country," which contains apt allusions to Acre and the Nile, Sir Sidney Smith, the hero of the former battle, being an old Grammar-school boy, while Nelson was a frequent visitor to this great resort of fashionable folk. The finishing lines are:—

For Hark! the thunder of the NAVY roars—
 Strong beats the pulse for WAR—loud sounds the drum,
 And our brave Sons invite the Foe to come ;
 For they remember *Acre's* famous fight,
 When Britons put the vaunting Gaul to flight ;
 Remember too the Battle of the Nile
 And at the threats of rash invasion smile.³

A motion brought forward in the House of Commons by Colonel Crawford for a further increase in measures of national defence received, strange to say, less attention

¹ Mr. J. Phipps was a bootmaker, and in 1812 issued silver tokens for 4s., 2s., and 1s. in conjunction with Culverhouse and Orchard.

² Mr. Lye was a carrier, and the holder of what had been Wiltshire's business.

³ *Bath Journal*, July 30th, 1803.

than would have been expected, but Pitt ably supported the officer in a speech which is not without its significance for the present day. "We are told that we ought not to fortify London because our ancestors did not fortify it," he said. "Why, sir, that is no argument, unless we can show you that our ancestors were in the same situation as we are. We might as well be told that because our ancestors fought with arrows and lances we ought to use them now, and that we ought to consider shields and corselets as affording a secure defence against musketry and artillery. If the fortification of the capital can add to the security of the country, I think it ought to be done. If by the erection of works such as I am recommending you can delay the progress of the enemy for three days, these may be the difference between the safety and the destruction of the capital. It will not, I admit, make a difference between the conquest and independence of the country, for that will not depend upon one nor upon ten battles; but it may make the difference between the loss of thousands of lives, with misery, havoc, and desolation, spread over the country, on one hand, or on the other of frustrating the efforts, of confounding the exertions, and of chastising the insolence of the enemy." As some kind of concession to these arguments, the truth of which could not be refuted, several block houses were built at the entrance to the Thames.

That all was not well with the method of defence taken as a whole is shown by the speech already quoted, although in isolated places, as in Pitt's own particular district, good progress was being made. Windham, a bitter critic of the Government, and one of Pitt's ablest supporters, betrays his anxiety as to the general want of sound military

measures in a long note to Wilberforce. Its importance warrants its reproduction.

“The breaking up of Parliament,” he says, “advanced as the season is, I can hardly help regretting on another account. One wants a means of publishing the abominable backwardness in which things are with respect to defence: so as literally to put it in the situation described by some writer in the *Moniteur*, namely that if fifty thousand men can anyhow get on shore, they must conquer the island. What shall we say to the fact, that at the end of now more than five months since the King’s message not a single ball cartridge (I suppose) has been fired from one end of the country to the other, unless perhaps a few that I have desired to be fired just by me in Norfolk, and some that I hear Grey has been using upon the same principle in Northumberland?—that the corps, which have been raising, such as they are, remain to this moment for the greater part, without arms?—that excepting, I am afraid, a very few thousand men to the army of reserve, not the smallest addition has been or can be made to a force truly regular, such as can alone be opposed upon equal terms to the troops by which we shall be invaded?—and that the whole assistance, that would be received from works, of whatever sort, is all yet to be begun, and even settled? When men talk of the difficulties and impracticability of invasion, of the impossibility of conquering a country such as this, they say what may be true, but which is certainly not so for any reasons which they can, or at least which they do, give. It is all a kind of loose, general vague notion founded on what they have been accustomed to see and to conceive, to which the answer is that so was everything which we have seen successively

happen for these last fifteen years. Considering things not in much detail, but upon principles somewhat less general than those which I have been alluding to, I can see no impossibility in the supposition of two armies landing in different places of from twenty to thirty thousand men each, of their beating, severally, the troops immediately opposed to them, and that having nothing seen to encounter but volunteers and yeomanry, and other troops of this description, in the midst of all the confusion and panick which would then prevail, that they might advance to London, or wherever else they pleased. What the further consequences might be, one has no pleasure in attempting to trace; but I should be obliged to anyone who would show me some distinct limits to them. The persons to do this are, I am sure, not those who talk so glibly of crushing and overwhelming, and smothering, and I know not what all, without the least idea how any of these things are to be done, while the persons attacking us know how these things are, sometimes at least, not done, by the example of the numerous countries which they have over-run in spite of all such threatened opposition. I shall go from here, that is from London, as soon as I have settled some necessary business, and see whether I can be of any use in Norfolk, though I do not perceive how, with the aid of only a single regiment of militia (all our present force) we are to stop a body of even one thousand men, or how for the present, anything at all can be done, when there is not as yet a provision for even the delivery of arms. All the firelocks which they have as yet got immediately about here have been sent down at my own expense. My chief hopes are, I confess, that Bonaparte may, for some reason or another, not come, or at

least for some time ; but what foundation there is for any such hope I confess I do not know. Forgive my running on at this rate. The importance of the subject would certainly warrant me if I had anything new to say.”¹

Writing to Wilberforce, who seems to have been a sort of political father confessor, Lord Chatham, Pitt's elder brother and at that time Master-General of the Ordnance, takes up the cudgels in his own defence. He states that after the restoration of peace he endeavoured to replenish the supply of “the old Tower musquet, which our troops used to have,” and of an improved pattern, but admits that owing to the “naked state of our arsenals” an inferior weapon had to be manufactured. No sooner had he “nearly surmounted” this difficulty than “this sudden and unprecedented demand for arms took place.” But he is forced to admit a still more humiliating fact. “Had it not been with a view to improvement, and intending gradually to dispose of those of inferior quality through the medium of the India Company, we should not have been, previous to the war breaking out, carrying on any manufacture of arms, our arsenals being overflowing, calculating on the extended scale the Department had ever been called upon to furnish. I have, however, in consequence of the extraordinary calls of the present crisis, determined to use every effort to meet it, and directions have been given to the Board of Ordnance to revert to the same arm as was made last war, and to manufacture to the utmost possible extent the musquets of the India pattern. You will easily believe I must have felt some reluctance in being obliged to take this step after all the pains I have

¹ *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, pp. 134-6. The letter is dated from Beaconsfield, August 18th, 1803.

bestowed, but I hope I have judged for the best. I have great satisfaction in thinking that the stock of arms we possess will enable us in the first instance to arm to a considerable extent perhaps all that is really useful, and as arms come in, which with the exertions of the manufacturers they will do quickly, and with the aid of what we expect from abroad, the remainder will be provided before long. We have already one hundred thousand pikes, and can increase them rapidly, but in general there is an indisposition to take them. I should like much to talk over with you not only the subject of arms, but the whole question of volunteering, which I contemplate as a most serious one. . . ."¹

One cannot help speculating what would have been the fate of England had the disciplined and well-armed soldiers of Bonaparte's legions landed in the autumn of 1803, when one-third of her volunteers were armed with obsolete weapons. The following hitherto unpublished letter from Lord Brougham to Charles Henry Parry, No. 27 Circus, Bath, while it minimizes this danger, supplements the evidence against Addington's Government:—

"EDIN., *Sept.* 8, 1803.

"Dear Parry,

"I am the worst correspondent in the world, otherwise I should have answer'd your kind letter, which *made me happy* by its appearance in course of post. The dullness of the life I am now leading, is admirably fitted to prepare me for another and a better world beyond the Tweed. The alarm of Invasion was extreme for a few weeks and tended to enliven this stupid place—but it is

¹ *Private Papers of William Wilberforce*, pp. 137-8. The letter is dated from St. James' Square, September 2nd, 1803.

now quickly dispelling itself—(how it should be otherwise driven away, I know not) so that Bonaparte will probably come when we are less prepared to receive him. The students here, as you may probably have heard, formed an association for a corps of sharpshooters, but like all the other plans of this description here, it has been received by Government as coldly as possible, that is to say, no answer has been given, and there can be no doubt that a refusal is meant, unless the plans of the wisest of Ministers should be again changed.

“You desire me to say what is become of Galiffe. You have probably heard before now that he has settled in London with a partner in trade. I saw a good deal more of him after you left Edin., for as ill luck would have it, he was taken so very ill on board the smack that he was forced to have himself sent ashore at Dunbar. He wrote me a line to this effect and I (with Eyre) went out to see him. He recovered soon and arrived in London safe and well. He is in my opinion a most excellent little fellow—good-hearted—extremely clever—very imprudent (I should imagine) and, what Mrs. F. would call *very interesting*. Mr. Brudenell after taking a Highland wife and returning the most amusing creature in the world—left Edin. with old Fletch [torn] (not in the marriage line) and he returned a few days ago, but I have not seen him. Mrs. F. remained here, but has been so much occupied with her little girl’s illness that I have only seen her twice since your departure. Both times she asked particularly about you.

“Of Percy, I have heard lately. He is a volunteer at Manchester, as I learn you are at Bath. My plans are as uncertain as they were last time I saw you. I shall endeavour to keep the *copy of Fuseli*, but Jeffrey having been out of town constantly since I got your’s, the chance is he may have destroy’d the MS. with the rest. You have read No. IV of course and may easily guess the authors.

Moore's Anacreon is by Eyre and does him in my opinion very great honor. It is in many respects reckoned *capital* and has had the κνδος of being taken for Jeffrey's more than once.

"Pray write me a *soon and speedy* letter, as long as you can find time to make it, and believe me

"Very sincerely your's,

"H. BROUGHAM."¹

Circulars giving very explicit directions were issued by the commanders of some of the corps as to the behaviour of their men when face to face with the enemy, but of the many examined by the present writers none deals more thoroughly with every phase of the subject than that issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Hope, of the 1st Regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, of which the following is an extract :—

"EDINBURGH, 18th October, 1803.

". . . . In the view of the regiment being called into active service, the Lieutenant-Colonel thinks it necessary to issue orders applicable to that event. As it is the first duty of a commanding officer to attend to the health of those under his charge, the Lieutenant-Colonel assures the regiment that he will not permit a single gentleman, officer or private, to march out of Edinburgh on service unless he is provided with a flannel under-dress. This is at all times the best clothing for a soldier ; but for a winter campaign, in such a climate as this, and with constitutions not accustomed to hardships, it is essentially necessary, and on no account will be dispensed with.

"In this regiment the officers cannot be permitted to have any indulgencies or accommodation beyond the

¹ Henry Peter, Lord Brougham (1770-1868), Lord Chancellor of England. Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS.

privates. They must therefore march with their whole baggage on their backs, of which the Lieutenant-Colonel shall set the example, never mounting his horse but for the purpose of command. In camp or quarters no distinction of tents or rooms will be permitted. . . .

“Every officer and private, therefore, will immediately provide himself with the following articles, and keep them constantly packed up in the neatest and most compact manner : One worsted or flannel night-cap to tie under the chin ; two flannel under-waistcoats, with sleeves, or at least half sleeves to the elbows, and to come well down over the loins ; two pair of flannel drawers ; two pair of thick worsted stockings or ankle socks ; two pair of strong shoes—one of these to be on the body, and the other in the knapsack ; one pair of worsted gloves ; one good warm blanket—one blanket easily covers two men, and to be so used if the cold requires it. Comb, brush, and implements for shaving, but as few as possible ; a piece of pipeclay, and blacking ball, a few needles, and worsted, and thread. Each gentleman may also bring with him his ordinary great-coat, as the blanket renders it less necessary to have proper watch-coats.

“Each officer and private will also provide himself, and repair to the alarm post (on the north side of St. Andrew Square, unless differently ordered), with $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of biscuit or bread. Haversacks, canteens, camp-kettles, and billhooks are to be issued to the regiment from the King’s stores. Knapsacks will be furnished out of the regimental fund.

“On halting for the day or night, the Lieutenant-Colonel earnestly recommends that no gentleman shall lie down to sleep while warm, or with wet feet, but however fatigued, always to take time to cool gradually, and to put on his dry stockings and shoes. In case of being very wet, it is highly useful to rub the body and limbs with spirits, warm if possible, taking at the same time a mouthful, and not more inwardly, diluted with warm water, if to be had.

Gentlemen will see the propriety of not taking too much money with them. One or two guineas at most, partly in silver.

“As to the field, the Lieutenant-Colonel has little to say. Much will be expected by their country from such a regiment. The Lieutenant-Colonel has no anxiety on the subject, except from its impetuosity. If the regiment were acting singly against another small body, this might produce no bad effect. But acting in combination with other troops, perhaps in the centre of a line or chain of posts, all movements must be relative, and by rushing forward prematurely the line may be broken, other regiments or posts exposed to be taken in flank, and the whole plans of the commander disconcerted by the necessity of supporting a body which has improperly rushed forward, or reinforcing the post it has quitted. The regiment, therefore, will recollect that true courage consists as much in suffering as in acting—as much, or more, in coolly facing danger, as in furiously rushing on it. There is little probability that the general will allow young and high-spirited troops to be long galled by distant fire. The regiment may be assured that they will be allowed to close with the enemy wherever it can be done to advantage.

“When the moment comes, the Lieutenant-Colonel reminds the regiment of the instructions he has been inculcating on them at drill, to make their charge with the utmost steadiness and precision, so that all parts of the line, by coming in contact with the enemy at the same instant, may support one another. The leading company will take care not to hurry too much, but to carry on the line, so that each individual may preserve the entire command of his person, that he may be able freely to use his bayonet, not only to thrust, but to parry. If the charge is made with too great rapidity, the line will be broken—one part of the regiment will be cut to pieces before another comes up, and the whole will rush on to certain

destruction; whereas, if the charge is made steadily and correctly, the superior strength and impetus of this regiment must bear down whatever is in the way.

“If the force of the enemy in immediate contact with this regiment be broken, the pursuit is by no means to be made without orders. It may be necessary to wheel to the right or left to support other parts of the line.

“In firing, the regiment will see the folly of and danger of firing at random. If their fire is ineffectual, they may as well stand to be shot at with ordered arms. Every individual must take a steady aim, so as to be certain that his shot will take place in some part of the platoon opposite to him. If the smoke prevents the regiment from seeing the enemy's lines distinctly, they will always see the flash from the muzzles of their muskets, by which the regiment can direct its own fire. In short, let the object rather be to keep up a well-directed than a very quick fire—always remembering that as little time be lost in loading as possible. It will be the business of the supernumerary ranks in the rear to look over the shoulders of the ranks in front, and to correct any error in the aim.

“When prisoners are taken they are to be immediately disarmed and passed to the rear.

“If the regiment (which is not likely) should be charged in front by cavalry, they will on no account fire till ordered, and then only the two front ranks; the front rank taking aim at the horses, the centre rank at the men. If the fire is reserved and then given within a few yards, in the faces of the cavalry, one half will drop, and the horses, in all probability, will carry the other half to the right-about, and, at all events, if the regiment will receive them steadily, without breaking, though the whole may be overthrown, very few will be killed or hurt. Receiving a charge from cavalry, each rank will charge [with] their bayonets, one over the other. The supernumerary rank to close well up

to the rear, so that the cavalry may have no time to cut at them.

“Should the regiment be drawn up on a beach to oppose the landing of the enemy, it will probably be ordered to reserve its fire, as the horizontal fire of musketry against men well covered in boats must be very ineffectual. In such cases it is only cannon which can play on the enemy with effect. The battalion, therefore, will reserve its fire till the boats take the ground, when each officer commanding a platoon will pour in his fire on the boat opposite to him, at the instant the enemy expose themselves, by rising up in the boat in order to leap on shore—a well-directed fire against men so huddled together must be destructive, and the battalion will instantly give them the bayonet, before they have time to form and recover from their confusion. It is hardly possible that any troops can withstand this mode of attack; whereas, if met only by a distant fire from the heights, they will suffer little—will infallibly land and form, and press on with all the spirit and advantage which usually attend the assailants. This was precisely the error which the French committed when opposing the landing of our troops in Egypt.

“Should the boats of the enemy be fitted with guns in their bows, the battalion will endeavour to shelter itself behind sand-hills, walls, or broken ground, while the enemy pull for the shore; and it will not be advanced to the beach till the boats are nearly aground, when, of course, the enemy cannot give above one discharge of their guns, which becoming useless the moment they attempt to land, the regiment will attack them as already directed.

“Adhering to these hints, steadily obeying orders, restraining their impetuosity, and fighting with the cool, determined courage of their native minds, instead of imitating the intoxicated and blind fury of their enemy, and above all calling on the God of Battles to aid them in the preservation of those blessings which He has conferred

upon them, this regiment may hope to render essential service, and to merit a large share of that glory which shall be acquired by all the forces of their country in repelling the threatened invasion.

“By order of the Commanding Officer,

“BAIN WHYT,

“Captain and Adjutant 1st Regt. R.E.V.”

The ominous cloud which hung heavily over the land grew darker. “Preparations, vast and various, are going forward in every quarter to repel the invasion. Troops marching in every direction, and the volunteers perfecting in discipline. On the coast, every officer is at his post. Lord Cavan, in the Isle of Wight, ordered not to sleep out of the Island. No military officer is for the future to be permitted to leave his camp or barracks for more than two hours on any pretence whatever. The three Military Divisions of Essex¹ are under the following command: Colchester, General Sir James Craig, K.B.; Chelmsford, Hon. Major-General Finch; and Danbury, Major-General Beckineth.”² Working parties of the Guards were busily engaged in erecting a line of batteries on the heights of the park in which stood Moulsham Hall, for the defence of Chelmsford. Every thoroughfare in Essex was to be broken up, with the exception of the turnpike road, directly intelligence was received of a French landing. Breast-works to begin at Blackheath, and comprising Nun’s Hill,³ Penge Common, and Norwood, passing between Wands-

¹ “Essex . . . has the means of defence far beyond any other part of the kingdom within itself, which is not the case of the Kentish coast.”—From Admiral Lord Keith to Admiral Markham, 12th August, 1803. *Letters of Admiral Markham*, p. 107, edited by Sir C. Markham, K.C.B.

² *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 324.

³ ? Nunhead.

worth and Battersea, were also contemplated. The instructions issued by General Wolfe in 1755, when England was menaced by the French, were reprinted, and it is doubtful if any officer could have proffered better advice. One pregnant sentence reads thus; "While a man is able to do his duty, and can stand, and hold his arms, *it is infamous to retire.*"

October the 19th, 1803, was appointed for a general fast, and the volunteers trooped to places of worship throughout the length and breadth of the land to invoke the aid of the God of Battles. The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London attended the service at St. Paul's Cathedral in state, the congregation including the Honourable Artillery Company and several volunteer corps. The bandsmen were seated in the choir and the organ loft, and afforded a picturesque relief to the cold vastness of the metropolitan church, dressed as they were in a new uniform of striking design. After the sermon the various companies of the Third Regiment assembled under the dome and took the oath of allegiance, an example followed all over the kingdom. Every church in the City had a congregation of which it might be proud; every parson exhorted the church militant to a lively sense of its responsibilities to God and man in resisting the threatened peril. Divine service was held at the drum-head in Westminster Hall, the Temple Church was crowded, and the Duke of York and the Guards went to the Almonry Chapel, Westminster. On the 26th of the same month the King held a grand review of volunteers belonging to the London district in Hyde Park, at which Monsieur, "dressed in green, with red facings, the Prince de Condé, in white, faced with blue, the Duke de Bourbon, in white, faced with

red, and the Duke de Berri, in green,"¹ were present. A scarcely less conspicuous figure was General Dumouriez, then about to undertake the compilation of the scheme of national defence so frequently alluded to in these pages, and specially summoned to England for that purpose.² A sea of red covered the natural green of the Park; the salutes and the cheers were deafening; the crowd 200,000 strong, including 12,401 volunteers. "It was altogether a day on which we have to congratulate London and the Empire at large: it was a day which afforded the most glorious sight we ever witnessed, without a single thing to excite the smallest regret."³

Two days later the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark corps to the number of 14,676 men were inspected in the Park by His Majesty, who set a most commendable example to his subjects by the unwearied attention he gave to all matters connected with the military preparations. These regiments by no means represented the total number of volunteers in or near the metropolis, which it was computed reached the respectable number of 46,000⁴ men. In the General Orders issued on the following day, the Duke of York took occasion to remark that "His Majesty perceives, with highest satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the Armed Volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms such a bulwark to the Constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXIII, part ii, p. 975.

² See Introduction, p. xxvii.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXIII, part ii, p. 977.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 978.

protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation. His Majesty has observed with peculiar pleasure, that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the Capital of his United Kingdom have been eminently conspicuous. The appearance of its numerous and well-regulated Volunteer Corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th instant, indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them, unimpaired, to our posterity.”¹

The King had already declared his intention of taking the field personally² should necessity arise, and the Prince of Wales, “a mere Colonel of a regiment, the Major-General commanding the Brigade, of which such a regiment must form a part,” used all his powers to persuade his father to give him higher rank. A voluminous and somewhat acrimonious correspondence ensued, but the King was as adamant where the Heir Apparent was concerned. “Since no event in my future life,” writes His Royal Highness to Addington, “can compensate me for the misfortunes of not participating in the honours and dangers which await the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, I

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXXIII, part ii, p. 978.

² See letter to Bishop Hurd in Introduction, p. xvii.



GEORGE III GETS THE BETTER OF BONAPARTE. SEPTEMBER 15, 1803

cannot forego the earnest renewal of my application.”¹ The Prime Minister replied that the King “desired that no further mention should be made to him on the subject.” This called forth a lengthy rejoinder from the Prince and a curt answer from his royal father. “Should the implacable Enemy so far succeed as to land,” says the letter, “you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of everything that is dear to me and to my people.”² Further letters to the King, the Duke of York, and Addington meeting with no better response, the matter was allowed to drop, although the Prince was not shaken in his determination: “If there be reason to imagine that Invasion will take place directly, I am bound, by the King’s precise order, and by that honest zeal which is not allowed any fitter sphere for its action, to hasten to my regiment.”³

On being presented with the freedom of the city of Chichester, the Prince of Wales took occasion to make the following public statement as to his intentions: “I am much gratified with this mark of your attention to me personally, and still more with the attachment you express to the King and my Family, which have been called to the Throne for the protection of the liberties of these Realms. I shall strive to merit both, by making the glory and prosperity of my Country my primary object in whatever

¹ The Prince of Wales to the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, dated from Carlton House, July the 18th, 1803.

² “G. R.” to “My Dear Son.” Dated from Windsor, August the 7th, 1803.

³ The Prince of Wales to the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington, dated from Carlton House, October the 24th, 1803.

situation I may be placed. In this struggle, my duty and zeal prompts me to seize every occasion which circumstances will allow me of coming forward, and of shewing my anxiety to stand and fall with my Country.”¹ No less patriotic was the speech made by the Duke of Clarence to the Teddington Corps: “My Friends and Neighbours! wherever our duty calls us, I will go with you; fight in your ranks; and never return home without you.”²

Commander-in-Chief the Duke of York and Mr. Addington planned to pay soldiers in cash in view of the probability that paper currency would depreciate on Bonaparte’s landing. The Government stored sufficient flour in or near London to supply the metropolis for a fortnight, while there was sufficient in the hands of the millers to prevent famine for a further three weeks.³ The King began to fear for the safety of his dominions, and to make plans for the removal of his family and treasure.⁴

Fire beacons⁵ were to be used to signal the approach of the French flotilla. They were made of “a large stack, or pile, of furze, or faggots, with some cord-wood—in all, at least, eight waggon-loads, with three or four tar barrels, sufficient to yield a light unmistakable at a distance of two or three miles. These were to be used by night; by day, a large quantity of hay was to be wetted and set alight, in order to produce a smoke.”⁶ The premature

¹ *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 325.

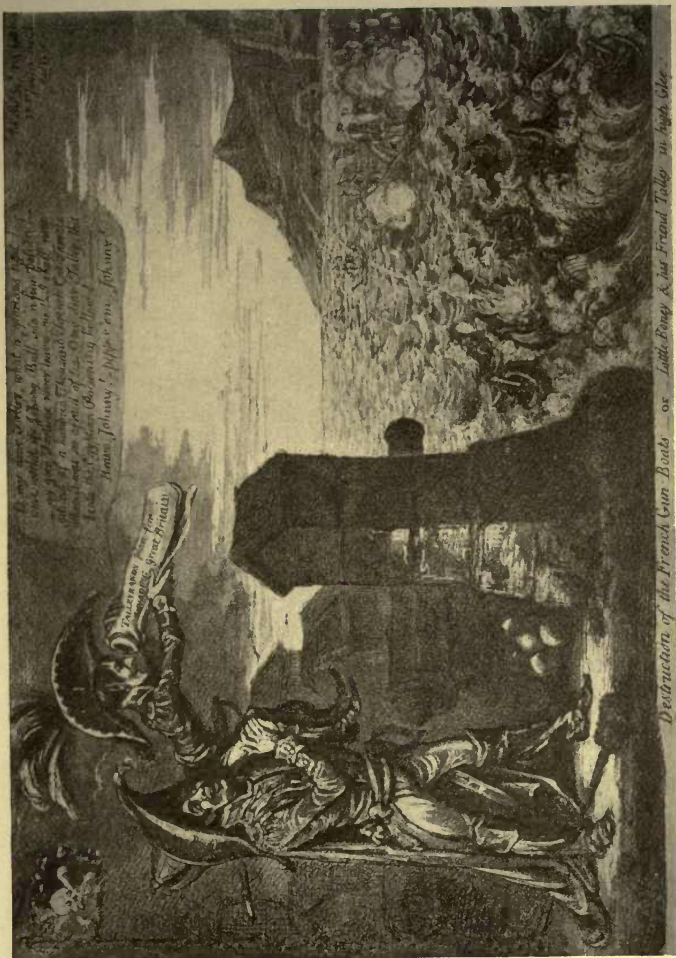
² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

³ *The Life of Lord Sidmouth*, Vol. II, p. 227.

⁴ See letter to Bishop Hurd in Introduction, p. xvii.

⁵ Some interesting information as to the operation of these beacons in Dorsetshire will be found in *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar*, p. 5. The subject has been most dramatically treated by Thomas Hardy, both in *The Dynasts* and his charming novel *The Trumpet Major*.

⁶ *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I*, p. 128, by John Ashton.



Destruction of the French Gun Boats or Little Boney & his French Tally in High Seas.
BONAPARTE AND TALLEYRAND UNDISMAYED AT THE DESTRUCTION OF THEIR GUNBOATS.
NOVEMBER 20, 1803

firing of a beacon at Hume Castle, Berwickshire, proved that the volunteers of the southern district of Scotland were by no means dismayed when they were summoned to resist the supposed landing of the invaders. They flocked from all quarters to their respective rendezvous; one might have thought that they belonged to a regular Highland regiment, so eager were they to defend hearth and home. Sir Walter Scott, who writes with the authority of an eye-witness, has left a brief record of this amazing display of devotion to a common cause:—

“The men of Liddesdale,” he says, “the most remote point to the westward which the alarm reached, were so much afraid of being late in the field that they put in requisition all the horses they could find, and when they had thus made a forced march out of their own county they turned their borrowed steeds loose to find their way back through the hills, and they all got safely back to their own stables. The Selkirkshire Yeomanry made a remarkable march, for although some of the individuals lived at twenty or thirty miles distant from the place where they mustered, they were, nevertheless, embodied and in order in so short a period that they were at Dalkeith, which was their alarm post, about one o’clock on the day succeeding the first signal, with men and horses in good order, though the roads were in a bad state, and many of the troopers must have ridden forty or fifty miles without drawing bridle.”¹

In October, 1803, the poet Crabbe was staying in Aldborough, his native town, when alarm signals were fired. His son “burst into his father’s room and awoke him with

¹ Note to *The Antiquary* (ed. Black, 1891), p. 521. This false alarm occurred on the evening of the 2nd February, 1804.

some difficulty, saying, 'Do not be alarmed, but the French are landing, and the drum on the quay is beating to arms'; to which Crabbe replied, 'Well, you and I can do no good, or we would be among them; we must wait the event.' Such was his indifference to these warlike rumours and his resignation to the inevitable that he soon afterwards fell fast asleep."¹

Of a less philosophical turn of mind was Thomas Twining, who in a letter dated Colchester, October 13th, 1803, says: "I suppose you will not ask me why I leave Colchester. I leave it because I am afraid to stay in it. Many have left, more are preparing to leave it; though I myself think there is very little danger, yet I should be very uneasy to stay here and run the risk. And if I stay till the moment of alarm upon the coast, I may not be able to get away at all unless I walk away with a knapsack on my back."²

Scares were not confined to the United Kingdom alone. The report that a number of infected bales of cotton had been thrown from British cruisers in order to spread the plague amongst the military inhabitants of Boulogne caused much anxiety. General Villatte went so far as to issue a circular on the matter, which read as follows:—

"To the Ports Along the Coast.

"BATTERY OF ST. FRIEUX, 25th Ventose, XII.
[16th March, 1804].

"Remain at your posts, Citizens, and increase your vigilance.

¹ *George Crabbe and His Times, 1754-1832*, p. 198, by René Huchon. Translated by Frederick Clarke, M.A.

² (Ed. Murray, 1882, pp. 235-6). Quoted in above, p. 198.

“The English, unable to conquer us by force, are employing their last resource : *the Plague*.

“Five bales of cotton have just been thrown upon our coast.

“All are hereby forbidden to approach any boats or objects that may be cast on shore. Let patrols be instantly on foot; let them be accompanied by custom-house officers.

“VILLATTE, General of Brigade.

“P.S. These presents shall pass from port to port, from the battery of Petite-Garonne to the entrance of the harbour at Boulogne.”

At the First Consul's instigation searching inquiries were made, with the result that the source of this alarming report was found to be an old hammock which had been washed up on the beach.

Invasion now being thought imminent, the following instructions were issued by the General commanding the Southern District of England :—

“As it is most desirable and essential on the near approach of the expected enemy, or his actual landing, on the coast of Kent, that the quickest intelligence of such an event, should be diffused over the whole county, it is judged expedient, for this purpose, to establish fire beacons on the fifteen or sixteen most conspicuous and elevated points of the county, which successively taking up the signal, beginning from Canterbury, (headquarters) in consequence of intelligence received there, will, in a very short space of time, communicate it to the most distant part of the county; and, on which signal, every one is immediately to assemble at his known place of rendezvous, and there expect and receive orders for his further proceedings, from the General Officer, under whose command the several Volunteer and other Corps are placed.”

During the course of a debate on military matters at St. Stephen's on the 9th December, 1803, Charles Yorke, whom George III said was the best Secretary-at-War he had ever had,¹ stated that the army "had been nearly doubled since the last session, having been augmented from 60,000 to nearly 120,000 men. As to the system of the Army of Reserve, it was similar to that which was almost universally followed abroad, that of having battalions in *depôt*. The militia were in excellent order, and amounted to 70,000 men in England, and 14,000 in Scotland. The volunteers amounted to 380,000 men, 340,000 of whom were infantry, and were disciplined almost as well as it was possible for any equal number of men in the same time. Although they might not be able to meet the enemy in line, yet there were many situations in which they might and with the greatest advantage. As to their clothing, he thought it much better that they should be dressed like the regular soldiers, as the enemy, at a short distance, might take them for regulars."²

Pitt, who was the next speaker, said that he wished to see the volunteer forces of the country "brought to the utmost possible pitch of perfection." He suggested that volunteers, instead of receiving pay for twenty days, should be remunerated for forty or fifty days.

¹ *Rose's Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 165. Yorke became Home Secretary in August, 1803.

² *Annual Register*, 1804, p. 17. A list of yeomanry and volunteer corps accepted and placed on the establishment in Great Britain issued from Whitehall, 9th December, 1803, thus sums up the force: Total of effective rank and file, 341,687; field officers, 1246; captains, 4472; subalterns, 9918; staff officers, 1100; serjeants, 14,787; drummers, 6733; making a grand total of 379,943 men. Devonshire returned the largest number of volunteers, with 15,212; followed by Lancashire, 14,278; West Riding of Yorkshire, 14,006; London, 12,460; Westminster, 10,684; and Kent, 10,295. Of these some 8000 were artillery, and 33,000 cavalry. See also *ante*, Vol. I, p. 52, note.

Mr. T. Grenville went further. He abused the Government roundly and pointed out that, although the army consisted of 120,000 men, "70,000 were to be deducted from that number for the militia, which would leave 50,000 only, who deserved the name of regulars; and a great proportion of which was in the army of reserve."

The conduct of Addington's administration was ably defended by Lord Castlereagh, who went into elaborate statistics in an endeavour to make a good case. "The state of the army of the United Kingdom," he averred, "was this: there were 130,000 men in Great Britain, and 50,000 in Ireland on permanent pay; of this total of 180,000 men the militia amounted to 84,000, and the regulars to 96,000; of which 27,000 are for limited service, and 69,000 disposable for general service. The volunteer force consisted of 340,000 in Great Britain, and 70,000 in Ireland, making a total of 410,000. The sea-fencibles were 25,000. The gross force of the United Kingdom might then be considered as 700,000 men in arms. . . . The total force in Ireland consisted of 120,000 when all armed, and the number could be considerably increased. In Great Britain there were about 120,000 of the volunteers yet remained to be armed with muskets, the arms that could be spared having been first given to the volunteers of the metropolis, and of the counties on the sea coast. As to the navy, the number of ships of war amounted to 469, and an armed flotilla of small craft, to the amount of 800, could be speedily added. The ordnance and every other branch of the public service had been considerably augmented."¹

Fox threw in his lot against the Government. "As they

¹ See *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, Vol. II, p. 235-6.

professed to know that the peace of Amiens could not be lasting," he said, "and called those people 'nature's fools' who thought otherwise, they should have made greater exertions, and have had more than 300,000 muskets ready."¹ This was the beginning of the end. No party could hope to cling to office in face of a continual onslaught on the part of so keen an opposition, backed by public opinion, which was clamouring for more vigorous measures of defence in a voice daily gaining in strength.

Towards the end of 1803 the Volunteer Amendment Bill was brought before the House of Commons. Many commanding officers had been unable to send in their returns of the number of volunteers as required by the Army of Reserve Act, for want of the arms being distributed, and the reports had to state that they were "fully equipped." "The present Bill," said Mr. Secretary Yorke on the 19th December, 1803, "was to remedy those defects. The number of days which it would be necessary to have attended, for the purpose of claiming an exemption from service, in the army of reserve, or militia, would be twenty-five." The Bill provoked a flood of oratory on both sides of the House. Addington admitted that there had been "several defects and inconveniences." Pitt, who was splendid in power, but superb in opposition, retorted by saying that "Ministers could hardly claim the merit of originating any of the measures which had hitherto been taken for the defence of the country. They had rather retarded and enfeebled the volunteer system, than contributed anything to its force and efficiency."

In a particularly strong and forceful speech made in the

¹ *Annual Register*, 1804, p. 19.



PITT BRINGS FOX AND SHERIDAN INTO LINE. NOVEMBER, 1803

House of Commons on the 15th March, 1804, Pitt showed his open hostility to the Addington Ministry by asking for an inquiry into the condition of the navy, prefacing his remarks by stating that only twenty-three gunboats had been built since the beginning of 1803, while in the same period the enemy had launched nearly one thousand. Pitt was warmly supported by the usually pacific Wilberforce. Fox voted for the inquiry because he "imagined that the result of such a proceeding would be to clear the character of Lord St. Vincent from all kinds of censure and suspicion."

Addington turned on Pitt by averring that the small craft which had been built by the previous Administration were "utterly unserviceable, and could not go, without danger, from Plymouth to the Eddystone lighthouse." Mr. Tierney waxed wroth and descended to personalities. "The country was much indebted to Mr. Pitt for his exertions as a volunteer, but he thought the land service was enough for him, and that he might leave the sea service to abler hands." There were, he said, 511 ships-of-the-line, frigates, sloops, and smaller vessels, nine block ships, 373 lighters and small craft, fitted out in the King's yards, and 624 boats of the flotilla, completely equipped and ready for service. The motion for inquiry was lost by a majority of 71, but shortly afterwards it came out that the Army of Reserve was 14,000 short of its full strength, and Mr. Secretary Yorke admitted that the total of the regular force on the 1st March was 267,043 men, including the militia and artillery, which was a decrease of 12,000 on the returns of the 1st October, 1801.¹ A more damaging admission could hardly have been made.

¹ *Annual Register*, 1804, p. 65.

The economies practised during Earl St. Vincent's term of office at the Admiralty, although made in good faith and with a view to ultimate benefits, afford a particularly glaring instance of the failure in certain quarters to realize that with Bonaparte a peace was usually a means to an end, and that end was war with an augmented army. James, the naval historian, records that "many old and useful officers and a vast number of artificers had been discharged from the King's dockyards; the customary supplies of timber and other important articles of naval stores had been omitted to be kept up; and some articles, including a large portion of hemp, had actually been sold out of the service. A deficiency of workmen and of materials produced, of course, a suspension in the routine of dockyard business. New ships could not be built; nor could old ones be repaired. Many of the ships in commission, too, having been merely patched up, were scarcely in a state to keep the sea."¹

At a later date Pitt poured the vials of his wrath on the Government for not exerting itself more in the way of increasing the usefulness of the army. He accused the Ministers of "contradictions in the plans, repugnancies in the measures, and imbecility in the execution: nothing in which every step has not been marked by unnecessary delay." It is clear that Pitt was no mere seeker after office, and when Addington resigned² it became perfectly obvious that Chatham's son would have to be a modern Atlas, supporting the world on his already enfeebled shoulders. At the time Fox was not in the good graces

¹ James's *Naval History* (1878 edition), Vol. III, p. 212.

² Addington sent his resignation to the King on the 26th April, 1804, but it was not made public until the 12th May.

of George III, and although Pitt was anxious to have his Cabinet strengthened by so able a statesman, the King refused. As a consequence Lord Grenville, "that proud man" who had already served as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and was Pitt's first cousin, "with many talents and some qualities,"¹ would not accept office. Four future Prime Ministers sat at the table of Pitt's second Administration, and Lord Melville (Henry Dundas) succeeded St. Vincent, an appointment which, in the light of after-events, was singularly unfortunate.²

So far as the internal condition of England is concerned, her state was far from satisfactory. For thirteen years—that is, from 1789 to 1802—agriculture had been going from bad to worse, and it was only now beginning to show slight signs of improvement. As a consequence the farmer and the labourer, never too optimistic at the best of times, grumbled louder than ever. Nevertheless, allowing for the usual proportion of people who in times of war either think that armed force should never be resorted to, or that if it is the Empire is bound to suffer defeat "this time" for tempting Providence, the men showed good public spirit. They answered the appeals for volunteers as Britishers always have done in times of crisis, but when

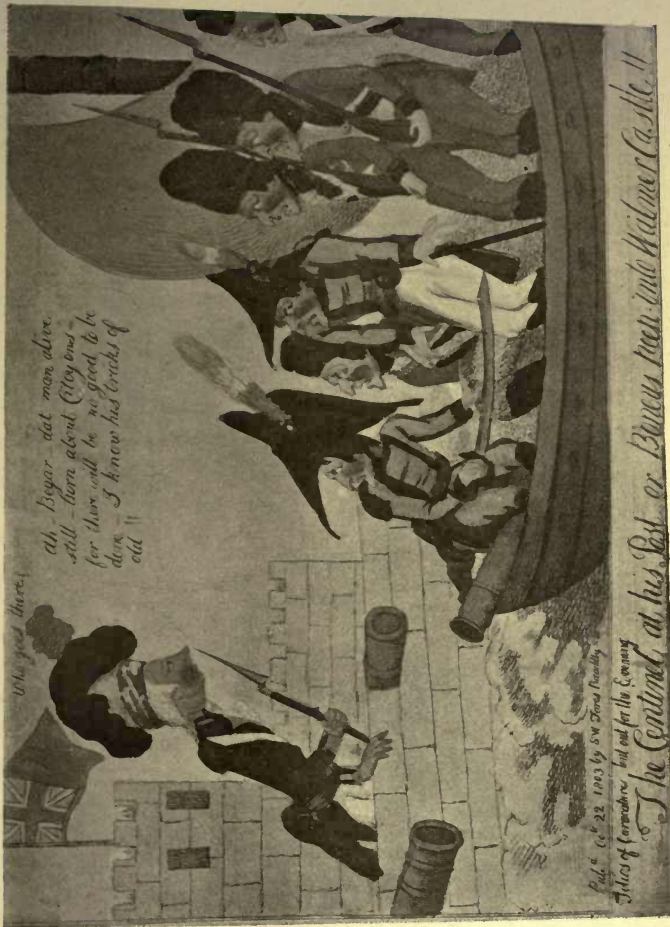
¹ *Pitt*, p. 115, by Lord Rosebery.

² In the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, appointed under Mr. Addington's *régime*, mention was made of various malpractices, and suspicion was thrown on Lord Melville. The matter was brought before Parliament on the 13th February, 1805. The opposition seized upon this exposure with avidity, and a division took place, resulting in 216 votes to 216. The Speaker gave his casting vote against the First Lord of the Admiralty, and Melville was censured as "guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty." The unhappy statesman resigned, and on the matter being brought up again he was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours, but was ultimately acquitted.

Mr. Secretary Yorke blandly stated that they might be considered as armed if they carried pikes, the patriots very justly considered themselves slighted.

On May 18th, 1804, the day on which Pitt took his seat on the ministerial bench of the House of Commons as Prime Minister, and Napoleon became Emperor, London was *en fête*, the occasion being the presentation of colours to the Loyal London Volunteers at Blackheath. The Duke of York, accompanied by the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, proceeded from the Tower in the *Lord Nelson* barge followed by the regiments in the river fencible boats and many hundreds of smaller craft. Father Thames perhaps never bore a more stately pageant as the flotilla slowly made its way down-stream. Salutes from temporary batteries and volleys fired by corps of volunteers lining the banks mingled with the music of regimental bands. Nearly all the ships lying at anchor were decorated. At Greenwich the veterans of a hundred fights welcomed the men who were to defy Bonaparte, and the ten regiments then marched to Blackheath. There they were met by Princess Charlotte and a large party of notable people, the colours being presented by the Lord Mayor. "It was reserved for the present age," he said in the course of a lengthy speech, "to prove the falsehood of the imputation that the genius of commerce had subdued the fire of freedom in our breasts; and to evince that those, who by civilization and industry best learn to acquire wealth, by their intrepidity and exertions best know how to preserve it." The whole of the volunteers then passed before the Duke of York and the Princess, and fired a royal salute.

The King certainly did not minimize the responsibilities of his position, and was fully alive to the impending crisis.



BONAPARTE FACE TO FACE WITH HIS OLD ENEMY PITT. OCTOBER 22, 1803

The following communication to the Duke of York¹ is yet another proof of his keen personal interest in all that appertained to the welfare of his troops. His Majesty's anxiety as to the vulnerability of Dorsetshire was doubtless aroused by its comparative proximity to Brest, and shows that Napoleon was right in his belief that the fleet in that important roadstead would be one of the chief concerns of England.

“QUEEN'S PALACE, KEW.

“*June 15, 1804.*

“My Dear Frederick,

“The removing Genl. Bertie from the 9th to the 77th Reg^t of Foot on the death of Genl. Marsh meets with my thorough approbation as well as Lieut. Genl. Hunter's succeeding to the 9th and Lord Charles Fitzroy to the 3rd Battalion of the 60th. This I trust will very naturally give the other Coldstream the advantage of a promotion on the next vacant Reg^t of Infantry by removing M. Genl. Cowell to a Battalion of the 60th or a Black Reg^t by advancing the excellent Adjutant from one of these Corps to an Old Regiment of Foot.

“I cannot deny I am rather hurt that there is any objection made to forming so large an Army of Reserves in Dorsetshire where, or in Cornwall, I think an attack more likely than in Essex, Kent or Sussex; but as I am not obstinate, I will agree to lessen the demands from other districts, by only calling for M. Genl. Finch's brigade from the Eastern District, the Royal Reg. of Horse Guards from Canterbury to be replaced by the 4th Dragoon Guards and the 15th Light Dragoons from Hampshire, the Battalions and Artillery of the German Legion in addition to its Cavalry now at Dorsetshire to be encamped at Radipole, the 25th Foot from Ireland, and the Stafford and Somerset

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of Invasion MSS.

Regiment of Militia. I fear the reduction of force will not be sufficient reason for your absenting yourself entirely from the Capital though I trust you will, when the Regiments are in sufficient order to begin the Manœuvre with effect together, come to Weymouth where your apartment and rooms for Taylor and another Aide de Camp shall be ever aired and ready for your reception. In this case the Duke of Cumberland as Genl. of the South West district must naturally command the Troops; the Duke of Cambridge my German Legion; Lieut. Genl. Manners at [blank] as Lieut. Genl. of the English Infantry; M. Genl. Garth command the whole cavalry having Col. Dorien as Senior Officer to lead the Heavy Regiments and Colonel Linsinger the light Regiments of Cavalry, M. Genl^s Finch and Fitzroy the two Brigades of British Infantry and Brigadier Genl. Whetham the Batt^s of Infantry of the German Legion, if Col. Levisson from Plymouth could be spared [he] would make an admirable commander of the flank companies acting as light troops: this little corps would then render Dorsetshire safe and might be useful in moving either towards Portsmouth or Plymouth if the attempt is made on either of those great naval arsenals. The Adjutant and Quartermaster Generals had best remain in the Capital for the use of Head Quarters and the assistance of their departments of the District will fully answer what may be required. If one of those Brigades under Jarret could be added for the occasion notice should be given for the attendance of the 6th named Aide-de-Camp; thus and your own secured [*sic*] and their horses may be placed at Radipole Barracks.

“ I remain my dear

“ Frederick

“ Yours

“ GEORGE R.”

No less interesting is a communication in which the King gives further instructions for the defence of the same county, indeed Dorsetshire seems ever to have been in his thoughts :—

“ON BOARD THE ‘ROYAL SOVEREIGN.’

“*Monday, Sept. 10th, 1804.*

“My Dear Frederick,

“I return the Lists of Commissions which having all met with my approbation I have signed and return that the Subsequent Steps may be taken for preparing the Commissions; the Arrangements for the Volunteers and Lieut. Gen^s to be called forth in case of actual Invasion meet with my fullest approbation.

“I have seen the Assistant Barrack Master Gen^l and fully approved of the Plan He has proposed for additions to the Barracks, and erecting a Riding House; which will render it one of the best Cavalry Barracks in the Kingdom and a Regiment at least must ever be placed here, as also a Batallion [*sic*] in the Foot Barracks, for Dorsetshire is one of the most vulnerable parts of the Kingdom. I ever remain

“My Dear Frederick,

“Your most affectionate Father,

“GEORGE R.”¹

Pitt's return to power put a strong hand at the helm of Government. Bent on “setting Europe to rights,” he was the only British statesman at that time strong enough to grapple with the double-dealings of Napoleon. Once a man of peace, and if not actually an upholder of the French Revolution, he was for allowing that nation to work out its own destiny, he now felt convinced that war, long and protracted though it might be, must continue the

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of Invasion MSS.

policy of Great Britain until either that country or France finally triumphed. Pitt and the King were never any too cordial. Each regarded the other with a certain amount of suspicion. The "obstinate upper lip" of the Minister did not admit of the complacency which made Addington so beloved of His Majesty. Pitt's character is almost as complex as that of Napoleon. Never were two great men so like and yet so unlike. Had Pitt possessed the robust constitution, the indomitable perseverance, the sleepless energy of Napoleon, Waterloo might have been fought a dozen years earlier. Despot he unquestionably was, and while the Man of Destiny intrigued, Chatham's son plotted with those Governments of Europe which were not under the domination of France. During his administrations £9,024,817. 10s. 6d. in the form of direct gifts were taken from the coffers of Downing Street to replenish the war-chests of Continental Powers.¹

In Pitt's dictionary "delay" was printed in capitals, while with Napoleon time was "everything," although in diplomatic affairs the latter knew the value of temporizing when it was necessary.² Pitt's was a vacillating policy when compared with his antagonist's progressive one, and it cost his country millions in consequence. If Pitt had faults, his good points were equally evident. At this great crisis in our national history he plunged into the

¹ Rosebery's *Pitt*, Appendix A.

² As in 1806, after Pitt's death, when Fox, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, proposed a cessation of hostilities. Coquelle gives it as his opinion that it was always Napoleon's policy to be "unwilling to break off negotiations with England, for he was unwilling that public opinion should hold him responsible for the continuation of the war. In all the negotiations he carried on up till 1814, he kept this principle clearly before him; to arrange matters in such a way as to make his opponents bear the odium for which he alone was responsible."—*Napoleon and England, 1803-1813*, p. 90.

struggle with the desperate energy of a man who had so much to do and so little time to do it in. Death had marked him for his own, and his lamp of life was already flickering. Notwithstanding this, his wonderful ability was placed at the nation's service unremittingly, and it never failed until he was laid by the side of Chatham in Westminster Abbey. "What sepulchre," exclaimed Wellesley, "embosoms the remains of so much excellence and so much glory!"

Much of Pitt's time was now taken up with his scheme for adding to the military strength of the kingdom. To this end he introduced the Additional Force Bill, which was calculated to revitalize the regular army and add considerably to its ranks. Doubtless the new Chancellor of the Exchequer would have liked to introduce those plans for reform which had ever been his first love, but this was impracticable. Everything had to bow before the one great subject which filled the public mind, and that was how best to repel the invasion which, from all continental accounts, every day brought nearer.

The dying statesman faced the problem, but in the early days of 1805 confessed that his plan of defence had not come up to his expectations, the number of men joining the regular army being very small. Six hundred thousand troops, militia, and volunteers were now ready to take the field,¹ however, and the King in his speech from the throne expressed himself as being well satisfied with "the unabated zeal and improved discipline of a vast volunteer force, and

¹ According to the official returns of January 1st, 1805, the effective strength of the army, rank and file, was 139,491, exclusive of 22,375 foreign and colonial troops. The militia numbered 89,809, and there were 360,814 enrolled volunteers, making a grand total of 590,114 armed men for internal defence.

the general ardour manifested by every class of his subjects, which, in their united effort, had completely checked, and had been abundantly sufficient to deter the enemy from so desperate and hopeless an enterprise." At the same time His Majesty urged upon his subjects the necessity for not relaxing their efforts. The crisis was not yet over.

Seventy-four martello towers were erected round the coast, and many of them are still standing, silent witnesses to England's peril at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They are circular in form, the diameter being about forty feet at the base and thirty feet at the top, with a height of thirty feet. The brick walls vary in thickness from nine feet to seaward to six feet on the landward side. The buildings are of two stories, the lower one designed for a powder magazine and warehouse, and the one above for additional accommodation. The flat roofs are bomb-proof, surrounded by a breastwork four feet high. A swivel gun and two howitzers comprised their armament. These peculiar fortifications, which closely resemble an inverted flower-pot on a mammoth scale, cost from £7000 upwards. During the last few years a large number of them have been disposed of, but of those retained some are still used by the War Office and the Admiralty for various purposes other than defence. Of the two martello towers at Felixstowe, for instance, one has been converted into a shelter for cattle, and is the property of a private person, while the other serves for an Admiralty Marconi station. As an additional means of defence it was proposed to flood the low-lying portions of Kent and Sussex by damming the sluices which drained the water from the land, but the scheme was abandoned. A more practical measure was the excavation of the Royal Military

When I heard these mighty elements
That battle ere of preparation
I cannot but surmise the state some
Danger surrounds

Why help your heart - they are
nothing but cockle shells!



Pub. May 1804 by W. H. H. & Co. London
Opposition and Ministerial Vision or the Modern Sir Christopher Station

CARICATURE OF FOX'S ATTITUDE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE THREATENED INVASION.
MAY, 1804. From the original drawing.

Canal from Hythe to Rye, thus cutting off Romney Marsh, one of the districts likely to afford a landing-place for Bonaparte's legions.

The veteran General Dumouriez very ably sums up the question of the defence of the British Isles a little before Trafalgar. If Napoleon landed in Lincolnshire, the former Governor of Cherbourg was confident that Spalding camp would stop his march on London, "whilst the army corps assembled round Lincoln would surround him, starve him, and compel him to surrender." Should Yarmouth be the chosen spot, the town had adequate defences. There was a camp at Gorleston, and an army to defend such important centres as Norwich, Beccles, and Bungay. Suffolk was also well protected, while the Colchester camp was admirably placed to resist an incursion in Essex. Kent and Sussex were plentifully supplied with armed men, and the Western and Midland divisions could be hurriedly marched to any point attacked. The camp on the Isle of Sheppey was the pivot of the defence of the Thames, and there was a second large body of soldiers at Canterbury. "Romney and Rye have a prescribed defence, backed up by the excellent camp at Oxney." Dumouriez concludes that now the Emperor will not put his scheme into execution. "Bonaparte will be only too glad very shortly, under pretext of continental wars, to break off all his immense and puerile preparations, and take his troops off to Italy or Germany. . . . The English must never relax their defence so long as this demonstration lasts, if only to keep up the martial energy of the nation to full pitch, and possibly use it during the continental war that is without doubt on the eve of breaking out."¹ As events proved, the foresight of

¹ Dumouriez MS., August, 1805, pp. 280-9.

Dumouriez was phenomenal. If he was not treated as a prophet in his own country, he certainly deserved to be so esteemed in that of his adoption, where he elected to spend the remaining twenty years of his life, and where his bones now rest.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ADMIRALS WHO WATCHED, 1803 AND 1804

“I never did, or never shall, desert the service of my country ;
but what can I do more than serve till I drop?”—NELSON.

THE day following the renewal of war saw Admiral Cornwallis,¹ with ten sail-of-the-line, on the way to his station off Ushant, there to mask the Brest fleet, which Bonaparte had ordered to be put in a thorough state of repair and armament. At a later period the blockading fleet was increased to twenty sail and a number of frigates, and in the year of Trafalgar it reached a total of thirty-four vessels. Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson commanded in the Mediterranean, which was now assumed to be of some importance, and was soon to prove all-important ; Admiral Lord Keith² was in the Downs, while at Portsmouth was Lord Gardner,³ and at Plymouth Admiral George Montagu,⁴ succeeded

¹ The Hon. Admiral William Cornwallis (b. 1744). Commander-in-Chief of the Channel fleet from February, 1801, to February, 1806 ; Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, May 14th, 1814 ; d. 1819.

² Admiral Lord Keith (George Keith Elphinstone), b. 1747. He was made a peer of Great Britain in 1801 for his services in connection with the Egyptian Expedition. Lord Keith continued on the active list until 1815 ; d. 1823.

³ Admiral Lord Gardner (b. 1742). Commander-in-Chief on the Irish station, August 30th, 1800 ; on December 23rd, 1800, he was made a peer of Ireland ; d. 1809.

⁴ Admiral Sir George Montagu, K.G.C. (b. 1750). Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, June, 1803, to January, 1809 ; K.G.C., 1815 ; d. 1829.

on June 8th, 1803, by Admiral Sir John Colpoys.¹ At the immediate outbreak of hostilities Lord Keith was given the Plymouth station, but he declined it and went to the Downs. From these fleets various squadrons were detached at different times to watch all ports in which the enemy had vessels; Pellew² cruising off Ferrol, Collingwood³ off Rochefort, and Thornborough⁴ off the Texel. With the disposal of ships for the protection of British colonies we have nothing to do. Suffice to say that North America was guarded by Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell;⁵ the East Indies by Vice-Admiral Peter Rainier;⁶ Jamaica by Rear-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth;⁷ and the Leeward Islands by Commodore Sir Samuel Hood.⁸ It was absolutely necessary to prevent the squadrons at Brest, Toulon, Rochefort, Ferrol, and in the Texel from putting to sea, or, to be strictly accurate, from escaping without giving fight. St. Vincent, who was still at the head of the

¹ Admiral Sir John Colpoys (b. *circa* 1742). Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, June, 1803; made a Lord of the Admiralty, 1804; Admiral of the Red, 1809; d. 1821.

² Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth (1757-1833).

³ Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood (b. 1750). Rear-Admiral of the Red, 1801; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, April 23rd, 1804; promoted to Vice-Admiral of the Red and created Baron Collingwood, November 9th, 1805; d. at sea, 1810.

⁴ Admiral Sir Edward Thornborough, G.C.B. (b. 1754). Commander of a division in the North Sea under Lord Keith, March, 1803, to October, 1804; Vice-Admiral, June 9th, 1805; Admiral, December 4th, 1813; K.C.B., January 2nd, 1815; G.C.B., January 11th, 1825; d. 1834.

⁵ Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B. (b. 1757). Commander-in-Chief at Halifax, 1802; Rear-Admiral of the Blue, 1805; d. 1806.

⁶ Admiral Peter Rainier (b. *circa* 1741). Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, 1793-1804; Admiral, 1805; d. 1808.

⁷ Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth (b. 1747). Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica, 1803; Admiral of the White, 1813; d. 1817.

⁸ Vice-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, Bart. (b. 1762). Died Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, December 24th, 1814.



ENGLAND MAKES LIGHT OF BONAPARTE AND HIS
THREATS. JULY, 1803



JOHN BULL DEFIES BONAPARTE. CARICATURE
OF 1803

British Admiralty, had imprisoned the French fleet in Toulon a few years before, thus proving his system of blockade to be strategically sound so far as it went. This plan was to be followed now. "Lord St. Vincent's defence of the Island," says Tucker,¹ "was a triple line of barricade; fifty gun-ships, frigates, sloops of war, and gun vessels, upon the coast of the enemy; in the Downs opposite to France, another squadron, but of powerful ships-of-the-line, continually disposable, to support the former, or to attack any over their coast; and a force on the beach on all the shores of the English ports to render assurance doubly sure. This force for the defence of the Island was entrusted to Lord Keith, having under him Admirals Thornborough, Vashon,² Russell,³ Louis,⁴ and Patton."⁵ Unfortunately few of the vessels belonging to the various blockading and defence squadrons were in first-class condition, and Nelson complained bitterly, even going so far as to state that some of them were unseaworthy, and that "It is not a store-ship a week that would keep them in repair."⁶ Again, "We are in the right fighting trim," he says, "let them come as soon as they please. I never saw a fleet altogether so well officered and manned; would to God the ships were half so good! The finest ones in the service would soon be destroyed by such terrible weather . . ."

Collingwood's ship, the *Venerable*, was in much the same

¹ *Memoirs of the Earl of St. Vincent*, Vol. II, p. 205.

² Admiral James Vashon (1742-1827).

³ Admiral Thomas Macnamara Russell (circa 1740-1824).

⁴ Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, Bart. (1759-1807).

⁵ Admiral Philip Patton (1739-1815).

⁶ *Nelson's Despatches*, Vol. IV, p. 175. Mahan's *Life of Nelson* deals very thoroughly with the condition of the admiral's fleet at this time.

condition as the *Victory*, and his crew were "almost worked to death." "We began by discovering slight defects in the ship," he remarks in one of his outspoken and entertaining letters, "and the farther we went in the examination, the more important they appeared, until at last it was discovered to be so completely rotten as to be unfit for sea. We have been sailing for the last six months with only a sheet of copper between us and eternity. I have written to Lord St. Vincent," he concludes, "to ask him for a sounder ship; but it deranges me exceedingly to be thus for ever changing."¹ The exchange was made, and the *Venerable* foundered the following year. The *Culloden* flew Collingwood's flag until he shifted it to the *Dreadnought*, which in turn gave place to the *Royal Sovereign*. On the other hand, Sir Edward Pellew's experience was not so unpleasant. "I know, and can assert with confidence that our navy was never better supplied, and that our men were never better fed or better clothed."² It follows that life in the British navy at this period was not particularly enviable. The furious gales played havoc with the ships, and the ships played havoc with the men. No wonder that Nelson prophesied he would live to fight one more battle only.

Upon Admiral the Honourable William Cornwallis, who commanded in the Channel, and Admiral Lord Keith, who held a similar position in the Downs, rested mainly the responsibility of protecting the English coasts. The former cruised off Ushant and blockaded the Brest fleet in its own harbour, at the same time keeping in touch with Lorient and Rochefort, and convoying merchant vessels

¹ *Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, p. 95.

² *Parliamentary Debates*, 1804, p. 892.

when necessary. Keith had not only to safeguard the trade routes and the fishing interests of the North Sea, but also to keep an eye open for any of the enemy's vessels which might elude the vigilance of his colleagues, Rear-Admiral Thornborough and Sir Sidney Smith,¹ who "held tight" off the coast of Holland.

This chapter will deal as concisely as possible with the minor work—if such a term is allowable in warfare—of these officers, whose courage was no less than their responsibility, leaving the big events to be dealt with in chronological sequence in the chapters which follow. To do anything like adequate justice to these defenders of "England's home and beauty" would require a dozen chapters if treated in detail, and might tend to obscure rather than to elucidate the narrative. The sense of proportion is lost when the lesser lights of history, however faithfully they may have served the principal actors, are allowed to have the stage to themselves for too long a time. In this particular drama Nelson is the master player.

The name of Cornwallis conjures up no romance in the public mind, although recent historians have not failed to show their keen appreciation of his sagacity and seamanship. He is a much underrated hero still, partly because no great sea-fights are associated with his command, and in a lesser degree because his personality is neither aggressive nor inspiring. "He seemed quiet and reserved in his deportment—elderly, and rather short and stout in person—and, if habited in a suit of brown and a round hat, instead of blue with a three-cornered one, would have looked more like a sober citizen or simple country gentle-

¹ Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, G.C.B. (1764-1840).

man than one of England's naval demi-gods. He was particularly abstemious both in meat and drink, scarcely touching wine, and living for the most part on pulse and vegetables."¹ It is quite right that Nelson should be the "darling hero" of England. Trafalgar was so overwhelming a victory that it not only precluded Napoleon from ever using his mosquito fleet, but crippled his navy and put a seal upon British supremacy at sea. From that day to this no one has cared to dispute the fact. But the value of Cornwallis's blockade of Brest cannot be over-estimated in studying the plans of the Admiralty for the circumvention of Napoleon's deeply laid strategy. Had the Brest fleet put to sea instead of the allied fleet, the probability is that Cornwallis would have given it as severe a drubbing as was received by Villeneuve and Gravina off Cape Trafalgar. Good Fortune and Giant Circumstance gave the men and ships of France and Spain into the hands of Nelson.

The story of how Cornwallis watched his quarry at Brest, the determined way in which he hugged the coasts of France in fair weather and foul, and the skill with which he directed operations—marred only by one strategic error of importance, namely, the detachment of Calder to Ferrol in the later stages of the campaign—makes a fascinating chapter in the history of the development of sea power. Cornwallis never left his station on any pretext whatever if he could possibly avoid doing so. Anything short of a hurricane he rode out, and sheer necessity alone made him seek the calmer waters and shelter of Torbay, to return on the slightest abatement

¹ *Reminiscences of a Naval Officer during the Late War*, Vol. I, p. 49, by Captain A. Crawford, R.N.

JOHN-BULL offering Little BONEY fair play.

You're a coming? — You be d—nd!
If you mean to invade us, why make such a rout?
I say, Little Boney, why don't you come out?
— yes, d—n ye, why don't you come out?

I'm a coming.
I'm a coming!!!



JOHN BULL. DEFIES THE INVADER. GILLRAY, 2 AUGUST, 1803

of the weather.¹ The Admiral, as well as the officers and men under him, must have had constitutions of iron. One wonders whether modern steel-clads and their crews could stand the buffeting and strain that was imposed upon those wooden ships and the sailors who worked them, during the long years before and after Trafalgar, presuming that such a protracted blockade became necessary, probably an exceedingly remote contingency. Cornwallis kept more strictly to the literal interpretation of St. Vincent's plan of "sealing up" the enemy than Nelson. It must not be inferred, however, that he did not give them an opportunity to come out "into the open." As a matter of fact, he offered them every encouragement to fight, but he took good care that neither his inshore squadron nor the heavy ships under his immediate command should be too far off to admit of the French Admiral eluding him, although he was obliged to weaken his forces on more than one occasion.

"First blood" was drawn on the 18th May, 1803, by the crew of the *Doris*, commanded by Captain Pearson. The *Doris* was a frigate attached to the fleet which had left Plymouth under Admiral Cornwallis the day before, and was then off Ushant. After a desperate resistance on the part of her crew of ninety-two men he secured as a prize *l'Affronteur*, a French lugger of fourteen guns. Her captain and eleven seamen were killed and fourteen wounded,

¹ "In the day of sailing-ships the English fleet operated against Brest making its base at Torbay and Plymouth. The plan was simply this: in easterly or moderate weather the blockading fleet kept its position without difficulty; but in westerly gales, when too severe, they bore up for English ports, knowing that the French fleet could not get out till the wind shifted, which equally served to bring them back to their station."—Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power*, Vol. I, p. 30.

while the only casualty on the British ship was one man wounded. Another vessel of small tonnage, the *Jeanne*, was also captured.

Homeward-bound merchant vessels looked to Cornwallis for some measure of protection from privateers and the possibility of any of the enemy's ships having escaped other blockading squadrons, and in 1803 the Admiral was so severely handicapped for want of frigates that two sail-of-the-line had to be requisitioned for this purpose. The Lords of the Admiralty admonished him for running so hazardous a risk. "It is important to His Majesty's service that you should keep your squadron more collected off the ports of the enemy, to watch their proceedings."¹ A day later he is told that "it appears to them [the Lords of the Admiralty] to be essentially necessary, from accounts received of the state of the enemy's force, that you should not detach any of your line-of-battle ships on services of that nature."² The boot fitted on the other foot, and had misfortune occurred the moral blame would have rested on the authorities at home who stinted him of frigates.

"The great want of small vessels I have several times pointed out to the Admiralty," Cornwallis informs Collingwood.³ Even when St. Vincent's administration was a thing of the past and Melville reigned in his stead, he was unable to meet the Admiral's wishes in this respect. His fleet was increased to sixteen sail-of-the-line it is true, but he could not get frigates, owing to "a deficiency of means to supply what you suggest. No exertion shall be omitted,

¹ From Sir Edward Nepean, 25th July, 1803. *Despatches and Letters relating to the Blockade of Brest, 1803-5*, Vol. I, p. 82. Edited by John Leyland (Navy Records Society), 1899.

² 26th July, 1803. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ 30th August, 1803. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

and I hope with success, to bring forward additional ships of war ; but, till that can be done, it is necessary to make the most of those we have, by a judicious arrangement and distribution of our forces. Nobody is better competent to judge of the truth of what I allude to than yourself, for you know perfectly how many of the ships I found in commission when I came into office have been sent in such a condition as to require to be broken up or put into dock ; and it is physically impossible that, by any means in my power, I could, as yet, have been able to bring forward substitutes for them.”¹

Referring to the principles of blockade, Collingwood made some pregnant remarks when the French squadron at Rochefort evaded Sir Thomas Graves in the later stages of the war. Brest was believed to be their destination. “ If they are arrived there, it will be a proof of how little practicable it is to block up a port in winter. To sail from one blockaded port, and enter another, where the whole fleet is, without being seen, does not come within the comprehension of the city politicians. Their idea is that we are like sentinels standing at a door, who must see, and may intercept, all who attempt to go into it. But so long as the ships are at sea they are content, little considering that every one of the blasts which we endure lessens the security of the country.”²

Rear-Admiral Campbell,³ commanding the inshore

¹ Melville to Cornwallis, 2nd November, 1804. *The Blockade of Brest*, Vol II, p. 118.

² Dated *Dreadnought*, off Ushant, February 4th, 1805. *Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, p. 99.

³ Admiral Sir George Campbell, G.C.B. (b. 1761). Rear-Admiral of the Blue, January 1st, 1801, and attached to the Channel fleet ; K.C.B., January, 2nd, 1810 ; Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, May 21st, 1818 ; d. 1821.

squadron of three sail-of-the-line and two frigates, took up his position at the entrance of Brest Harbour in June, 1803, but he was shortly afterwards succeeded by Collingwood, "the last to leave and the first to rejoin me,"¹ as Cornwallis said of him. A letter written by the junior officer shows a dim light upon the anxieties and hazardous nature of his duties. There was no feather-bed work at Brest. "We have no news here," he says, "and cannot be in more complete seclusion from the world, with only one object in view—that of preventing the French from doing harm. The Admiral sends all the ships to me, and cruises off Ushant by himself; but with a westerly wind it is impossible with one squadron to prevent ships getting into Brest Harbour; for it has two entrances, very distant from each other—one to the south of the Saints, but which, off Ushant, where we are, is entirely out of view. I take the utmost pains to prevent all access, and an anxious time I have of it, what with tides and rocks, which have more of danger in them than a battle once a week. . . . I do not expect to go into port until the conclusion of the war."²

Collingwood did not long remain in command of the inshore squadron. "It was a station of great anxiety," he writes on the 10th October, 1803, "and required so constant a care and look-out, that I have often been a week without having my clothes off, and was sometimes upon deck the whole night." The duties were so arduous and the strain so great that frequent changes were made in the officers. "I was there longer than was intended for want of a proper successor, and saw all my squadron relieved more than once. . . . I think that Bonaparte's experiment of the invasion will soon be made, and hope that it will

¹ *Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, p. 91.

² *Ibid.*, p. 92.



What way shall I turn me
 How can I penetrate
 The Prospects before me
 So long for to Abate.
 But by this way or that way
 Or which way I will
 John Bull at my Post
 Is prepar'd with a pell.

London Sep 16 1803

The CORSICANMACHEATH

John Bull's Call to Arms

BONAPARTE PERPLEXED AT ENGLAND'S NAVAL STRENGTH. SEPTEMBER 16, 1803

not be held too lightly; for in that consists the only danger. They should not merely be repulsed, but with such exemplary vengeance as will deter them from any future attempt to subjugate our Country, and will give an example to all other nations how they may also preserve their independence.”¹

Collingwood did not agree with his senior officer's instructions to continually subject the enemy to a hail of fire. “I do not know that this firing and bombing upon their coast is of any essential benefit, or whether it may not rather do harm by accustoming them to a great fire with little injury.”²

Considering the frequency of gales in the autumn and winter, comparatively little damage was done to Cornwallis's fleet by tempestuous weather. The first trouble of importance was occasioned by the *Boadicea* and *Sirius*, which came into collision “working up between Bertheaume and Camaret Bays, with a moderate breeze,” on the 27th July, 1803. The *Sirius* sustained bad injuries, the rudder being “broken off about five feet from its head and entirely torn from the stern-post, part of the quarter galleries and the upper part of the stern frame materially damaged.”³ The *Boadicea* seemed to be dogged by disaster, for she struck on a rock later, necessitating her putting into Portsmouth for repairs. In the gale at the end of November, 1803, the *Dreadnought*, *Rambler*, *Atalanta*, and *Fox* were obliged to make for the same shelter “from losses and having sustained some damage, the *Dreadnought* without her foreyard.”⁴ Navigation was so dangerous during the short voyage home from the French

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

³ *The Blockade of Brest*, Vol. I, p. 104.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

coast that the *Rambler* had to "throw ten of her guns overboard."¹ The following month the *Impétueux*, while riding out a severe gale, injured her mizen mast, and "the mainsail, main topsail, the mizen and fore storm staysails were blown to pieces; one of the starboard main chain plates drawn; and the ship laboured so excessively in the trough of the sea, and shipped so much more water than the pumps would carry off, that it became absolutely necessary for her safety to bear away for this port"² [Cawsand Bay]. All these happenings weakened Cornwallis's power of resistance, of course, and on the 28th December, 1803, we find him writing to the Admiralty that the ships which had put into Cawsand Bay had, "from bad weather and other circumstances, been much longer absent than before, and perhaps than their Captains could wish. But it has reduced the force under my orders watching the port of Brest very considerably. . . . There are now only the *Impétueux* and *Culloden* of the inshore squadron." He demands sails, "as many of them have been destroyed in the late gales,"³ and the return of the ships immediately. In the following January (1804) Pellew writes to the Admiral that "the ships have suffered considerably for the last twelve days in one continued gale. . . . We have none of us a second topsail fit to bend. . . . The people have been worn out, and our sick list upon an average above 60."⁴ "The loss of a main topmast and mainyard, with almost all the principal sails of the ship,"⁵ necessitated Captain de Courcy putting into Cawsand Bay the same month. The following May the *Magnificent* met her doom on a submerged rock, and in September another

¹ *The Blockade of Brest*, Vol. I, p. 208.

² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

vessel, the *Indefatigable*, also came to grief from the same cause during a fog, necessitating considerable repairs.

Intelligence as to the state of the French navy and of Bonaparte's intentions reached Cornwallis from a number of sources. Men taken from captured vessels were sometimes persuaded to speak. In October, 1803, a Dane boldly put out from Brest with news, while the master of a British ship which had been detained at Ferrol for sixteen months eluded the vigilance of the sentries and escaped in a small boat to one of Pellew's ships. Mr. John Hookham Frere, *Chargé d'Affaires* at Madrid, rendered invaluable service until his recall in August, 1804, at the instance of the Prince of the Peace. The most notable exploit in this direction was performed by Hamon, a French pilot attached to Cornwallis's fleet, who in June, 1803, volunteered to disguise himself, land near Brest, gather first-hand information as to the condition of the enemy's ships, and return within three days. He successfully carried out his enterprise, and his report shows that the Brest fleet was not sufficiently advanced to put to sea, to say nothing of engaging the blockading squadron. In the road, ready for sea, were four sail-of-the-line, four frigates, four sloops, two brigs, and six gunboats. In the harbour, ready for sea, were two line-of-battle ships, while four were building, as well as five gunboats, which had only just been laid down. The plucky pilot nearly paid for his daring with his life. It had been arranged that a boat should meet him at a certain time and place and take him back to his ship. Unfortunately for Hamon the orders were not carried out. After being fired at—presumably by the patrols—he was obliged to return to Brest, where he remained until the following Sunday—the fifth

day of his stay on shore. He then hired a boat and two boys to take him "on board a certain vessel" in the harbour. The tiny crew found themselves unable to make headway against the boisterous wind, and put back to land. The spy then set out for his distant ship alone.

"About four o'clock the next morning," he says, "they saw me from the *Culloden*, and sent a cutter which picked me up about two miles from the ship; and I verily believe but for this fortunate circumstance I should have died of thirst and fatigue, for the boat, being leaky, had occasionally to be baled with one of my boots, and what with that, my anxiety, and sailing upwards of fourteen hours without as much as a drop of water to refresh me, I dare say my being nearly exhausted will not surprise you. . . ." Hamon was presented with £50 by the Admiralty for his services.

So many deeds of daring were performed by British sailors at this trying period of our naval history, when the very existence of Great Britain as a nation depended upon their vigilance and seamanship, that it is almost impossible to single out an instance for separate mention. But in the maritime annals of this country there can be no more stirring incident than the amazing performance of the crew of the *Sheerness*, one of the smallest of the look-out cutters stationed off Brest Harbour. Lieutenant Henry Rowed, a man after Nelson's own heart, and as youthful as he was brave, commanded the tiny vessel, and the men under him were worthy of so valorous an officer. On the morning of September the 9th, 1803, he saw two *chasse-marées* hugging the French coast, as was their way, in an effort to reach the Brest fleet. With that absence of hesitation which is an essential characteristic of the true

commander of either soldiers or sailors, he told off seven men and a mate to launch a boat and cut out one of the enemy's craft, while he directed the course of the *Sheerness* towards the other. Setting every shred of canvas the ship possessed, he almost succeeded in overtaking his adversary under the very walls of a heavily armed battery some nine miles east of Bec-du-Raz. Then the wind fell, and the case seemed desperate, if not altogether hopeless.

Rowed crowded four men and himself into a dinghy built to hold two, and they pulled towards the *chasse-marée*, which by this time was beached. Thirty soldiers stood on the shore ready to defend it. Slowly the tiny boat with its load of heroes approached the French ship, but progress was difficult. When they reached the deck of the *chasse-marée* it was to see her crew wading ashore as fast as their legs could carry them. Bullets began to patter on the deck, and the Englishmen hoisted one of the sails so that their movements should not be too evident, cut the cables, and succeeded in getting the ship afloat. Desperate men are human beings exaggerated, and the crew towed their capture behind their cockle-shell a third of a mile before they noticed that they were being chased. One man promptly boarded the prize, and shouted defiance to the ten men in the rapidly approaching French boat. He was followed by Rowed and the others, who were on the defensive almost before the assailants could believe their eyes. As though by a special dispensation of Providence, the wind came from the right quarter at the right moment, and the fire of the enemy's guns and the cannon of the fort did no more harm than if they were loaded with blank shot and were saluting the gallant little band of Englishmen as they sailed away with their prize in the direction of

their station. Such an incident served to relieve the dreary monotony of the seemingly endless blockade of Brest,¹ for Cornwallis's work did not end with Trafalgar, but continued until the end of February, 1806.

When it became known that some of the ships of the St. Domingo expedition were on their way home, Rear-Admiral Campbell was sent to intercept them. He failed to do so, and they stole into Spanish ports as already mentioned. Sir Edward Pellew—afterwards Lord Exmouth—was therefore obliged to blockade Coruña instead of taking up his station off Rochefort, as it had been originally intended. This weakened Cornwallis's squadron by three line-of-battle ships and a frigate, and when the enemy's vessels which were fitting out at the ports were completed it became necessary to considerably strengthen the line of wooden walls without. Pellew himself failed to stop a number of Dutch ships, under the command of Vice-Admiral de Winter, which escaped from Ferrol. Although every British captain was on the *qui vive* and prepared for surprises, no French squadrons were captured, a few small fry alone falling into their hands, but one sail-of-the-line was taken in the West Indies. In this matter Bonaparte was singularly fortunate; there were no scattered units of his fleet on the high seas. The later

West

¹ Although the fortifications of Brest, the Gibraltar of North-Eastern France, are as remarkable in 1907 as they were in 1807, the relations between that picturesque portion of the French littoral and Plymouth, on the opposite English coast, are of the most pacific character. In early summer the whole country around Brest is one vast strawberry-garden, from which an almost inexhaustible supply is exported to the English market. The enterprise of the Great Western Railway is rapidly making Brest a popular travel-centre, and their steamers now carry large numbers of English holiday-makers over the waters which witnessed the deeds of prowess of Lord Howe and the Hoods, as well as those of minor heroes like Lieutenant Henry Rowed.

movements of the other British naval officers who so ably championed Britain's cause during this trying period of her history, will be detailed as events develop.

Keith's plan of defence was similar in some respects to that of Nelson in 1801. His ideas are clearly stated in his comprehensive letter to the Admiralty of the 7th June, 1803 :—

“ . . . A considerable number of small gunboats or barges will in case of necessity, be extremely useful,” he says, “ and should be kept in constant readiness ; but in bad weather these could not possibly ride among the banks. They ought, therefore, to lie at Harwich, in the Swale, Colne River, Sheerness, and other places which may be recommended for convenience and security. The great difficulty with respect to them will be bringing them out promptly to act when occasion shall require. Perhaps their lordships may approve of their crews, except the officers and two trusty hands, being kept in the blockships on the stations to which they may be attached, and of arrangements being made for the boats being carried to them at the shortest notice, by some people of the description of the sea fencibles, under the direction and superintendence of intelligent officers, when occasion shall require. It would appear necessary that a complete system of land communication by signal-posts or telegraph, should be established along the coast. Due attention will be paid by me to an arrangement by signals in Horsley Bay, Goldermire's Gate, the King's Channel, and the Wallet, whence the signals (which should be some of the same that are used on shore) might be communicated by land till they reach Sheerness. . . . I am of opinion that the possibility of the ships and vessels stationed in one or more of the channels being attacked by a superior force should be held in view ; and that in such case, as well as in case of this being discovered that the enemy

in a great number of small vessels were passing over the sands, out of reach of their fire, that both block-ships and gun-vessels should retire as expeditiously as possible to the Warp, and form a line of defence under the direction of the flag officer commanding at Sheerness, who should hold himself in preparation for such an emergency—from the Nore Light to Shoeburyness, or towards the Blackstail Beacon—a position which I apprehend it would be nearly impossible to force. It would appear advisable that the block-ships should be particularly well provided with fire-booms, and keep boats in readiness with grapnels to tow off fire-vessels, should the enemy make use of such means to force them from their station on the approach of any embarkation of their troops.

“Such is the general system I presume to recommend; but, greatly distrusting my own capacity for such arrangements, and fully confiding on the discernment, judgment, and ability of their lordships, and on the various and superior sources of information to which they can refer, I shall thankfully receive and punctually attend to the execution of any alterations they may be pleased to direct.”¹

A month later Keith augmented the above plan of operations, and suggested to the Admiralty the advisability of arming a large number of boats propelled by oars for use in a calm, when his sailing vessels would be useless. He also saw that small vessels mounting a mortar or howitzer would be valuable for the protection of the coast of Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Sussex. Both suggestions were acted upon,² and the sea fencibles, whose ability had been questioned by Nelson in 1801, were again embodied to the number of some 14,000. These men were placed in

¹ *Memoir of Admiral Lord Keith*, p. 323, by Alexander Allardyce.

² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

charge of the various craft under the command of Sir E. Nagle.¹ In Pitt's opinion, Keith's arrangements were "remarkably able, and very zealously executed."² The old policy of bombarding French ports containing divisions of the flotilla was again put into force, and although it often effectually prevented the *prames* and gun-sloops from uniting at Boulogne, the naval records of the time are by no means convincing anent the amount of damage done on land or to the shipyards. Captain A. Crawford, whose *Reminiscences* are of special value in this respect, because their writer served in a ship belonging to the Downs squadron from the 23rd May, 1803, until after Trafalgar, certainly shows that the "continual bombing" was anything but effective in many instances. Tréport, Dieppe, Fécamp, Havre, and other ports received attention in turn, and the damage done was speedily repaired.

The British Admiralty officials were not slow to avail themselves of any contrivance to defeat Bonaparte's ends which had the germ of practicability in it. "Some sapient blockhead," to use the expressive term of a contemporary officer in the King's service, suggested that Boulogne Harbour should be rendered unserviceable by sinking several vessels heavily weighted with huge masses of masonry at the entrance. By towing the three merchant ships which were set apart for this purpose into a satisfactory position at night, and then setting fire to them, it was thought that the flotilla would be temporarily blockaded by artificial means. After several abortive attempts, the plan was relegated to the graveyard of defeated hopes along with Fulton's torpedoes.

¹ *European Magazine*, 1803, p. 75.

² *Rose's Diaries*, Vol. II, p. 59.

Nelson, whose aptitude for maritime warfare was to transcend the consummate genius of the man whose achievements were the talk of Europe, had not been idle since the rupture. On the 18th May, 1803, the greatest sea captain of all time joined the *Victory*,¹ and he sailed as Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean fleet two days later, accompanied by his beloved Hardy. Nelson did not station his fleet close to Toulon, although his frigates kept their eyes on the port, and this caused no little discussion among his junior officers.² By being out of sight he hoped to be out of mind. The enemy did not, at this juncture, take advantage of the opportunity afforded them, for instructions regarding the combinations Bonaparte was planning had not yet been received by his lieutenants. The British Admiral, growing weaker every day, paced his quarter-deck and cursed the French and the Government which starved him of ships. His was by far the most important station, and yet Admiral Cornwallis off Brest had a larger fleet. Once let him lose sight of the enemy, should they see fit to sail from Toulon, and there would be no knowing when he might come across them again, or what mischief they might not do in the meantime. So the long months rolled by and Nelson's feeble frame became feebler. His eyesight caused him much anxiety, and he averred that in a few years he would be "stone blind." The physicians advised his return to England, but he

¹ Nelson left the *Victory* with Cornwallis on his way to the Mediterranean, hoisting his flag on the *Amphion*. This was in accordance with instructions received from the officials at the Admiralty, who were of opinion that the Commander-in-Chief off Brest might require the ship. Cornwallis sent the *Victory* to Nelson two months later.

² See Captain Whitby's letter of the 11th June, 1804, to Cornwallis, *post*, p. 181.



By your own confession you are a man of no great talents, and it is owing to the public favor, for the treatment of the Lord Mayor, you are to please that of Boney.

It is a great pity that you are not a man of more talents, and it is owing to the public favor, for the treatment of the Lord Mayor, you are to please that of Boney.

Boney in time for Lord Mayors Feast.

JACK TAR BRINGS IN HIS PRISONER BEFORE THE LORD MAYOR. NOVEMBER, 1803

steadfastly refused to entertain such a proposition. "I must not be sick until after the French fleet is taken." What a splendid example of British bulldog tenacity, and of Nelson's personal and practical exemplification of the practice of his immortal maxim on the subject of duty!

The following communication from Lord Hood, addressed to "Lord Nelson, Duke of Bronté," has but recently come to light, and is now published for the first time. It in no way minimizes the danger which was so evident should any of the Admirals who watched be caught napping:—

"ROYAL COLLEGE, GREENWICH.

"*Oct. 13th, 1803.*

"My dear Lord Duke,

"I give your Lordship a thousand thanks for your very affectionate letter of the 21st August. I am happy to hear you enjoy health and flatter myself the day is not far distant when we shall be informed of your having taken or destroyed the greater part of the Toulon fleet. . . . Your Lordship will hear from all quarters that Bonaparte threatens us hard, and perceive that his Majesty's Ministers, and in consequence the nation in general, believe he will certainly make the attempt to carry his threats into execution, but I am very confident he will fail. At the same time, however, I am bound to confess that should he by good luck make a landing with any considerable force either in England, Ireland, or Scotland, the country would be thrown into such confusion there is no saying to what extent the evil might go. We are, I am happy to tell you, well prepared and are improving daily."¹

With the dawning of a new year Nelson's opinions on the destination of the Toulon fleet underwent several changes.

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS.

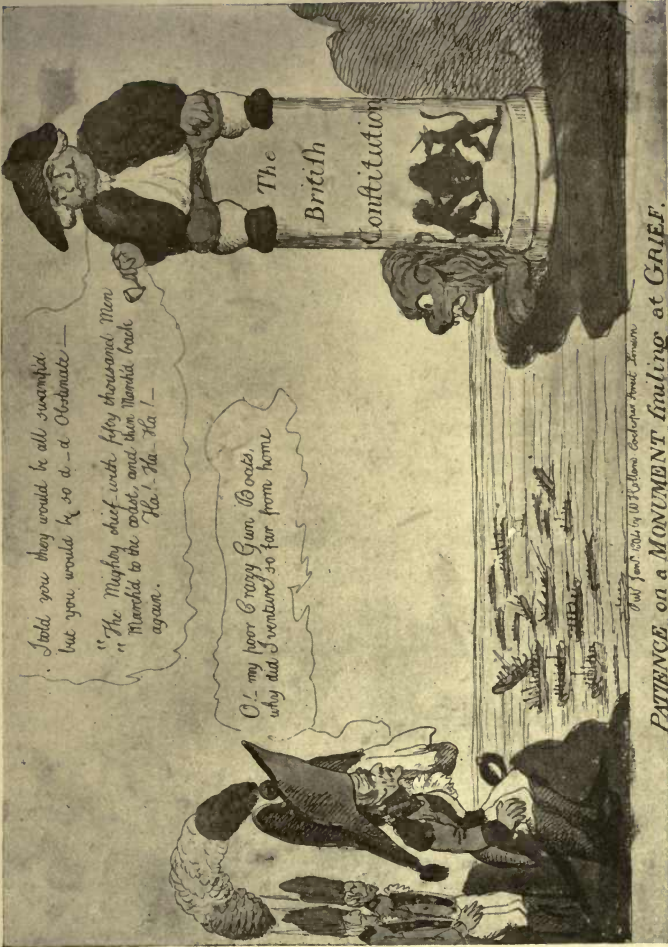
He came to the conclusion, after much deliberation, that it was either bound for Ireland or the Levant, probably the former. On hearing in February, 1804, that the enemy's squadrons were about to sail, he was equally positive that the "ultimate object of the Corsican tyrant" was Egypt.¹ This difference of opinion is not surprising. The First Consul had done everything possible, by feints at Brest, suggesting that the Emerald Isle was threatened; and by the establishment of a camp under General St. Cyr at Taranto, to make believe that an expedition to the East was contemplated, in order to deceive the "ravening wolves of the seas," as he persistently called the English "sea dogs."

On January 30th, 1804, we find Nelson writing to Sir John Acton at Naples that he is sadly in want of frigates, "which are the eyes of a fleet,"² a complaint re-echoed in the correspondence of Cornwallis, as has already been noted. Owing to the terrible stress of weather, he had been compelled to send three frigates into port to be refitted. The dearth of ships was indeed a very serious matter. There were now ten fewer sail-of-the-line in the British navy than had been available in the previous campaign. This was largely due to St. Vincent's economical turn of mind. By his "penny wise and pound foolish" policy³ he had cut down expenses to such a low ebb that old vessels were not even patched up. Collingwood, who

¹ *Nelson's Despatches*, Vol. V, p. 411.

² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

³ In these days when it seems likely that reduction and retrenchment will once more become the motto of those responsible to the Empire for the efficiency of the navy, it would be well if the position of our fleet at this period of the Great Terror be brought to mind. History has repeated itself very often in the past. It is not impossible that it may do the same in the future.



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PATIENCE on a MONUMENT Sinking at GRIEF.

PROSPECTIVE FAILURE OF THE INVASION PROJECTS. JANUARY 7, 1804

was not in the habit of complaining, acknowledged that the *Dreadnought*, although a good ship in many respects, "has been ill fitted out; for it was a part of Lord St. Vincent's economy to employ convicts to fit out the ships, instead of the men and officers who were to sail in them. The consequence is, that they are wanting in every kind of arrangement that skilful men would have made, and most of them have been obliged to be docked since their equipment, at a very great expense."¹ At a later date he writes: "You will be surprised to hear that most of the knees which were used in the *Hibernia* were taken from the Spanish ships captured on the 14th of February [1797]; and what they could not furnish was supplied by iron!"²

"We are on the eve of great events," Nelson announces on April 8th, 1804. "Last week, at different times, two sail-of-the-line put their heads outside Toulon; and on Thursday, the 5th, in the afternoon, they all came out. We have had a gale of wind and calm since; therefore I do not know whether they are returned to port or have kept to sea. I have only to wish to get alongside of them with the present fleet under my command; so highly officered and manned, the event ought not to be doubted."³

On April 7th a frigate informed him that she had sighted the French fleet outside Toulon two days before. Two frigates were thereupon despatched in the hope of getting further information that would lead to their meeting with the enemy; but they had all returned to their home quarters. A couple of days afterwards the Frenchmen

¹ *Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³ *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. V, p. 489.

took another walk round, when the *Amazon* captured a large brig almost under the enemy's batteries. The following day four sail-of-the-line and three frigates made a great parade and attempted to recapture the lost ship. When the British vessels drew near, however, they turned about, and with all sails set, put back to port. "If they go on playing this game," Nelson writes to Lady Hamilton, "some day we shall lay salt upon their tails."¹

Bonaparte, after debating several schemes, had at last perfected his plans for the combination of fleets, which was to be effected at the earliest favourable moment. La Touche Tréville was to leave Toulon, touch at Cadiz, and add the French sail-of-the-line *l'Aigle* to his fleet, elude the vigilance of the English squadron off Rochefort, where he would be joined by Villeneuve's five ships, and then make for Boulogne with all speed. With the consummate craftiness of which Napoleon was past master, he caused reports to be circulated that the Brest fleet was really the centre of operations, and that it was about to embark an army for Ireland. This would necessitate the constant presence of Cornwallis's ships, and prevent the Admiral from rendering assistance to the squadron in the Downs for fear of Ganteaume, who was now in command at Brest, making his escape. Protected by the sixteen sail-of-the-line thus brought together, the 130,000 men of the Army of England would pass over to the Promised Land.²

Nelson's supposition that if he kept in the background La Touche Tréville would one day take his ships for another trip proved correct. On the 14th June, 1804,

¹ *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. V, p. 491.

² Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 125.

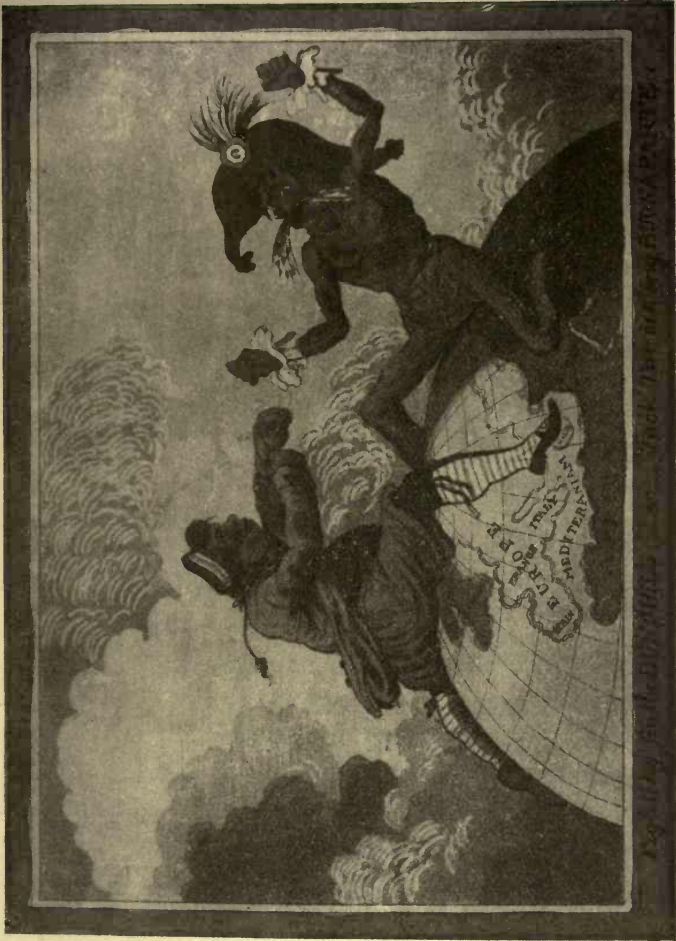
he edged out of the harbour with eight sail-of-the-line and several frigates. Rear-Admiral Campbell, with the *Canopus*, *Donegal*, and *Amazon*, was reconnoitring, and the French Admiral immediately gave chase. It was hardly to be expected that three vessels would combat with eight ships "as fine as paint can make them." Campbell thought it well to edge his way towards Nelson. When La Touche Tréville saw the main body of the English fleet he at once flew orders to return to port, after having sailed about four leagues. He found in this miniature skirmish an excellent opportunity for self-glorification. Accordingly it was given to the world in general, and to the French nation in particular, that Nelson had run away. "I pursued him until night," says the official report; "he ran to the south-east. In the morning, at daylight, I saw no more of him." The whole statement was a tissue of lies, but it served its purpose, and La Touche Tréville was warmly applauded as a fitting antagonist of the hero of Copenhagen and the Nile. So confident was Napoleon that the invasion would take place during the year that he told M. Denon, head of the French Mint, to prepare a medal in commemoration of the event, and trial pieces were actually struck. The obverse bears the head of Napoleon, whilst the reverse represents Hercules crushing the sea monster, thus typifying the downfall of the greatest maritime Power. The inscription is *Descente en Angleterre—Frappée a Londres-en, 1804.*¹

¹ For further information as to this medal and other French and English medals connected with the invasion projects of the Great Terror and the volunteer movement they originated see chapter xxi, in which they are fully dealt with.

When the man who was supposed to have "turned tail" heard of the scurrilous document he was furious. If Nelson was a good friend it must be conceded that he was a bitter enemy. "You will have seen Monsieur La Touche's letter of how he chased me and how I ran," he said to his brother. "I keep it; and by God, if I take him, he shall *eat* it."¹ On another occasion he said, "Such a liar is below my notice, except to thrash him, which will be done if it is in my power"; and again, "I never heard of his acting otherwise than as a poltroon and a liar."

Nelson was unable to wreak his vengeance on his adversary, for La Touche Tréville died on board the *Bucentaure* on August 18th, 1804, of over-exertion, brought on "in consequence of walking so often up to the signal-post upon Sepet to watch the British fleet"—at least, so the French papers said. "I always pronounced that would be his death," said Nelson, with a touch of grim humour. Villeneuve was appointed to succeed La Touche Tréville, who was buried on the summit of Cape Sepet. "From these heights," said Villeneuve at the open grave, "which command the harbour and our ships, the shade of La Touche Tréville will inspire us in our enterprises; he will be ever present in the midst of us, and with our eyes turned towards his tomb, we shall feel ourselves imbued with that indefatigable zeal, that courage—at once prudent and intrepid—that love of glory and of his country, which, whilst they are objects of our eternal admiration and regret in him, must be also objects of our emulation. Sailors! they will be such to me. The successor of La Touche gives you this promise. Promise, on your part,

¹ *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 147.



JACK TAR DEFIES LITTLE BONEY. 1804

that, with the same claims, he shall receive from you the same fidelity and the same attachment."¹

Nelson's health was now worse than ever, and he felt that he could only last a few months longer if he continued to remain at the mercy of the elements. But throughout his correspondence during this time of trial and stress there is the cheerful, optimistic note that eventually the opportunity will come for him to annihilate the French fleet. One thing he is perfectly certain about, and that is, "we shall never have a solid Peace until the Invasion is tried and found to fail."²

Nelson was unflinching in the performance of his duty, paying particular attention to the welfare of his seamen. A letter to Mr. Marsden of the Admiralty shows that he had no sympathy with either unscrupulous Government contractors or somnolent officials. In acknowledging the receipt of "frocks" and trousers for his sailors he remarks that "instead of their being made of good Russian duck, as was formerly supplied the Seamen of his Majesty's Navy, the frocks at 4s. 8d. each and the trousers at 4s. per pair, those sent out are made of coarse wrapper-stuff and the price increased—the frocks twopence each, and the trousers threepence per pair. . . . I therefore think it necessary to send you one of each, in order that their Lordships may judge of their quality and price; and at the same time beg to observe, for their information, that the issuing such coarse stuff to the people who have been accustomed to good Russian duck cheaper, will no doubt occasion murmur and discontent, and may have serious

¹ *Sketches of the Last Naval War*, Vol. II, pp. 162-3, by Captain E. Jurien de la Gravière. Translated by the Hon. Captain Plunkett, R. N.

² Dated April 11th, 1804. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. V, p. 492.

consequences. I therefore am most decidedly of opinion, that the Contractor who furnished such stuff ought to be hanged; and little else, if anything, is due to those who have received them from him. . . .”¹ In August Nelson wrote to Captain Parker of the *Amazon*, which ship was refitting at Malta, telling him to make haste to rejoin the fleet, “for the day of Battle cannot be far off, when I shall want every Frigate; for the French have nearly one for every ship, and we may as well have a Battle Royal, Line-of-Battle Ships opposed to Ships-of-the-Line and Frigates to Frigates. . . .”²

On his birthday he bemoans his unhappy lot to Lady Hamilton. “Forty-six years of toil and trouble!” he reflects. “How few more the common lot of mankind leads us to expect; and therefore it is almost time to think of spending the few last years in peace and peace of quietness.” He cherishes the hope that the differences of the two nations will be settled before the following summer, “or such a universal War as will upset that vagabond Bonaparte.”³ He had applied for leave to go to England, but the outbreak of hostilities with Spain and the hope of a decisive battle was also in the scales and outweighed his desire for home, although we find him asking in November why his successor is not arrived. “I never did, or never shall, desert the service of my country; but what can I do more than serve till I drop? If I take some little care of myself, I may yet live, to perform some good service. My cough is very bad, and it brings forth the effect of my blow of the 14th February.”⁴

¹ Dated August 12th, 1804. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 153.

² Dated August 28th, 1804. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³ *Nelson's Letters to Lady Hamilton*, Vol. II, p. 73.

⁴ Battle of St. Vincent, 1797. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

The ships off Cadiz, formerly commanded by him, were shortly afterwards placed under Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde,¹ a man whom Nelson cordially detested, and who had brought out the asked-for leave from the Admiralty for the commander to vacate his post and return to England. "To my surprise," writes Nelson to Captain Malcolm, "I am not yet settled, for Sir John Orde, for the present, is placed in the command of a squadron outside the Straits, which for the present occasion is lopt from my command. When there was nothing to be got I had it; when the prospect of money comes forth, it is given to another. Admiral Campbell had it at the beginning of the French war, and now Sir John at the beginning of a Spanish war. However, if I can but get hold of the French fleet, I shall have no occasion to envy the lot of any man. I bow with submission to the will of the Almighty."

Reference has been already made to the fact that Nelson's plan of campaign was not clearly understood by some of his colleagues.² In August Captain Whitby went so far as to call the attention of Lord Cornwallis to what he considered was a grave strategic error. In his communication he says:—

"Though Lord Nelson is indefatigable in keeping the sea, there are so many reasons that make it possible for the French to escape through the Mediterranean, which, of course, Government are not told by him—and which, perhaps, he does not consider (at least I think so)—that I have been long determined to warn you of the circumstances upon my arrival, not choosing to trust it from the Mediterranean. First, then, he does not cruise upon his rendezvous; second, I have consequently repeatedly known

¹ Sir John Orde (1751-1824).

² See p. 172.

him from a week to three weeks, and even a month, un-
found by ships sent to reconnoitre—the *Belleisle* herself
was a week ; thirdly, he is occasionally obliged to take the
whole squadron in to water, a great distance from Toulon ;
fourthly, since I came away the French squadron got out
in his absence, and cruised off Toulon several days, and at
least, when he came out, he only got sight of them at a
great distance, to see them arrive at their own harbour.
From all this I draw one general conclusion—that it is
very possible for them to escape him. Upon the last
occasion they might have got to the West Indies, or
elsewhere, without the possibility of discovery, had they
so chosen, and from all this, I draw these particular ones
likewise, concurring with other circumstances : they have
ten sail-of-the-line at Toulon, one at Cadiz, four I think
at Ferrol, six at Rochefort, and twenty you say at Brest,
making in all one and forty sail-of-the-line. If they pass
Lord Nelson, they can relieve Cadiz (which is only
blockaded by two frigates), Ferrol, Rochefort ; and if in
their way to Brest you meet them some morning, when
they are attempting a grand junction, I shall not be
surprised. I mention this to you that you may pay what
attention you choose to this scheme of probabilities, and
have your ships so much in your eye at daylight that
you may be prepared for their reception. I must add
one other thing, however, which is that in gales of wind
he drives so far away that the finding him is very diffi-
cult, and the enemy have the greatest chance. I have
no doubt, therefore, that they *can* come out ; the rest,
the object, remains to be proved. . . .”¹

Nelson afforded the French every opportunity to put
to sea, it was part of his settled plan ; but in one respect
Captain Whitby was right, in that he discerned that there

¹ Captain Whitby to Cornwallis, 18th June, 1804. From Colonel Cornwallis West's collection, in *The Blockade of Brest*, p. 343.

was a possibility of the enemy making for the West Indies, while the Admiral was of opinion that they would proceed to Egypt or the Straits. When the enemy eventually gave him the slip his fleet was "between Sardinia and the African coast,"¹ a position which would have enabled him to cut the enemy off from either destination had he known of their whereabouts. Nelson had such a large sphere of action that it was impossible for him to "sit tight," as did Cornwallis off Brest, if for no other reason than that his ships, by reason of their wretched condition, were unable to contend against lengthy spells of bad weather.

¹ *The Great Campaigns of Nelson*, p. 131, by W. O'Connor Morris.

CHAPTER XVII

BOULOGNE EN FÊTE, 1804

“The expedition of Cæsar was child’s play ; mine, the enterprize of the Titans.”—NAPOLEON.

“**M**URDER and sudden death” took the place of battle in the thoughts of Bonaparte for a short time after La Touche Trévillé’s vainglorious skirmish off Toulon. A Royalist conspiracy, in which Georges Cadoudal, Pichegru, and Moreau were implicated, and several prominent Englishmen had been foolish enough to concern themselves, was brought to light by the disgraced Fouché, who was thereupon reinstated as Minister of Police. The First Consul retaliated in a way which for all time has left an ugly stain on his character. The Duke d’Enghien¹ was made to suffer as an example of what would happen to any members of the Bourbon family should they attempt to interfere with the Conqueror’s plans. This event did much to inflame public opinion against the man who was about to become Emperor of the French, both in England and on the Continent. His strongest partisans—the men who believed implicitly that he would bring about a new and better order of things—could not reconcile a deed that was as unjustifiable as it was unscrupulous.

¹ Shot March 21st, 1804, at Vincennes.

People blinked and rubbed their eyes, and finally awakened to find that it was not so much France that Bonaparte cared for as his own renown. From henceforth personal ambition was to be the dominant note of his character.

His colossal undertaking was rapidly nearing completion. He scarcely gave himself sufficient time to rest, so many and varied were the duties he undertook. "In the present position of Europe all my thoughts are directed towards England," he tells General Brune, French Ambassador at Constantinople on March 14th, 1804,¹ and later, that he has at his disposal "nearly 120,000 men and 3000 boats, which only await a favourable wind in order to plant the imperial eagle on the Tower of London."² There is, of course, a suspicion of rodomontade and exaggeration about this, and the many mishaps which constantly occurred to the flotilla annoyed him intensely. In July, 1804, a number of men were drowned and several vessels lost owing to the boats not being able to withstand the severe weather, and he implicitly enjoined Talleyrand to tell the diplomatic agents that the Emperor was satisfied with the strength and general behaviour of the army, and that he passes "whole days superintending its instruction."³ Joseph Bonaparte had already been appointed Colonel of the 4th Regiment at Boulogne, in order that he "should be allowed to contribute to the vengeance which

¹ Bingham, Vol. II, p. 68.

² 30th July, 1804. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 83.

³ Pont-de-Briques, 1st August, 1804. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 84. "The Emperor," says *The Times* of August 4th, 1804, "returned to head-quarters at half-past four in the morning, excessively fatigued. This day [July 22nd] he visited every part of the shore, to give the orders that were necessary. It is almost superfluous to mention that the troops, both naval and military, executed them with alacrity. With such an example before their eyes, it was impossible that they should not."

the French people propose to take for the violation of this last treaty [Amiens], and that he should be afforded an opportunity of acquiring fresh titles to the esteem of the nation."¹

A cordon of wooden walls, weather-beaten and leaky though they might be, was the real bar to the realization of his dreams. He felt perfectly certain that eventually Nelson, Pitt, and the whole British nation would bow to his indomitable will. Napoleon's power was growing; fortune still beckoned him forward; Austerlitz was yet to be fought!

Was it possible that a few admirals in their timber floats could keep the greatest warrior of modern times in check? Because Britannia ruled the waves to-day, was there any vital reason why she should be mistress of the ocean to-morrow? Such questions as these Napoleon must have put to himself a thousand times, and yet one of the chief causes of his failure to make France as mighty at sea as on land was due to his own erroneous idea that he could conduct maritime warfare with the same tactics, the same precision, as on land.² England had a superior fleet and admirals who fought with their brains, while few of Napoleon's commanders had achieved special distinction in seamanship. The guiding spirit, sitting in his cabinet at St. Cloud, expected his naval squadrons to move with the same precision as a regiment. His remark that he

¹ Bonaparte's message to the Senate. St. Cloud, 18th April, 1804. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 73.

² ". . . In valuing naval power he did not appreciate that a mere mass of ships had not the weight he himself was able to impart to a mass of men. He never fully understood the maritime problems with which from time to time he had to deal. . . ."—Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 27.

*Requis de l'administration
de Division*

Malakka

PLACE

(Pise)

76°



12^e. RÉGIMENT

Chasseurs

à Cheval.

22-11

N° 1212

26

*Envoyer la lettre au
Général*

*Envoyer la lettre au
Général
au commandant de la
10^e Division*

à Pise - w. 25. 18. 0

*Chef d'Escadron Quintus Commandant le
12^e Régiment de Chasseurs à Cheval
au Général de Launay Directeur
du Dépôt Central de l'Artillerie
Mon Général.*

*Le Sr. Stouart actuellement maréchal de logis
pour lequel vous avez au Dépôt un cheval que l'on s'efforce
de prêter et la activité de servir au Régiment.*

*Veuillez Mon Général faire passer à Le Crat
militaire d'après que le Gouvernement lui a fourni.*

*J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer très
respectueusement
F. Stouart*

*Le 9 mai 1805
N° 1212 - 1805
cours*

VIGNETTE OF THE INVASION SCHEME ON LETTER PAPER USED BY FRENCH SOLDIERS. 1803-5

“made circumstances” was in certain respects perfectly true, but he could not control winds and tides as he could men and methods.

It is curious that a master who visited the school at Brienne should have reported of the youthful Napoleon that he would make “an excellent seaman.” Probably if he had been trained for the sister service the professor’s prediction might have proved correct, for his receptive mind was capable of excelling in everything to which it was applied. His passion for detail and the rapidity with which he expected his commands to be carried out contributed in various ways to defeat the very plans he was maturing with so much care. Had he waited until the many new ships then building in the yards of France and Holland were ready; until the seamen had learned the twin virtues of self-control and subordination; until the admirals had gained more confidence in themselves and in their fleets, Napoleon might possibly have wrested the Trident from Britannia. Impatience lost him Trafalgar!

The general condition of the French navy was unsatisfactory in every way. The incompetency of its officers was a legacy of the Revolution, and the monarchy which preceded it.¹ During the *ancien régime* it had been the most aristocratic of professions, but the men in command paid the price of their blue blood at the guillotine. As a result, young lieutenants became admirals, and skippers of merchant vessels walked the quarter-decks of men-of-war.²

Although Napoleon had chosen the best officers in the service for the most responsible positions, they were all

¹ This is very clearly shown in the Dumouriez MS.

² *The Great Campaigns of Nelson*, p. 17, by W. O’Connor Morris.

men of inferior mettle when compared with their antagonists. Villeneuve had already shown a deplorable lack of skill at the battle of the Nile when he neglected to succour the valiant Brueys in his hour of need. Ganteaume was no less nervous of meeting a British fleet, for his attempts to reinforce the stranded French army in Egypt had failed largely through want of confidence in himself and an ever-present fear of Keith, a feeling which haunted him all his days. Bruix was certainly more daring, but after his relief expedition of 1799 he allowed himself to be hemmed in at Brest by a British squadron. To make the mediocre efficient, and to put new life into the personnel of his naval administration, was the Herculean and almost impossible task which Napoleon had set himself. His eagerness in this direction knew no bounds. He annexed Genoa because of the reputation her men bore as sailors. The Emperor did not even take the trouble to disguise the fact. In a letter to the Arch-Chancellor of the Ligurian Republic he says :—

“My sole reason for uniting Genoa to the empire was to obtain the command of its naval resources ; and yet the three frigates which its port contains are not yet armed. Genoa will never be truly French till it furnishes six thousand sailors to my fleets. It is neither money nor soldiers which I wish to exact from it. Sailors, old sailors, are the contribution which I require. You must establish a naval conscription there. It is in vain to talk of governing a people without occasioning frequent discontent. Do you not know that, in matters of state justice means force as well as virtue? Do you think I am so sunk in decrepitude as to entertain any fears of the murmurs of the people of Genoa? The only answer I expect or desire to this despatch is, sailors, ever sailors. You

are sufficiently acquainted with my resolution to know that this desire is not likely to be ever diminished. Think of nothing in your administration, dream of nothing, but sailors. Say whatever you please in my name; I will consent to it all, provided only that the urgent necessity of furnishing sailors is expressed with sufficient force.”¹

At St. Helena Napoleon bewailed the fact that he had been unable to find a man sufficiently strong to raise the character of the French navy. “There is in the navy a peculiarity, a technicality that impeded all my conceptions,” he exclaimed. “If I proposed a new idea, immediately Ganteaume, and the whole Marine Department, were up against me. ‘Sire, that cannot be.’ ‘Why not?’ ‘Sire, the winds do not admit of it.’ Then objections were started respecting calms and currents, and I was obliged to stop short. How is it possible to maintain a discussion with those whose language we do not comprehend? How often, in the Council of State, have I reproached naval officers with taking an undue advantage of this circumstance. To hear them talk, one might have been led to suppose that it was necessary to be born in the navy to know anything about it. Yet I often told them, that had it been in my power to have performed a voyage to India with them, I should, on my return, have been as familiar with their profession as with the field of battle. But they could not credit this. They always repeated that no man could be a good sailor unless he were brought up to it from his cradle; and they at length prevailed on me to adopt a plan, about which I long hesitated, namely, the enrolment

¹ Bignon, Vol. V, p. 79. Quoted by Alison, Vol. VI, p. 400 (ed. 1850).

of several thousands of children from six to eight years of age.”¹

The military half of the programme was as nearly perfect as Napoleon's commanding genius could make it. After all, it seems only in keeping with the eternal fitness of things that England should have reared great admirals and France great generals at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Great Britain, by her insularity, was compelled then as now to safeguard her very existence by a fleet of superior power; her sons breathed of the salt winds deeply and became the Vikings of modern times. France, hemmed in by other states, her children only just emerging from a hand-to-hand struggle with their own kinsfolk, and under the despotic sway of a soldier of fortune, quite naturally gave men of military renown to the world.

In July of his coronation year (1804) Napoleon was at Boulogne superintending operations, but found time to write one of those passionate and melodramatic letters to the Empress Josephine which recalls to mind his multitudinous effusions to her when he was in Egypt and she was plain Citoyenne Bonaparte. “In the last four days since I have been absent from you I have been constantly on horseback, and this exercise has not impaired my health.” After tender solicitations as to her own welfare, he adds: “The wind freshened during the night, and one of our gunboats dragged her anchors and went ashore a league from Boulogne. I thought boat and crew lost, but we managed to save everything. The spectacle was grand; the alarm guns, the coast in a blaze of fire, the

¹ This conversation took place on November 6th, 1816. See *Las Cases*, Vol. IV, p. 102.

sea tossed with fury, and roaring. The soul was suspended between eternity, the ocean, and the night. At 5 a.m. it cleared up, everything was saved, and I went to bed with all the sensations inspired by a romantic and epic dream.”¹

The following month Boulogne was the scene of a magnificent spectacle. The newly-made Emperor had determined upon a grand review of the Army of England, at which the crosses of the Legion of Honour were to be distributed. In order to give a truly personal touch to the fête it took place on his birthday (August 15th). No better place could have been chosen than Boulogne, the Aldershot and, for the nonce at least, the Spithead of France, for its natural advantages for such a demonstration are great. In the centre of a vast plain rises a hill, and from this point Napoleon addressed the eighty thousand men congregated to do honour to the Head of the Army. A throne approached by twelve steps was erected, and on this stood the ancient chair of Dagobert, the crosses and ribbons to be distributed finding a place in the helmet of Du Guesclin and on the shield of Bayard, *le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, these priceless relics having been brought from Paris for the occasion. Such a combination as this was eminently worthy of the man who undoubtedly learnt from Talma, the tragedian, and was endowed with a sense of dramatic propriety far beyond that given to ordinary mortals. It was insinuated by the presence of these historic “properties” that Napoleon was a worthy successor of the greatest captains and conquerors of ancient times, and in this respect coming events cast their shadows before, although possibly not precisely on the lines which

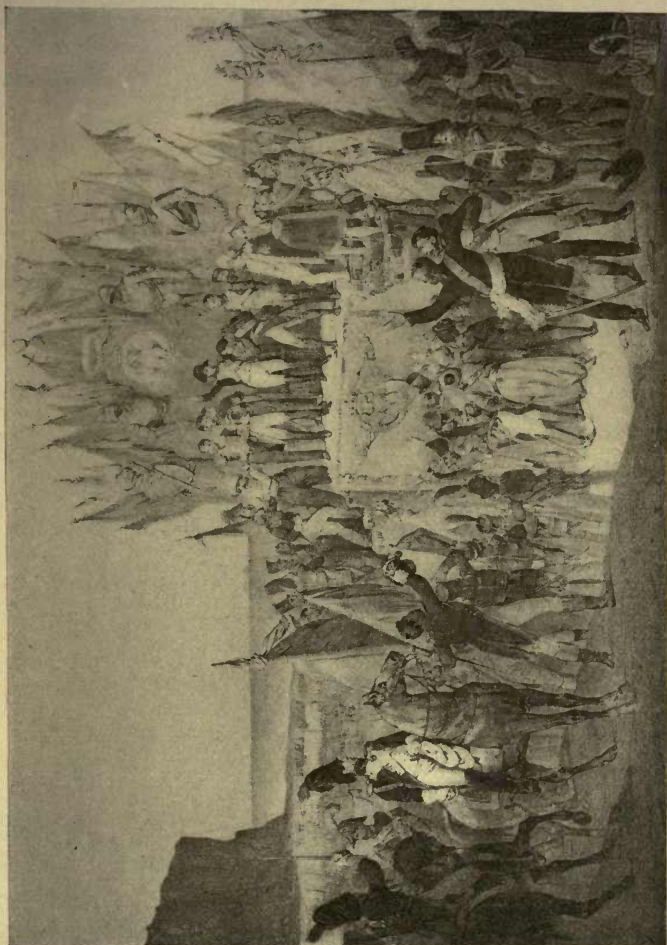
¹ Bingham, Vol. II, p. 82. According to Soult’s report, fifty men perished.

Napoleon at this moment contemplated. How many of the soldiers assembled round his throne anticipated that the modern Cæsar was yet to perform his mightiest exploits and ride roughshod over Europe with these very regiments?

Two hundred banners decorated the throne; not a few of them were bullet-riddled and in tatters, and stained with the blood of men who had perished on the victorious fields of Lodi, Arcola, Marengo, and a score of others. Far off in the offing the ships of old England could be seen—some riding at anchor, others patrolling up and down in the hope of being able to do some damage to any craft making for Boulogne. When the Emperor arrived on the scene, a salute was fired from innumerable pieces of cannon, and a fanfare of trumpets signalled his approach. With a smile of satisfaction Napoleon glanced at the legions surrounding him, and then repeated with due solemnity the form of oath to be taken by the members of the Legion of Honour:—

“Commanders, officers, legionaries, citizens, soldiers, swear upon your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the Empire—to the preservation of the integrity of the French territory—to the defence of the Emperor, of the laws of the Republic, and of the property which they have made sacred; swear to combat, by all the means which justice, reason, and the laws authorize, every attempt to re-establish the feudal system; in short, swear to concur with all your might in maintaining liberty and equality, which are the basis of all our institutions. Swear!”

From the voices of the chosen recipients rose the words “We swear it!” Then Napoleon turned to the whole



NAPOLEON AT THE CAMP OF ROULOGNE. GRAND FÊTE OF AUGUST 15, 1804

army and said, "And you, soldiers, swear to defend at the hazard of your life the honour of the French name, your country, and your Emperor."

As the wind arose so the waves were lashed into fury round the Tour d'Odre, but otherwise the weather was perfect. It took hours for the Emperor to distribute the decorations, for whenever he recognized a soldier whom he had seen during one of his campaigns, he would pass a few pleasant words with his old comrade. It was in this way that Napoleon endeared himself to the army; for one word, for one look from the magnetic personality which held their destinies in his sway, many a brave fellow would defy death—and perish!

A fitting *dénouement* to this splendid ceremony had been arranged. A fleet of new boats was to meet at a given point and then to make for Boulogne, arriving there at the height of the festival. This was done in order to still further arouse the enthusiasm of the troops, who, as everybody believed, were soon to cross the Channel *en route* for London.

Madame Junot¹ thus graphically describes an untoward incident as she herself saw it:—

"It was five o'clock, and for a considerable time I had observed the Emperor turning frequently and anxiously to M. Decrès, the Minister of Marine, to whom he repeatedly said something in a whisper. He then took a glass and looked towards the sea, as if eager to discover a distant sail. At length his impatience seemed to increase.

¹ Wife of Junot, afterwards Duke of Abrantes. Napoleon first made the acquaintance of this distinguished soldier at the siege of Toulon. He was writing a letter in the trenches when a cannon-ball struck the ground near by, covering them both with débris. Junot's only comment was, "*Bien!* Here's sand enough for this letter!"

Berthier, too, who stood biting his nails, in spite of his dignity as Marshal, now and then looked through the glass; and Junot appeared to be in the secret, for they all talked together aside. It was evident that something was expected. At length the Minister of the Marine received a message, which he immediately communicated to the Emperor; and the latter snatched the glass from the hand of M. Decrès with such violence, that it fell and rolled down the steps of the throne. All eyes were now directed to the point which I had observed the Emperor watching, and we soon discerned a flotilla, consisting of between 1000 or 1200 boats, advancing in the direction of Boulogne from the different ports and from Holland. . . .

“But the satisfaction of Napoleon was not of long duration. An emphatic oath uttered by M. Decrès warned the Emperor that some accident had occurred. It was soon ascertained that the officer who commanded the first division of the flotilla had run foul of some works newly erected along the coast. The shock swamped some of the boats, and several of the men jumped overboard. The cries of the people on the seashore, who hastened to their assistance, excited much alarm. The accident was exceedingly mortifying, happening, as it did, in the full gaze of our enemies, whose telescopes were pointed towards us, and it threw the Emperor into a violent rage. He descended from the throne, and proceeded with Berthier to a sort of terrace which was formed along the water's edge. He paced to and fro very rapidly, and we could occasionally hear him utter some energetic expression indicative of his vexation. In the evening, a grand dinner took place in honour of the inauguration. About six o'clock, just as dinner was served for the soldiers under tents, a heavy fall of rain came on. This augmented the Emperor's ill-humour, and formed a gloomy termination to a day which had commenced so brilliantly.”¹

¹ Quoted in *The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, pp. 315-16, by S. Baring-Gould.

As was his usual policy, Napoleon minimized the extent of the accident. "The fête passed off very well yesterday," he told Cambacérès, "only there was a little wind. The spectacle was new and imposing. So many bayonets have seldom been seen together."¹

From a gunboat Napoleon himself witnessed an engagement between his batteries and the cannon of the British ships two days after the fête. For a couple of hours brisk firing continued on both sides, but little damage was done, and the action was indecisive. An obelisk marks the spot on which the chair of Dagobert was placed on this historic occasion. An appropriate inscription records the fact, together with a plan of the disposition of the army and the insignia of the Order of the Legion of Honour.

A glimpse of the better side of Napoleon is afforded to us during his stay at Boulogne, which is in direct contrast to his outburst of passion on the day of the great review. He had requested his brother Louis, now elevated to the title of Constable and soon to be made king of Holland, to bring his wife Hortense and their elder child to inspect the progress of the harbour works. The Emperor took particular interest in his young nephew, whom he once thought of choosing as his successor, and was frequently seen carrying his namesake in his arms, to the immense satisfaction of the soldiers. On one occasion when the princess was sailing in the yacht used by Bruix for inspection purposes shots were exchanged with the enemy. "My son," says Hortense, "was not at all frightened, which pleased his uncle very much."²

In September, 1804, by which time the Emperor's latest

¹ Pont-de-Briques, 17th August, 1804. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 89.

² *Queen Hortense*, Vol. I, p. 197, by L. A. Taylor.

orders had been executed as far as possible, the flotilla became concentrated at the port of Étapes, having the left section of 274 boats, commanded by General Couraud ; at Boulogne, holding the centre under Admiral Lacrosse with two squadrons of 324 boats in all ; at the same port was also the right section under Admiral Magon with 323 boats ; at Wimereux sheltering the reserve under Captain Daugier of 97 boats ; and a small squadron of 81 boats for the transport of horses at Calais, making a war flotilla of 1099 vessels of various kinds. There were also 196 craft at Havre, Cherbourg, and Brest,¹ which were not included in the above programme. Sorties were made almost daily, and if the divisions of gunboats which put out from the various ports sometimes returned victorious in their encounters with British frigates and smaller vessels, they more frequently found it prudent to retire under the shelter of the heavy batteries mounted on the cliffs. As a fighting force the flotilla was not a success ; it remained to be seen if the French navy proper would acquit itself with honour and cover the passage of the armada of boats which the future Lord Exmouth was in the habit of calling the "mosquito fleet."

¹ Desbrière, Vol. IV, pp. 88-90.

CHAPTER XVIII

NELSON IN CHASE OF THE ENEMY, 1805

“The world attaches wisdom to him that guesses right.”—NELSON.

NAPOLEON'S first plan for the concentration of his fleets having failed owing to Nelson's watchfulness and La Touche Tréville's untimely death, he busied himself with another conception, based on the same fundamental idea, but differing in many other respects. Ireland, still discontented with the motherland, and at war with herself, presented a fine opening for a revolution. A certain section of her population was still coquetting with France, and Napoleon felt that an expedition to that country might be attended with success.¹ The 18,000 soldiers already stationed at Brest were to embark in the twenty vessels of Gantheaume's fleet, under Marshal Augereau. After having reached Ireland by a circuitous route so as to elude detection, and landed his human freight, two alternatives were left to the Vice-Admiral. If the wind favoured the crossing of the flotilla from Boulogne, he was to hasten back and cover its passage; if not, he was to convoy seven Batavian sail-of-the-line, then lying in the Texel with an army of 25,000 strong on board, and proceed to Lough Swilly. The capture of Dublin was to be his primary object.

¹ See *ante*, p. 94.

Should unforeseen circumstances arise preventing the army from setting foot on Irish soil, Scotland was to be invaded. "One of these two operations must succeed," the Emperor told Decrès late in September, 1804, "and then, whether I have 30,000 or 40,000 men in Ireland, or whether I am both in England and Ireland, the success of the war is with us."¹

But this was only part of a vast strategic movement, which if successful would place "the crown o' the world" on Napoleon's head. The Emperor sought to deceive the British fleets by causing the Toulon and Rochefort squadrons to sail in separate divisions for the West Indies, the former under Villeneuve and the latter under Missiessy.² The Toulon squadron was to regain the Dutch colonies which had been lost, as well as to take supplies to St. Domingo, a colony in the fortunes of which Napoleon evinced the keenest personal interest. St. Helena (*absit omen*) was also to be wrested from its possessors, two vessels remaining in the vicinity for a time to play havoc with British commerce. The Rochefort fleet had similar aggressive measures to carry out. St. Lucia and Dominica were to be included in its list of captures, while Martinique

¹ 29th September, 1804. *Correspondance de Napoléon*. Letter No. 8063, Vol. IX, p. 557.

² Missiessy belonged to a noble family, of which several scions had served France at sea. He first saw action in the American War, and acquitted himself with honour. The Revolution brought him speedy promotion to Rear-Admiral, though he was given no opportunity of distinguishing himself until he was appointed Commander of the Rochefort squadron, formerly held by Villeneuve. In 1809 Missiessy was given the rank of Vice-Admiral in command of the Scheldt squadron, at Antwerp. After the Restoration Louis XVIII made him Maritime Prefect of Toulon, and having remained true to the King during the Hundred Days, he was maintained at his post, and took a leading part in the reorganization of the French navy until his death in 1832.

and Guadeloupe had to be reinforced. This expedition over, the real war-game was to begin. Villeneuve and Missiessy were to join hands with their seventeen sail-of-the-line,¹ return to Europe together, and raise the blockade of Ferrol, thereby releasing the ships at Coruña. All were then to concentrate at Rochefort. By ordering these two fleets to sail before Ganteaume, the Master of War hoped that the English would be so fully occupied in their pursuit that the Brest fleet would be able to slip out of the harbour and accomplish one or other of its alternative movements.

That the Commander-in-Chief of the latter force experienced the same difficulty as his predecessors in obtaining sufficient sailors to work his ships is borne out in the following hitherto unpublished despatch from Decrès to Ganteaume. The document is undated, but it was evidently written at the end of June or the beginning of July, 1804.

“You say that if you had 4000 conscripts it would enable the vessels to get under weigh. Herewith, my dear Admiral, is a draft of the letter which I propose to submit to the Emperor on this subject. I send it to you before I speak to him about it in order that you may be acquainted with its details.² It is no longer a project now that the Emperor has given you the troops. You have a great task and a difficult one, for which your predecessor had prepared nothing. Please God you will fulfil it as successfully as I both desire and hope. One cannot give you conscripts.

¹ Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 132. The harbours of Ferrol and Coruña are adjacent.

² Napoleon in a letter to Vice-Admiral Ganteaume dated the 3rd July, 1804, says that there is no possibility of levying conscripts at present, but he has ordered 3000 troops to be placed at his disposal and hopes that with these and sailors taken from smaller vessels he will be able to maintain a full complement.—See Desbrière, Vol. IV, p. 159.

As for soldiers, the Emperor tells me always that there can be no difficulty about it, so it is to be hoped he will give them to you. In that you can carry out the reorganization, otherwise our vessels in port are nothing better than logs. I do not know how you get on with Missiessy, but I cannot impress upon you the necessity of too great discretion with him, for you are in presence of ——. If by chance he does not get on with you, you must tell me so frankly. It will not be at the moment of action that it will be time to make up your mind on that score. He expressed to me and to the Emperor a desire to return to Paris. He was told to remain at his post. Durento leaves Paris to-morrow to rejoin you.

“At the moment of finishing my letter the Minister of War informs me that troops will be put at your disposal in twenty-four hours, which occasions the official letter subjoined to this, which without that was only a project.

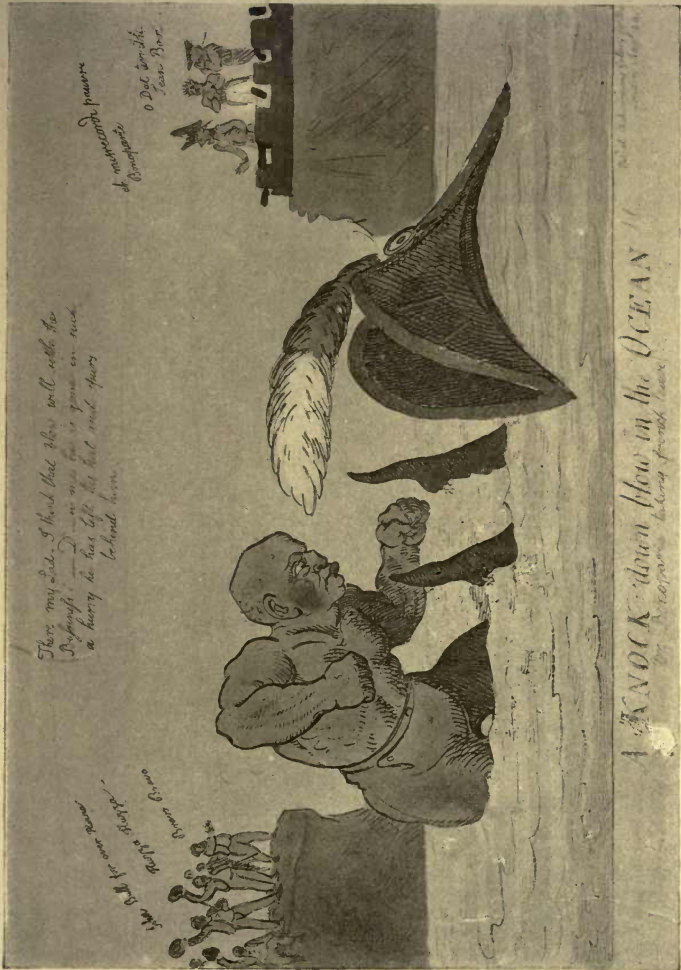
“All good wishes.

“DECRES.

“I do not yet order the return to port of the *Nécessité*, the *Vulcain*, and the *Festin*, because I wish to take the orders of the Emperor on the subject on this head. Therefore suspend everything relating to it. For the same reason put off the disbanding of the 400 invalids. I will write to you on the matter by the first post.”¹

The Emperor looked upon a sortie with almost as much satisfaction as his enemies regarded a victory, probably because the French admirals so rarely put to sea. On the 25th July, 1804, Ganteaume with five sail-of-the-line and several frigates had weighed anchor, but was forced to retreat before a British detachment under Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Graves. “The Emperor is exceedingly

¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of Napoleonic MSS.



There may be a... I think that... well with the... a heavy... to have left... behind him.

It is not... possible... Lane Down.

A KNOCK-DOWN BLOW IN THE OCEAN

JOHN BULL'S KNOCK-DOWN BLOW. 1804

pleased both with the sortie and your return to port," writes the Minister of Marine. "You have only to repeat it both to maintain and complete this feeling on his part. I am astonished to receive no more news of you. Do not forget to forward me intelligence by each post, and when you are at sea the commander of the squadron should fulfil this duty. Give him the necessary orders. I send you the plan of a new carronade, which I specially recommend to your attention. I hear very bad news of the health of La Touche. Take care of your own. I am worn out with work and details of every description. The place of a Minister should not be at Boulogne. It is killing work. *Vale et amour*. Consider me always at Paris; letters arrive quicker there. I have written to the Minister of War. . . ." ¹

In a personal communication to Ganteaume, sent from Aix-la-Chapelle, and dated the 6th September, 1804, Napoleon also refers to the Admiral's sortie, which he states "has greatly terrified the English; because they know that, having all the seas to defend, a squadron escaping from Brest would be able to do incalculable ravage, and if in November you were able to land 16,000 men and 500 horses in Ireland the result would be disastrous to our enemies. Tell me if you could be ready, and what are the probabilities of success. See General O'Connor and talk with him about the places for landing."²

In December, 1804, war broke out between Great Britain and Spain. This answered Napoleon's purpose very well.

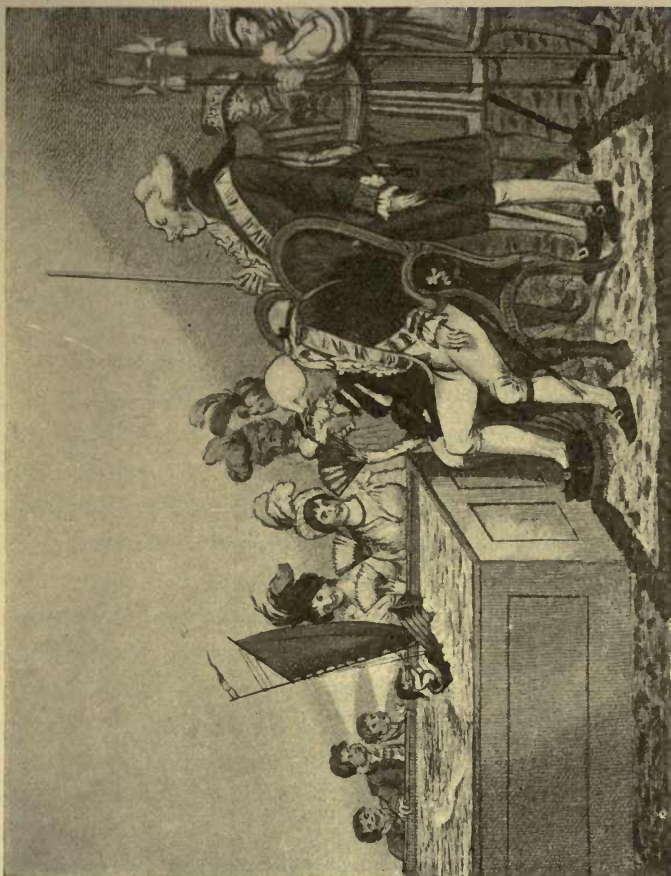
¹ Mr. Broadley's collection of Napoleonic MSS. Dated "No. 100. At Boulogne, on my return from Étapes, the 5th [indistinct] Year XII," namely, the end of July or the beginning of August, 1804.

² Desbrière, Vol. IV, p. 166.

England could not add to her fleet to any appreciable extent for some time to come, consequently a number of the vessels now blockading French ports would have to be detached to watch the hostile maritime operations of Spain. The Emperor cast covetous eyes on the ships, and very soon concluded a treaty by means of which he secured the co-operation of at least twenty-five sail-of-the-line and eleven frigates.¹ England had raised no objection to the annual subsidy imposed on Spain by Napoleon so long as she levied no troops for his assistance. The Government of George III felt itself tricked when extensive naval and military armaments were reported to be going on at Ferrol, especially as the dissolute and unscrupulous Godoy, Prince of the Peace, who was the real ruler of Spain, had posed as a neutral. A tiny force of two frigates, afterwards strengthened by the addition of two more from Nelson's none too numerous fleet, was despatched to intercept four huge treasure-ships—the *Mercedes*, *Medea*, *Clara*, and *Fama*—then making for Cadiz. Sir Graham Moore,² the brother of the hero of Coruña, was given charge of this mission. In the engagement which took place on the 5th October, 1804, the *Mercedes* blew up, killing most of the crew and a large number of non-combatants, including women and children, some three hundred souls in all. The remaining ships were captured, and £1,000,000 worth of specie found its way into the British Exchequer.

¹ Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 140.

² Vice-Admiral Sir Graham Moore, K.C.B. (b. 1764). As Captain Moore he was appointed, in July, 1803, to the *Indefatigable*, attached to the Channel fleet; Rear-Admiral, August 12th, 1812; K.C.B., 1815; Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, 1820; Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, 1839-42; d. 1843.



THE KING OF BROBDINGNAG AND GULLIVER (GEORGE III AND NAPOLEON).
GILLRAY'S CARICATURE OF FEBRUARY 10, 1804

A pathetic incident now occurred which brought down the fury of the opposition on Pitt's head. An officer who had spent a quarter of a century in amassing a fortune was returning from the colonies accompanied by his wife and family of nine. At the beginning of the fight he and his eldest son had left the *Mercedes*, only to see the ill-fated ship blown into the air a few minutes later. Not a single member of his family, except the boy who accompanied him, was ever seen again, and his whole fortune of £30,000 went to the bottom of the sea. This was repaid by the British Government later, but was poor compensation for the terrible loss he had sustained. Whether this act of violence was justifiable or not is still debated by historians. At any rate, Spain declared war forthwith, and it is significant that Napoleon ordered Fouché to have "several articles inserted in the papers with the object of exciting France to war, and of indisposing as much as possible the other Powers against England."¹

Notwithstanding his extensive preparations, Napoleon made overtures to Great Britain for peace early in 1805, not because he desired a cessation of hostilities for himself, but because the French nation showed unmistakable signs of dissatisfaction at his warlike policy. The now chronic condition of conflict was slowly but surely draining the resources of the country. In the autograph letter which he addressed to the King of England, the Emperor declared that "Though peace is the wish of my heart, yet war has never been adverse to my glory." The concluding paragraph is interesting, and true to the leading characteristic of Napoleonic statesmanship. There is a

¹ St. Cloud, 29th October, 1804. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 100.

suspicion of trying to shift the responsibility for any further strife that might ensue to the Emperor's adversary. It is platonically philosophical in its portent, and runs as follows:—

“Alas! what a melancholy prospect to cause two nations to fight, merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling everything when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your Majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it.”

The British Government had been bitten before, and was shy of making friends with Napoleon. Lord Mulgrave, Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressed his reply to Talleyrand, and this was an additional cause of offence. “His Britannic Majesty,” he said, “has received the letter addressed to him by the Chief of the French Government. There is nothing which his Majesty has more at heart than to seize the first opportunity of restoring to his subjects the blessings of peace, provided it is founded upon a basis not incompatible with the permanent interests and security of his dominions. His Majesty is persuaded that that object cannot be attained but by arrangements which may at the same time provide for the future peace and security of Europe, and prevent a renewal of the dangers and misfortunes by which it is now overwhelmed. In conformity with these sentiments, his Majesty feels that he cannot give a more specific answer to the overture which he has received, until he has had time to communicate

with the continental Powers, to whom he is united in the most confidential manner, and particularly the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments by which he is animated, and of the lively interest which he takes in the security and independence of Europe."

It is difficult to say whether Mulgrave intended that the Emperor should read the word "Coalition" between the lines of his communication or not. At any rate, the subject was referred to in the House of Commons shortly afterwards, in the speech from the throne. There is very little reason to think that the Emperor acted out of the goodness of his heart, since Missiessy had but a few days before received depreatory instructions regarding the British West Indies. The suggestion which has been put forward that the communication was sent in the hope that it might possibly cause the British Government to show its hand in regard to a possible alliance on the Continent is entirely worthy of belief.¹ Even Thiers is forced to admit that, "although determined upon a war of extinction against England, he thought it necessary to commence his reign by a procedure which was quite useless at that time."

On January 11th, 1805, the Rochefort fleet escaped, and on the 18th of the same month Villeneuve sailed from Toulon. Nelson was off the Maddalena Islands, at the northern end of Sardinia, watering his eleven ships, and information of Villeneuve's preliminary success did not reach him until the following day, when it was reported by the frigates *Active* and *Seahorse*. He immediately signalled the fleet to get under weigh, and by six o'clock in

¹ Rose's *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. II, p. 7.

the evening every scrap of available canvas was crowded on in chase of the enemy. Nelson believed them bound for the southern end of Sardinia, "eastward," as his crafty adversary had hoped. So confident was he that Villeneuve would be sighted before he had covered many leagues that every vessel was cleared for action and kept in close order for battle. A strong sea was running, with very heavy squalls from the westward. On the 25th the *Victory* was standing in the Gulf of Cagliari, but no enemy was visible. Nelson betrayed his terrible anxiety for the safety of England in a note to Sir John Acton. "I consider the destruction of the Enemy's fleet of so much consequence," he wrote, "that I would willingly have half of mine burnt to effect their destruction. I am in a fever. God send I may find them!"¹

Obtaining little information beyond learning that a French ship of 80 guns had been obliged to take refuge in the harbour at Ajaccio on the 19th, very much crippled, he looked in at Palermo on the 28th, hoping to find that his opponent had been compelled to anchor there. In this he was disappointed, and concluded that the Frenchmen had either returned to Toulon or gone to Egypt or the Morea: "Celerity in my movements may catch these fellows yet."² Off he set towards Egypt, but nothing awaited him at Alexandria, excepting three Turkish frigates and 300 "bad soldiers," while the commander of the fort gave all up as lost, believing Nelson's ships to be the French fleet. "I have not a shade of doubt, but that Egypt was the original destination of the French fleet,"

¹ *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 331.

² January 31st, 1805. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

Nelson writes on February 11th when off Gozo.¹ He was led to this belief by "Napoleon's profound wiles," which we have already noticed, and partly by the fact that Lesseps, the French Consul in Egypt, had frequently promised the Mamelukes that whenever they wanted to overrun the country, Napoleon would supply them with 5000 soldiers at a month's notice. The Emperor well knew the importance of Egypt from a strategical point of view; indeed, he had already stated that it "must sooner or later belong to France."

Not until Nelson was off Malta eight days later did he learn that Villeneuve had put back to the port he had left in such high feather the previous month. A gale in the Gulf of Lyons had played sad havoc with his little-exercised ships, and as it was impossible for him to make any headway in their broken condition, he had been obliged to "turn tail" and resume his old position at Toulon. Nelson had at least the satisfaction of knowing that if fate had been unkind to him, it had dealt an equally hard blow at his antagonist. The following despatch from Villeneuve to the Minister of Marine, written on his return to port, proves that the French fleet was by no means in such good condition as Napoleon had been led to suppose:—

"I declare to you that ships-of-the-line thus equipped, short-handed, encumbered with troops, with superannuated or bad materials, vessels which lose their masts or sails at every puff of wind, and which in fine weather are constantly engaged in repairing the damages caused by the wind, or the inexperience of their sailors, are not fit to undertake anything. I had a presentiment of this

¹ *Nelson's Despatches*, Vol. VI, p. 339.

before I sailed; I have now only too painfully experienced it.”¹

The Emperor showed his indignation at Villeneuve's failure in his usual abrupt way. “What,” he asked, “is to be done with admirals who allow their spirits to sink, and determine to hasten home at the first damage they may receive?” In his opinion, the ships ought to have been repaired *en route*. “A few topmasts carried away, some casualties in a gale of wind, were everyday occurrences. Two days of fine weather ought to have cheered up the crews, and put everything to rights. But the great evil of our navy is that the men who command it are unused to all the risks of command.”²

Comparisons are not odious in history, and Nelson wrote to the Admiralty on the 22nd February that, notwithstanding the bad weather, his ships “have received no damage, and not a yard or mast sprung or crippled, or scarcely a sail split.”³ He scorned Napoleon's idea that if the blockade were continued indefinitely the British ships would eventually have to be withdrawn as unseaworthy. “Bonaparte,” Britain's greatest seaman commented, “has often made his brags that our fleet would be worn out by keeping the sea; that his was kept in order and increasing by staying in port; but he now finds, I fancy, if *Emperors* hear truth, that his fleet suffers more in one night than ours in a year.”⁴

For the moment Napoleon pondered over a new idea.

¹ 21st January, 1805. Thiers' *Consulate and Empire*, Vol. III, p. 307.

² Napoleon to Lauriston, 1st February, 1805. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³ *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 345.

⁴ To Vice-Admiral Collingwood, March 13th, 1805. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 359.

In effect it was to send the Brest fleet to India as soon as it was in a fit state to brave the waves and winds. He still treasured the hope of an Eastern Empire, and entertained this project until it was eclipsed by another plan, which was to end in Trafalgar. His pet scheme received another check just about this period, owing to the death of Bruix. This distinguished officer, never robust at any time, was unable to stand the phenomenal pressure of work necessary in his position as Admiral of the Boulogne flotilla. Admiral Lacrosse succeeded him.

On March 13th, 1805, Nelson again put in an appearance off Toulon. Everything was normal, so he continued to cruise up and down the coast, until, on the 4th April, he received intelligence that he had for the second time missed his quarry. His health was then "but so-so," but the thought of meeting the French in a decisive battle helped him to bear his physical exhaustion with wonderful fortitude.

In a few words, Napoleon's third and last attempt to outwit Nelson was this: Villeneuve, after having vacated Toulon, was to call at Cadiz for the Spanish squadron of six sail-of-the-line, commanded by Admiral Gravina, and one French ship, and then fall in with Missiessy and his five sail at Martinique. Meanwhile, the Brest fleet of twenty-one ships was to get under weigh, pick up the fifteen vessels at Ferrol under Rear-Admiral Gourdon, and with all possible speed effect a junction with the other two fleets in the West Indies. With such an immense armament, and provided the combination was carried out in its entirety, the great naval personalities of France and Spain with fifty-nine battleships would, it was hoped, carry all before them and appear off Boulogne. "Leaping

the ditch" would be a theory no longer, but an accomplished fact.

First, then, let Villeneuve wait a favouring
wind
For process westward swift to Martinique,
Coaxing the English after. Join him there
Gravina, Missiessy, and Ganteaume ;
Which junction once effected all our keels—
Now nigh to sixty sail—regain the Manche,
While the pursuers linger in the West
At hopeless fault.—Having hoodwinked
them thus,
Our boats skim over, disembark the army,
And in the twinkling of a patriot's eye
All London will be ours.¹

Fortune favours the bold. Villeneuve's eleven ships sailed on the 30th March, and reached Cadiz. Sir John Orde, who was stationed off that port, beat an ignominious retreat, and instead of sending word to Nelson, fled north without leaving a single frigate to spy on the doings of the enemy. Thus Nelson was kept in suspense as to the direction taken by Villeneuve until the 18th April, and then the information vouchsafed was very unsatisfactory, for the vessel spoken was unable to state definitely that it was the French fleet which had been sighted. Nelson, in writing to the Admiralty on the 19th, said he was satisfied that the enemy was not bound for the West Indies, "but intended forming a junction with the squadron at Ferrol, and pushing direct for Ireland or Brest."²

Good luck seemed to have forsaken the hero, for he was unable to get a fair wind. It took nine days to make

¹ *The Dynasts*, Part I, act IV, scene 3, p. 21, by Thomas Hardy.

² *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 411.

sixty-five leagues. "Dead foul! dead foul!" he complained. His indomitable courage stands out clearly in many of his letters. He moaned over his mischances and ill-health, but he never closed an epistle without the assurance that he would not be cast down, and that his dearest wish was to be face to face with the enemy. Incredible exertion sustained his spirits, but sapped his life.

Nelson sent the *Amazon* to Lisbon on the chance of getting news, proceeding with his eleven ships to Cape St. Vincent, from whence he took up a position fifty leagues west of Scilly. This would enable him to join the fleet off Brest or to go to Ireland, whichever was necessary. He sent a warning to Lord Gardner, Commander-in-Chief of the squadron cruising off Ireland, that the French fleet might possibly come his way, and placing his ships at that Admiral's disposal should he deem assistance necessary. "I feel vexed at their slipping out of the Mediterranean," he averred, "as I had marked them for my own game. However, I hope, my dear Lord, that you will annihilate them, instead of Nelson and Bronté."¹

In a communication to Viscount Melville his indomitable spirit burns like a consuming fire. It almost seems as if his daring became keener as the sands of life ran out:—

"I am not made to despair—what man can do shall be done. I have marked out for myself a decided line of conduct, and I shall follow it well up; although I have now before me a letter from the Physician of the Fleet, enforcing my return to England before the hot months. Therefore, notwithstanding, I shall pursue the enemy to the East

¹ April 19th, 1805. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 413.

or West Indies, if I know that to have been their destination, yet, if the Mediterranean Fleet joins the Channel I shall request, with that order, permission to go on shore."¹

From this letter it is clear that Nelson regarded the West Indies as Villeneuve's destination quite within the range of probability, although he clung to his old idea that an attack on Ireland was contemplated. He rightly feared that Sir John Orde had not sent frigates to watch the enemy. He could not run to the West Indies "without something beyond mere surmise,"² while if he neglected doing so it was highly probable that Villeneuve would take Jamaica and other important possessions if he thought fit, as well as effect a junction with Missiessy. Nelson therefore appointed Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton,³ a thoroughly competent officer, to the command of the Mediterranean, should he find it necessary to pursue the enemy in distant waters. It was most essential to guard the Mediterranean, for Napoleon might yet try his skill in sending a fleet to Egypt, or even attack Sicily. In the midst of the anxiety attendant upon a man who was practically alone responsible for the safety of his country, Nelson's mind occasionally wandered back to Merton, and he conjured up thoughts of the happiness he would have as soon as he could wreak his vengeance upon his adversary. He even found time to make arrangements for building a kitchen there.

The first news he received of the real whereabouts of

¹ About 20th April, 1805. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 414.

² May 4th, 1805. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

³ Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton (b. 1759). Rear-Admiral of the Red, April 23rd, 1804; appointed to the Board of Admiralty, 1805; Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, 1812; Admiral of the White, June 4th, 1814; d. 1832.

the combined fleet is said to have been given to him by Rear-Admiral Donald Campbell, of the Portuguese navy, but by birth a Scotchman. "My lot is cast, and I am off to the West Indies,"¹ he wrote on the 10th May when in Lagos Bay, but not until the beginning of the following month did he have positive intelligence of Villeneuve's destination. Napoleon believed that Nelson had sailed for the East Indies,² and was positive of success. He persuaded himself that England's downfall was a matter of a few weeks or months at most. "If England is aware of the serious game she is playing, she will raise the blockade of Brest ; but I know not, in truth, what kind of precaution will protect her from the terrible chance she runs. A nation is very foolish when it has no fortifications and no army to lay itself open to seeing an army of 100,000 veteran troops land on its shores. This is the masterpiece of the flotilla ! It costs a great deal of money, but *it is necessary for us to be masters of the sea for six hours only, and England will have ceased to exist.*"³ He orders Berthier to embark everything, "so that in twenty-four hours the whole expedition may start." His intention was to land at four different points. "There is not an instant to be lost."⁴

Nelson anchored his ten ships⁵ at Barbados on June 4th, where he was told by General Sir William Myers that information had reached him the previous night from Brigadier-General Brereton, stationed at St. Lucia, that

¹ May 10th, 1805. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 431.

² 13th June, 1805. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 136.

³ 9th June, 1805. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ 20th July, 1805. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵ On May 11th Nelson had detached one ship, the *Royal Sovereign*, to guard a convoy of troops for the West Indies.

the enemy had been seen off that island, going towards the south, probably for Tobago or Trinidad. Nelson hesitated, but determined to take the risk. "If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French fleet," he remarked before sailing, and later events certainly justified this assertion. In a subsequent letter to the British Minister at Lisbon Nelson disposed of Brereton very summarily. "If either General Brereton could not have wrote," he said, "or his look-out man had been blind, nothing could have prevented my fighting them [the enemy] on June 6th; but such information and from such a quarter, close to the enemy, could not be doubted."¹ Again, "But for General Brereton's damned information Nelson would have been, living or dead, the greatest man in his profession that England ever saw."

The Admiral was not to know that he was on the wrong scent until he found it out for himself. He set sail with two additional line-of-battle ships which had joined him under Cochrane, who had been sent to search for Missiessy, for Tobago, and there learnt from an American vessel that she had been boarded by a French man-of-war the day before. The same evening another ship signalled that the enemy was at Trinidad, accordingly the 7th found him at that island. Reports of a contradictory nature came in almost daily. On the 8th someone told him that the enemy was to sail four days previously for an attack upon Grenada and Dominica. The following day he was informed that all was well at these places, "and that on the 4th the enemy had not moved from Martinico, proving all our former information to be false."² In this way Nelson chased from

¹ Dated June 15th, 1805. *Nelson's Dispatches*, Vol. VI, p. 456.

² *Ibid.*, p. 452.

island to island. On the 11th he was off Guadeloupe, on the 12th at Antigua, where he disembarked the troops he had taken on board at Barbados for the purpose of fighting the French should they have succeeded in effecting a landing. At noon the following day "I sailed in my pursuit of the enemy, and I do not yet despair of getting up with them before they arrive at Cadiz or Toulon, to which coasts I think they are bound, or, at least, in time to prevent them from having a moment's superiority."

The bows of his well-worn ships were again turned towards Europe, and on the 18th July he came across his old friend Collingwood, who was now blockading Cadiz. Twenty-four hours later Nelson anchored in Gibraltar Bay, and on the 20th he went on shore "for the first time since the 16th of June, 1803; and from having my foot out of the *Victory*, two years, wanting ten days."¹ A month afterwards he joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and detaching the *Victory* and *Superb*, proceeded to Portsmouth.

This time good fortune had attended Villeneuve. He rallied the Spanish fleet and the French men-of-war at Cadiz, and steered for his destination at Martinique, which he eventually reached on the 14th May, but no *Missiessy* awaited him, for he had turned back, and actually put in at Rochefort six days after Villeneuve had arrived at Martinique.² The latter had instructions to wait forty days there for Ganteaume's arrival, attack the English colonies, and afterwards proceed to Santiago, wait another twenty days, and then if the Brest fleet did not arrive, sail for Cadiz, where despatches would await him giving particu-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

² Desbrière, Vol. IV, p. 570.

lars of further movements.¹ Ganteaume was unable to pierce the bulwark of battleships which had been established by his adversaries before Brest. No gale came, and Cornwallis stuck to his post, for it was only when very heavy weather obtained that Ganteaume could possibly elude the enemy without giving battle, which Napoleon especially told him not to do. An opportunity was given him to escape in the middle of April, when under stress of weather Cornwallis was forced to raise the blockade, but by the time the French were ready the British had come back, and the attempt was abortive. Writing to Napoleon on the 1st May, 1805, Ganteaume raises his voice like one crying in the wilderness: "I cannot possibly describe to you the painful feelings which I have endured on finding myself kept in port while the other squadrons are in full sail for their destinations, and may be cruelly compromised by our difficulties; this last and most afflicting idea allows me no rest, and if I have thus long resisted the impatience and the sufferings by which I am racked, I have done so because I have seen not one chance in our favour should I run out, and all chances in favour of the enemy; a disadvantageous battle was and is inevitable as long as the enemy shall keep his present position, and then our expedition would be irreparably ruined, and our forces for a long time paralysed. . . . Here I would fain repeat to your Majesty the assurance I have already given you, as to the order and preparation in which I keep all the vessels; the crews are all mustered on board, no communications take place with the shore except for indispensable objects of duty, and at all hours every vessel is ready to obey the

¹ 2nd March, 1805. *Correspondance de Napoleon*, Letter No. 8381, Vol. X, p. 185.

signals which may be made to it; these arrangements, which alone can enable us to profit by the first favourable opportunity, will be kept up with the utmost exactitude."¹

The awe in which Napoleon was held, and Ganteaume's fear of reproof, is set forth in a note to Decrès. "Although in your last you recommended me to write frequently to the Emperor," it runs, "I dare not write to him, having nothing favourable to say; I remain silent, awaiting events, being unwilling to trouble him about mere trifles, and I confine myself to saying that I trust he will do us justice."²

Time was on the wing, and Napoleon would brook no further delay. He sent two ships-of-the-line under Rear-Admiral Magon with orders to Villeneuve to wait thirty-five days after the former's arrival, and then, if Ganteaume had not joined him, sail by the shortest route to Ferrol, for a junction with the vessels in that port, release the Brest fleet, and appear before Boulogne.³ No sooner had Magon sailed than the Emperor altered his mind, and sent a frigate ordering Villeneuve to remain one month only in the West Indies. If Ganteaume "has not started by the 20th May, he is not to start at all, but remain always ready."⁴

After Villeneuve had captured a number of British merchant ships, the word was passed round by the prisoners that the conqueror of the Nile had arrived at Barbados and been reinforced by Admiral Cochrane's ships, which

¹ Thiers, *Consulate and Empire*, Vol. III, p. 364.

² 27th April, 1805, Ganteaume to Decrès. Thiers, Vol. III, p. 365.

³ 14th April, 1805. *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Letter No. 8583, Vol. X, p. 321.

⁴ 8th May, 1805. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 8699, Vol. X, p. 383.

had been exaggerated from two to four. This completely unnerved the French commander, and notwithstanding the repeated attempts of Lauriston, who was in charge of the troops on board, and which were landed at Martinique and Guadeloupe, he turned his twenty ships towards France, regardless of his instructions to wait. Napoleon's later orders apparently never reached him.¹

The net results of Villeneuve's cruise were insignificant. Beyond the taking of the Diamond Rock at Martinique, after a brave and desperate resistance on the part of its British defenders, he had signally failed to carry out any of the important duties entrusted to him. He was unable to effect a junction with the Rochefort squadron because Missiessy had returned to Europe before time, thus upsetting the plans Napoleon had matured with so much care. In other respects the commander of the Rochefort squadron had certainly been more successful than his colleague, for the French colonies had been reinforced, and the island of Dominica added to their number. This carried little weight with the Emperor, who relieved Missiessy of his post and gave it to Allemand.

It had suited Napoleon's purpose to leave France and proceed to Italy. In doing so he had two distinct objects in view. He wished to make grand military demonstrations in the south, so that England's attention might be diverted from the preparations at Boulogne, and the sailing of his fleets, to that of further activity on the Continent. At the same time he had determined that his coronation as King of Italy should take place without any undue delay in the beautiful cathedral of Milan. On his way the Emperor stopped at Turin and Alessandria. At the

¹ Desbrière, Vol. IV, p. 684.

latter place he spent considerable time, for he resolved to erect what would probably be the strongest fortress in the world, and capable of accommodating forty thousand troops. His notion was that, should the Austrians pour a horde of soldiers into Italy at an inconvenient moment, the men of the garrison would be able to keep the invaders busily employed while Napoleon raced over the borders with an army capable of raising the siege and driving out the enemy.

On the field of Marengo the Emperor saw a fitting opportunity for a great theatrical display of armed force. This would still further lead England to the assumption that he was about to lead his battalions to more victories at the expense of other Powers. Donning the hat and uniform which he had worn five years before on the same field, when he so skilfully defeated the Austrians, he reviewed an enormous mass of warriors. The scene resembled the great fête at Boulogne—minus the relics—the Emperor and Empress being seated on thrones commanding a view of the whole spectacle. From this point of vantage the “Little Corporal” addressed the men who were to be the heroes of other battles, the while they made the place resound with cries of “*Vive l’Empereur!*”

Napoleon was not the only person in high office who was busily employed at this time. Pitt had concluded a defensive alliance with Russia and Austria the previous year, in which Sweden also participated.¹ He was now engaged in consolidating the Third Coalition against France by trying to draw Russia into the new combination. Parliament voted no less than £44,559,521 of war

¹ Much interesting information as to the rise of the Third Coalition will be found in *The Paget Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 81–221.

taxes, while over 800,000 men were in arms, including 380,000 volunteers. In addressing the House of Lords on the defence of the country,¹ Lord Hawkesbury, referring to the military force at Great Britain's disposal, stated that "it is not only greater than at any former period, but greater than the force of any country, of equal population, in every way." He added that the proportion of the population of France "capable of bearing arms is not more than one in fourteen of her active male population. . . . Whilst France, Russia, and Austria do not give more than a proportion of armed men to their active population of one in fourteen, the United Kingdom . . . gives a proportion of one in ten. . . . independent of our regular army and militia. Taking our volunteers at 380,000, our sea fencibles at 30,000, the regulars and militia being taken at 400,000, the whole of our armed force amounts to 810,000. That is not in the proportion of one man in fourteen, not in proportion of one man in ten, but in the proportion of one in five of our active male population at this hour in arms. . . ."

All these preparations did not disconcert Napoleon, and while he was placing the iron crown of Lombardy on his own head with the words, "God has given it to me—woe to him who touches it!" his admirals had reached the West Indies, thereby carrying out the first part of the great combination of fleets. So far everything was going in the direction he wished, and the Emperor's spirits rose accordingly. Eugène Beauharnais, his adopted son, was appointed Viceroy of Italy; Genoa, Parma, and Piacenza were added to France; while Lucca with Piombino was raised to the dignity of a principality and handed over to

¹ Delivered March 8th, 1805.

Eliza Bonaparte. With a dash of the pen republics became departments or kingdoms, to add further lustre to the glittering diadem of the universal conqueror. Napoleon waxed more enthusiastic than ever over his English venture. He little thought that his incompetent subordinates had, notwithstanding their early success, shattered at one fell swoop his gigantic preparations.

CHAPTER XIX

TRAFALGAR AND THE FINAL COLLAPSE OF THE INVASION PROJECTS

“The political greatness of England consists in her navy.”

NAPOLÉON.

ALTHOUGH Nelson had missed his quarry, he did not lose his head, but with his usual foresight detached the *Curieux* to inform the Admiralty that the combined fleet was on its way to Europe. The warning was not in vain. The authorities immediately sent word to Admiral Stirling¹ to relax his guard at Rochefort, and to form a junction with Sir Robert Calder² off Ferrol, there to await the Emperor's naval forces now making for Brest. On the 19th July, 1805, Villeneuve was off Cape Finisterre, running in the teeth of a violent gale, which caused damage to several of his ships, one of which was leaking at the alarming rate of six inches an hour. When the storm had died away, all went fairly well until the 22nd, a day destined to be consecrated to the God of Battles.

That big affairs often have the smallest beginnings is

¹ Vice-Admiral Charles Stirling (b. 1760). Rear-Admiral, April 3rd, 1804; Commander of Cape of Good Hope station, 1807; Vice-Admiral, July 31st, 1810; d. 1833.

² Admiral Sir Robert Calder, K.C.B. (b. 1745). Rear-Admiral, 1799; Vice-Admiral of the Red, 1808; Admiral of the White, 1813; K.C.B., 1815; d. 1818.

a trite saying. Napoleon himself remarked, "There is but one step from triumph to a fall. I have seen that in the greatest affairs a little thing has always decided great events." Had not the fog which obscured the horizon from early morning until noon suddenly lifted, it is possible that Villeneuve would have formed his junction with Ganteaume, and the invasion of England taken place. Calder, stationed off Ferrol with fifteen sail-of-the-line and four smaller vessels, had been anxiously looking for the enemy's squadron. He was overjoyed to see flying from the *Defiance*, a look-out ship stationed several miles from the rest of the fleet, the signal that the Frenchmen had suddenly appeared. But the rift in the fog which had shown up the enemy did not last for long, and it became so thick while the fleets were forming in line for battle, that they actually passed each other. It was a game of naval hide-and-seek.

Calder engaged the enemy with his starboard guns, Villeneuve returning the fire with his port cannon. The pounding continued on both sides for about four hours and a half, during which time the *San Rafael* and the *Firme* struck their flags. The latter vessel was simply a battered hulk, her rigging and masts having been shot away by the skilful marksmanship of the British tars. It was unfortunate that they both belonged to the Spanish navy, for the southern officers and crews were so sick of the whole affair that their condition bordered on mutiny. Napoleon had warned his commanders that two Spanish ships were only equal to one Frenchman, knowing, as he did, that several of the former had left port either in a half-finished state or badly manned and provisioned. At 8.30 p.m. the action was discontinued. Both fleets spent

the night repairing damages, which were not very extensive except in the case of the two sail-of-the-line already mentioned, and the *Windsor Castle*, a British ship. Many of the shots had been fired at random owing to the dense haze. Thirty-nine British officers and men lost their lives in this indecisive action, while 159 were placed *hors de combat*. The enemy's losses were much more severe and totalled over 470 in killed and wounded. At daybreak it looked as if Villeneuve showed signs of fight, but evidently thinking better of it, and remembering Napoleon's order, "*Notre intention est que vous fassiez votre jonction en évitant le combat,*" he crowded on all sail and eventually passed out of sight, notwithstanding that the British were inferior by one-fourth in point of force.¹

While Villeneuve received a congratulatory message on the result of the battle from Napoleon,² Calder was obliged to ask for a court-martial, so violent were the attacks made upon him in England. Had he decided to renew the action on the second day it might certainly have been decisive, and Calder would have gained the laurel wreath victory gave to Nelson three months later. On the other hand, he ran the grave risk of the enemy being strongly reinforced owing to the abandonment of the blockades of Ferrol and Rochefort. As his own squadron only numbered fifteen it would have been foolhardy to attempt the defeat of the thirty-seven ships thus concentrated. Sir Robert Calder's reputation was damned by the suppression of a paragraph in his despatch to Cornwallis, in which he distinctly stated that he might find it necessary to make a

¹ James's *Naval History*, Vol. III, p. 244.

² 13th August, 1805. *Correspondance de Napoléon*, Letter No. 9073, Vol. XI, p. 86.

junction with his senior officer immediately because of the combined squadrons in Ferrol. The despatch as "edited" by the Admiralty officials ended with an expression of hope that the engagement might be renewed.¹ Added to this, Napoleon caused accounts of an alleged victory over Calder to be inserted in French newspapers, and when these were received from Paris and copied into London journals, public indignation was so great that the luckless English Admiral felt called upon to take action. At the court-martial he was severely reprimanded for not having renewed the engagement, but his undoubted bravery was not questioned.

Although Villeneuve was belauded to his face, the Emperor alternately praised and cursed him to others. In one communication he says, "Villeneuve has fulfilled his object—the junction";² in another he calls the Admiral "a poor creature who sees double, and who has more perception than courage."³ Thus Napoleon endeavours to face both ways. He tells Cambacérès how little the Spaniards are to be relied upon; to Decrès he says, "They fought like lions."⁴

Villeneuve made straight for the Bay of Vigo, which shelter he reached on the 28th inst., but found no orders awaiting him. Despatching a ship to Ferrol to spy out the harbour, and in this way finding that no British fleet had been sighted, he left three of his crippled ships, the *Atlas*, *America*, and *España* at Vigo and sailed for Ferrol. Before entering the harbour he apparently received Napoleon's orders that he was not to do so, and he put in at Coruña,

¹ See James, Vol. IV, p. 17.

² Bingham, Vol. II, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

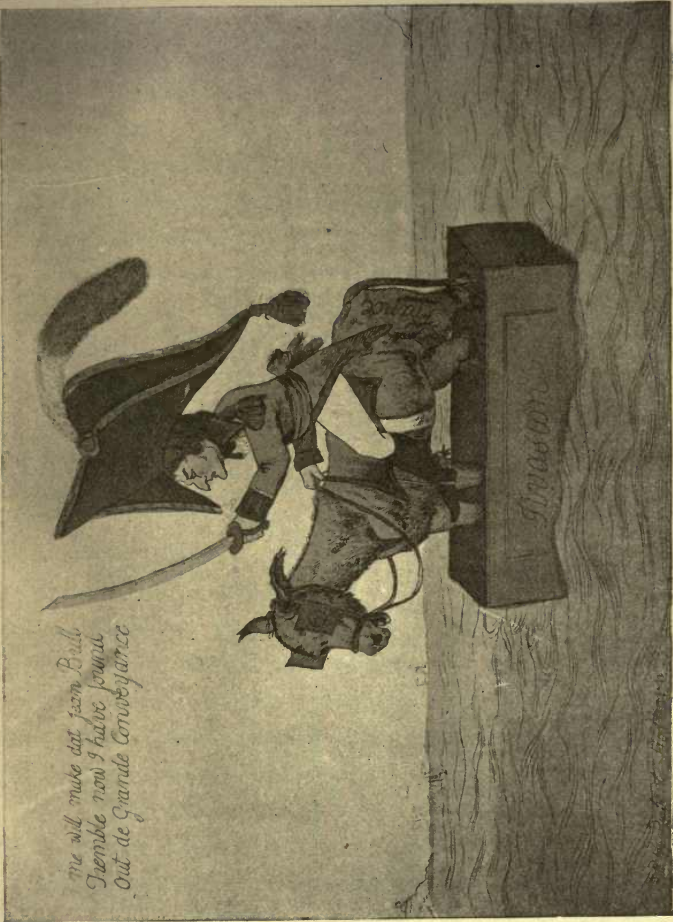
near by.¹ Here he was further strengthened by the addition of fourteen sail-of-the-line lying in that port, bringing the total of his fleet to twenty-nine strong. So far so good, but the crucial question really was, would he be able to form his junction with the Brest fleet in an equally satisfactory manner?

On Stirling's withdrawal from Rochefort, Allemand had slipped out from his hiding-place and was now vainly searching for Villeneuve. In the event of this squadron reaching him the French Admiral would have no fewer than thirty-four fighting ships, a not inconsiderable force, to aid him in his endeavour to release Ganteaume from his unhappy and untenable position at Brest. Villeneuve's fleet was, however, in anything but a satisfactory state for such a performance. "I will not undertake to describe our condition—it is frightful," he tells Decrès. "Everything is against me, even the heavens. . . . A thunderbolt has fallen on my vessel the *Bucentaure* and penetrated the bridge. . . . I have seen the Franco-Spanish squadron and am very satisfied with it. Would to heaven the Cadiz force which rallied with me was composed of vessels like it. . . . One has never seen such wretched ships afloat. This has been the prime cause of all our misfortunes. . . . I will start as soon as I can and, weather permitting, I will try to enter Brest or to deceive the watchfulness of the enemy and come into the Channel. Or if the two other courses are impracticable I will take the route to Cadiz."²

Desbrière rightly calls attention to the fact that the

¹ Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 174.

² Desbrière, Vol IV, pp. 725-27. This despatch is dated "on board the *Bucentaure*, in the roads off Coruña, 3rd August, 1805."



CARICATURE OF ONE OF THE FRENCH INVASION RAFTS. [CIRCA, 1804]

above despatch bears clearly the trace of Villeneuve's having received the order of the 16th July that "If through the effects of combat you find your situation changed considerably, we do not intend that your squadron shall enter the port of Ferrol. In this case, which with God's help will not come to pass, we desire that after releasing our squadrons of Rochefort and of Ferrol, you will for preference anchor in the port of Cadiz." Decrès had omitted to inform the Admiral that Allemand would be at Vigo on the 13th August—a grave error on the part of the Minister of Marine,¹ to be followed by an even more incredible mistake, for when he did let Villeneuve know of this arrangement he made the date the 3rd instead of the 13th!² Villeneuve sent the frigate *Didon* to find Allemand, stating that should he (Villeneuve) find any difficulties in carrying out his plan of operations, he would make for Cadiz, but the vessel never reached its destination, for the British frigate *Phoenix* coming up with it gave fight, and the *Didon* was forced to surrender.

In his letter to Villeneuve of the 13th August, 1805, Napoleon states categorically that the Admiral must effect his junction with Allemand, "sweep away everything that you find before you, and come into the Channel, where we await you with great impatience. If you have not done so, do it. Bear down boldly upon the enemy. . . . It is my desire that wherever the enemy presents himself before you with fewer than twenty-four vessels you give him battle. . . . The English are not so numerous as you seem to imagine. They are everywhere in a state of uncertainty and alarm. Should you make your appearance here [Boulogne] for three days, nay, even for twenty-four hours,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 727-8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 755-6.

your mission would be fulfilled. Make the moment of your departure known to Admiral Ganteaume by special messenger. Never for a grander object did a squadron run such risks, and never have our soldiers and seamen poured out their blood for a grander and nobler result. For this great object of forwarding the descent upon that power which for six centuries has oppressed France, we may all die without regretting the sacrifice of life. Such are the sentiments which should animate you, and which should animate all my soldiers. England has in the Downs only four ships-of-the-line, which we daily harass with our *prames* and our flotillas.”¹ On the following day (August 14th) the Emperor writes in the same enthusiastic strain, ending with the words: “We are ready everywhere. Your presence in the Channel for twenty-four hours will suffice.”² To Decrès he says: “If Villeneuve remains at Ferrol beyond the 16th [August], I shall consider him the least of men. According to the news from London, Nelson is still far away.³ If Villeneuve sails with his thirty vessels he will be sure of forming a junction with Allemand. Nelson and Collingwood are ‘out of the field of battle’; likewise the squadrons of Cochrane and of India. . . .”⁴

Irresolute as ever, although he put to see before the above despatches were in his hands, Villeneuve hesitated—and was lost. Now would have been the psychological moment to strike a vital blow at England, for although Cornwallis had thirty-four or thirty-five ships at Brest (including nine of Calder’s, who had joined him after

¹ Thiers’ *History of the Consulate*, etc., Vol. III, p. 395.

² *Ibid.*, p. 396.

³ Nelson landed at Portsmouth on the 18th August. This despatch is dated from Camp of Boulogne, 14th August, 1805.

⁴ Bingham, Vol. II, p. 143.

his indecisive action, and nine of Nelson's) and might possibly have an additional five which had been sent to watch Rochefort,¹ now abandoned by Allemand, the united forces of Ganteaume and Villeneuve might have been overpowering, especially if the fight had taken place near land, in which case the powerful batteries on the coast would have assisted. His master's commands were deliberately ignored by Villeneuve. Instead of setting sail, he wasted precious time repairing and repainting. Some of his vessels had run into near-by ports, and when he finally decided to start, as luck would have it, another three days' delay was occasioned owing to stress of weather.

What must be the verdict of history upon a man who wrote: "I am about to sail; but I know not what I shall do"? There can only be one answer. He further complained that the French naval tactics were obsolete, presumably only making the discovery a few hours before he was to come to close quarters with the enemy. The French Admiral could not have shown his incompetence in a clearer way. While admitting that several of his ships had been roughly handled by the sea during his recent voyage, and that scurvy and dysentery were rampant among the crews, the fact remains that Villeneuve ought to have made a start much earlier than he did. Unfortunately for Napoleon, the Admiral was a man of pedantic rule, of drill-book and precedent—notwithstanding his remark about obsolete tactics—while his rival displayed initiative which amounted to genius. Villeneuve inspired nobody; Nelson inspired all. The dominating personality of Britain's great naval captain, his daring verging on aggressiveness, created that faith in the ultimate success of his plans which was

¹ These ships joined Cornwallis on the 14th August.

shared by all his subordinates, and was in itself an armament, if only a moral one. Commodore Churruca's remark at Trafalgar, "The French Admiral does not understand his business," was an article of faith shared by more than one of Villeneuve's officers long before that battle was fought.

On the 13th August Villeneuve made a start, and, as usual, he did exactly the wrong thing. On seeing a number of frigates, and taking them to be scouts of a British squadron lying not far distant, he shrank from trying conclusions, and, promptly altering his course, turned southwards. In reality he was within an ace of success, for the vessels were Allemand's, and Cornwallis had unwisely sent a squadron of eighteen ships belonging to his fleet to Ferrol, keeping seventeen sail-of-the-line only at Brest. This was the nearest thing in the whole naval war. The detachment had not yet reached its destination, and might either have been eluded or annihilated by the allied fleet.¹ No wonder the Emperor comments, "What a chance has Villeneuve lost!"

Four days later the combined force was off Cape St. Vincent. On August 20th Villeneuve entered Cadiz, blissfully unaware of the fact that Napoleon had now written telling him not to do so. Meanwhile Collingwood, with only three sail-of-the-line and two smaller vessels, stationed himself off the Spanish port and successfully "bottled in" thirty-five French and Spanish sail-of-the-line!² How he achieved this feat is best told in his own words. We quote from a letter he wrote to his wife under the following head:—

¹ See *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, pp. 226-7.

² James's *Naval History*, Vol. III, p. 258.

“*DREADNOUGHT, OFF CADIZ,*

“*August 21st, 1805.*

“I have very little time to write to you, but must tell you what a squeeze we had like to have got yesterday. While we were cruising off the town, down came the combined fleet of thirty-six sail of men-of-war: we were only three poor things with a frigate and a bomb, and drew off towards the Straits, not very ambitious, as you may suppose, to try our strength against such odds. They followed us as we retired with sixteen large ships, but on our approaching the Straits, they left us and joined their friends at Cadiz, where their fleet is now as thick as a wood. I hope I shall have somebody come to me soon, and in the meantime I must take the best care of myself I can. . . .”¹

Collingwood, inwardly as calm as Villeneuve was agitated, let one of his vessels ride in the offing, from whence she made signals at intervals to an imaginary fleet out at sea. This effectually deceived the enemy, who did not attempt to interfere with him further. On the 22nd August Collingwood was reinforced by Sir Richard Bickerton's four sail-of-the-line, and eight days afterwards by Calder's eighteen ships, but the way he held tight to Cadiz with his tiny fleet is one of the most stirring passages in the history of blockades!

The Emperor had left Italy some time before, setting out on his journey at night so as not to attract attention. So anxious was he to accomplish the subjugation of perfidious Albion, that before leaving his southern kingdom he had sent instructions that all his important military and naval officers should be awaiting him to re-

¹ *Correspondence of Lord Collingwood*, p. 109.

ceive his last orders when his carriage drove up. In three days he traversed over five hundred miles, an unheard-of rapidity in that period of slow and cumbersome travel. From Fontainebleau he passed to Boulogne, accompanied by the ever-faithful Berthier, where he reviewed a magnificent line of soldiers, extending for nine miles.¹ The following despatch from Marshal Soult, who commanded the *corps du centre*, deals with the arrangements made on this occasion, and is now printed for the first time:—²

Army of the Coast.
Central Corps.

Headquarters at Boulogne,
15 Thermidor, Year 13
[August 3rd, 1805].

“To General Hulin, commanding the Battalions of the Imperial Guard encamped at Wimereux.

“I inform you General that the Emperor will review to-morrow the troops of the central division as well as those of the advance guard, and that his Majesty has ordered that the battalions of the Imperial Guard under your command should be present in full force.

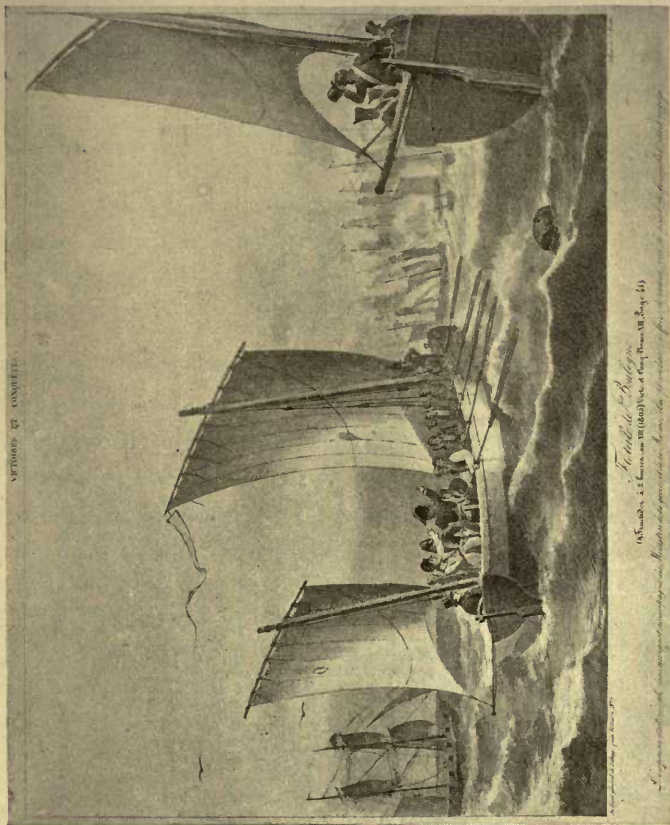
“To carry out these instructions you should assemble under arms the two battalions you command at 10 a.m. on the foreshore to the right of the port of Wimereux, the left at forty fathoms [*toises*] to the right of the fourth division of the central corps, and prolonging the right in the direction indicated by that division. The division of Grenadiers will be drawn up in order of battle to your right, with an interval of forty fathoms. The troops must be completely equipped, with knapsacks, tools, cooking utensils, and everything necessary for camping out.

“The detachments on board the boats of the flotilla should disembark to appear at the review, and all the men

¹ Rose's *Life of Napoleon I*, Vol. I, p. 500.

² Mr. Broadley's collection of Napoleonic MSS.

VUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FLOTTE



La Flotte de Boulogne
(55 navires, à 24 canons, et 10000 hommes)
Dessiné par M. de la Roche, gravé par M. de la Roche, Paris.

OFF BOULOGNE, 1805. NAPOLEON REVIEWING HIS FLOTILLA

on duty provided by the two battalions must be recalled. After the review the garrisons of the coasts must again return on board.

“You will hold the muster-roll of the two battalions ready to be presented to his Majesty if he calls for it, and the captains should also be in possession of the exact situation of their companies.

“I have the honour to salute you.

“MARSHAL SOULT.¹”

“P.S.—The Marshal Colonel-General of the Emperor’s Staff has doubtless informed you that his Majesty, after the review, will receive in order the generals at his headquarters.”

On the 8th August Napoleon declares that “without doubt I shall embark with my army, but I and my army will only embark with every possible chance of success.”² So far as he knew, the navy was acquitting itself with honour. The rations for the soldiers and the hay and oats for the horses had been placed on board the flotilla, but there was an alarming discrepancy in the number of troops actually ready to cross the Channel and the accommodation provided for them. The tables were now completely turned, for while 2343 boats were lying in the ports of Boulogne (1153), Étaples (365), Wimereux (237), Ambleteuse (173), Calais (223), Dunkirk (157), and Ostend (35), capable of carrying 167,590 men, only 93,000 soldiers out of a possible 166,155 were available for active service

¹ Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult (1769–1851). Marshal in 1804, Duke of Dalmatia in 1808. He took a leading part in the Austerlitz campaign, the Peninsular War, and was present at the battle of Waterloo. In 1838 the Duke met with an enthusiastic reception when he visited England at the time of the coronation of Queen Victoria.

² Bingham, Vol. II, p. 140.

at the moment.¹ It seems highly probable, however, that had the fleets of Villeneuve and Ganteaume appeared, the section of the army which was in an efficient state would have been sent to England, even if the Emperor had not dared to risk his own person. De Fezensac,² who spent the winter of 1804-5 in the camp of Montreuil, which formed the left of that of Boulogne, would have us believe that the Army of England—soon to be known as the Grand Army—was far from the perfect fighting machine it was represented to be; but if it had weaknesses it had strength enough to forge that great chain of conquests which securely bound the great Napoleonic Empire together, until little by little the original links wore away and had to be replaced by those of baser metal. Even in France to-day it is something to have had a great-grandfather who fought in its ranks; it is the hall-mark of a distinguished ancestry.

While the Emperor was at Boulogne the forces of the Third Coalition were preparing to enter the field against him. As early as the 3rd June, 1804, Napoleon had prophesied to Soult the possibility of having to use the army for a purpose other than that of invading the British Isles. "I suppose that in camp as well as in Paris there are rumours of a continental war. This would be unfortunate, as it would turn our attention from England."³ Not having received official recognition of his imperial title, he told Champagny, the French Ambassador at Vienna, to let it be known at the Austrian Court that his master was aware of the new Coalition being formed, and that

¹ Desbrière, Vol. IV, p. 465.

² See *Souvenirs Militaires de 1804 à 1814*, by M. le Duc de Fezensac, Général de Division (Paris, 1863).

³ Bingham, Vol. II, p. 80.

“they are strangely mistaken if they suppose I intend to invade England before the Emperor sends his recognition; that it is not just, by this equivocal conduct, for Austria to keep 300,000 men with arms folded, on the shores of the Channel,”¹ and concluded by inferring that if the House of Hapsburg did not mend its ways there would be war. The Emperor Francis having done as Napoleon wished, disagreements were smoothed over for a year. “My mind is made up,” he wrote to Talleyrand on the 13th August, 1805. “I desire to attack Austria, and to be at Vienna before the end of November.”² Again: “Once I raise my camp on the ocean I shall not be able to stop myself; my plans of maritime war will have failed. . . .”³ In this way the Emperor indulged in a game of political pitch and toss, in which he stood to lose nothing. He hesitated between two opinions: the invasion scheme which he ardently wished to carry out and the plan he invariably had in his mind as an alternative should the first miscarry. The former still seems to be first favourite, hence many despatches to those connected with the expedition calculated to arouse even greater exertions on their part than before. To Decrès, who had written a long, whining letter to him, he says, “I have but one want—to succeed.”⁴ On the 23rd August he was full of enthusiasm; he could almost in imagination see the tricolour waving on the Tower of London. He tells Talleyrand that “it is necessary to come to a decision,” that he has “nothing to expect from Austrian expeditions,” and paints a picture in dark colours of the forthcoming hostile combination. In direct

¹ August 3rd, 1804. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ August 22nd, 1805.

⁴ 22nd August, 1805. Thiers, Vol. III, p. 400.

contrast to this is his cheery optimism anent his maritime prospects.

“My squadron sailed from Ferrol on the 14th August—thirty-four vessels; there was no enemy in sight. If it follows my instructions it will effect its junction with the Brest squadron and enter the Channel; there will yet be time: I shall be master of England. If on the contrary my admirals hesitate, if they manœuvre badly and do not fulfil their mission, I shall be obliged to wait for the winter and to cross over with my flotilla. . . .”¹

It is not surprising that when the news of Villeneuve's entering Cadiz reached Napoleon, he threw himself into a paroxysm of ungovernable rage. “What a navy! What sacrifices for nothing! What an Admiral! All hope is gone. Villeneuve, instead of entering the Channel, has taken refuge in Cadiz! It is all over: he will be blockaded there!” Decrès received a full measure of abuse, for while Lauriston had written to Napoleon saying that the fleet would most certainly appear off Brest, believing that Villeneuve was making for that point, Decrès was in possession of a despatch which he had not dared to show to the Emperor, announcing the Admiral's arrival at Cadiz. The disconcerted Minister of Marine had strongly supported Villeneuve throughout his unhappy career, but his friendship could avail nothing in the present trying circumstances. “Your Villeneuve is not even fit to command a frigate!” the Emperor exclaimed. “What can be said of a man who, on account of a few sailors falling sick on board a couple of vessels of his squadron, a broken bowsprit or a split sail, or a report of a junction between

¹ Camp of Boulogne, 23rd August, 1805. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 145.

Nelson and Calder, loses his self-possession, and renounces his plans? They would have been at the very entry of Cadiz ready to pounce upon the French, and not upon the open sea! All this is so simple that it must strike the eyes of everyone who is not blinded by fear!" Some of the blame must, in common justice, be placed on shoulders other than those of Villeneuve. To order the junction of a fleet in "home" waters, and practically in the face of an enemy, was a deliberate breaking of one of the first rules of war. Napoleon himself is responsible for the axiom, "You must never attempt a movement of reunion in the presence of an enemy."¹

The Emperor was too good a master in the school of experience to be daunted because a pet plan had come to naught. "I have so often in my life been mistaken, that I no longer blush for it." The Army of England became the Grand Army, and the troops encamped at or near Boulogne were gradually marched towards the frontier, so that on the 28th August he was able to tell Duroc that "the whole army has marched. . . . Austria is too insolent; she is redoubling her preparations. My squadron has entered Cadiz. Keep this secret to yourself."² Although the new campaign necessarily occupied his thoughts and energy, Napoleon found time to give the Minister of Marine an explanation of the failure of his colossal naval undertaking, and it would almost seem as if the note were punctuated with sighs. "If Admiral Villeneuve," he wrote, "instead of putting into Ferrol had been satisfied with forming a junction with the Spanish fleet, and had sailed for Brest, and united himself with Ganteaume, my

¹ *Talks of Napoleon at St. Helena*, by Baron Gourgaud.

² Bingham, Vol. II, p. 146.

army would have embarked, and it would have been all over with England.”¹

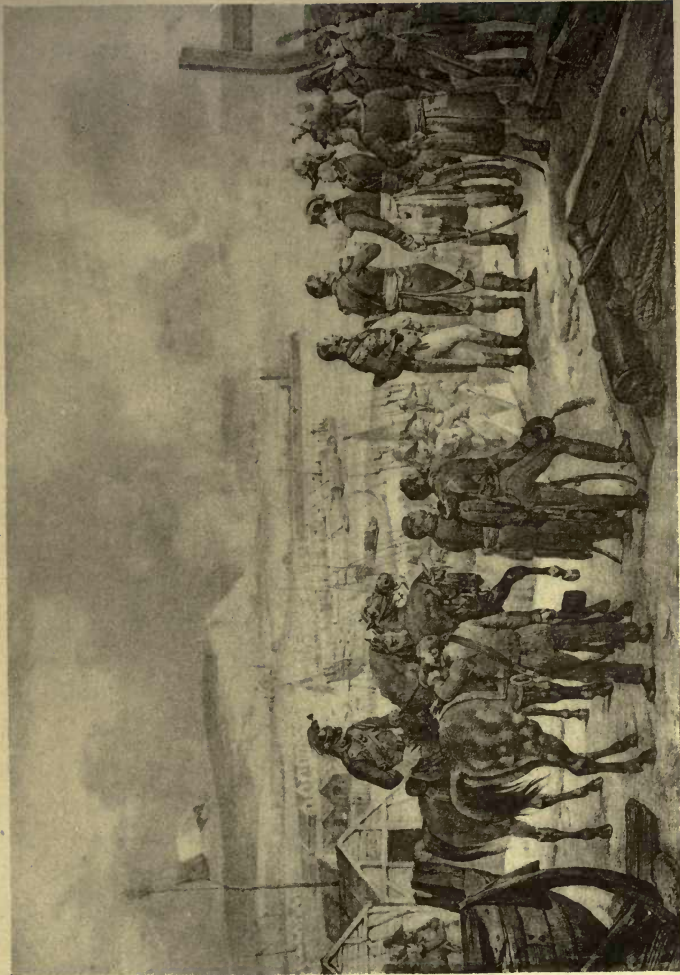
According to Jomini, Napoleon said :—

“ However great my fears respecting the course of Russia, I confess that I was deceived respecting the pacific attitude of Austria, especially after her formal recognition of the French Empire. If she had persisted, like Russia, in a system of neutrality which was so profitable to her, there was nothing to oppose to the execution of my plans. But, even should Austria determine upon hostilities, I deemed that she would require considerable time for preparation, and would wait for the arrival of the Russians. But three weeks was time enough for me to make my descent, enter London, ruin the shipyards, and destroy the arsenals of Portsmouth and Plymouth. If I should succeed, would not this success be sufficient to prevent a continental war? Even under the most unfavourable supposition could I not levy a double conscription to supply the place of absent troops, and place my army in condition to make head against the enemy on the Rhine, and on the Adige? The rapidity with which I hoped to strike the important blow, and return to France, was the principal circumstance on which I based my hope of success; I overlooked neither the rashness nor the difficulty of the enterprise. My genius consisted in embracing rapidly, and with the same *coup d'œil*, both the obstacles and the means of surmounting them.”²

Instead of Napoleon and his hosts traversing the Channel, they crossed the Rhine and the Danube. “Sol-

¹ Dated from St. Cloud, 13th September, 1805. Bingham, Vol. II, p. 149.

² *Histoire Critique et Militaire des Guerres de la Révolution*, by Lieut.-Général Jomini. Quoted by Major J. Walter in *England's Naval and Military Weakness*, p. 178.



THE CAMP AT BOULOGNE, 1805

diers," said the Emperor in one of his bulletins, "but for the army which is now in front of you, we should this day have been in London; we should have avenged ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas!"¹ In an incredibly short space of time the Austrians were surrounded and crushed; Ulm capitulated; Austerlitz was fought and won; the Third Coalition had vanished; and the Great Terror which had threatened England for nearly a decade was, to all intents and purposes, at an end. Trafalgar made its revival a practical impossibility, at any rate for many years to come. The story of this naval Battle of Giants, which has been told so often and so well, need not be repeated in these pages. The invasion idea, however, never entirely disappeared from Napoleon's mind. The Great Terror had its aftermath as well as its prologue. The former ended only with Waterloo and St. Helena. On the very day of the struggle in Trafalgar Bay (the 21st October, 1805), when his navy was destroyed and his army was basking in the sunshine of victory, the Emperor issued a proclamation to his soldiers from the imperial head-quarters at Elchingen in which he reviewed the situation: "In a fortnight we have made a campaign: we have accomplished what we intended. We have driven the troops of the House of Austria out of Bavaria, and reinstated our ally in the sovereignty of his dominions. That army, which, with equal ostentation and imprudence, came and placed itself on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what cares England? Her object is attained; we are no longer at Boulogne."² In his address to the officers who surrendered at Ulm

¹ *European Magazine*, 1805, p. 400.

² Thiers' *History of the Consulate and Empire*, Vol. III, p. 476.

Napoleon frankly and truthfully averred that his great desire was for "ships, colonies, and commerce."

In 1807 the Emperor sought to revive his crippled navy by compelling the continental Powers to place their fleets at his disposal. He hoped that eventually he would command such a vast naval force that England would not have sufficient squadrons to blockade them all. He would then endeavour to cross the Channel. Decrès was commissioned to visit all the ports in which boats belonging to the once formidable flotilla lay. His report was far from satisfactory. Sand had silted into the harbours which had been excavated with so much care, and many of the *prames*, gun-brigs, and pinnaces were rotting. Of the multitude of boats which had been the pride of Napoleon but three years before, not more than three hundred were serviceable.¹ Those past repair were ordered to be broken up.

Napoleon's Continental System enforced a rigid commercial blockade of Great Britain. He sought her downfall by ruining her trade with Europe and shutting out her vessels from every continental port. Great Britain retorted by proclaiming France and her allies to be in a state of blockade. The Peninsular War, which once more drove the thought of invasion away from Napoleon's mind, was largely caused by Portugal's half-heartedness in adopting his principles.

Like all his former *projets*, this scheme was of mammoth proportions. He explains it briefly thus:—

"After Russia had joined my alliance, Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example; Portugal, Sweden, and the Pope alone required to be gained over, for we

¹ Thiers' *Consulate and Empire*, Vol. V, p. 132.

were well aware that Denmark would throw herself into our arms. . . . The whole of the maritime forces of the Continent were then to be employed against England, and they could muster 180 sail-of-the-line. In a few years, this force could be raised to 250. With the aid of such a fleet, and my immense flotilla, it was by no means impossible to lead a European army to London. One hundred sail-of-the-line employed against her colonies would suffice to draw off a large portion of the British navy; eighty more in the Channel would have sufficed to assure the passage of the flotilla.”¹

The Copenhagen expedition sent out under Lord Cathcart at the end of July, 1807, and ably seconded on land by Sir Arthur Wellesley, obliged the Danes to capitulate, and the British navy was further strengthened by the addition of eighteen line-of-battle ships, fifteen frigates, and a number of smaller vessels which were made prizes. Urgent political matters in other directions obliged Napoleon to dismiss further thought of the navy from his mind.

During his journey from Fontainebleau to Elba, the Emperor “spoke very openly of all the plans he had once had in his mind against England. ‘If only I had carried out my intention of having conscription for the navy as well as the army,’ he said, ‘if I had employed the same measures against England as against other countries, I should have overthrown her in two years’ time. That was in reality my one desire. It is quite permissible for me to speak thus frankly now, as it is impossible for me to execute my projects!’”² Well might “Nelson’s Hardy” say:

¹ Jomini, *Vie de Napoleon*, Vol. II, p. 449.

² “Napoleon’s Journey from Fontainebleau to Elba, compiled from the journals of Count Walbourg-Truchsess and General Koller,” *Pall Mall Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 12.

“How fortunate for us that he cannot cast sailors in a mould.”¹

For one fleeting moment did the second Charlemagne again remember the armaments awaiting him at Boulogne. In 1811, a few months before he set out on his march of humiliation across the steppes of Russia, he proposed to spend 2,000,000 francs on repairing the flotilla.² But the time for the invasion of England was for ever gone, and very soon the sands buried the gaunt skeletons of *prame* and pinnace, just as the snow covered the corpse of many a soldier once belonging to the Army of England on the plains of Borodino.

Despite the defeat which Napoleon experienced at the hands of Britain's greatest sea captain in Trafalgar Bay, the French navy rose phoenix-like from its ashes, and in the year of Waterloo its strength was 103 line-of-battle ships and fifty-five frigates.³ Not until the 23rd June, 1814, when the “Emperor of the West” had retired to his tiny kingdom of Elba to plan his last great adventure, were the volunteers of the United Kingdom disbanded. The part they played in the history of the stirring times in which they lived was perforce a passive one, yet they left to posterity an example of real patriotism which, if it has been equalled, can never be surpassed until the armed citizens of a future day, and perhaps of another generation, are brought face to face with the bold individual who may attempt to succeed in an enterprise in which the great Napoleon failed.

Great Britain will remain the foremost maritime Power

¹ *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar*, p. 126.

² Méneval, Vol. I, p. 366.

³ Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, p. 81.

so long as her "first line of defence" is the most formidable, the best equipped, and the most progressive of armed fleets, and while she possesses sons cast in the Nelson mould to command them. From his column in Trafalgar Square a Man of Bronze stands looking across the Channel in the direction of the memorial erected to another Man on the heights of Boulogne—a perpetual warning to those who would dare to invade this fair land and assuredly an inspiration to the inheritors of a glorious past.

CHAPTER XX

THE LITERARY AND ARTISTIC LANDMARKS OF THE GREAT TERROR, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE POPULAR PAMPHLETS, SONGS, BROADSIDES, AND CARICATURES PUBLISHED BETWEEN THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES ON THE RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS AND THE FINAL COLLAPSE OF THE INVASION PROJECTS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR (1803-5)

Pleure, triste Albion ! déchire ta couronne ;
La victoire te fuit ! l'Europe t'abandonne ;
L'infortune sur toi croît et s'élève encor.
Où sont de mes soldats les descendans timides ?
Soutiendront-ils cachés par leurs remparts humides,
De ce peuple héros l'impétueux essor ?

Un guerrier le conduit, dont l'ascendant suprême
Dompte les flots, les monts, les remparts, le sort même.
Qui peut de cet Alcide enchaîner la valeur ?

IT was thus an anonymous French poet made the shade of the third Edward apostrophize the third George while visiting the Windsor tomb-house at the time when it was rapidly becoming evident that the end of the "experimental peace" was a matter of hours.¹ Never, assuredly, in the annals of nations was there such a response as that called forth by the King's manly and

¹ *Victoires et Conquêtes des Français, 1792-1815*, Vol. XXVII. "L'Expédition d'Angleterre."

straightforward utterances in making the declaration of war. On New Year's Day, 1803, the Laureate had sung with unpardonable short-sightedness :—

Though the tempestuous winds no more
The main with angry pinions sweep,
Though raging 'gainst the sounding shore,
No longer howl the impetuous seas.¹

Before the King's birthday² illusion was no longer possible, and the Court once more listened to the strains of

Britain, alas ! has woo'd in vain
Reluctant Peace ! thy placid charms ;
Compell'd she treads once more th' ensanguined plain,
Where Fame, where Freedom, call'd aloud for arms.

Before 1804 had dawned England was in the thick of it, and the gentlemen and boys of the Chapel Royal were constrained to sing :—

Her voice is heard—from wood, from vale, from down,
The thatch roof'd village, and the busy town,
Eager th' indignant country swarms
And pours a people clad in arms.

Thro' Albion's plains while wide and far
Swells the tumultuous din of war,
While from the loom, the forge, the flail
From Labour's plough, from Commerce' sail,
All ranks to martial impulse yield
And grasp the spear, and brave the field.

¹ An unkind critic wrote :—

ON A LATE ODE

That the Bard and the Prophet of old were the same
We know, for we know they both had one name.
We confess times are alter'd, but surely 'tis hard
Now the Bard is no Prophet, the Prophet's no Bard.

² June 4th, 1803.

The voice of Burns was hushed in death, and Coleridge rested on his laurels, but Walter Scott and William Wordsworth did not hesitate to take the field. The former gave the Edinburgh Cavalry Association a war-song which has been called Tyrtæan :—

To horse ! to horse ! the standard flies,
 The bugles sound the call ;
 The Gallic Navy stem the seas,
 The voice of battle's on the breeze,—
 Arouse ye one and all !

From high Dunedin's towers we come,
 A band of brothers true ;
 Our casques the leopard's spoils surround,
 With Scotland's hardy thistle crown'd,
 We boast the red and blue.

Though tamely crouch to Gallia's frown,
 Dull HOLLAND'S hardy train,
 Their ravish'd toys, though ROMANS mourn,
 Though gallant SWITZERS vainly spurn,
 And foaming gnaw the chain :

Oh ! had they mark'd the avenging call,
 Their Brethren's murder gave,
 Dis-union ne'er their ranks had mown,
 Nor Patriot Valour, desperate grown,
 Sought Freedom in the grave.

Shall we too bend the stubborn head,
 In Freedom's Temple born ;
 Dress our pale cheek in timid smile,
 To hail a Master in our Isle,
 Or brook a Victor's scorn ?

No, tho' destruction o'er the land
 Come pouring as a flood—
 The Sun that sees our falling day,
 Shall mark our sabre's deadly sway,
 And set that night in blood.

For gold let Gallia's legions fight,
 Or plunder's bloody gain ;
 Unbrib'd, unbought, our swords we draw,
 To guard our KING, to fence our LAW ;
 Nor shall their edge be vain.

If ever breath of British gale
 Shall fan the tri-colour ;
 Or footsteps of Invaders rude,
 With rapine foul, and red with blood,
 Pollute our happy shore—

Then, farewell Home, and farewell Friends !
 Adieu each tender tie ;
 Resolved we mingle in the tide,
 Where charging squadrons furious ride,
 To conquer or to die !

To horse ! to horse ! the sabres gleam,
 High sounds our bugle's call ;
 Combin'd by honour's sacred tie,
 Our word is "*Laws and Liberty !*"—
 March forward, one and all !

It was thus that in October, 1803, Wordsworth "enthused" the men of Kent, by time-immemorial tradition specially amenable to a battle-cry:—

TO THE MEN OF KENT¹

Vanguard of liberty, ye men of Kent,
 Ye children of a soil that doth advance
 Her haughty brow against the coast of France,
 Now is the time to prove your hardiment !
 To France be words of invitation sent !
 They from their fields can see the countenance
 Of your fierce war, may ken the glittering lance,
 And hear you shouting forth your brave intent.
 Left single, in bold parley, ye of yore,
 Did from the Norman win a gallant wreath ;

¹ *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth* (Albion edition, 1892), p. 173.

Confirmed the charters that were yours before ;—
 No parleying now ! In Britain is one breath ;
 We all are with you now from shore to shore :
 Ye men of Kent, 'tis victory or death !

While in the same month he wrote :—

ANTICIPATION

A SONNET

Shout, for a mighty victory is won !
 On British ground the Invaders are laid low,
 The breath of Heaven has drifted them like snow,
 And left them lying in the silent sun
 Never to rise again: The work is done.
 Come forth ye Old Men now in peaceful show,
 And greet your Sons ! Drums beat, and Trumpets blow !
 Make merry Wives, ye little Children stun
 Your Grandames' ears with pleasure of your noise !
 Clap Infants, clap your hands ! Divine must be
 That triumph when the very worst, the pain,
 The loss, and e'en the prospect of the slain,
 Hath something in it which the heart enjoys—
 True glory, everlasting sanctity.¹

It is difficult to describe the intenseness and all-pervading character of the national movement for resistance *à l'outrance*. It seemed to suddenly affect every class of the community, from judges on the bench and prelates in the pulpit, down to ploughmen in the fields and children beginning to say their letters. The history of 1796–8 repeated itself, only with far greater unanimity of sentiment and absolute whole-heartedness. There was no more playing at treason. The day of corresponding societies and clubs

¹ In *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth* (Albion edition, 1892), p. 173, the last line is changed to

“In glory will they sleep and endless sanctity.”



A POPULAR INVASION CARICATURE OF AUGUST, 1803

for diffusing constitutional information was gone at last, and England roused herself from her transient dream of peace to defend her shores from the threatened attack of the seemingly invincible embryo Emperor, qualified by the pamphleteers and caricaturists of the time as the Corsican Ogre, Monster, Assassin, Renegade, Infidel, Ass, Caitiff, Locust, Bajazet, Macheath, Devil, Demon, Toad, Spider, and so forth *ad infinitum*. Gillray and Rowlandson, Woodward and Isaac Cruikshank, Charles Dibdin¹ and his sons, and fifty other less known artists and song-writers once more resumed the labours they had scarcely interrupted, and every town, village, and outlying farm or cottage was promptly flooded with literary and pictorial satire on the common enemy, as well as with timely reminders of the possible consequences of his success and of our own military and naval achievements in the past. Glorification of ourselves and the belittlement and wholesale vilification of our foes were the means resorted to for "raising the spirit of the country" in the great crisis which had now overtaken it. In 1803 there was no talk of mutiny or

¹ Neglect and evil times proved alike powerless to quench the spirit of the elder Dibdin, of whom the following letter, written in 1801, is in Mr. Broadley's collection of MSS. :—

"How far this application may or may not be excused, I cheerfully rely on you to decide; yet as the subject of it is dear to my heart, and I flatter myself not altogether inconsistent with propriety, it was natural I should shield myself under the most honourable and eligible protection. I believe it is generally known and universally acknowledged that my humble abilities have been exerted for nearly fifty years to promote the interests and well-being of my King and country. In the prosecution of my labours I have met with severe losses, and now late in life am reduced to an apprehension that it will not be in my power to provide for a wife and daughter whose conduct has been exemplary and whose characters are irreproachable. I therefore mean to petition Parliament to consider them by way of a remuneration for my former services. At present I have a stated stipend at the will of the Ministry, which was taken away by Lord Grenville, but which has been restored by the Duke of Portland."

attempts at subornation of treason. The detestation and dread of "Little Boney" united all classes of the community in a close and unassailable bond of common interest, and the Three Kingdoms cheerfully prepared themselves for the eventuality of a *levée en masse*. A primer of the period lies before the writers. On one of its yellow covers is "Emperor Nappy" brandishing a formidable cat-o'-nine-tails (a legitimate source of terror to naughty children), while on the other is an equally hideous "presentment" of "Queen" Josephine. James Bisset produced a Loyalist's Illustrated Alphabet "for the benefit of the young." In it **A** stood for Albion's Isle, while **Z** "proved Englishmen's zeal to humble the zany of France."¹ Another production of the sort was an Invasion Copy-book "for the use of boys at school," surmounted with military emblems and other soul-stirring cuts. It was called *Britain's Bulwarks*, and the earliest copies date from the last year of the previous century.²

What lads were writing on their slates, grave dispensers of justice were telling grand juries at the Assizes. There was no half-heartedness about Mr. Justice Hardinge during the autumn circuits of 1803. Grand juries were thus addressed:—³

"Brave and generous hearted Britons! promptly decide to die gloriously rather than tamely and ignominiously to *crouch* to the *grand Enslaver*, to be en fettered by his *galling* chains;—sacrifice every comfort, undergo any, or every privation, rather than subject yourselves to the fraternal hug of those infernal miscreants, who can set no

¹ Laurie & Whittle, Fleet Street, 3rd September, 1804.

² John Fairburn, Jewry Street, 18th October, 1800.

³ Charge to Grand Jury at Cardiff, August, 1803.

bounds to their ambition, nor impose any restraint upon their love of violence, plunder and desolation. Remember all lies at stake, LIFE, LIBERTY, and SAFETY, and remember these blessings of Providence are threatened by those that have long since discarded HONOUR, disbanded MERCY, and who look upon JUSTICE, and the observance of Good Faith, as Plebeian virtues, deserving no place in *the glorious new order of things.*

.

“I give you this picture, to anticipate your abhorrence of the features ; and your determination, that with enemies like these, you will hear of no compromise, till every musket, sword, and pike, shall be wrested from those gallant volunteers (the hardy and spirited birth-right of your soil) whom you are in the act of arming for the defence of all that is dear and sacred in human life.

“Turning from your lands to your manufactures, and your commerce, I feel no less indignation at the humiliating image of mercantile instruction to a victorious tyrant, by the surrender of your implements, and prostitution of the artificers.

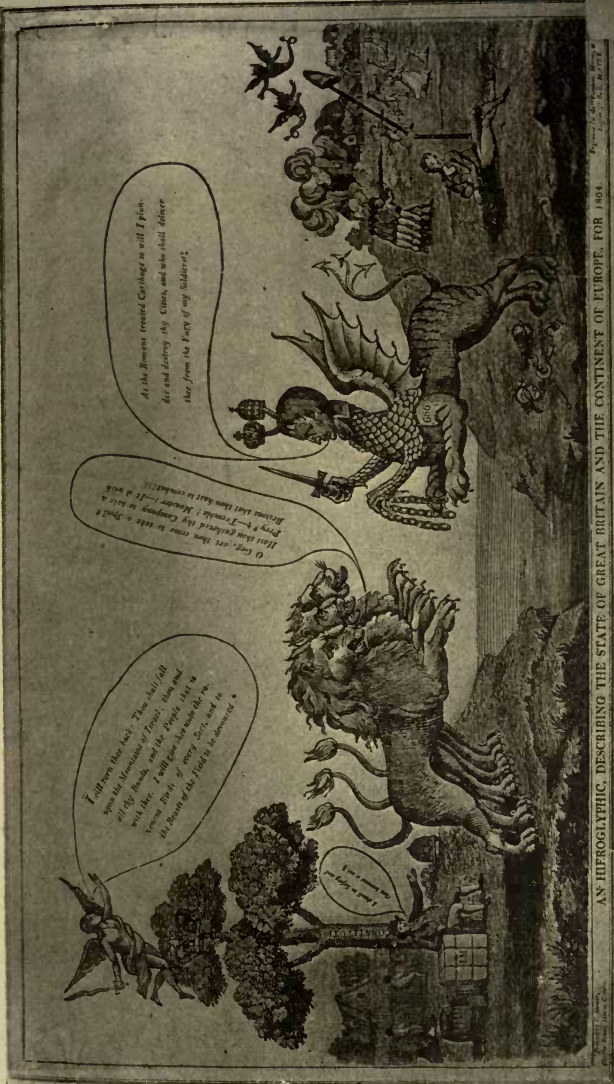
“When I explore, and with grateful respect, the diversities of religious opinion, which have separated, but without enmity, our Protestant Faith, in this part of the world, into Churchmen, Dissenters, and other Sectaries, competitors in zeal for their God and their King, and I shudder at the exchange of that noble independence upon so critical a subject, for *His* religion, who was an Atheist at Paris ; at Rome, a Papist ; in Egypt, a Mahometan ; a Military Pope at Paris again ; a Jew in that Synagogue, whose imprecations against this island, he has gratefully accepted ; and a kind of Demi-god at the city gates upon the coast, which have told him, ‘that after he was created, Providence became superfluous.’”

Encouraged possibly by an urgent request that the address should be published, the same judge repeated his observations in his charge to the grand jury of Radnorshire at Presteign,¹ concluding them with the following exordium :—

“ I trust you will not separate before you address the King, or give in some authentic shape, a test or pledge to your neighbours, that you are votaries of Religion—that you are champions of your *King*—that you devote your lives and your fortunes to the contest—that you determine to survive it with liberties unimpaired, or to perish upon the bed of honor, and with arms in your hands.”

The Lord Chief Justice (Lord Ellenborough), in Sussex, was but little less emphatic than his brother in Wales, for he terminated his charge with a similar appeal : “ In this awful posture of affairs, I say, it is cast upon us by Providence, as a duty we owe to ourselves and to the world, to become *the means* and *the example*, by which the world may be aroused and rescued from the degraded state of terror and dismay into which it is at present cast down and laid prostrate ; in the hope that the Princes of Europe may once more be induced to resume some active and honourable measures of co-operation and union for the attainment of the general and permanent interests of mankind ; which *means* will be best afforded, and *example* best displayed, by a generous and prudent sacrifice of our present ease, comfort, and indulgences, for the attainment of lasting and honourable security. Whatever then in such a case is expended, is cheaply laid out in the redemption of all that remains. It is a prudent salvage well paid ;

¹ August 9th, 1803.



AN ALLEGORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE, FOR 1804.

JOHN G. LEITCH, Engraver. The Lion rampant is the emblem of Great Britain, and the Griffin is the emblem of France. The soldiers are the British Army, and the griffin is the French Army. The lion is the British Lion, and the griffin is the French Griffin. The scene is a prophetic vision of the state of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe in 1804.

A PROPHECY OF ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH OVER THE INVADER. [1803-4]

an economical and trusty devotion of a part to preserve the rest. Whatever life is lost in such a cause is a sacrifice to the best interests of our country, our religion, and our laws; to the best interests of all future beings in our land; and the most honourable consummation of our own."

The invasion theology of 1803 was not less energetic than that of 1797, and was, moreover, supplemented by the issue of a vast number of "hieroglyphics" and prophecies which forcibly appealed to lovers of the mysterious. In that dealing with the state of Great Britain and the Continent in 1804 "John Bull is depicted sitting under his Oak-tree supported by Commerce and Industry, and protected by the Power of God, whilst France is enslaved under the Tree of Liberty which is falling to the ground, the Horrors of War are extending their Ravages with unremitting fury.—Bonaparte is considered as the Dragon, the Beast, and false Prophet—Rev. XVI. 13, XIII. 11 and following verses, XIX. 20; and also as Gog—Ezekiel XXXVIII. and XXXIX. and Ferocious dispositions are represented by the Body and Feet of a Tyger; his Inordinate desires by the Chest, Wings, and Claws of a Dragon, holding out Death or Slavery; his Head with two Horns represents his civil and ecclesiastical Authority, and it is intended to point out that the Dragon and a tyger have been the most dreadful and destructive of all real and imaginary Creatures, yet even their horrid natures are surpassed by the Sanguinary and rapacious Dispositions of that implacable Tyrant. The Three Lions represent the united Naval, Regular, and Auxiliary Force of England, Scotland, and Ireland, watching the Monster's motions, and springing forth eager to meet him."

The *Anti-Gallican*¹ devoted a portion of its space to the denunciation of the now dead or moribund "infidel societies" and the republication of Bishop Horseley's circular letter of 1798, now (1st September, 1803) commended by him to the clergy of the diocese of St. Asaph. The volunteers once more throng Surrey Chapel, where the Rev. Rowland Hill with all his old vehemence preaches to them from the text, "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought low and fallen: but we are risen, and stand upright."² On this occasion two verses written *ad hoc* are added to the National Anthem:—

Come Thou Incarnate Word,
Gird on Thy mighty sword,
Our pray'r attend;
Come and Thy people bless,
And give Thy word success,
Spirit of holiness
On us descend.

O may Thy servants be
Fill'd with sweet liberty,
Clothed with power!
Bid, Lord, the dead arise
By Thy Almighty voice;
May we in Thee rejoice,
In this glad hour.

The metaphors of the last verse are certainly somewhat confused, but perhaps not quite so markedly so as in the case of the concluding hymn:—

¹ London. Printed for Vernor & Hood, Poultry, and J. Asperne, Cornhill, 1804.

² Psalm xx. 7, 8.

A PROPHECY OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE FRENCH ARMY, AND THE LAST YEAR OF
BUONAPARTE'S REIGN,

WHICH IT IS HOPE'D THE SWORD WILL

PEACE RESTORED TO THE

And before the year 1811, BUONAPARTE will
 will flourish in England, and the Labourer
 for the better, but not one

OLD OR NEW

SHALL FALL TO THE GROUND,

BE REVERSED TO THE ESCARPADE, AND

SURROUNDING NATIONS.

come to his End, not by the Sword, a third Trade
 paid for his Hire, and great alterations in Times
 Word of the

TESTAMENT,

BUT WILL BE FULFILLED.



Shewing, from the Scriptures, that the End of the French Armies is near at Hand.

A divine explanation on the Prophecy of Daniel, and the Revelation is already fulfilled, he says, that the downfall of BUONAPARTE is nigh at hand, grounded on his assertions on particular years in the thirteenth chapter of the book of Revelations: The least rising out of the sea, (Carnice) with seven heads and ten horns, and upon his are horns ten crowns, is BUONAPARTE.

The Beast's number was six hundred three-score and six, which exactly corresponds with the numerical calculation of all the letters in Buonaparte's name, reckoning the number added to each before the introduction of figures.

The Letters of his Christian Name.

- N. 40
- A. 43
- P. 60
- O. 50
- L. 20
- E. 5
- A. 1
- N. 40

The Letters of his surname.

- B. 2
- U. 110
- O. 50
- N. 40
- A. 1
- P. 60
- A. 1
- R. 50
- T. 100
- E. 5

Summing altogether to 666, the mystical number of the Beast, i. e. Buonaparte.

This Beast was to have reigned forty and two months as emperor of France. Buonaparte has nearly reigned his exact number of months. The dragon, i. e. the devil, gave him this power and great authority; and he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand.—i. e. Buonaparte has caused all persons to submit to his tyranny.

May all evils be far removed from us, and let it be our endeavour to amend our lives, and pray to God to direct his heavy judgments from this land, which we hear are abroad in the earth! but Buonaparte will return to his own land, and will stumble and fall, and be lost and not be found, chap. xi. ver. 18. of the Prophecy of Daniel.

Daniel, chap. xi. from the 46th verse to the end. "But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him; therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly take away many; and the king of the north shall come out against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall come to his end, and none shall help him."

Read the xiii. chapter of Revelations and the last verse. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the Beast; for it is the number of man, and his number is six hundred three-score and

six." Read also the xvii. chapter of the same, on the crowning of kings.

Ezekiel, chap. xxxv. and last verse. I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more; though thou be sought for, yet thou shalt never be found again, saith the Lord God." At the different nations are determined to have a free trade, and the manufacturing of every description will flourish in this year; before this year is lost, we shall hear of wars and rumours of wars.

Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, 8.

"For nation shall rise up against nation, kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be famines, and pestilence, and earthquakes, in divers places." Lord keep it from this land.—God direct the affairs of his majesty the king of Great Britain; prosper his honourable party, counsellors, in all affairs of government; and frustrate all his enemies by sea and land.

Let the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, with the sacred ruler of them, be ever happy, and let the bolks of heaven's anger fall upon such people who love not England's peace and interest. Amen.

But that George, the son of George, should just as end to all. Thus afterwards the church should flourish, and England be of most glorious renown on earth. A young new set of men, of virtuous manners, shall come, who shall prosper, and make a flourishing church for two hundred years.

BONAPARTE IDENTIFIED WITH THE BEAST. A REASSURING BROADSIDE OF 1803-5

O may the memory of His name
 Inspire our Armies for the fight ;
 Our vaunting foes shall die with shame,
 Or quit our coasts with hasty flight.

In His salvation is our boast,
 And in the strength of Israel's God,
 Our Troops shall lift their banners high ;
 Our Navy spread their flags abroad.

If the "people called Quakers" were quiescent in 1797, a vigorous appeal was made to their patriotism in 1803, and that by no means in vain. The late Dean Tucker, of Gloucester, had, before his death, written some "Reflections on the Terrors of an Invasion, with the Best Mode of Defence, should our Enemies be able to Effect a Landing." They were now republished and largely circulated. The attitude of the "Dignified" and "Beneficed" clergy did not altogether escape the ken of the contemporary satirist. Keene's Library in Bath was mainly responsible for the publication of "A Sermon preached in a Country Village previous to the Enrolment of Volunteers by the Rev. Cornelius Miles, Rector and Captain." Mr. Miles is supposed to date the preface to his treatise from Stickle Grubley Parsonage. He discourses from the text, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one" (Luke XXII. 36), and concludes his denunciations of the impious invader with the somewhat unclerical imprecation:—

Gracious Heaven

Cut short all intermission ;—front to front
 Bring but this fiend of Gallia, and ourselves ;
 Within our swords' length set him—if he 'scape,
 Never more grant us mercy!¹

¹ Judge Philbrick, K.C., remembers seeing an aged Nonconformist at Colchester, who, in his youth, was said to have commenced a prayer for preservation from the Napoleonic invasion with the words, "O Lord God, be pleased to change his wicked heart or stop his wicked breath!"

A great many biographies of Bonaparte (generally written Buonaparte) suddenly came into existence, and the facts they contained were eminently calculated to fan the flame of resistance. Here are the title and review of one of these extraordinary productions:—

Life of BUONAPARTE; in which the atrocious Deeds which he has perpetrated, in order to attain his elevated Station, are faithfully recorded, by which Means every Briton will be enabled to judge of the Disposition of his threatening Foe, and have a faint Idea of the Desolation which awaits his Country should his Menaces ever be realized. By Lieutenant Sarrat, of the Royal York Marybone Volunteers. 12mo.

What treatment Buonaparte may meet with, should he effect a landing in any part of the united kingdoms, is yet to be proved. In literary warfare he experiences no quarter, and his misdeeds are emblazoned in a manner that shews his character to be well understood. The consequence is, the people of this country will avoid being cajoled, conquered, and enslaved, as other nations have been by a merciless, unrelenting tyrant. The work before us exhibits to view the picture, we cannot say of a man, it is truly that of a monster; and woe be to that nation in which he is allowed to obtain a footing.

The title page of another is reproduced herewith.

The portrait given is not specially unprepossessing, but below it one reads, "Do but observe the face of Villany." Not a whit less unsparing are the strictures on the First Consul contained in "A Letter to Napoleon Buonaparté, styling himself the Government of France and the Envoy of God, exhibiting a complete view of his moral and political conduct with notes and a sketch of his life. *Jus datum sceleris.* Translated from the French of the Chevalier Tinseau. London, 1803." Some of the "addresses" and "appeals" then so eagerly read when distributed by the itinerant vendors took the form of broadsides, but many

THE
ATROCITIES
OF THE
CORSIKAN DEMON
OR A
GLANCE
AT
BUONAPARTE

Do but observe the face of Villany
How different from the brow of Innocence!
See what a settled gloom obscures his visage,
Sure emblem of the horror of his heart,
Where his false heart, enthron'd in native darkness
(Unconscious and unwishing for the light)
Broodes o'er new treasons, and enjoys the mischief!

Havard's Regulus.

LONDON, ETC.
1803

were in pamphlet shape, like Denys Scully's "The Irish Catholic's Advice to his Brethren how to estimate their present situation and repel French Invasion, Civil Wars, and Slavery. Dublin, 1803"; "An Address to the Yeomanry of Great Britain on the subject of Invasion," by a Seaman, written in 1798, but now reprinted; and Capt. G. W. Manby's "An Englishman's Reflexions on the Author of the Present Disturbances," which won for its writer the appointment of barrack-master at Yarmouth. One of the "invasion" publishers,¹ Mr. John Ginger, of 169 Piccadilly, brought out at this juncture an entire series of duodecimo booklets on the burning question of the hour which could very conveniently be carried about and passed from hand to hand.² The number of Drill Instructors and other volunteer handbooks was also very great, but our present concern is rather with the part played by the stage in the last three years of the Great Terror.

The summer of 1803 was a season of intense excitement throughout the three kingdoms. The King, undeterred by age and infirmity, was proposing to lead his army in person to meet the invaders at some point between London and the coast, while Queen Charlotte and the Princesses took refuge with worthy Bishop Hurd at Worcester. Between July and October a voluminous and

¹ See *post*, p. 274.

² Such as: "An Address to the Mechanics and Artificers and Manufacturers and Labourers of England on the subject of the Threatened Invasion." "Publicola's Addresses to the People of England, to the Soldiers and to the Sailors, to which is added His Postscript to the People of England." "Important Considerations for the People of this Kingdom." "A Cursory or very hasty Sketch of the Folly of an Invasion in the trespass on the pasture of John Bull by a Corsican or Consular Caitiff," and so forth.

very bitter correspondence was carried on between the Prince of Wales, Mr. Addington, and the Duke of York concerning the pressing demand of the Heir Apparent for some position of responsibility in the army.¹ "Animated by the same spirit which pervaded the nation at large," he wrote from Carlton House Terrace on July 18th, "conscious of the duties which I owed to his Majesty and the country, I seized the earliest opportunity to express my desire of undertaking the responsibility of a military command. I neither did, nor do presume on supposed talents, as entitling me to such an appointment; I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare: at the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study; my chief pretensions were founded on a sense of those advantages which my example might produce to the state, by exciting the loyal energies of the nation, and a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form, as to the personal exertions of their Princes, at a moment like the present." But the decision of George III on this subject was as the law of the Medes and Persians. He knew and profoundly mistrusted his eldest son. The Duke of York and no one else should be his counsellor and confidant in all matters relating to national defence, and the letters to "dear Frederick," at all hours of the day and night, became more frequent than ever.

If the Drama helped very materially to stimulate popular opinion in 1796 and the following years, it proved still more extensively useful in 1803 and 1804. The demand for warlike and patriotic plays, both old and new,

¹ See *ante*, p. 132.

became almost immediately greater than the supply. The speech of Rolla to the Peruvians from the once hostile but now absolutely loyal Sheridan's tragedy of *Pizarro* formed a sort of preface to that curious anthology of invasion, the *Anti-Gallican*. George Colman, the younger, Stephen Kemble, John O'Keefe, and others were already busy on prologues, epilogues, adaptations, and occasional pieces. Towards the end of August *The Maid of Bristol* was produced at the Haymarket Theatre. Mr. Elliston as Ben Block spoke the following epilogue written by George Colman, now in the zenith of his popularity :—

In times like these, the Sailor of our Play,
 Much more than common sailors has to say ;—
 For Frenchmen, now, the British tars provoke,
 And doubly tough is ev'ry Heart of Oak ;
 Ready to die or conquer, at command,—
 While all are soldiers who are left on land.
 Each English soul's on fire, to strike the blow
 That curbs the French—and lays a Tyrant low ;
 Sweet WOLF ! how lamb-like—how, in his designs,
 "The maiden modesty of GRIMBALD" shines !
 Strifes he concludes 'twixt nations who agree,
 Freedom bestows on States already free ;
 Forcing redress on each contented town,
 The loving ruffian burns whole districts down ;
 Clasps the wide world, like Death, in his embrace ;
 Stalks guardian-butcher of the human-race ;
 And, aping the fraternity of CAIN,
 Man is his brother,—only to be slain.

And must Religion's mantle be profan'd,
 To cloak the crimes with which an Atheist's stain'd ?
 Yes ;—the mock saint, in holy motley dress'd,
 Devotion's Public Leader stands confess'd ;—
 Of every, and no faith, beneath the sun ;
 "Open to all, and influenc'd by none ;"
 Ready he waits, to be or not to be
 Rank Unbeliever, or staunch devotee.

Now, Christians' deaths, in Christian zeal, he works ;
 Now worships MAHOMET, to murder Turks ;
 Now tears the Creed, and gives Free-thinking scope—
 Now, dubb'd "Thrice Catholic," he strips a Pope.
 A mongrel Mussulman, of papal growth,
 Mufti and Monk, now neither, or now both ;
 At Mosque, at Church, by turns, as craft thinks good ;
 Each day in each, and every day in blood !

God ! must this mushroom Despot of the hour
 The spacious world encircle with his power ?
 Stretching his baneful feet from pole to pole,
 Stride, Corsican-Colossus of the whole ?
 Forbid it, Heaven !—and forbid it, Man !
 Can Man forbid it?—yes ; *the English* can.
 'Tis theirs, at length, to fight the world's great cause,
 Defend their own, and rescue others' laws.

What Britons would not, were their hairs all lives,
 Fight for their charter, for their babes, and wives ;
 And hurl a TYRANT from his upstart throne,
 To guard their KING securely on his own ?

"Lines more to the purpose," wrote a loyal critic, "we never heard ; they conveyed a just idea of the character of the Despot of France ; every point was given by Mr. Elliston, with an effect impossible to be described ; and the house was made to resound with frequent and reiterated thunders of applause." In September the invasion topic seems literally to have taken possession of the stage. *The Camp*, an old favourite of the scare of 1777, was revived with considerable success at Drury Lane, while *Pizarro* was put on at Covent Garden, with John Philip Kemble to raise enthusiasm by the fustian patriotism of Rolla and Sarah Siddons as Elvira. Unfortunately, Cooke, of whom great things were expected in the title rôle, "was found soon after his entrance so inefficient and imperfect in the character as to incur expressions of

general disapprobation. Before the conclusion of the first act he fell back as if overpowered with indisposition, and was led off the stage. A general outcry that he was *drunk* evinced the ill consequences of *prejudice*. Mr. Kemble, however, came forward and assured the audience that Mr. Cooke was really unwell and unable to proceed, and he must therefore request their indulgence in favour of Mr. H. Siddons, who would undertake to read the part. The din at length abated, and the play was actually recommenced, with the new representative of *Pizarro*, who acquitted himself ably."

The theatre had been handsomely redecored, and in the course of the inaugural address the following verses were chanted to the tune of *The Island*:—

I

If the French have a notion
Of crossing the Ocean,
Their luck to be trying on dry land ;
They may come if they like,
But we'll soon make 'em strike
To the lads of the tight little Island.
Huzza for the boys of the Island—
The brave Volunteers of the Island !
The fraternal embrace
If foes want in this place,
We'll present all the *arms* in the Island.

II

They say we keep shops
To vend broad cloth and slops,
And of merchants they call us a fly land ;
But tho' war is their trade,
What Briton's afraid
To say he'll ne'er sell 'em the Island ?

They'll pay pretty dear for the Island ;
 If fighting they want in the Island,
 We'll shew 'em a sample,
 Shall make an example
 Of all who dare bid for the Island.

III

If met they should be
 By the Boys of the Sea,
 I warrant they'll never come nigh land ;
 If they do, those on land
 Will soon lend 'em a hand
 To foot it again from the Island.
 Huzza ! for the King of the Island
 Shall our Father be robb'd of his Island ?
 While his children can fight,
 They'll stand up for his right,
 And their own, to the tight little Island.

The bill of the play for September 16th at the Hay-market is sufficiently interesting to justify its reproduction in facsimile. (See following page.)

At the end of October Shirley's tragedy of *Edward the Black Prince* is once more revived as "suitable to the times," prefaced by a lengthy National Address composed by Sir James Bland Burgess. In it occur the following lines on the all-pervading topic of the hour :—

Since, ere the recent wounds of war are heal'd,
 Gallia's stern tyrant dares us to the field ;
 Let this proud record ev'ry feeling nerve,
 And teach us new distinctions to deserve.

.

No ! while our hands the patriot sword can rear,
 While ev'ry Briton is a Volunteer,
 We'll circle round our altars and our throne,
 And prove our fathers' virtues are our own.

By Authority of THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY ;
And by Permission of GEORGE COLMAN, Esq.
FOR THE BENEFIT OF MR. WALDRON, PROMPTER.

Theatre Royal, Hay-Market.

This present FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 16, 1803.

Will be presented *Shakspeare's* National Historical Play of

KING HENRY the FIFTH ; Or, the CONQUEST of FRANCE.

Henry the Fifth, (*King of England*) Mr. ELI ISTON, Exeter, Mr. BARRINGTON,
Westmoreland, Mr. DENMAN, Gower, Mr. GROVE, Fluellin, Mr. MATHEWS,
Williams, Mr. HATTON, Bates, Mr. TAYLOR, Nym, Mr. BURTON,
Bardolph, Mr. WALDRON, Jun., Pistol, Mr. PALMER,
Mrs. Quickly, Mrs. WARD, Charles the Sixth, (*King of France*) Mr. WHARTON,
The Dauphin, Mr. H. KELLY, Duke of Burgundy, Mr. ARCHER,
Constable of France, Mr. TRUEMAN, Mountjoy, Mr. SMITH,
Ifabel, (*Queen of France*) Mrs. CLELAND, Princess Katharine, Miss GRIMANI.

End of the play a COMIC SONG, called

"*The Origin of Old Bachelors*" by Mr. MATHEWS.

After which the PATRIOTIC EPILOGUE, (Written by G. COLMAN the
Younger ; and received with such Enthusiastic Applause)

Will be spoken in the Character of a *British Sailor*,

by Mr. ELLISTON.

After which will be presented A MILITARY INTERLUDE, called

ALL VOLUNTEERS !

In which Mr. TAYLOR will sing a New SONG,
composed for the occasion by Mr. DAVY, called

"*The COUNTRY SQUIRE a VOLUNTEER.*"

Mr. MATHEWS will sing a favourite SONG called

"*The CHAPTER of VOLUNTEERS.*"

And, (By Particular Desire) as originally danced by her,

Mrs. WYBROW,

Will introduce the Celebrated BROAD-SWORD HORNPIPE.

To conclude with "*God Save the King*" by Messrs. Taylor, Mathews, Truman, &c.

To which will be added (for the 3rd time) the New Comick Opera of

Love Laughs at Lock-Smiths.

The Overture and Musick-Composed and Selected by Mr. KELLY.

THE CHARACTERS BY

Mr. DENMAN, Mr. ELLISTON, Mr. GROVE,

Mr. MATHEWS, Mr. HATTON, Mrs. MATHEWS.

BOXES, 5s.—PIT, 3s.—FIRST GALLERY, 2s.—SECOND GALLERY, 1s.

The DOORS to be Opened at SIX o'Clock, and begin precisely at SEVEN.

VIVANT REX ET REGINA !

C. LOWNDES, Printer, (66) Drury-Lane.

Tickets to be had of Mr. WALDRON, No. 13, Duke-Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields
And of Mr. RICE, at the Theatre, where Places for the Boxes may be taken.

Like them, our hearts with honest zeal expand,
 We love, and can defend, our native land ;
 Like their's, our Monarch is his people's friend,
 He too has sons our Island to defend ;
 And whether on the coasts of faithless France,
 To check a despot's rage our hosts advance ;
 Or, our own laws and liberties to save,
 On England's shores his mad attack we brave ;
 Let us our great forefathers' worth recall,
 Resolv'd to triumph, or like men to fall.

On 25th November *Henry the Fifth* was played at Covent Garden for the benefit of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's, and Mr. Charles Kemble spoke an "Occasional Address to the Volunteers," written by Mr. W. Boscawen. After referring to the Ancient Britons, Cæsar, Creçy, Agincourt, and the glories of the Edwards and Henrys, the latest Tyrtaeus, who indulges in everything except full stops, called on the citizen soldiers to

. . . guard in free and gallant strife
 All that adorns, improves or sweetens life,
 Your homes, by faithful love and friendship blest,
 Each pledge of love now smiling at the breast,
 Your daughters, fresh in bloom, mature in charms,
 Doom'd (should he conquer) to the Spoiler's arms ;
 Your sons, who hear the Tyrant's threats with scorn,
 The joys, the hopes, of ages yet unborn ;
 All, all, endear this just, this sacred cause,
 Your SOV'REIGN'S Throne, your FREEDOM, FAITH, and LAWS.
 Champions of Britain's cherish'd rights Ye stand :
 PROTECT, PRESERVE, AVENGE, your native land !
 For lo ! she cries, amidst the battle's roar,
 " Return victorious, or return no more ! "

The activity of the Dibdins is, if possible, greater than ever, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the head of the house. On 13th December, 1803, a new historical comic

opera, abounding in invasion allusions and sentiments, entitled *The English Fleet in 1342*, was brought out at Covent Garden, with an unusually strong cast :—

“ De Mountfort, Count of Brittany	Mr. HILL.
Philip	Mr. BLANCHARD.
Valentine	Mr. BRAHAM. ¹
Captain Fitzwater	Mr. INCLEDON. ²
Mainmast, his boatswain	Mr. MUNDEN.
Charles, Count of Blois	Mr. CLAREMONT.
Bishop of Leon	Mr. CHAPMAN.
Jane, Countess of Brittany	Mrs. GLOVER.
Adela, Countess of Blois	Mrs. HUMPHRIES.
Jeannetta, Wife to Philip	Mrs. DAVENPORT.
Katharine, Wife to Valentine	Signora STORACE. ³
Isabel, Daughter to Jeannetta	Mrs. ATKINS.”

“Rule Britannia” was the theme of the overture, and the duet of “All’s Well” by Braham and Incledon was rapturously encored. Although Braham got 1000 guineas for the music, and “Tom” Dibdin cleared over £600 by the libretto, it required all Mr. Harris’s managerial ability to make the opera a success. The subject was a convenient peg on which to hang an invasion hat. As one of the chroniclers of the day wrote : “Many of the situations of the piece are applicable to the present state of this country : and the Author (Mr. T. DIBDIN) has availed himself of so fair an opportunity of introducing remarks and sentiments

¹ John Braham [1774–1856], one of England’s greatest tenors, and a favourite interpreter of some of the best-known invasion songs. In 1801 he returned with Nancy Storace from a successful tour on the continent.

² Charles Incledon [1762–1826], a celebrated vocalist of the invasion period.

³ Anna Selina Storace [1766–1817], generally known as Nancy, created the rôle of Suzanna in the *Nozze di Figaro* at Vienna in 1784, and played Rosina in 1795. She retired from the stage in 1808.

INVASION.

SCENE OF

Enter JOHN BULL
from opposite Sides,
half way between



A PLAY.

and BONAPARTE
supposed to be meeting
Dover and Calais.

Bonaparte.
WELL, John, how do you do?
John Bull. I'm very well, which I fancy is more than you can say.

Bonaparte. Why so, John?
John Bull. Because I think as how your conscience must prick you most damnably.

Bonaparte. You must be mistaken, John; you must mean somebody else.

John Bull. No I don't; I know you well. I have heard of all your crimes—of your having murdered four thousand Turks in cold blood; and of your having poisoned five hundred of your own soldiers in Egypt. But what do you want with me, you monster?

Bonaparte. Oh, don't be angry, John. I only want to have a little conversation with you—I should like to be your friend.

John Bull. None of your palaver with me, you ruffian. You my friend! you had better by half hold your jaw, or I'll soon let you know that you have not got hold of a French citizen to lambug.

Bonaparte. Now really, dear John, you are too hard upon me. A Briton you know is always jull. Have a little patience then, John, and hear what I have to advance in my defence. The four thousand Turks I murdered, they were my prisoners; and I only cut their throats to prevent their escape;—and as for my own soldiers, they had quite worn themselves out in my service, and were no longer of any use to me; I therefore thought that giving them a dose of poison was the cheapest mode of getting rid of an unnecessary burden—but, dear John, I would not serve you so.

John Bull. No, I believe you there; for I'll take care you shan't.

Bonaparte. But, my dear fellow, you'll let me pay a friendly visit to your island; I hear it's a delightful place, and I'm very fond of travelling and seeing the world; besides, I would make all your people so happy.

John Bull. Now, you little infernal lying scoundrel, if you're not off I'll give you a lesson such as you'll remember as long as you live. I tell you, that I already know all your sneaking hypocritical tricks; but, shiver my timbers, if you shall manœuvre me. You told the poor Dutchmen, and Italians, and Swifs, that you would make them happy; but in what manner did you keep your promise? Why, the moment you and your army of Sanjitt had them in your power; those who had money, you took it from them; those who had farms, you wantonly laid them waste, and carried off their stock; those who lived in cottages, you destroyed their household goods, and pulled down their houses about their ears; the men you loaded with chains, and threw into prison; or compelled them, by

various modes of torture, to enter your army, to destroy their own relations and friends, and to fight against their own country. You ravished their wives and daughters; you murdered or enslaved their children; and those that were left, you obliged to work for two-pence a day, and to live on water and bread made of hulks of oats and bark of trees; and if they were sulky, you gibbeted them. And you would bring us into the same state of misery and slavery—would you? You would chain a free-born Briton to your chariot wheels, and after dragging him about in triumph, reduce him to the situation of your own cowardly slaves—would you, and be damned?

Bonaparte. (Looking rather pale.) Dearest John, you really have formed too bad an opinion of me. That I have served others so, is very true; but I really have a great regard and respect for you; and if you would kindly condescend to intrust yourself to my care, upon my honour, John, you would have no reason to repent.

John Bull. Your honour! you black-hearted treacherous Corsican—your honour! you who have served all gods, and all religions; who have been Turk, Jew, Christian, and Atheist by turns. Your honour! Don't talk to me so. Damn you, if you weren't such a little bit of a fellow, in spite of your large cocked hat, I'd crack your skull in an instant, with my fist. I have also heard of your views on our dear little island—to you have promised your soldiers, have you, that on their arrival they shall be allowed universal pillage, and that, in order to make the booty the greater, you will allow them to put all the base English to death? Now, you little whipper-snapper fellow (I wish him by the neck), I'll make you stay a minute or two longer to hear a little bit of sound advice. If your beggarly soldiers come among us, depend upon it they'll soon have enough of it. Though you think me an ignorant fellow, I can tell you that I know something of history. I know how your Englishmen have belaboured you Frenchmen; I recollect Edward the Third, and the Black Prince, and Henry the Fifth, and Marlborough, and Wolfe, and Abercromby. These were all Britons, who used to beat the French on land as regularly as they ate their meals. And as for a sea fight, damn you, you have no more chance of success there than I should have if I were to try to jump over St. Paul's. I know too that we have ticked you, and most damnably too, when you have been ten to one against us; and damn me, if any ten of you shall ever have my person or property. You yourself ran away from Sir Sidney Smith at Acre, and left your army in the lurch; and now you may run away from me, to be off. (Kicks him.)

[Exit BONY.]

Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, 181, Piccadilly.—Price 6d. a Dozen, or 1s. each — G. GUY, 1, Pall Mall, London, Sole Proprietor.

AN INVASION BROADSIDE OF 1803

appropriate to the ardent zeal and enthusiastic patriotism by which all ranks of the people are now animated in defence of their dearest rights; feeling themselves determined to maintain their own and their Sovereign's independence and interests by the voluntary sacrifice of their fortunes and their lives."

The elder Dibdin filled the little "Sans Souci" Theatre in the Strand¹ for many nights with a patriotic entertainment (avowedly written "to animate the general spirit against the proud menaces of an invading foe"), entitled, *Britons Strike Home*. Amongst its martial songs was the "Call of Honour," beginning with the verses:—

Come, brother soldiers, join the cause,
At Honour's call your swords display;
And swear, till Freedom bids you pause,
The scabbard shall be thrown away.

Bright Glory's ensign streams in air;
Yet, ere proud Gallia bite the dust,
To heaven prefer a fervent prayer,
To conquer, as our cause is just.

and ending with:—

Come, brother soldiers, give the word;
While shouts victorious rend the air;
The sword is drawn, fair Freedom's sword—
Let Frenchmen tremble at its glare.

High Heav'n in this may ruin urge;
And Britain, eminently great,
Vile Slav'ry from the world to scourge,
May be the instrument of fate.

¹ The "Sans Souci" Theatre was built by Charles Dibdin in the space of twelve weeks, and occupied the site of the old Feathers Inn on the east side of Leicester Square, a favourite haunt of Hogarth. It was opened in 1796 and closed its doors in 1805, its existence being conterminous with the duration of the Great Terror, which in a great measure was doubtless responsible both for its origin and brief spell of prosperity.—See *History of the Squares of London*, by Beresford Chancellor, 1907.

Come on, to fill Fame's ample page
 Be Vengeance on these miscreants hurl'd ;
 The day that gives them to our rage
 Shall Peace restore to all the world.

Plays of the character now described, seasoned with songs and addresses written "for the occasion," continued to be in vogue throughout the whole of 1804 and 1805. Seventeen days after the victory of Trafalgar the following advertisement appeared in *The Times* of Thursday, November 7th :—

Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden.

THIS EVENING, VENICE PRESERVED.

Jaffier (1st time), Mr. C. Kemble ; Pierre (1st time), Mr. Kemble ; Belvidere, Mrs. Siddons.

After the Play will be presented, a Loyal Musical Impromptu,
 Called, NELSON'S GLORY.

The principal Characters by—Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Inledon, Mr. Hill, Mr. Taylor, Mrs. Atkins, Mrs. Margerum, Mrs. Martyr, Miss Tyrer. To conclude with a Representation of the late Triumphant Naval Engagement, fought on the 21st of October, 1805.

On November 10th we read in the same paper :—

"The complimentary interlude, entitled Nelson's Glory, was repeated last night for the third time. It has now assumed a dramatic shape, and is as well adapted to the glorious, though melancholy event it is designed to celebrate, as any thing got up on the spur of the occasion could possibly be. The song to the air of the *Storm*, in praise of the departed Hero of the British Navy, was given by Mr. INCLEDON with a degree of feeling and expression that strongly affected the audience."

A great many of the invasion broadsides of 1803-5 (which will be fully described presently) took the form of imaginary bills of the play. Here are two sufficiently amusing and characteristic specimens :—

IN REHEARSAL.

Theatre Royal of the United Kingdoms.

Some dark, foggy, Night, about November next, will be ATTEMPTED,
by a Strolling Company of French Vagrants, an old
Pantomimic Farce, called

HARLEQUIN'S INVASION,
OR, THE
DISAPPOINTED BANDITTI.

With New Machinery, Music, Dresses and Decorations.

Harlequin Butcher, by Mr. BONAPARTE, from CORSICA,
(Who performed that Character in *Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, &c.*)

THE OTHER PARTS BY

Messrs. Sieyes, Le Brun, Talleyrand, Murat, Augereau, Massena, and
THE REST OF THE GANG.

In the Course of the Piece will be introduced, a Distant View of
Harlequin's Flat-Bottomed Boats

WARMLY ENGAGED BY THE
WOODEN WALLS OF OLD ENGLAND.

To which will be added (*by command of his Majesty*, and at the
particular request of all good Citizens) the favorite
Comic-Tragic-Uproar of

THE REPULSE;
Or, Britons Triumphant.

The Parts of John Bull, Paddy Whack, Sawney Mac Snaish, and
Shone-ap-Morgan, by Messrs. NELSON, MOIRA,
St. VINCENT, GARDNER, HUTCHINSON,
WARREN, PELLEW, S. SMITH, &c.

The Chorus of "*Hearts of Oak*," by the JOLLY TARS and
ARMY of OLD ENGLAND.

Assisted by a Numerous Company of Provincial Performers,
Who have VOLUNTEERED their Services on this Occasion.

The Overture to consist of '*Britons Strike Home*'—'*Stand to your
Guns*,'—'*Rule Britannia*,' and
GOD SAVE THE KING.

The Dresses will be Splendid; the Band Numerous and Complete.
The whole to conclude with a GRAND ILLUMINATION, and
a TRANSPARENCY displaying BRITANNIA receiving
the Homage of GALLIC PRISONERS;

* * * No Room for Lobby Loungers. VIVANT REX ET REGINA.

IN BRITAIN'S FAM'D ISLE,
At the Theatre Royal,
Where ACTORS of SPIRIT are found *True and Loyal!*

A PLAY
WILL BE ACTED, CALL'D
BRITONS STRIKE SURE!

OR, *Fam'd* DOCTOR BULLET'S
INFALLIBLE CURE.

A *Nostrum*, whose TOUCH will at once ease the *Pain*, which
FRENCH GASCONADERS

May feel in the *Brain!* and make
GALLIC DESPOTS

Who think themselves clever,
REMEMBER THE ARMY OF ENGLAND
FOR EVER!

At the End of the *Play*, when the *French* are struck mute,
British Cannons will then fire—*a Royal Salute!*
And *new Martial Airs*, whose *Effect* must be grand!
Will be *play'd* quite in *Style*—by the *Duke of York's Band.*

INSTEAD OF

A FARCE,
When the *French* are laid low, and
BRITONS TRIUMPHANT

Have *vanquish'd* the FOE!
Returning from CONQUEST—they'll all do their *Duty*,
And join with their *Monarch*, and each *British Beauty.*
To *Heaven* a *Tribute of Incense* they'll raise,
Ascribing to God—all the *Honor and Praise!*

TE DEUM

With *Fervor*, by Old and by Young,
In all *British Churches*—with *Zeal* will be sung.

AND THEN, TO CONCLUDE,

ALL OUR BRAVE VOLUNTEERS,
WILL JOIN ENGLISH SAILORS

In three Loyal Cheers!

THE WHOLE

BRITISH EMPIRE

In CHORUS will sing,

The Blessings of Freedom! and “God Save the King.”

☛ *Admission gratis to British Patriots; but none, except Privy Counsellors, will be admitted behind the Scenes.*

Bartholomew Fair and Richardson's Show were institutions in the land both before and after the days of the Great Terror. The possibilities of their influence on public opinion were evidently not forgotten by the devisers of:—

DURING BARTHOLOMEW FAIR.

In a commodious Booth, erected for the occasion,
A Company of real *French* and *Italian* Performers, will exhibit
for Public Amusement,

HARLEQUIN RENEGADO;

OR,

PANDEMONIUM IN AN UPROAR.

In which will be represented in a Picturesque, and Pantomimic manner, THE TRICKS OF SCAPIN, in *France, Italy, Germany,* and *Egypt*, accompanied by various Tragi-comic Amusements never before exhibited.

The wonderful celebrity which SIGNIOR NAPOLEONE and his Company have gained throughout the Globe, by their unparalleled performances for the entertainment of the curious; gives him a hope that he may be permitted to show some of his slight-of-hand tricks in LONDON: (and though the LORD MAYOR was very circumspect how he granted *full licence*, and particularly ordered the *peace to be kept*, which Signior Napoleone considers as a great derogation of his known abilities;) yet, willing to oblige all that lies in his power, he will inform those who favour him with their company, of certain manœuvres in Pantomime which have never been exhibited in this Country.

The whole to conclude with a Farce, called

HARLEQUIN EVERY-WHERE.

In which Signior NAPOLEONE will exhibit a singular piece of Activity, comprised in a HOP, STEP, and JUMP, from *Italy to Egypt*, from *Egypt to Paris*, and from *Paris to the Coast of England*; including a Divertisement of Scenery and Song, in alternate succession, representing

THE SIEGE OF ACRE.

With, "Now the Battle's fought and won," by Mr. S. Smith.

THE COUNCIL OF ANCIENTS,

With, "Down, Tyrant, Down," by M. Arena.

AND

THE CLIFFS OF DOVER,

With "*Britons Strike Home*," by Messrs. Keith, Cornwallis, S. Smith, Frederick York, Moira, Hutchinson, and a full Chorus of British Tars, Soldiers, and Volunteers; accompanied by Drums, Trumpets, Bassoons, Clarionets, and continued DISCHARGES of MUSKETRY and CANNON.

The Finale will represent

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA REVIVED,

OR,

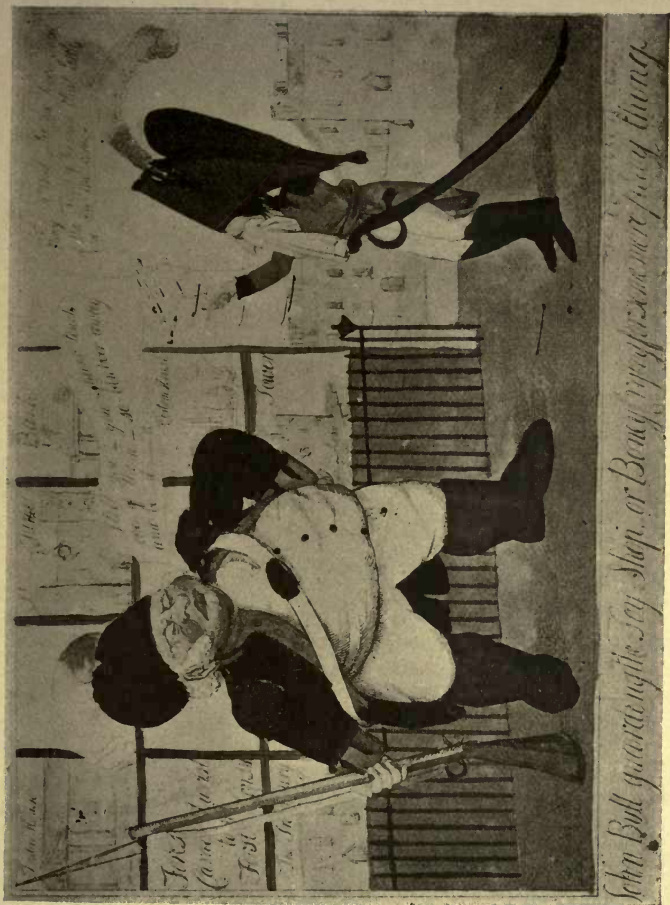
THE DESTRUCTION OF AN INVADING FLEET.

The Scenery and Machinery similar to that employed in the defeat of the Spanish Floating Batteries, before Gibraltar; With the Glee of "*Sulphur, Smoke, and Fire*," from the Old Song of Admiral Russell.

To prevent confusion, the LORD MAYOR will place *Volunteers* and *Peace Officers* to keep the doors, so that the Public can entertain no *suspicion* of having their *Property* INVADED or their *pockets* *picked*. Signiors NAPOLEONE, TALLEYRAND, BERTHIER, &c. inform their customers that all the profits of the performances are for *their own sole benefit*; as was clearly evinced when they settled the accounts of the Theatre with Don Sancho Pancha, Signior Etruria, M. Von Pruss, and others.

Admittance, Front Places ONE GUINEA: Back Seats, One Shilling. BANK PAPER will not be accepted.—N.B. No change after the Curtain is drawn.

From 1803 to 1805, at any rate, the distribution of patriotic literature was accounted for righteousness. Good works took the form of buying and circulating broadsides, songs, and caricatures likely to stiffen the national backbone against the detested but dreaded "Boney." Something has already been said of the caricaturists, playwrights, and song-writers, but the enterprising publishers from whom the country vendors procured their supplies of pictures and printed matter deserve a passing mention, although the present generation knows very little of the times when the turning over of a portfolio of caricatures hired from Fores or Humphrey formed part of an evening's amusement, and even grave politicians as well as the mob were



John Bull guarding the way stop or Bang, my profession, my thing

NO. 50 FICCADILLY IN 1803. "FORES—CARICATURIST TO THE FIRST CONSUL."

influenced by what they saw in the shop windows of William Holland or Rudolph Ackermann. The former was the proprietor of the Museum of Genius at 50 Oxford Street, where from about 1780 a large assortment of books, pamphlets, and prints was always on view.¹ Holland's exhibition rooms became quite a fashionable lounge, and enjoyed the popularity acquired a little later by Ackermann's Gallery at 101 Strand,² and Mrs. Humphrey's shop (over which James Gillray lived and worked) at 27 St. James's Street. In the early days of the nineteenth century Holland moved to 11 Cockspur Street. Amongst the earlier publishers of caricatures and satiric prints may also be mentioned Laurie & Whittle of Fleet Street; W. Hinton, West Harding Street, Fetter Lane; Holland, Cornhill; T. Williamson, Strand; Dighton, Charing Cross; J. Garbanti, 4 Great Russell Street; Turner, Snow Hill; Tegg, 111 Cheapside; Allen, 15 Paternoster Row; and Roberts, 28 Middle Row, Holborn. S. W. Fores³ in 1790 carried on business at 3 Piccadilly, but it was at No. 50 in the same thoroughfare that the house attained its special pre-eminence as vendors of anti-Napoleonic

¹ Before opening the Oxford Street Museum Holland had a shop in Drury Lane.

² This firm was founded in 1783 by Mr. Rudolph Ackermann, a native of Saxony, who conceived the idea of supplementing his business as a bookseller by the establishment of an Art Gallery. He was a clever artist, and designed Nelson's funeral car. He was one of the pioneers of the use of gas as an illuminant, and endeavoured to utilize the balloon for the dissemination of literature. The old name is still well represented by his descendant, Mr. Edgar C. Ackermann, who now carries on at 191 Regent Street the business, started in 1825, as a branch of the original house in the Strand. Mr. E. C. Ackermann is the great-grandson of Mr. R. Ackermann of Napoleonic times.

³ The business of Fores was commenced at No. 3 Piccadilly by Mr. S. W. Fores, and moved in 1796 to No. 50 (now No. 41), where it is still carried on by the great-grandson of its founder, Mr. George P. Fores.

prints. In 1798 H. Humphrey was located in New Bond Street, moving in the following year to St. James's Street, where the genius of Gillray and the exigencies of the times soon led to fame and fortune. Verner & Hood, Poultry, were the publishers of the *Anti-Gallican*, and amongst the firms originating seemingly in 1803 were John Wallis, 16 Ludgate Street; Walker, 7 Cornhill; and Hudson, 61 Newgate Street. The best-known producers of the earliest invasion broadsides and pamphlets were John Ginger, 169 Piccadilly; John Stockdale, 181 Piccadilly, and J. Hatchard, 190 Piccadilly, the latter the founder of an important firm which still exists and trades under the old name.

By a curious coincidence the business of F. Bate, 11 Vigo Lane, Sackville Street, the publisher of several notable invasion caricatures, was carried on in close proximity to the site of the Bodley Head. In 1803, as the handbill now reproduced shows, Mr. James Asperne made a bid for something like a monopoly of the machinery of "excitation," as far as the broadsheet was concerned. Loyal meetings were now held at the "Crown and Anchor," erstwhile the head-quarters of Fox, Sheridan, Tierney, and their Graces of Bedford and Norfolk, and Mr. Sewell's successor at the sign of the "Bible, Crown, and Constitution" contrived soon to make his power felt in every part of the United Kingdom.

Of the publishers of anti-English invasion caricatures in Paris the names of four only, viz. le Champion, near the Tuileries; le Champion frères, à la ville de Rouen, Rue St. Jacques; Martinet, Rue du Coq St. Honoré; and Rolland of the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, alone survive. For all that, Napoleon proved himself to be

JAMES ASPERNE, (Successor to Mr. SEWELL,) at the Bible, Crown, and Constitution, Cornhill; respectfully informs Noblemen, Magistrates, and Gentlemen, that he keeps ready assorted a Collection of all the Loyal Papers that have been, or will be, published. He at the same Time takes the Liberty of suggesting, that they would do their Country an essential Service, if they would order a few Sets of their respective Bookellers, and cause them to be stuck up in the respective Villages where they reside, that the inhabitants may be convinced of the Perfidious Designs of BUONAPARTE against this Country; and to expose his Malignant, Treacherous, and cruel Conduct, to the various Nations that have fallen beneath the Tyrannical Yoke of the CORSICAN USURPER.

THE FOLLOWING LOYAL PAPERS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED BY J. ASPERNE.

Price One Penny each, or 6s per 100.

SHREEDAN'S Address to the People.
 CONFIRMATION of the Tender Mercies of Bonaparte.
 THE DORS OF SCORCHITCH; or Barlow's Ghost.
 BOB ROUSEM'S EPISTLES to Bonaparte.
 BOSANQUET'S Speech on the Royal Exchange,
 WHO IS BONAPARTE?
 VALERIUS'S Address to the People of England.
 BISHOP OF LANDAFF'S Thoughts on the French Invasion.
 DIALOGUES between George and Tim.
 EASTONS TO ARMS, by W. T. Fitzgerald, Esq.
 BRITONS NEVER will be Slaves, by ditto.
 A WORD OF ADVICE to the Self-Created Consul,
 LOYAL SONGS, No. 1. The Voice of the British Idea.—The
 True Briton.
 LOYAL SONGS, No. 2. The Highland Arms Association.—
 The Briton's Song.
 PROCLAMATION to every Man in the United Kingdom,
 SONG, to the Tune of Mother Cudj.
 THE GENIUS OF BRITAIN, a Song.
 THE FRENCH IN A FOUL, ditto.
 AN ADDRESS to the British Navy.
 DUNSON'S ADDRESS to the People of England.
 VICTORIOUS Englishmen.
 RESOLUTIONS of the Parish of St. Mary Lambeth.

Price Twopence, or 12s per 100.

THE TENDER MERCIES of Bonaparte; extracted from Wilson's Egypt.
 CITIZEN'S OF LONDON.
 DECLARATION of Merchants of the City of London.
 THEATRE ROYAL, England.
 IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS for the People of this Kingdom.
 ADDRESS to the People of England and Ireland, on the French Invasion.
 THE INVASION; or, Disappointed Banditti.

Price Three Pence, or 2s per Doz.

THE SPEECH of the Right Hon. William Pitt, on Friday July 28, 1803.

JAMES ASPERNE takes the Liberty of soliciting the Friends of the late Mr. JAMES SEWELL, Bookbinder, in Cornhill, (as his Successor,) for a continuance of the favours heretofore conferred on him.

He has been his Servant, Assistant, and Chief Manager of his Business, nearly Twenty Five years, and doubts not, by diligence and attention, to execute any commands they may be pleased to entrust to his care, with punctuality, dispatch, and to their entire satisfaction.

If he has the good fortune to obtain their favour, it will be the happiness of the Life to merit it by every exertion in his power, and to prove himself their grateful humble Servant.

BIBLE, CROWN, AND CONSTITUTION,
 No. 22, CORNHILL, Aug. 12, 1803.

WE, the undersigned Executors of the late Mr. Sewell, satisfied of the ability, diligence, and integrity of Mr. James Asperne, do recommend him, from our own knowledge, as deserving the favour he solicits.

WILLIAM SEWELL, | SAMUEL KENTISH,
 WILLIAM ATKINSON, | HENRY HEDGES.

even a greater adept at the art of swaying the public mind than the organizers of resistance on this side of the Channel.

The broadside or sheet enters into the enthusing campaign of 1800-3 far more extensively than into that of 1796-8. Possibly this is attributable to the energy of the three Piccadilly publishers and that of the presiding genius at 32 Cornhill. Madame Tussaud, the founder of the famous waxwork exhibition, still one of the attractions of the metropolis, made a large collection of these invasion handbills, the abbreviated titles of which are as follows:—

1. The consequence of Bonaparte's succeeding in his designs against this country.
2. Ring the alarum bell! [Part I].
3. A relish for Old Nick.
4. Substance of the Corsican Bonaparte's handbills.
5. The Bishop of Llandaff's thoughts on the French Invasion.
6. To the inhabitants of the British Isles.
7. The prophecy!
8. Corporal Trim on the Invasion.
9. Britons! To arms!!!
10. A dialogue between a British tar just landed at Portsmouth and a brave soldier lately returned from Egypt.
11. The Duke of Shoreditch, or Barlow's ghost.
12. French Invasion.
13. Substance of the speech of Joseph Bosanquet, Esq.
14. A peep into Hanover.
15. People of the British Isles.
16. Britons, behold the man!
17. Britons, rise in defence of your country.
18. Loyal songs.

19. Address to the people of England.
20. A loyal Briton's song.
21. Englishmen.
22. The voice of the British Isles.
23. A dialogue between Bonaparte and John Bull [wood-cut].
24. A second dialogue between John Bull and Bonaparte.
25. English Scots and Irish men.
26. The declaration of the merchants, bankers, traders, and other inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood.
27. Bonaparte's confession of the massacre of Jaffa.
28. A farce in one act called "The Invasion of England."
29. A song for the times.
30. My friends and countrymen.
31. The British flag maintained.
32. Bob Rousem's epistle to Bonaparte.
33. An invasion sketch.
34. Men of England!
35. Horror upon horrors!
36. A King or a Consul?
37. £20,000 reward.
38. A word of advice to the self-created Consul.
39. Song.
40. To the infamous wretch.
41. To the women of England.
42. Parody by an honest Englishman.
43. Caution to John Bull.
44. Death or victory.
45. A song for all true Britons.
46. Another confirmation of the tender mercies of Bonaparte in Egypt.
47. John Bull all a-gog!
48. The cry of the country.
49. Proclamation made to every man in the United Kingdom.

50. An address to the British Navy.
51. Who is Bonaparte?
52. The Anti-Gallican Club.
53. Address of the Reverend Gerrard Andrews.
54. John Bull to Brother Patrick in Ireland.
55. Bonaparte and Talleyrand.
56. The triumph of Britain.
57. Freedom or slavery?
58. Countrymen, beware!
59. Bonaparte's true character.
60. A song of the union.
61. Freedom and loyalty.
62. Song on the Invasion.
63. £10,000 reward.
64. Shakspeare's ghost.
65. Address to the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the threatened invasion.
66. An account of the conduct of the French armies in Swabia.
67. The tender mercies of Bonaparte in Egypt. Britons, beware!
68. Harlequin's invasion, or the disappointed banditti.
69. Ring the alarum bell! [Part II].

The whole of these are now in the possession of Mr. Clement Shorter. New specimens are, however, constantly turning up, and the number of broadsheets issued during the crisis reached a total of several hundreds. The following specimens may be regarded as typical :—



A PARISH MEETING, on the Subject of INVASION.

JOHN BULL in the Chair.

Written and Designed by G. M. WOODWARD.

JOHN BULL.—ORDER, Gentlemen, if you please; nothing can be done without order and regularity. Let every neighbour speak in his turn, and we shall come to a proper decision. I perceive Mr. Soapbuds on his legs. Mr. Soapbuds, what have you to say on the subject?

MR. SOAPBUDS.—Sir, I humbly request leave to glide the *rumor* of my understanding over the *surface* of the business now before this society. Mr. Gage the Exciseman in going his rounds call'd in at my shop to have his wig dress'd, and inform'd me that little Master *Bonny-jari* meant to *round* the English Channel with his army, and *puff* his Cannon on the shores of Great-Britain; I can only say, Mr. President, that should I have the honor of continuing Barber to this Parish on the day of his arrival, may I never take a gentleman by the nose again if I don't join with my neighbours to give him a complete *lathering*.

MR. BARBER.—If I have the honor that day of commanding a company, my first orders shall be to *curse* his *flank* in every possible direction; to make *spare-ribs* of his generals, in short, a general *haud* of the whole army; for never let it be said that any Frenchman, while we support our worthy President, shall without chastisement invade the *Roast Beef* of Old England!

MR. SHEEPS.—Let him come, that's all—mind how I'll flick to his *shirts*. I'll trim the fellow I warrant you, and give him as good a *lacing* as ever he had in his life. Don't think me such a *goose* as to be afraid of any Frenchman whatever; though I am inform'd the principal Foreman, notwithstanding he has mounted the sheep-board of France, was at first cut out a mere journeyman Cotician! I am told the *map* of his temper stands very high if rubb'd against the *grain*, and requires a deal of *beating* to *smooth* it into proper order. Be that as it may, if he dares to enter our village, may I never again make a coat for the church-warden, if I don't drive him away with a *thumb* and a pair of *shears*.

MR. WARDEN.—My worthy friend Mr. Sheeps has done me great honor in his regard for me as a customer; being Church-warden of this Parish, should any Foreigner dare to land within my jurisdiction, depend upon it, I would enter him on my Books, pay him in due order, and give him a little employment in the Work-house.

MR. BOLLS.—Should he chance to arrive, I make no doubt he would have strong symptoms of a violent fever; therefore letting blood; and a gentle dose from my Dispensary would be highly necessary. I shall accordingly be on the spot to administer with all possible dispatch; he may talk of his *swearing* if he pleases, but if I once get him into my mortar, I'll give him such a *pounding* as he never had since he quitted Egypt!

MR. QUI TAM.—I rise with all due deference to this respectable society, to say a few words on the present subject. I believe, neighbours, you have always found me (which is laying a great thing) a very *honest Attorney*; and I here declare my truth and loyalty in the glorious cause we have met upon is as firm as the keel to a bond in judgment. May I never brandish a quill again, or engross a skin of parchment, if I don't stick firm to the cause; and should he dare to make a *forcible entrance* I'll lodge a *detainer* against his person, without the smallest fear of his entering an action of damages for *false imprisonment*.

MR. BATTLE.—That's right, my lad of war, flick to him to the last, give it him in his *upper-leathers*, and *strap* him into good manners; for my part, if he comes near my hall, he shall soon have a pair of pumps at his head. I'll give him a taste of the *collier's owl*, and teach him never again to think of making a *swearing* in England.

MR. RAINBOW.—The hell way I believe, neighbours, is to *hiss* him into the *depth* of *Reverence*; for though, as a worthy member has just observ'd, his temper may be of a *swarty* nature, yet by proper perseverance he may be made tolerably *cranny*, at least I should not despair if I had to deal with a whole *batch* of such enemies.

MR. TWILIGHT.—I plainly see through the whole of his proceedings; he wishes to *frame* out a settlement in Great-Britain, which he shall never do while I can cut with a diamond, or glaze a church-window!

JOHN BULL.—It gives me great pleasure to find we are all unanimous in so glorious a cause. I perceive several more of my friends wish to deliver their sentiments, but as it grows late, I shall adjourn this loyal meeting to some future opportunity, fully convinced of your firm attachment to me and my connections, and that you will all join heart and hand in defence of your Country against Foreign Invaders—I have therefore the honor of drinking your healths, not forgetting

The KING, Constitution, and Old England for ever!

London: Printed and Published by M. ALLEN, No. 15, Paternoster-Row.

(Of whom may be had, ordered and designed by the same Author.)

Excursion Excursions through England and Wales, embellished with 100 Humorous Prints, price 5s. coloured, or 3s. plain.

A TYPICAL INVASION BROADSIDE. JULY, 1803

TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS REWARD.

MIDDLESEX (to wit)

To all Constables, Headboroughs, Tithing-Men, and other Officers of the County of Middlesex, and to every one whom it may concern.

WHEREAS a certain ill-disposed Vagrant, and common Disturber, commonly called or known by the Name of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, by the instigation of the Devil, and with malice aforethought, hath lately gone about swindling and defrauding divers Countries, Cities, Towns, and Villages, under divers various and many false and wicked pretences, out of their Rights, Comforts, Conveniencies, and CASH: AND WHEREAS the said NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, still continues so to go about, *craftily* and *subtly* endeavouring to deceive and defraud the peaceable and well-disposed Subjects of divers Realms: AND WHEREAS it has been signified to Us, that the said NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, hath been guilty of divers Outrages, Rapes, and Murders, at *Jaffa*, *Rosetta*, and elsewhere: AND WHEREAS It is strongly suspected, that the said NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, hath in contemplation at the Day of the Date of these Presents, to land in some (but what part is not yet known) of Great Britain or Ireland: WE DO hereby will and require, that in case the said NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, shall be found to *lurk* and *wander* up and down your Bailiwick, that you bring before us the Body of the said NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, on or before the Morrow of All Souls, that he may be forthwith sent to our Jail for WILD BEASTS, situate, standing, and being over Exeter-Change in the Strand, without *Bail* or *Mainprize*; and that he be there placed in a certain IRON CAGE, with the Ouran Outang, or some other ferocious and voracious animal like himself, for the purpose of being tamed, or until a Warrant shall issue to our beloved subject *Jack-Ketch*, to deal with him according to Law and the *Virtue* of his Office; and this in no-wise omit at your peril. Witness our hands,

JOHN DOE and RICHARD ROE.

The said NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *alias* Jaffa Bonaparte, *alias* Opium Bonaparte, *alias* Whitworth Bonaparte, *alias* Acre Bonaparte, is a Corsican by birth, about five feet four inches in height, of a swarthy black complexion, dark hair and eye-brows, and resembles a great deal in person a Bear-leader, or one of the Savoyards who play on the reeds at Vauxhall: He is remarkable for walking fast, and taking long strides, and has been thought to squint, though it is in fact no more than a *cast* in the left eye, with looking too much on one object—Old England—to which over application he also owes being afflicted with the JAUNDICE.

The above Reward will be paid by the County immediately on apprehension.

London: Printed for S. HIGHLEY, No. 24, Fleet-Street; by B. McMILLAN, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden (price 1d. or 9d. per dozen).

Where may be had BONAPARTE; or, THE FREEBOOTER; a Patriotic Drama, price One Shilling.

No 63 runs thus :—

Ten Thousand Pounds REWARD.

WHEREAS a most villanous and infamous Pamphlet has lately been published, entitled

THE ATROCITIES OF THE
CORSICAN DÆMON,
OR A GLANCE AT
BUONAPARTE!

Disclosing many Facts which *I never intended* should meet the Public Eye : taking a regular REVIEW of my LIFE and CHARACTER, and animadverting on a few TRIFLING ERRORS! which I have thoughtlessly committed; and it having been long established in an English Court of Judicature that TRUTH is a LIBEL, I hereby offer a

Reward of Ten Thousand Pounds,

To any Republican who shall discover the Author; the Money to be paid from

THE BANK OF ENGLAND

the Moment I shall be possessed of that TREASURY.—As the said Work may injure my Project of

INVADING ENGLAND!

I am determined to punish, with the utmost Rigour, every Person in whose Possession the above Work is found on my ARRIVAL at ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

CONSULAR PALACE,
ST. CLOUD'S

NAPOLÉONE BUONAPARTE.

No. 9 appears to have met with phenomenal success. The footnote gives interesting information as to the means adopted for increasing the circulation, and so enlarging the sphere of influence :—

BRITONS ! TO ARMS !!!

Written by W. T. FITZGERALD, Esq.

And recited by him at the Meeting of the LITERARY FUND, July 14.

BRITONS, to ARMS ! of Apathy beware,
 And let your COUNTRY be your dearest Care :
 Protect your ALTARS ! guard your MONARCH's Throne,
 The Cause of GEORGE and Freedom is your own !
 What ! shall that ENGLAND want her SONS' Support,
 Whose HEROES Fought at CRESSY *--- AGINCOURT † ?
 And when Great MARLBOROUGH ‡ led the English Van,
 In FRANCE, o'er FRENCHMEN, triumphed to a Man !
 By ALFRED's great and ever honour'd Name !
 By EDWARD's Prowess, and by HENRY's Fame !
 By all the gen'rous Blood for Freedom shed,
 And by the Ashes of the Patriot Dead !
 By the Bright Glory BRITONS lately won
 On EGYPT's Plains, beneath the burning Sun,
 BRITONS, to ARMS ! defend your Country's Cause ;
 Fight for your KING, your LIBERTIES, and LAWS !
 Be France defied, her Slavish YOKE abhorr'd,
 And place your Safety only on your Sword.
 The Gallic DESPOT, sworn your mortal FOE,
 Now aims his last, but his most deadly Blow ;
 With ENGLAND's PLUNDER tempts his hungry Slaves,
 And dares to brave you on your Native Waves !
 If Britain's Rights be worth a Briton's Care,
 To shield them from the Sons of Rapine --- Swear !
 Then to INVASION be Defiance given,
 Your Cause is just, approv'd by Earth and Heaven !
 Should adverse Winds our gallant Fleet restrain,
 To sweep his "bawbling §" Vessels from the Main ;
 And Fate permit him on our Shores t'advance,
 The TYRANT never shall return to FRANCE ;
 Fortune herself shall be no more his Friend,
 And *here* the History of his Crimes shall end ---
 His slaughter'd Legions shall manure our Shore,
 And ENGLAND never know Invasion more !!

* In the Year 1346, EDWARD, Prince of Wales, (commonly called the Black Prince,) Son of our King EDWARD III. gained the Famous Battle of CRESSY, in which Thirty Thousand of the French were killed upon the Field.

† In the Year 1415, HENRY V. King of England invaded France, and gained the memorable Battle of AGINCOURT, when Ten Thousand of the French were slain, and Fourteen Thousand were taken Prisoners. The Prisoners were more in Number than the Victorious English Army !

‡ In Queen ANNE's Reign, A. D. 1706, the Great Duke of MARLBOROUGH gained the renowned Battle of BLENHEIM. Twelve Thousand French were slain, and Thirteen Thousand taken Prisoners, together with the French General, Marshal TALLARD.

§ "A bawbling Vessel was he Captain of,

"For shallow Draught, and Bulk unprizable." SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for JAMES ASPERNE (Successor to Mr. Stewart), at the Bible, Crown, and Constitution, No. 32, Cornhill ;
 by L. GOLD, Shoe Lane ; Price One Penny each, or 6s. the 100.

Where may be also had, at the same Price, SHAKESPEARE's Address to the People. Also a Collection of all the loyal
 Papers that have been or will be published.

* * Noblemen, Magistrates, and Gentlemen, would do well by ordering a few Dozen of the above Tracts of their
 distant Book-sellers, and causing them to be stuck up in the respective Villages where they reside, that the Inhu-
 manity may be convinced of the Cruelty of the Confess'd Usurper.

It is curious to compare the Sheridan caricatures of 1797-8 with the broadside:—

Sheridan's Address to the People.

OUR KING! OUR COUNTRY! AND OUR GOD.

My brave Associates—Partners of my Toil, my Feelings, and my Fame!—can Words add Vigour to the *Virtuous Energies* which inspire your Hearts?—No—*You* have judged as I have, and the Foulness of the crafty Plea by which these bold *Invaders* would delude you—Your generous Spirit has compared, as mine has, the Motives which, in a War like this, can animate their Minds, and ours.—They, by a strange Frenzy driven, fight for Power, for Plunder, and extended Rule—we, for our Country, our Altars, and our Homes.—They follow an *Adventurer*, whom they fear—and obey a Power which they hate—we serve a Monarch whom we love, a *God* whom we adore.—Whene'er they move in anger, Desolation tracks their Progress! Whene'er they pause in Amity, Affliction mourns their Friendship!—They boast, they come but to improve our State, enlarge our Thoughts, and free us from the Yoke of Error! Yes—*They* will give enlightened Freedom to our Minds, who are themselves the Slaves of Passion, Avarice, and Pride.—They call on us to barter all of Good we have inherited and proved, for the desperate Chance of Something better which they promise.—Be our plain Answer this: The Throne we honour is the People's choice—the Laws we reverence are our brave Father's Legacy—the Faith we follow teaches us to live in Bonds of Charity with all Mankind, and die with Hopes of Bliss beyond the Grave. Tell your Invaders this; and tell them too, we seek no Change; and, least of all, such Change as *they* would bring us.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

Among the broadsheets not in the Tussaud-Shorter collection are:—

VALERIUS'S ADDRESS to the People of England [August 3rd, 1803].

MANLIUS'S ADDRESS to the People of England [1803].

DENISON'S ADDRESS to the People of England in verse [n.d.].

UNION AND WATCHFULNESS. Briton's true and only Security [n.d.].

WILBERFORCE'S ADVICE suggested by the State of the Times [n.d.].

APOTHEOSIS of BONAPARTE, headed by a large illustration of the First Consul hanging from a gallows surrounded by a dancing and rejoicing crowd [John Badcock, August 10th, 1803].

APPEAL in favour of GENERAL ARMAMENT [n.d.].

The Briton's Prayer. Addressed to the Volunteers of Great Britain armed in defence of Religion their Country and their King [n.d.]

Resolutions of the Inhabitants of the Parish of S. Mary, Lambeth [July 26th, 1803].

A SONG OF THE TIMES, by Quintius Quod, Esq^{re}. [n.d.].

NO CHANGE FOR THE WORSE. A mistaken notion [Sept. 6th, 1803].

Mr. Asperne lost no time in issuing [27th August, 1803] a preliminary programme for a "Female Association for preserving Liberty and Property." At the end of it, below the signature "Britannia Presidentess (*sic*), was the following note :—

"N.B. As soon as the voluminous nature of the work will permit plans of the Female Association will be lodged at Mr. Aspernes at the Bible, Crown and Constitution 32 Cornhill; where attendance will be given to take the names of the Subscribers, which will be ranged in their respective Columns, as Maids, Wives, and Widows."

Possibly there was more practical good in
 AN ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH SOLDIERS

Circulated near certain parts of the

COAST OF FRANCE

by the

FRENCH IMMIGRANTS.

My brave and generous fellow soldiers—

Your Despot, that Corsican, who Sets no Value on the Lives of Frenchmen, calls on you to be prepared for an Expedition against England of the most desperate nature.

Reflect seriously, brave Frenchmen, on what has been offered to your Consideration. Tell the Corsican Tyrant, that you are Soldiers and not Robbers: that you are Warriors, and not Thieves and Assassins: That you know how to engage with an Enemy in the Field of Battle, but that you cannot Murder him in his Bed. Tell him, that if he will fit out a Fleet to protect you in your Passage, and cover your descent on the British Coast, and if he will furnish an Army to engage with English Troops on their own Ground, you are ready to embark: but that you are not willing to be sent to Disgrace yourselves by plundering and wantonly massacring peaceful Citizens & Farmers, and laying waste their Habitations; exposing yourselves to a Vengeance, which a conduct so mean and execrable would most justly deserve.

AN OLD FRENCH SOLDIER.

It is easy to realize the effect produced on the bucolic mind by such an appeal as this:—

Who is Bonaparte ?

Who is he? Why an obscure Corsican, that began his Murderous Career, with turning his Artillery upon the Citizens of Paris—who boasted in his Public Letter from Pavia, of having shot the whole Municipality—who put the helpless, innocent, and unoffending inhabitants of Alexandria, Man, Woman, and Child, to the *Sword* till

Slaughter was tired of its Work—who, against all the Laws of War, put near 4000 Turks to Death, in cold Blood, after their Surrender—who destroyed his own comrades by Poison, when lying sick and wounded in Hospitals, because they were unable to further the Plan of Pillage which carried him to St. Jean d'Acres—who, having thus stained the Profession of Arms, and solemnly and publicly renounced the religious Faith of Christendom and embraced Mahometanism, again pretended to embrace the Christian Religion—who, on his return to France, destroyed the Representative System—who after seducing the Polish Legion into the Service of his pretended Republic, treacherously transferred it to St Domingo, where it has perished to a Man, either by Disease or the Sword—and who, finally, as it were to fill the Measure of his Arrogance, has Dared to attack what is most dear and useful to civilized Society, the *Freedom of the Press* and the *Freedom of Speech*, by proposing to restrict the British Press, and the Deliberations of the British Senate. Such is the *Tyrant* we are called upon to oppose; and such is the Fate which awaits *England*, should *We* suffer him and his degraded Slaves to pollute *Our* Soil.

The anthology of the Great Terror has yet to be written. It is no exaggeration to say that the loyal songs in vogue between 1796 and 1805 may be counted by thousands. Some appeared in book form, like the "garland" strung together by Mr. Ritson, the annual collection known as *The Whim of the Day*,¹ or *The Patriot's Vocal Miscellany*, printed in Dublin for the booksellers of Ireland in 1804. Nearly every large city or town had its own "musical garland," and Newcastle-upon-Tyne (the home of Bewick and Catnach) a whole series of them, many containing one or more military and naval ditties of the soul-inspiring order. On the other hand, a far larger number were, like the one now reproduced, printed in the Seven Dials and

¹ The publication of *The Whim of the Day*, by J. Roach, Britannia Printing Office, Russell Court, Drury Lane, began in 1789 and continued for seventeen or eighteen years. A complete series of them would throw much light on the march of public opinion during the time it appeared.

SONG. THE INVASION.

COME listen every Lord and Lady,
What think you then? Why, Sir, I think,
They'd be woe for this welcome.
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

I've got a ditty *begot* to sing,
When I come o'er, I'll make all Britons
About a very *great Man*;
Live in perfect Bliss, Sir,
And if the Name of *Bogazazaz*,
I'm sure they will receive me just
Should mingle in my Story,
As kindly as the Swift, Sir,
'Tis with all due Submission,
The Odds are hundred are to one
'Tis his Honour's *Worthip's* Clory
I fall, tho' Fortune's *Minion*.
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

The kindness of this philanthropic
Says our Ambassador to him,
Gentleman extending,
I'm quite of your Opinion.
From Shore to Shores, Calassus like,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

Their Grievances amending,
My Lord, *prythe*, I'll make the Field,
To Britain would reach, if he could,
For'd better take the Ocean,
From fancied Ills to save ye;
My Plans are *deep*—*no Why, say,*
But tho' he likes us *castly well,*
they'll reach
The Bottom, I've a Notion.
He does not like our Navy!
What would the English think to
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

With Egypt come he fell in Love,
Me *twixt* Boulogne and Dover?
Because it was the high Road,
Why, General, they'd hardly think
To travel by a *ugh Road*;
Your Majesty half bear over!
And after making mighty Fuss,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

And fighting Night and Day there,
Your Government I'll tame, *say* the
'Twas *wally* ungentled of ye,
Since War you are to fight on;
Who would not get his feet there,
It's got my Will in Paris here,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

A Nobleman was sent to him,
I'll rule your great *Jels Ball*! *say*
For Negotiation able,
he,
And Bonapart kindly set
I have him in the Ring, Sir.—
Him down at his own Table,
says John, I'll not be rul'd by you.
And in a Story two Hours long,
Nor any *fish* a Thing, Sir,
The Gentleman was heard in,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

Whilst our Ambassador declar'd
Then bring me Flag in *irreparable,*
He could not get a Word in,
a Scot took it long ago, Sir,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

With Bolles and Bimax the drawing
For now, I think, your Ships I'll
Room
ick,
One Morning it was quite full,
And never strike a Blow, Sir,
And Boys, like a *Bass*—*Cock,*
A clever Man has found a Plan,
Came crowing rather spiteful
A Plan he's *surely* right in,
He then began to *huff* and *bluff*,
For if you beat the British Fleet,
To show that War his Trade is;
It may not be of Fighting.
He scolded all the Englishmen,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

And frighten'd all the Ladies!!!
Quite frantic now, he vows Revenge,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

From Malta next he took his Tent,
The Moment that he's landed,
My Lord look'd rather blue o'er;
And proudly boasts we cannot Hope
For every Trick the *Confal* had,
To fight him single-headed,
My Lord had one word *say*
What, single-headed, we can do,
His Troops shall know full well
soon.
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

Why, General, *say* he, 'Sdeath
For him, he learn'd it long ago,
and Fuss,
From Joseph Andrew Nelson,
Which you *eat* these *Capeps*.
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

They'll publish every Word you say
Now, since their Minds are quite
in all the English Papers.
made up,
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

My Lord, *say* he, you needs must
Make one Request to Neptune,
soe,
should
I pity British Blindness,
They dream of an Invasion:
And wish to open all your Eyes,
To bring their Safety out of Port,
Cut off your Love and Kindness,
On gentle Billows guide them,
To make a generous People free,
T' where a set of British Boys
My Legions shall poll well come,
May dasher rise before them.
Bow, wow, wow, &c.

Printed for JAMES ASPERNE, (Successor to M. A. SWEET), at
the Bible, Crown, and Constitution, No. 88, Cornhill,
by S. ROBERTSON, Wood Street, Spa Fields.
Price One Halfpenny, or 3s 6d per 100.
(August 17, 1803.)

elsewhere on narrow strips of flimsy paper. Very frequently a rude woodcut which may have done service in the days of the Commonwealth was placed at the head of the verses by way of embellishment. The same rough design did duty in turn for Vernon, Boscawen, Keppel, Hawke, Rodney, Howe, and the immortal Nelson. Vauxhall and Ranelagh were still popular social institutions at the commencement of 1803, and the singing of patriotic songs¹ soon became the order of the day at the "gardens." Charles Dignum was as popular with the *habitués* of Vauxhall as John Braham and Charles Incledon were at Covent Garden. Dorothea Jordan, the fascinating mistress of the Duke of Clarence, sang anti-Gallican ditties at Bushey Park as well as at Drury Lane, and Invasion and Resistance to Death odes also found an ideal interpreter in Elizabeth Billington (in right of her marriage Madame Felissent), whose magnificent voice is said to have quite bewitched the "Little Boney" of Gillray's caricatures and Dibdin's verses.

The rupture of the Peace of Amiens was not complete, when the English Ambassador's difficulties gave rise to songs more distinguished by violence of language than by grace of diction.

BONAPARTE THREATENING INVASION TO LORD WHITWORTH

What a bustle and a fuss with these Gasconaders.
Frenchmen all on the gog, for to turn Invaders.
All sorts of schemes and inventions for to spite us ;
When those rogues come, Oh ! Lack a daisy, how they'll fright us.

Fal lal ri do.

¹ See *post*, p. 304.

Some will say as on our bed we lay snoring,
They will wake us in the middle of the night with their cannon
roaring.

Oh ! as these Republicans are such valiant soldiers,
They will come in the middle of noon to astonish all beholders.

For their officers and baggage in Balloons are to come over,
And Bonaparte drop in his camp just this side of Dover.
Oh ! the Bugabos, how they will make us all to stare.
Camps a-swimming on the water, and castles in the air.

A hundred thousand men for him to lose is only a trifle ;
He is determined to invade Old England for to rifle.
Altho' the Kings of Europe crawl to him for alliance,
Britannia's son alone bids the Corsican Defiance.

All his glory is gone to pot if by chance he get a damper ;
How Tame he will look if back again he's forced to scamper.
The old women will laugh and grin saying we are as good as
witches,

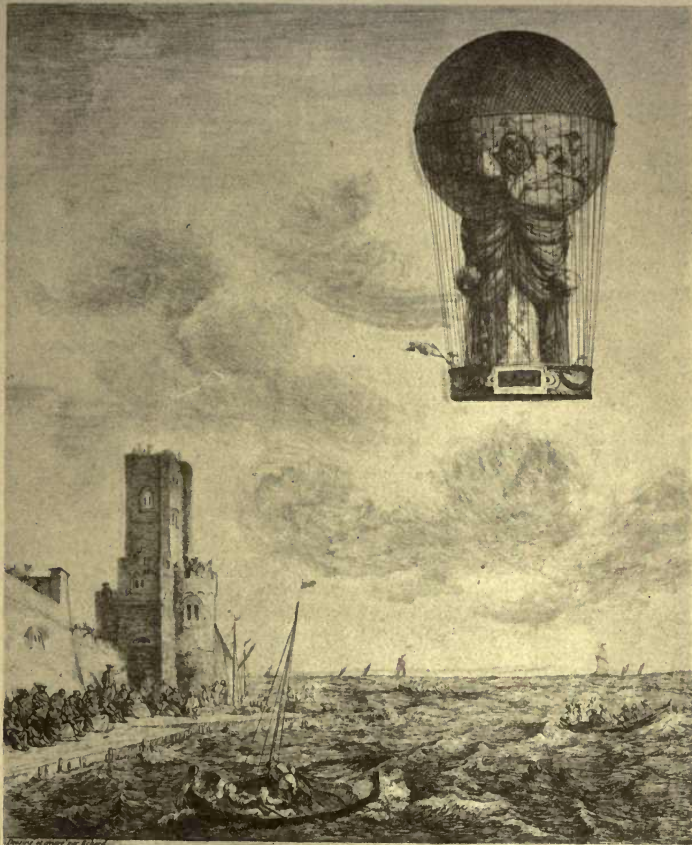
Here is Bonaparte come again with heart sunk to his breeches.

Success to our Soldiers and sailors who in cause so hearty
That never is afraid to face the bouncing Bonaparte,
With his puffs and Bravados Englishmen's not affrighted,
So here's wishing of all to stand or fall with one heart united.

The effusion already given was only one of several songs
bearing the same name, already appropriated by Charles
Dibdin for that beginning :—

The French are all coming, so they declare,
Of their floats and balloons all the papers advise us,
They're to swim through the ocean, and ride on the air,
In some foggy evening to land and surprize us,
Their army's to come and plant liberty's Tree,
Call'd the army of England, what matchless presumption !
Let them come those who meet not with ague at sea.

And so forth. Here, at any rate, is a different and less
familiar version of the same theme and bearing an identical
name :—



Imprimé et gravé par de la Harpe

TOUR DE CALAIS

Nouvelle Machine Aérostatique construite par M. ROMAN, par Ordre du Gouvernement, destinée
à faire le passage de France en Angleterre, conjointement avec M. PILATRE DE ROZIER

A Paris chez le Campion M^r d'Armand, au Vestibule du C^h des Thuilleries.

Et chez les Campion, frères, M^{rs} d'Armand, rue St. Jacques, à la Ville de Reims.

INVASION BY BALLOON

From a French print of June, 1803

THE INVASION

Bright honour now calls each true Briton to arm,
 Invasion's the word which hath spread the alarm.
 Bonaparte, and his legions, they threaten us hard,
 Yet their threats and bravados we ne'er need regard.

Chorus.

Then stand up, bold Britons, for children and wives,
 In defence of old England to venture your lives.

With windmills, and horsemills, and such sorts of gear
 They think for to strike us brave English with fear ;
 Yet we laugh at such threats and their Gasconade scorn,
 He that once fears a Frenchman's no Englishman born.

With crafts, and on rafts, they say they'll come o'er,
 And threaten us hard that they'll soon reach our shore.
 Like the Spanish Armada, they think to enslave
 Us English and seize all the riches we have.

The army of England they proudly call it,
 And think that our nation they soon will enthrall ;
 Yet stand true, bold Britons, we've nothing to fear,
 For King, Constitution, and all that is dear.

Adieu then to sweethearts, adieu then, dear wives,
 In defence of your honour we venture our lives ;
 Our country doth call us, that call we obey,
 And glory and victory points out the way.

Subscriptions now rise thro' the country at large,
 To King and to Country their duty discharge ;
 For freedom we fight, and our cause it is just,
 On our army and navy we place our whole trust.

Captain Morris having sown his wild oats, renounced his
 Platonic republicanism and turned patriot, joins the band
 of invasion bards ; but there is an undeniable flavour of
 Pye in such lines as :—

II.—U

WHILE deeds of Hell deface the world,
 And Gallia's Throne in ruin lies,
 While round the world Revolt is hurl'd,
 And Discord's baneful banner flies,
 Loud shall the loyal Briton sing
 To arms ; to Arms ! your bucklers bring,
 To shield our Country, guard our King,
 And GEORGE and ENGLAND save.

O, happy Isle ! wise-order'd State !
 Well-temper'd work of Freedom's hand !
 No shock of realms can touch thy fate,
 If Union binds thy sea-girt land ;
 Vainly the storms shall round thee ring,
 While Britain's Sons in concord sing,
We'll shield our Country, guard our King,
And GEORGE and England save !

Bath, the cradle of the volunteer movement, had now become one of the most active centres of defence organization, while maintaining her ancient prestige as the City of Fashion.¹ Mr. William Dimond of the Bath Theatre comes out with :—

From the sail-crowded bays and throng'd havens of France,
 Let the boastful Invader his legions advance,
 Ah ! vainly with numbers he threatens our coast,
 One heart, brac'd by Freedom, will combat an host.
 The Lion disdainfully pants for the fray ;
 The greater his foes, the more noble his prey.
 Too late shall France learn on the blood-floated field,
 That Britons can perish, but never can yield.
 We'll grant her rash crew, should they 'scape from the waves,
 No more English earth than will cover their graves,
 Then let them embark—let the winds waft them o'er,
 For Fate tolls their knell when they land on our shore :

¹ Another very important centre of defence organization was Dover. See note on the subject kindly communicated to the writers by Dr. J. Holland Rose, and published in the Appendix. See also the illustration of a Dover Invasion Song.



BRITONS TO ARMS!!!

*Cheerly my hearts of courage true, the hours at hand to try your worth; a glorious peril
 waits for you, and valour pants to lead you forth. The Gallic fleet approaches nigh boys, now some must conquer
 some must die boys; but that appals not you nor me, for our watch word, it shall be Britons strike
 home, revenge your country's wrongs. Britons strike home, revenge your country's wrongs.*

²
*Undaunted Britons now shall prove
 The Frenchmans folly to invade
 Our dearest rights, our countrys love;
 Our laws, our freedom, and our trade;
 On our white cliffs, our colours fly boys,
 Which we'll defend, or bravely die boys;
 For we are Britons bold and free,
 And our watch word it shall be
 Britons strike home &c.*

³
*The Tyrant Consul then too late
 Dismay'd shall mourn th' avenging blow,
 Let vanguard meet the midder fate
 Which mercy grants a fallen foe.
 Thus shall the British banners fly boys,
 On Albions cliffs still rais'd on high boys,
 And while the gallant flag we see,
 We'll swear our watch word still shall be
 Britons strike home &c.*

Published July 30 1803 by John Wallis N^o 16 Ludgate Street London.

THE DEFENCE OF DOVER. JULY 30, 1803

In front, sure defeat,
 Behind, no retreat ;
 Denied to advance, yet forbidden to fly :
 While dreadfully round,
 Our thunders resound,
 The Old English Lion will conquer or die.

While Hannah More, whose anti-revolutionary propaganda was now being utilized for resistance purposes, writes and publishes at Bath :—

A KING OR A CONSUL?

A NEW SONG TO THE TUNE OF DERRYDOWN

Come, all ye brave Englishmen, list to my story,
 You who love peace and freedom, and honour and glory !
 No foreign usurper they hither shall bring,
 We'll be rul'd by a native, our Father and King.

Derry down, down, down derry down !

No Corsican Despot in England shall rule,
 No Disciple avow'd of the Mussulman school ;
 A Papist at Rome, and at Cairo a Turk,
 Now this thing, now that thing as best helps his work.

Derry down.

Shall Atheists rule Britons? O never, no never,
 Forbid it, Religion, for ever and ever ;
 Their heathenish Consuls then let them not bring,
 Our Country is Christian and Christian our King !

Derry down.

In England when wounds are the sailor's sad lot,
 Their wounds and their sufferings are never forgot ;
 To a Palace far nobler our Vet'rans we bring,
 Than is kept for himself by our merciful King.

Derry down.

Let any compare, if my saying he blames,
 The splendours of Greenwich with those of St. James.
 Once Buoni trepann'd his poor troops to the East,
 O'er deserts too sultry for man or for beast ;

Derry down.

When the battle was over, and hundreds were found,
 By the fortune of war, gash'd with many a wound ;
 Diseased and afflicted—now what do you think
 This tender Commander obliged them to drink ?

Derry down.

You fancy 'twas grog, or good flip or good ale ;
 No, 'twas poison, alas ! was the soldiers' regale.
 See Jaffa,—see Haslar—the diff'rence to prove,
 There poison, here kindness, there murder, here love.

Derry down.

And lest we should publish his horrible tricks,
 With our freedom of printing, a quarrel he picks ;
 But we keep no secrets, each newspaper shows it,
 And while we act fairly we care not who knows it.

Derry down.

To Frenchmen, O Britons, we never will trust ;
 Who murder their Monarch can never be just ;
 That Freedom we boast of, the French never saw,
 'Tis guarded by order, and bounded by law.

Derry down.

That Buoni's invincible, Frenchmen may cry,
 Let Sidney the brave give each boaster the lie ;
 Tho' the arrows of Europe against us are hur'd,
 Be true to yourselves and you'll conquer the world.

Derry down.

Tho' some struggles we make, let us never repine,
 While we sit underneath our own fig tree and vine ;
 Our Fig-tree is Freedom, our Vine is Content,
 Two blessings, by nature for Frenchmen not meant.

Derry down.

French liberty Englishmen never will suit,
 They have planted the tree but we feed on the fruit ;
 They rail not at taxes, altho' they cut deep,
 'Tis a heavy Insurance to save the brave Ship.

Derry down.

Let narrow-soul'd party be banished the land,
 And let English-men join with one heart and one hand ;
 Let each fight for his wife, for we marry but one,
 The French wed so many, they oft care for none.

Derry down.

One King did not suit them, three Tyrants they chose,
 And their God they denounce while their King they depose ;
 Then we ne'er will submit to the Corsican's rod,
 Britons want but one Wife, one King, and one God.

Derry down, down, down derry down.

In an incredibly short space of time England was in arms, and from the heights of the Parnassus of Patriotism Charles Dibdin, the real laureate of the Great Terror, was able to sing :—

If the Frenchmen a landing should win,
 In each *County* they'd find we're not slugs ;
 Then with the Land's *End* to begin,
 In *Cornwall* they'd get *Cornish hugs* ;
 In *Devon* they'd dread *Plymouth fort*,
 Find boxers in *Somersetshire*,
 And in *Dorset* they'd meet pretty sport,
 From the lads who drink *Dorchester beer*.

Herts and *Wiltshire* would teach 'em to fight,
 In *Bucks* as sure game they'd be taken,
 In *Barkshire* they'd find we could bite,
 And in *Hampshire* they'd not save their *bacon* ;
 In *Middlesex* would they be popping,
 Or *Sussex*, their ground they'd not keep ;
 In *Kent*, they'd soon send them a *hopping*,
 In *Bedfordshire* send them to *sleep*.

In *Essex* their calveskins we'll curry,
 In *Huntingdon* chase the freebooters,
 And if they come sporting to *Surrey*,
 They'll find *Surrey* rangers sharp shooters ;
Glo'ster, *Wo'ster*, and *Monmouthshire*, thro'
 Or *Oxford* they'll never find passes ;
 And a conflict they'll pretty well rue
 With the *Warwickshire* lads and the lasses.

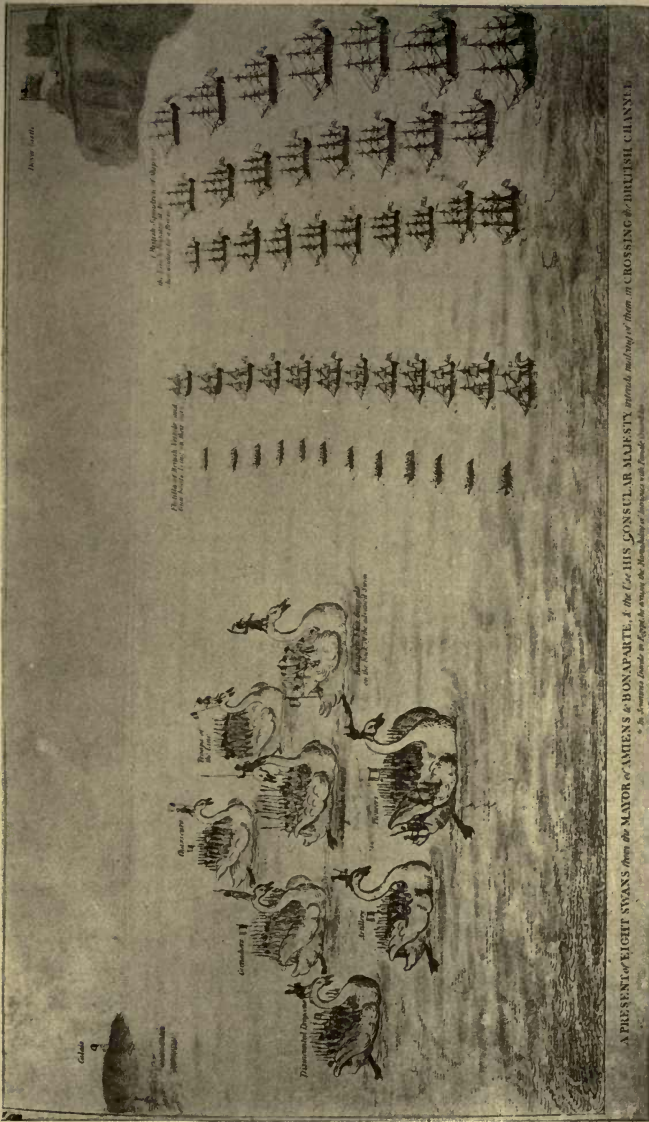
They'll by *Hereford cyder* get sour'd,
 In *Northampton* and *Rutland* lose battle,
 In *Suffolk* they'll surely get scow'r'd,
 And in *Lincolnshire* all be prize cattle ;
 In *Leicestershire* sheep with the teters,
 In *Staffordshire* ware that soon breaks,
 In *Darbyshire* subjects for fetters,
 In *Shropshire* mere Shrewsbury cakes.

Norfolk dumplings their taste wouldn't please,
 And they'll prove, in despite of their splutter,
 In *Cheshire* mere mites in a cheese,
 While in *Cambridge* we'll churn 'em like butter ;
 There's *Yorkshire* and counties about,
 Too far *North* for Frenchmen to win,
 And the counties whose names I've left out,
 I'll be d——d if the French will get in.

The invasion, before the summer of 1803 was well over, began to intrude itself into every kind of ephemeral literature. Thomas Dibdin made a song in honour of the "Installation Fête" given on June 1st, but of course the invasion verse swallowed up the rest :—

If Foes venture here and to conquer expect
 Where St. Andrew, St. George and St. Patrick protect,
 May they all be benighted, find *Thistles* for bread,
 A *Garter* to hang in, a *Bath* for their bed.

Chorus : And ever may Victory smile on each Order
 Of all British Knights in their turn.



A PRESENT OF EIGHT SWANS FROM THE MAYOR OF AMIENS TO BONAPARTE, if the Use HIS CONSULAR MAJESTY should think proper to buy of them in CROSSING the BRITISH CHANNEL
 * The Amiens Swans are kept in England to witness the History of the Invasion with France.

A NOVEL SCHEME OF INVASION. AUGUST 8, 1803

Next to Bonaparte himself the "rafts" at Boulogne and elsewhere afforded a good subject to the British song-maker. In the early summer of 1803 first appeared "A New Song on the French Rafts" in which an Irishman is made to say :—

This great large raft is to float on the water,
Sixty thousand men inside of it plac'd,
With five hundred guns, O dear what is the matter,
O let all be frighten'd they're coming in haste.

With their wings and their sails, see how they're coming,
And Ireland they swear they'll have in a trice ;
Then come, my brave boys, let's have it out fairly,
Blood-a-nouns but we'll tip you shalalee so nice.

It was once on a time they'd a fine floating castle,
The Ville de Paris she was called by name,
They swore then to take all our ships in the navy,
But Rodney he taught them a different game.

Then come on, Mr. Mounseur, and not so much bother,
Ne'er fear but we'll give you as good as you send,
Your large floating raft we'll soon split asunder,
In the deep you shall soon find a watery end.

O'Keefe's "Song for the English" was scarcely worthy of the author of "A Friar of Orders Grey." The concluding verses run :—

The demon cast downwards now rages below ;
Eternal his rancour, as endless his woe.
To chain us in thralldom his pride and his boast,
In hopes we may forfeit those joys which he lost.

Tho' Father of Lies, we believe now his word,
Why wait for his coming? ALL! gird on the sword!
And shew, that by guarding our house and our field,
A Briton deserves the sweet comforts they yield.

In the dining-room of the historic brewery which Dr. Johnson managed for a brief period as the executor of his friend Mr. Thrale, the representatives of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, & Co. preserve the helmets and accoutrements of some of the Loyal Southwark Volunteers of the time of the Great Terror. Their war-song, written by an officer of the corps, was short but to the purpose :—

Hark ! the threats of Invaders resound thro' the air,
 See ! a vengeful and menacing foe—
 Already the Warriors for conquest prepare,
 Our Riches, our Beauty, already they share,
 Our Cities and Commerce lay low :—

*But conquest and plunder by Britons withstood,
 Shall sink with the boasters in waves ;
 Or the soil which our Forefathers nurtured in blood
 Shall drink from our veins the rich vital flood,
 Ere Britons submit to be slaves.*

Two other patriotic songs of this period, July–December, 1803, were entitled “Our God and Our King” and “The Voice of the British Isles.” The latter had at least two highly popular verses and a stirring refrain :—

My sweet rosy Nan is a true British wife,
 And loves her dear Jack as she loves her own life ;
 Yet she girds on my sword, and smiles while I go,
 To meet the proud French, and to lay their heads low :
 And chaunts 'tween each buss, while the notes loudly ring,
 My Jack ! thou art ready :
 Steady, boy, steady,
 Go ! fight for thy Liberty, Laws, and thy King.

Away, then, my boys ! haste away to the shore,
 Our foes, the base French, boast they're straight coming o'er,
 To murder, and plunder, and ravish, and burn—
 They *may* come—but, by Jove ! they *shall* never return ;
 For around all our shores, hark ! the notes loudly ring,
 United, we're ready,
 Steady, boys, steady,
 To fight for our Liberty, Laws, and our King !

Napoleon had stated in his *Exposé au Corps Législatif* (February 21st, 1803) that England alone could not cope single-handed with a French invasion. Hence the war-song :—

Come, then, come, thou Consul-king !
 Launch thy navies, arm thy host,
 And beneath night's fav'ring wing,
 Thy banners plant on England's coast ;
 Come ! but hope not to return.
 Here other thoughts thou soon shalt learn ;
 Shall feel that Britons still may claim
 The honours of the British name ;
 Can fearless still maintain their stand
 On British as on Syrian land ;
 Still rise superior to the sons of France,
 Still single-handed crush the pride of France.

At the meeting of the Literary Fund, 14th July, 1803, Mr. T. Fitzgerald recited amidst tumultuous applause his "Britons to Arms." The rhyming of "Agincourt" with "support" could scarcely commend itself to cultured ears, but the peroration seemed very much to the taste of his hearers :—

If Briton's Rights be worth a Briton's care
 To shield them from the Sun of Rapine—swear !
 Then to Invasion be Defiance given,
 Your Cause is just, approv'd by Earth and Heav'n !
 Should adverse winds our gallant Fleet restrain
 To sweep his "bawbling" vessels from the main ;
 And Fate permit him on our shores t'advance,
 The Tyrant never shall return to France ;
 Fortune herself shall be no more his friend,
 And here the history of his crimes shall end—
 His slaughtered legions shall manure our shore
 And England never know Invasion more.

Neither better nor worse were the lines "Rouse, Britons."¹

Rouse, Britons, rouse. Your Country's Genius calls !
Wake, Britons, wake, ere Albion falls
And bravely grasp the lance ;
Nobly defend your Native Land,
The Laws your fathers wisely plann'd,
Against insulting France.

Come, Britons, come, at Honour's call,
Repel the restless sons of Gaul,
And stop their mad career ;
Firmly united we will stand
And, patriot like, join hand in hand.
We then have nought to fear.

While a Plymouth clergyman (the Rev. Richard Hennah) is responsible for these verses :—

Then hasten to defend the coast ;
Each Soldier is himself an host,
Embark'd in such a cause :
You guard your Country and your King ;
You fight for wives, for everything,
Your liberty and laws.

And when the dreadful work is past,
When Frenchmen are subdu'd at last,
Then from your labours cease ;
Again enjoy your favorite homes,
Your wives, your cots, and lofty domes,
And taste the sweets of Peace !

While another brother of the cloth strongly advocated the prompt adoption of the following extraordinary version of the National Anthem to be sung in churches :—

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXIV, part ii, p. 667, July, 1803.

Holy Lord God arise,
 Venger of perfidies,
 Father of truth !
 Teach every secret foe,
 Lurking in treasons low,
 Teach all the earth to know
 Thy favour's worth.

O, our Defence and Shield,
 When in th' ensanguined field
 For thy great name ;
 When in thy righteous cause,
 Navies of warriors rose,
 Thine, Lord, and *His*, who shews
 Thine is the same :

Thou whose Almighty Hand
 Guardest this envied land
 In each dread hour ;
 Thou who Invasion's host
 Scatter'st on many a coast,
 O be Thou still our boast ;
 We own thy pow'r.

Mr. Moore, rector of Wrotham, Prebendary of Canterbury, and son of the Primate, served as a private in the Westerham troop of the Kentish Yeomanry. Wordsworth's battle-cry to the men of Kent had evidently not been sounded in vain, for we now hear of the Westerham troopers singing at a presentation of colours :—

Men of Kent, renown'd in story,
 Once again in arms array'd,
 Now renew your ancient glory,
 Ever in the field display'd.

Should the arrogant invader
 Dare to meet us on the shore,
 May *his* banners grace *our conquest!*
 Or may we return no more !

May we prove in valour *equals*,
 Whatsoever our degree !
 Let *us* shew the Gallic tyrant,
 That we're "Loyal, Brave and Free."

(*Chorus by the whole troop, with variations.*)

May we prove in valour *equals*
 Whatsoever our degree,
We will shew the Gallic tyrant
 That we're "Loyal, Brave and Free."

Late in the year Bonaparte appears to have endeavoured to excite public enthusiasm by removing the historic tapestry-picture of the Battle of Hastings from Bayeux to Paris, where it was to be publicly exhibited at the National Museum. "Tyrtæus Junior" waxed merry over the experiment, and suggested the Armada tapestry from the House of Lords being shown at the same time as an antidote to over-confidence. There is too strong a resemblance between one patriotic song of the invasion period and another to either justify or necessitate the reproduction of a great many of them in these volumes. The Dibdins were head and shoulders above their fellow-workers in the field of strong adjectives and forcible expletives, in which "divine" always rhymes with "combine," "array" with "display," and "meet them" (of course) with "beat them." "Neptune's Prophecy" breathes the same sentiment as "The Land We Live In," and so forth. Occasionally you come on a rhyme of more than ordinary inanity, as when the Citizen Soldiers of London are made to sing:—

Then ev'ry Hand and Heart combine,
 We need not fear Invasion ;
 While high in Loyalty shall shine
 Each Ward Association.



AN INVASION SONG OF 1803

One song is actually named "United and Hearty, Have at Bonaparte," but the following verses certainly put the whole case of invaded *versus* invaders in a nutshell:—

SONG

To the Tune of Mother Carey.

Base Robespierre,
In his career,
Was praised in each oration ;
But when his head
Flew off they said,
He well deserved damnation.

So Bonapart,
With treach'rous heart,
If on some gibbet swinging,
With gen'ral voice
Would France rejoice,
And set the bells a-ringing.

In 1804 Hannah More is once again on the war-path. The first song in the *Patriot's Vocal Miscellany*¹ is—

THE PLOUGHMAN'S DITTY

BY HANNAH MORE

Being an answer to that foolish question : "What has the Poor to Lose?"

TUNE—"He that has the bad Wife."

Because I'm but poor,
And slender's my store,
That I've nothing to lose is the cry, Sir.
Let who will declare it,
I vow I can't bear it.
I give all such praters the lie, Sir.

¹ Dublin, 1804.

NAPOLEON AND THE

Tho' my house is but small,
 Yet to have none at all,—
 Would, sure, be a greater distress, Sir ;
 Shall my garden so sweet,
 And my orchard so neat,
 Be the prize of a foreign oppressor ?

On Saturday night—
 'Tis still my delight—
 With my wages to run home the faster ;
 But if Frenchmen rule here,
 I may look far and near,
 But I never shall find a paymaster.

I've a dear little wife,
 Whom I love as my life,
 To leave her I should not much like, Sir ;
 And 'twould make me run wild,—
 To see my sweet child—
 With its head on the point of a pike, Sir.

I've my church, too, to save,
 And will go to my grave—
 In defence of a church that's the best, Sir ;
 I've my King, too, God bless him,
 Let no man oppress him,
 For none has he ever oppress'd, Sir.

British laws for my guard,
 When my cottage is barr'd—
 'Tis safe in the light as the dark, Sir ;
 If the squire should oppress
 I get instant redress,
 My orchard's as safe as his park, Sir.

My cot is my throne,
 What I have is my own,
 And what is my own I will keep, Sir.
 Should Boney come now,
 'Tis true I may plough,
 But I'm sure that I never shall reap, Sir.

Now do but reflect
 What I have to protect,
 Then doubt if to fight I shall choose, Sir ;
 King, churches, babes and wife,
 Laws, liberty, life,
 Now, tell me, "I've nothing to lose," Sir.

Then I'll beat my ploughshare
 To a sword or a spear,
 And rush on these desperate men, Sir ;
 Like a lion I'll fight,
 That my spear, now so bright,
 May soon turn to a ploughshare again, Sir.

Then come "Britain and France," "The Raree-Show: A Peep at the French Consul," "The Yeomanry of Ireland," and "The French Gun-Boats," of which the following verse may be taken as a fair specimen:—

His Consular Majesty late in November
 At Boulogne his seamanship prov'd very clear,
 The flotilla captains will ever remember
 His teaching their crews how to hand reef and steer.
 He fired off a gun !
 Lord bless us what wonder,
 The smoke hid the fun,
 The noise was like thunder,
 Our sailors must run,
 Or fairly knock under.

"Paddy the Grinder" has a true Hibernian flavour:—

Should their flat-bottom'd boats venture o'er
 Pat swears, "That the devil may blind him,
 If they land on his emerald shore,
 And he'll thresh 'em, kiln-dry 'em, and grind 'em."
 Tally hi ho, hi ho,
 Tally hi ho, ne'er mind him,
 Tally hi ho, hillo,
 O Paddy will thresh 'em and grind 'em.

Ireland had her own particular version of "The Invasion."

Why, Britons, why that look of fear
Cast you on France's frowning coasts ;
What tho' the Corsican be near,
And marshall all his hundred hosts ;
What tho' from Belgia's desolated plains
To lost Italia's desert fields he reigns.

No, Corsican ! the fated hour
That leads thy Armies to the strife,
Shall be to thee the last of Power,
Of Fortune, Victory and Life ;
And thou shalt feel, to Earth transfix'd and riven,
The Sword of Freedom, and the Arms of Heaven !

It was in the season of 1804 that Mr. Dignum drew crowds to Vauxhall nightly with the last verse of a topical song entitled :—

ONE HALF OF THE WORLD DON'T KNOW
HOW T'OTHER LIVES

While the Mounseers in Paris of Emperors boast,
Confusion to Frenchmen in London's the toast,
For while Gallic Invaders dare threaten John Bull,
John means with the Frenchmen to have a strong pull.
 When they vow they are coming,
 We think they are humming,
But shou'd they—we'll struggle I trust hard,
 For if they stay long
 They'll find us too strong
Since our brave Volunteers are all muster'd.
 We'll sting 'em like hornets
 With Col'nels and Cornets,
 We'll give 'em three cheers
 With our brave Volunteers ;
Such diff'rent employments, this motto still gives
One half of the world don't know how t'other lives.



A FAVORITE SONG in the FARMER

Parodied for the present Occasion by S^r W^r F.

THE BRITISH FARMER become A BRITISH SOLDIER & Rallying round Magna Charta
Siciliana

Ere a-round the huge Oak that o'er-shadows yon Mill the fond I--vy had
 dar'd to en--twine, ere the Church was a ru--in that nook on the Hill or
 the Nook built his nest on the Pine or the Nook built his nest on the Pine.

Could I trace back the time to a far distant date,
 When my Fore-fathers bled in the Cause,
 To prepare for their Country Magna Charta so great
 The Foundation of Liberty's Laws.

They dying bequeathed to their Children the same
 Which unsullied descended to me,
 For my child I'll preserve it unblemish'd with
 And it still from a spot shall be free.

additional Verse
 Shall a Corsican robber a Tyrant in France
 Presume to give Britons new Laws,
 No 'destruction we'll hurt if he dares to advance,
 Or Untiedly Die in the Cause.

old Verse added by S^r W^r F. Nov. 5, 1803

THE BRITISH FARMER DEFILES THE CORSICAN. NOVEMBER 5, 1803

Amongst the favourite songs of this year (1804) were, "The British Volunteer's Address to Liberty," "The Deification of Buonaparte; or the Union of Mars and Tisiphone," "To Buonaparte," "Recipe to Make a French Legion of Honour," "A New Song on the Renewed Threat of Invasion" (July, 1804), "Muses Bower or Volunteer," "The British Volunteer, or War and Peace," and "Your Swords on Your Thighs" (Ritson's Collection), "British Volunteers," "Vive La Peste," "Flat-bottom'd Boats,"¹ and "British Volunteers."

In the same category and at the same time appeared "The Strutting Emperor," "Britain's Resolution," "Albion will Govern the Sea," and "Make Ready, Present, Fire."

Glee singing was still a popular pastime in 1804-5, and, as might be expected, the invasion is duly represented in contemporary glee collections.

THE INVASION

(GLEE)

- I. Gaul may threaten invasion, by threats we're ne'er scar'd,
Let them dream of their plunder, delighted,
Let them float o'er their legions, they'll find us prepar'd,
A phalanx bold, firm, and united!
- II. Brave Nelson, whose prowess they've oft felt before,
Guards in safety the billows that lash our bold shore;
He often has beat them, he'll beat them once more,
And gratitude call forth anew!
- III. Britannia's a first-rate beyond all comparing,
The flag of defiance her main-top is bearing,
Her gallant commander is prudent and daring,
And ne'er to be conquer'd her crew.
- IV. May her glory, her commerce, her conquests increase;
Still steady she goes to the harbour of Peace.

¹ A line in this song curiously foreshadows the possibility of a Channel tunnel.

It was in June, 1804, that Dr. Charles Burney, the father of Madame d'Arblay, now virtually a prisoner in France with her husband, penned yet another Address to the people of Great Britain on the invasion. Of this, the first verse alone need be quoted:—

Arm, Britons, arm! Your country's cause,
 Your Monarch, Constitution, Laws,
 Religion, Wives, and Infant Train,
 Now call to arms!—nor let their call be vain.
 No :—tread the path which erst your Fathers trod ;
 The Stake is England! Britons, rise!
 Your Foes are Gauls! Those foes chastise—
 Foes to your King, your Country and your God!

To 1805 belongs a long-since-forgotten poem in three cantos, "The Anti-Corsican," printed and published at Exeter by S. Woolner, sold in London, and inscribed to the volunteers of Great Britain by "Their warm admirer and Fellow-Patriot, the Author." The advertisement of this production is in its way a curiosity.

"The Author hopes, on account of his Youth, to obtain indulgence for the following Poem, written during the last Midsummer vacation of *Midhurst School*. As he has now quitted this Seminary, he takes the earliest opportunity of publicly acknowledging his many and great obligations to its head Master, the Rev. John Wool, whose sound erudition, unremitting attention, and suavity of temper, must ever entitle him to the Respect and Love of his Pupils. To Mr. Wool the Author may with propriety address himself in the words of Horace :

"Quod placeo (si placeo) Tuum est.

"EXMOUTH, *March* 16, 1805."

Blame is not to be put on the land here



*Go it, Bully, give him the true English Grip
Stronger than you have that any, 'tween you 'll
not want to Grime with John Bull any more.*

JACK JUNK'S NEW JESTER;

OR,

BONY

TAKEN IN TOW A NEW WAY.

WITH VARIETY

ANECDOTES, DROLL STORIES,

AND

FUNNY TALES.

London :

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY
J. K. E. R., No. 90, High Holborn :
Sole also by Willmott and Hill, 50, Borough; Peck,
Stationer, 21, St. Martins Lane; S. Elliott, High Street,
Shawwell; Barfoot, Norton Folgate; Dixon, Rochester;
T. Evans, 78, Long Lane; Howard & Evans, 42, Loth-
Lane, West Smithfield; Kennish, 17, King Street,
Borough; Neil, No. 44, Strand; and Champaine and
Whitrow, Jewry Street, Aldgate.
Entered at the Stamp Office.—Price Sixpence.

M'Curran, Printer, Chancery Street, Blackfriars Road.

FACSIMILE OF FRONTISPICE AND TITLE-PAGE OF A NAVAL BOOK OF THE
INVASION EPOCH [CIR. 1804]

A single specimen will suffice. Canto iii opens thus :—

Napoleon's vast flotillas, at one blow,
 Now threat to lay Britannia's sceptre low ;
 His camps wide-spreading line the sea-beat coast,
 And thus proclaim aloud their empty boast :
 " Let Æolus restrain his fiercer pow'rs,
 And, ere two suns descend, proud *Albion* shall be ours !"
 Vap'ring how vain !—Shou'd *Gallia* print [*sic*] this Land,
 A sword wou'd brighten in each *British* hand,
 Hurl quick destruction at th' Invader's head,
 And heap th' embattl'd shore with mounds of Dead.

In November and December the song-writers, led by the veteran Dibdin, were busy with the virtues of Nelson and the glories of Trafalgar,¹ but the fears of invasion were at an end ; and for the naval lyrics of the period we may look to further help from Mr. Henry Newbolt,² who has already made an excellent beginning, while the graver and purely historical aspect of the Great Terror on both sides of the Channel has, after the lapse of an entire century, received most masterly dramatic and poetic treatment at the hands of Mr. Thomas Hardy.³

Not less interesting than the songs they sang are the toasts and sentiments which found favour at the convivial meetings of 1803-5 :—

May Buonaparte and all his party meet the fate of Pharaoh in the Red Sea.

Bonaparte's Check-String—the British Navy.

The foe well tarred, and our tars well feathered.

Success to John Bull and good manners to his enemies.

¹ Three MS. Trafalgar songs by C. Dibdin are in Mr. Broadley's collection of Invasion MSS.

² *The Year of Trafalgar*, by Henry Newbolt. London, 1905.

³ *The Dynasts*, Vol. I. London, 1904.

May the old title of Rex be always more esteemed by Britons than that of Imperators.

Here's moderation to Bonaparte and Prudence to Tailors.

May hostilities cease

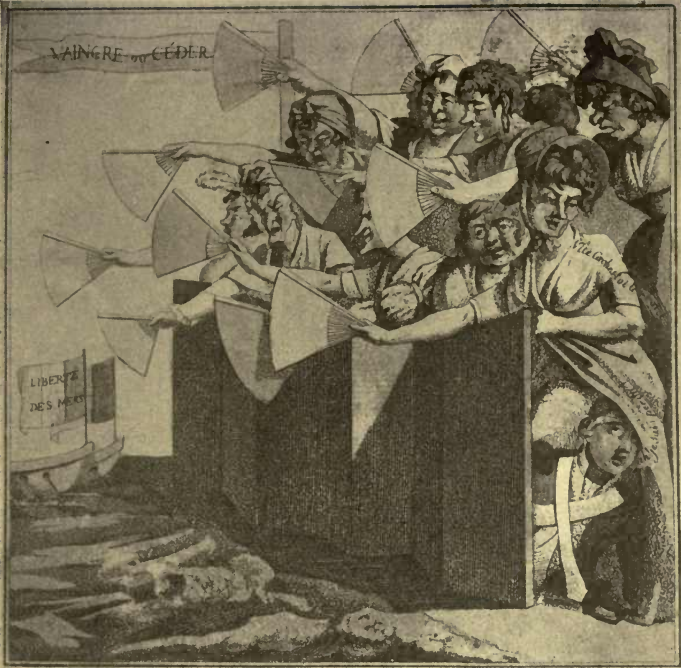
And a long reign to peace.

May the French flotilla soon experience the fate of the Spanish Armada.

May Britain never want sons to volunteer their services.

One of the most striking of the few large illustrations of the later phase of the Great Terror is E. Dayes's view of the inspection of the Honourable Artillery Company on 22nd September, 1803, etched by Mitau and aquatinted by Pickett.¹ Of the volunteer portraits of the period the most interesting is that of Pitt on a charger, sabre in hand, in his uniform of "Colonel-Commandant of the Cinque Port (*sic*) Volunteers, with Walmer Castle in the background." It was engraved by Stadler after a picture by Hubert, and published (with a dedication to the great political "pilot") by Samuel White, 28th March, 1804. The intense interest felt in the Volunteer movement by every member of the Royal Family has often been referred to in these pages. In February, 1804, the Princess Sophia designed a series of very charming vignette illustrations for a handsome quarto volume of patriotic verse, entitled *Cupid turned Volunteer*, by Thomas Park, F.S.A., and dedicated to the Princess Augusta. The drawings were admirably engraved by Mr. W. N. Gardiner. Want of space alone prevents the reproduction of some quotations from this quaint collection.

¹ A very interesting water-colour drawing of the great review of Volunteers by the King in Hyde Park in October, 1803, by J. Robison, is in possession of Messrs. Maggs, 109 Strand. A MS. plan in great detail of the disposition of the troops accompanies it.



Vent. Contraire

vaillans efforts du Roi Lee Anglais pour empêcher la descente

FRENCH CARICATURE OF ENGLISH MEASURES OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.
1803

The wealth of caricatures and every conceivable description of satiric and patriotic print, either in exaltation of our present and past prowess or in derision of our bitterly-hated foe and his compatriots between 1803 and 1805, is almost bewildering.¹ Our information as to the contemporary French caricatures of 1803-5 is of the scantiest. A number of invasion fans covered with satirical designs, now exceedingly rare, were produced in Paris. There is a reflection of these fans in the plate *Vent Contraire ou vaillans efforts du Beau Sexe Anglais pour empêcher la descente*. This was issued by Martinet, who produced several pictorial lampoons on the hasty evacuation of Hanover, and another entitled *Sauve qui peut* representing the English bodily embarking their towns on board ship to save them from pillage. The drawing is very good, and the homely face and figure of George III easily recognizable. The idea of a *couchée en masse* instead of a *levée en masse* is exceedingly funny. Holland and Germany may both be credited with a few caricatures on the invasion theme. The one reproduced is a type of the rest. Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson thus paraphrases the accompanying lines:—

The Great Emperor:

At last the longed-for land of lands
 Doth rap my gaze besotted!
 I feel the tweak of hero-hands
 (One to each ear allotted).

¹ Some useful information as to the best-known collections of Napoleonic caricatures is given in Mr. Broadley's preface to *Collectanea Napoleonica*, by W. V. Daniel, London, 53 Mortimer Street, 1905. No character in history was ever so much caricatured as Napoleon. Pitt and Wellington come next, and then Fox, Brougham, and Peel. The old form of caricature died with Wellington. It almost seems that it was killed by the success of *Punch*.

See how they cling, that faithful throng,
 Unto the Conqueror from *Boolong!*
 I'll be their Emperor-Godhead!

John Bull:

He Emperor? He forgets, ecod,
 His fits of "Purple"-fever!
 Behold! They've clapt him here in quod!
 He'll find *me* no repriever!
 He, with his trusty marshals twain,
 Shall in my rat-trap cool a brain
 Athirst for Thames and Neva!

There was no Anglophobia in Germany in the days of the Great Terror—quite the reverse.

From the end of 1802 the struggle between Nelson and Napoleon for the sovereignty of the sea was a favourite theme for the satirist. What could be more suggestive than the very rare plate inscribed "J. C. Cooke, *fecit* 1803," a reproduction in facsimile of which forms the frontispiece of this volume? A hybrid figure, half bull, half sailor, pipe in mouth, shouts "NO division. Come on, it's all a Puff," while a combination of Bonaparte and demon, a foot on Corsica and a hoof on France, shouts "Invasion and Plunder," "No quarter." The one is labelled "John Bull United," the other "Bona in Parts." The real "fight for the dunghill" was unquestionably between "Little Boney" and "Jack Tar." Of the undated caricatures of the first year of the renewal of the invasion threats on Lord Whitworth's departure, the most noteworthy is that of "John Bull Peeping into Brest" (Roberts, Middle Row). The idea was not a new one. As far back as April 16th, 1802, had appeared a caricature entitled, "The Governor of Europe Stopped in his Career,

or Little Britain too much for General Bonaparte.”¹ The latter exclaims: “O you tam John Bull!! You have spoil my Dance!! You have ruin all my Projets!!” To which honest John answers: “I ax pardon, Master Boney, but as we says, Paws off, Pompey, we keep this little spot to ourselves. You must not dance here, Master Boney,” which tells its own tale. “Mutual Politeness; or Reasons for Delay” (Ackermann) ridicules Bonaparte’s specious excuses, and “Playing at Bubbles” (Roberts) gives a capital portrait of George III making light of the invasion, flat-bottomed boats, and little ships. The latter is reproduced in colours. Of the comparatively few anonymous prints one of the cleverest is that entitled “Bonaparte’s Head Quarters in London” (Ackermann). The First Consul in a barrel is being pumped on by a jeering crowd. A sailor shouts: “Go it—my hearties—pump away for the honour of old England.” This is also now given in colours—an exact facsimile of the rare original. Pitt and “Boney” are the heroes of “The Political Cocks” (Fores, 27th March, 1803). Quoth the Gallic Cock:—

“Oh! Master Billy, if I could but take a flight over this Brook I would soon stop your crowing. I would knock you off that perch, I swear by Mahomet, the Pope, and all the idols I have ever worshipped.”

Rejoins the British bird, with a triumphant crow: “That you never can do!!!”

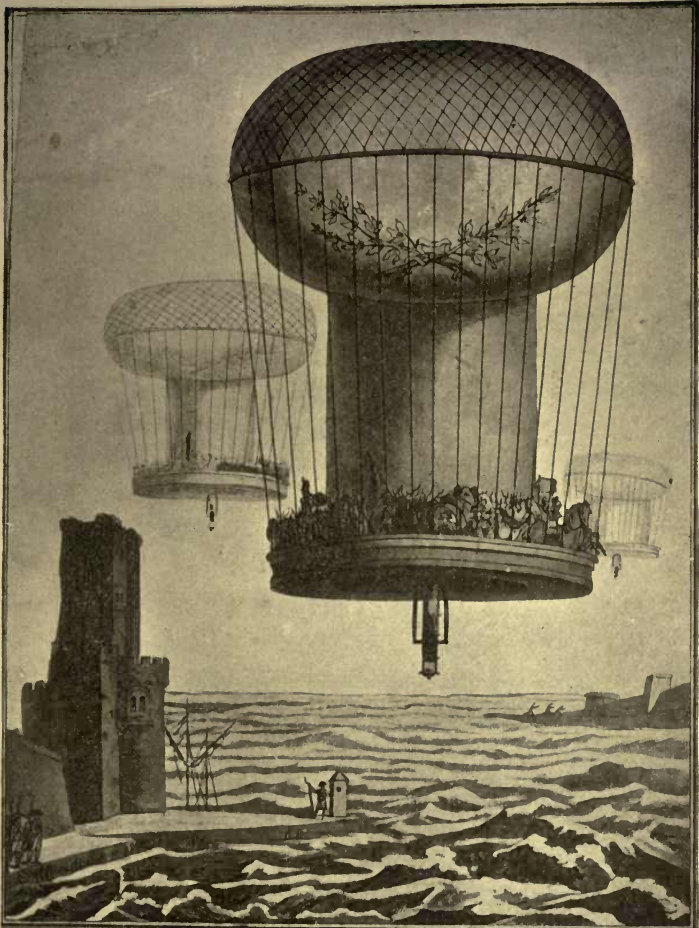
The idea of Rowlandson’s “An Attempt to Swallow the World” (Holland, 6th April, 1803) is sufficiently self-evident.

¹ By an extraordinary coincidence the earliest of the caricatures of the second period of the Great Terror was on the same theme as the last, viz. the struggle for the dominion of the ocean (see *post*, p. 326).

John Bull says prophetically: "I'll tell you what, Mr. Boney-partee, when you come to a little spot I have in my eye, it will stick in your throat and choak you." So indeed it proved in 1815, but St. Helena was still in the womb of futurity. Gillray now produced his "Maniac Ravings, or Little Boney in a Strong Fit" (Humphrey, 24th May, 1803). It was a parody on Lord Whitworth's despatch of 14th March, 1803, describing the scene of the preceding day at the Tuileries. "The exasperation and fury of Bonaparte," says the *Annual Register*, "broke out into ungovernable rage at his own court, on his public day, and in presence of all the diplomatic body then assembled: thus violating every principle of hospitality and decorum and the privileges of Ambassadors, ever before held sacred. All this fury was levelled at Lord Whitworth as the representative of the English Government."¹ Gillray puts into the mouth of the First Consul such utterances as "Treason! treason! treason! hated and betray'd by the French! Despised by the English! and laughed at by the whole world!!! Oh! English newspapers!!" and "Revenge! Revenge! come Fire! Sword! Famine! Invasion! Invasion! Four hundred and eighty thousand Frenchmen! British Slavery, and everlasting Chains! Everlasting chains!"

Not a week before (18th May, 1803), Gillray, the most prolific, as well as the most feared, of the Napoleonic satirists, had published his well-known caricature of "ARMED-HEROES vide Military Appearances at St. Stephen's and at St. Cloud's on y^e Day of Defiance." Says Addington, standing sword in hand and legs astride over a smoking joint of roast beef: "Who's afraid? damme? O Lord. Lord what a Fiery Fellow he is.—Who's afraid? damme?"

¹ See *ante*, Vol. I, p. 277.



LA THILORIERE

ou

DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE

C'est une Montgolfiere capable d'enlever 3,000 Hommes, et qui ne coûtera que 300,000 Francs
 et suspendue une heure qui présentera une nappe de flammes suffisante pour empêcher le refroidissement.
 Paris le Publiée le Jeudi 15 Préal de l'An 11

A Paris chez Bachelard, Rue de la Harpe, N. 150.

PROJECTED INVASION BALLOON

Published at Paris, June 2, 1803

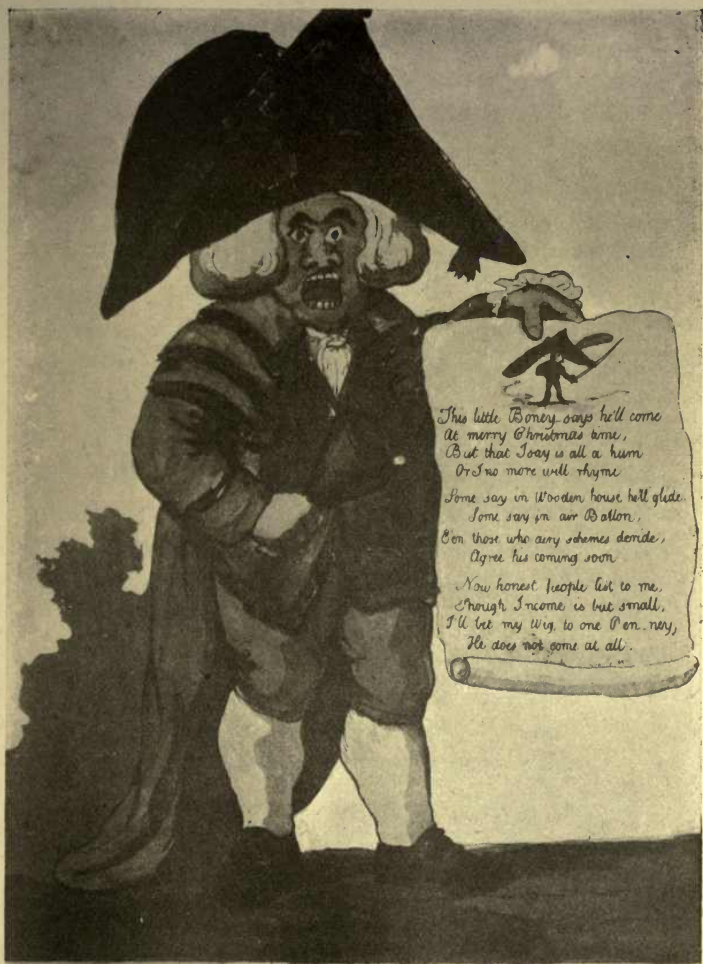
O dear, what will become of ye Roast Beef?—Damme! who's afraid o! dear! o! dear!" Answers the enraged Corsican :—

"Ah! Ha, Sacré dieu! vat do I see yonder?
Dat look so invitinly Red and de Vite?
Oh! by Gar! I see 'tis de Roast Beef of Londres,
Sich I vill chop up, at von letel bite!"

In June Boulard and le Campion of Paris bring out rival designs for the conquest of England by balloon. They are so charmingly executed that it is difficult, especially in view of present developments (1907), to consider them absolutely as caricatures. One is described as "La Thilorière or the Descent on England. Design for a Montgolfière [balloon] capable of carrying 3000 men and which will only cost 300,000 francs. There will be fixed to it a lamp which will give out a volume of flame sufficient to prevent its cooling. Extracted from the Publiciste of Thursday 13 Prairial of the year XI [2 June, 1803]. Paris chez Boulard, No. 175 Rue St Denis, etc." The other, designed and engraved by Echard, is called the "Tower of Calais, new aerostatic machine constructed by M. Romain by order of the Government, destined to cross from France to England, in conjunction with M. Pilatre de Rozier." A third and still more curious plate shows the invasion of England as carried out by the combined operation of war-ships, flat-bottomed boats, and balloons of all shapes and sizes, while cavalry and artillery approach Dover through a subterranean passage. Here is the first germ of the idea of a Channel tunnel, almost as keenly debated a question after the lapse of more than a century as it would have been in 1803! In "The Last Step over

the Globe" (Holland, 13th June, 1803) the unanimity of England and Ireland on the subject of "Little Boney" is reflected. Quoth Pat: "By St. Patrick, Brother Bull, now we have got rid of that great little monster we have nothing to trouble us!" John replies: "I knew if he stept there, brother Pat, we should finish him." If a little previous, it was at any rate prophetic. Nine days later (22nd June, 1803) came out "The Bone of Contention," with an idea utilized by Rowlandson at the final collapse, three years afterwards, of the invasion scheme. Says the Corsican Monkey: "Oh! you Bull-dog, vat you carry off dat bone for? I vas come to take dat myself, I vas good mind to lick you, but for dem Dam Toothy." The dog replies with an act of disrespect: "There, Monkey, that for you."

July was prolific of caricatures great and small. We have two distinct versions of "The Bull and the Bantam" (Holland); and G. M. Woodward is responsible for the spirited and characteristic drawing which heads "A PARISH MEETING on the Subject of INVASION, John Bull in the Chair" (M. Allen, 15 Paternoster Row), as well as for the composition of the text. Everybody present is of one mind, and John Bull concludes by saying: "It gives me great pleasure to find we are all unanimous in so glorious a cause. I perceive several more of my friends wish to deliver their sentiments (Mr. Brisket, Mr. Sheers, Mr. Bolus, Mr. Qui Tam, Mr. Bristle, etc., have already spoken), but as it grows late I shall adjourn this loyal meeting to some future opportunity, fully convinced of your firm attachment to me and my connexions; and that you will all join heart and hand in defence of your Country against Foreign Invaders. I have therefore the honour of drinking your



Pub. Dec. 1863 by W. Phillips, Boston, and J. W. Swan.

NEW BELLMAN'S VERSES for **CHRISTMAS 1863!**

AN INVASION CHRISTMAS. THE BELLMAN AND LITTLE BONEY

healths, not forgetting the KING, *Constitution*, and *Old England* for ever!"

"Flags of Truth and Lies" (10th July, 1803, Ackermann) has been ascribed to Rowlandson. While the Englishman says, "And let your Grand Master read that, Mounseer. John Bull does not rightly understand the Chief Consul's lingo, but supposes he means something about Invasion, therefore the said Bull deems it necessary to observe that if his Consular Highness dares attempt to invade any Ladies or Gentlemen, on his coast, he'll be damned if he don't sink him"—the Frenchman rejoins, "Mon Grand Maître bids you read dat, Monsieur: Citizen first Consul Buonaparte presents his compliments and thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Great Britain, who have honoured him with their visits at Paris, and intends himself the pleasure of returning it in person as soon as his arrangements for that purpose can be completed."

The "Death of the Corsican Fox" (20th July, 1803, Humphrey) needs no explanation. George III holds Boney in his grip, and the royal hounds clamour for his carcass. There are several variations of the death of Bonaparte, and the exhibition of his head on a pitchfork or pike. James Gillray is the author of "Forty-eight hours after landing" (26th July, 1803, Humphrey). The text embodies the idea of the Bonaparte note-of-hand which appeared in the following November. At the head of the plate are the words: "This is to give information for the benefit of all Jacobin Adventurers that policies are now open'd at Lloyds—where the depositor of ONE GUINEA is entitled to a HUNDRED if the CORSICAN CUT-THROAT is alive 48 Hours after landing on the British coast. In the hat of the yokel who holds aloft the decapitated head (by

no means a bad likeness of Napoleon), is a bunch of oak-leaves and the words 'Britons, Strike Home' on a scroll. He is saying: 'Ha! my little Boney, what dost think of Johnny Bull now? Plunder Old England, hay? Ravish all our wives and daughters, hay? O Lord help thy silly head! To think that Johnny Bull would ever suffer those Lantern Jaws to become King of Old England's Roast Beef and Plum-pudding!'" The illustrated song, "Britons, to Arms" (30th July, 1803, John Wallis) brings this month to a close, while August is ushered in by another characteristic example of illustrated patriotic music entitled "Britain's Protection" (1st August, 1803, Laurie and Whittle).

Gillray never rested on his laurels for a single day. The idea of "John Bull offering Boney Fair Play" (2nd August, 1803) is apparent, and so is the object of the vigorous satiric sketch by Isaac Cruikshank (August, 1803, Holland¹) entitled "The Corsican Bajazet in London." The treatment of the subject is certainly prophetic as far as Ney's assurances to Louis XVIII twelve years later is concerned. The sailor exhibiting the captive invader in a cage says: "Here he is, my hearties—only a penny a piece. Don't be afraid to approach him. I've made him as tame as an old gib cat in a chimney-corner." Several leading politicians including Pitt are amongst the spectators. Ungrateful "Charley" Fox, welcomed effusively to the Tuileries only a few months before, is made to say: "I told you he was a slink of a soldier," while Burdett exclaims: "I thought he was a fierce-looking fellow. He looks like an old rat." On the 6th August, Fores, of Piccadilly, once more replies to

¹ Reproduced from the original drawing in Mr. Broadley's collection.



AN UNPLEASANT PROSPECT FOR BONAPARTE. AUGUST 6, 1803

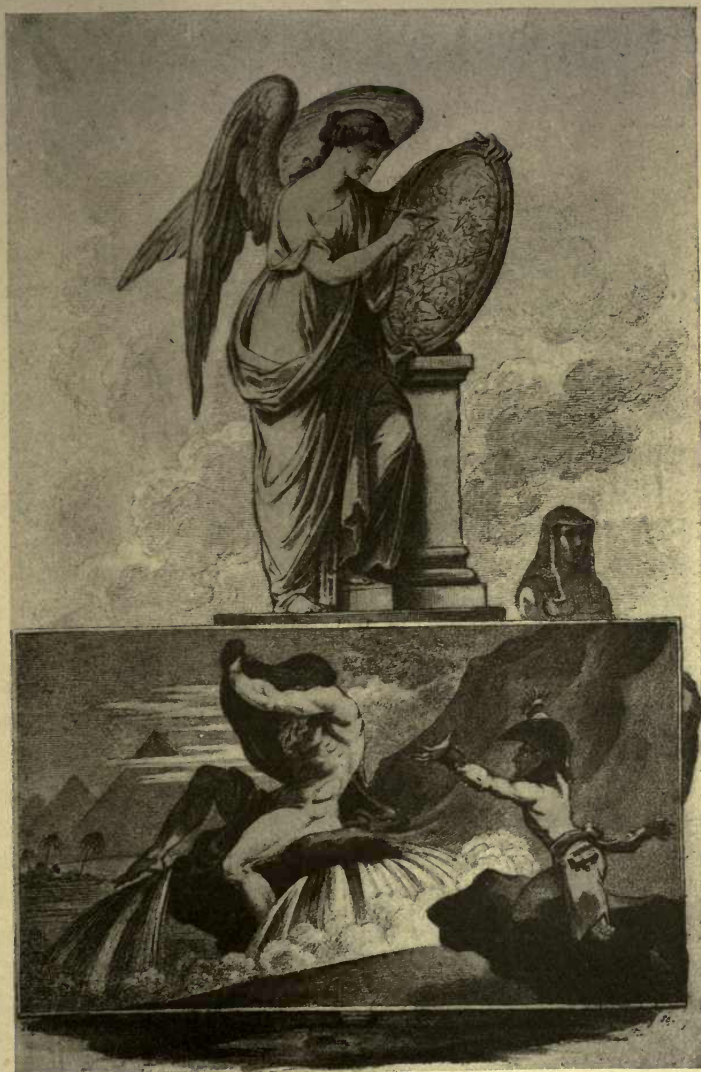
Humphrey, of St. James's Street, with a still better portrait of a decapitated Bonaparte, and entitled "After the Invasion—The Levée en Masse."¹ This time a volunteer holds the pitchfork, saying: "Dang my Buttons if that beant the Head of that Roguey Boney. I told our Squire this morning, what do you think says I, the Lads of our Village can't cut up a Regiment of them French Mounseers, and as soon as the Lasses had given us a kiss for good luck I could have sworn we should do it and so we have." To which his companions reply: "Why Harkee, d'ye zee. I never liked soldiering afore, but some how or other when I thought of our Sal, the bearns, the poor pigs, the cows, and the geese, why I could have killed the whole Army my own self," and "Here he is exalted, my lads, 24 Hours after Landing." Fores' "24" had trumped Humphrey's "48."

Two days later (8th August, 1803, Holland) appeared the amusing, but self-evident caricature, "Resolutions in case of an Invasion," now reproduced in facsimile, and on the very same day Laurie and Whittle published an exceedingly curious print described as "A Present of Eight Swans from the Mayor of Amiens to Bonaparte, and the use His Consular Majesty intends making of them in Crossing The British Channel." The mammoth birds carry over Bonaparte and his followers, who are confronted by a strong British force "waiting for a breeze." The next caricatures in chronological order allude to the First Consul's intrigue with the Dutch

¹ He had already brought out, on August 1st, a very similar print entitled "The Consequences of Invasion, or the Hero's Reward. None but the Brave deserve the Fair, or the Yeomanry Cavalry's First Essay." A huge trooper surrounded by applauding women is brandishing a pike with Bonaparte's head on the top and a bunch of equally ghastly trophies below.

(12th August, 1803, Holland). Attired as Harlequin with the word "Invincible" on his wand and a corpse in episcopal attire (Spain) in the background, he says: "As Pantaloon is no more, I insist on your joining me to invade that little island." The wary wearer of wooden shoes replies: "D—n me if I do, master, for I don't like the look of their little ships. Can't you let me be quiet, whisking me here, there and everywhere?" On the same day Ackermann published "John Bull and Bonaparte," and four days later (16th August, 1803) Holland gave his customers in Cockspur Street "John Bull out of all Patience." Boney with his troops in flight says: "Dat is right, my brave friends—take to your heels, for dere is dat d—n John Bull coming over on his lion." John, unsheathed sword in hand, astride an animal of ferocious aspect, shouts: "I'll be after you, my lads—do you think I'll stay at home waiting for you, if you mean to come? D—n it why don't you come? Do you think I put on my regimentals for nothing?"

On 20th August, 1803, R. Cribb published a very large and striking allegorical portrait of Bonaparte described as "A Gallic Idol." The numerous allusions it conveys, that to invasion amongst them, required no special explanation. The name of this publisher is not familiar, nor is that of the artist and engraver, Messrs. Boyne and Bartt. George III always spoke of the Treaty of Amiens as leading to an "experimental peace," and in the next satiric print (15th September, 1803) Mr. F. Bate, of Vigo Lane, gives us a capital portrait of the English monarch entitled "An experiment with a Burning Glass." King George is made to say: "I think, my Little Fellow, you have now experienced a singeing à l'Anglaise." Next day (16th



NEPTUNE REFUSES AID TO BONAPARTE. FIRST VERSION OF TRESHAM'S ALLEGORICAL PICTURE. NOVEMBER, 1803

September, Ackermann) we have "The Corsican Macheath," with a couple of amusing verses, quite legible in the illustration, which make the appropriateness of the allusion to the "Beggar's Opera" perfectly plain, nor is much comment required on "The Grand Triumphal Entry of the Chief Consul into London" (7th October, 1803, Fores). Exceedingly amusing is "The Sentinel at his Post, or Boney's Peep into Walmer Castle" (22nd October, 1803, Fores). The face of the First Consul is inimitable. Pitt cries: "Who goes there?" Boney answers: "Ah—Beggar—dat man alive still, turn about Citoyens—for there will be no good to be done—I know his tricks of old!!" Did Bonaparte foresee that six months hence the "Pilot who weathered the storm" would again take the helm from the feeble hands of the "Doctor"?

"John Bull guarding the Toy Shop or Boney Crying for some more playthings" (29th October, 1803, Fores) must have excited plenty of fun at evening parties. An obese volunteer, gun in hand, before a shop window, says sternly: "I tell you, you shan't touch one of them—so blubber away and be d——d." The wearer of the Brobdingnagian cocked-hat replies plaintively: "Pray, Mr. Bull, let me have some of the toys, if only that little one in the corner." It is difficult to tell whether the Tower, the Treasury, or the pane labelled "Fores, Caricaturist to the First Consul" is indicated. On 5th November the same enterprising publisher¹ brought out a topical colour-print, now given as one of our illustrations. Its full title is, "A Favorite Song in the Farmer, parodied for the present occasion by S. W. F.; or the British Farmer become a British Soldier and rallying

¹ The business of Fores is still (1907) carried on at the corner of Piccadilly and Sackville Street.

round Magna Charta." The whole of the text can be read without difficulty. The caricaturist to the First Consul must be credited with the verse:—

Shall a Corsican Robber, a Tyrant in France,
Presume to give Britons new Laws?
No! destruction we'll hurl if he dares to advance
Or unitedly die in the cause.

Five days before this Gillray had engraved for Mr. Hatchard, of No. 199 Piccadilly, from a drawing of considerable merit by Mr. Henry Tresham, R.A., the celebrated historical painter, a plate symbolical of the never-ending struggle for the mastery between Bonaparte and Nelson. In this the First Consul is seen vainly pleading for help to Neptune, who persistently veils his face. In the background there is a suggestive glimpse of the Pyramids. Above Fame is seen in the act of inscribing on an oval tablet a picture of the French troops at Jaffa despatching wounded Turks. This clever design was intended for a frontispiece.¹

"Boney" was not a guest at the Lord Mayor's banquet of 1803, as the Fores caricature "Boney in time for Lord Mayor's Feast" would imply. A sailor brings in the captive First Consul with a halter round his neck. The Chief Magistrate orders him to be taken into the ball-room for the amusement of the ladies. There are now (November 21st, 1803, C. Knight) more caricatures of Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan. In the first of these ("Gog" del. and "Magog" sct.) the ex-Premier is drilling the once ardent Whigs. Says Pitt: "Keep your Eye upon the Corporal,

¹ Three years later, when Nelson died in the hour of triumph, the same artist took out the slaughter scene and replaced it by an exquisite miniature of Nelson, always considered by Mr. Tresham an excellent likeness. The original drawing, for many years in possession of Mr. Pollard, of Spur Street, is now in Mr. Broadley's collection (see *post*, p. 325).



COL' CINQUE PART DRILLING HIS RECRUITS OR FORMING A BATTALION.

FOX AND SHERIDAN JOIN THE PATRIOTS, AND ARE DRILLED BY PITT. 1803

MR. HONESTY, and when I have drilled you to my liking perhaps I may take you under my command, Mr. Honesty." Fox replies: "I do, I do, GREAT COLONEL. I shall mind my manœuvres, GREAT COLONEL."

The idea in the Fores print of a few days later (9th December, 1803) is almost identical. Pitt says: "Come, Mr. Honesty, attend to your duty, observe the Corporal, and keep time with the Fugleman. Eyes Right, Sir!" Below is the note: "The left hand man is styled Corporal, because at present he has *no appointment*, but as the Scene Shifting is nearly over it is expected he will soon have one." The surroundings are eminently suggestive. Coming events evidently cast their shadows before, but the expected coalition was not to be. The King ruled otherwise. The interesting caricature of 9th December is given in colour. The parodied promissory note of 17th November has already been alluded to. Little need be said of Gillray's "Destruction of the French Gun Boat or Little Boney and his Friend Talley in high glee" (20th November, 1803, Humphrey) and "Good News for the Grave Diggers" (Williamson, Strand). "They are coming, please your Reverence," says an affrighted yokel, "two millions of 'em with Buonaparte at their Head." "Then hire me some hundreds of Grave-Diggers," replies the Parson, "for we shall kill 'em all, and I shall have a rare bag of fees for burying the fools. Ha! ha! ha!"

What statement could possibly be more calculated to restore confidence in country villages?

The bellman was a power in the land in 1803, although in 1907 he belongs to as extinct a species as the dodo. Every Christmas he sent the hat round the parish with a copy of verses. Hence the topical caricature published

by Mr. Holland in that memorable December, when the name of the Corsican caitiff was on every one's lips, and the most boisterous children became dumb at the mention of his name. It was entitled "New Bellman's Verses for Christmas, 1803."

There are three or four caricatures of this year of much interest and considerable rarity, though without specific dates. Such is "Boney at a Stand or the Corsican Tyrant staggered at the Prospect of Great Britain in arms" (Roberts, 28 Middle Row, Holborn). "Boney" and the devil are the *dramatis personæ*. Says Boney, standing on the French coast: "All in arms I declare!—And how their Fleet secures the Coast.—O! that I ever so rashly threaten'd an invasion.—The fame I got so easy will be for ever blasted by this enterprise. At any rate, I must humbug the French people with something new, and persuade them that it will not be political for me to take command of the Expedition—for if I do I shall surely be sent to my old friend sooner than I wish." To this the devil, with a trident, answers: "Go along, Boney, don't be afraid, my lad.—They are not arm'd; 'tis only report." Far more scarce than this is a gigantic head of Bonaparte (larger than life-size) bleeding from the eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and a wound in the forehead disclosing a crown, the island of Malta, and the flags of the British Navy. Above are the words: "The Bone-a-part shows the secret." Below one reads "Translation of the Choak-Pear. I am about to bid you good-bye—Alas! alas! and I know *nobody now* that dares undertake it." From the bleeding mouth protrudes a pear labelled: "Je suis sur le point de vous dire adieu—Hélas! Hélas! Et je ne connois personne à present qui osè l'entreprendre." On the collar of the uniform is written:



TRESHAM'S ALLEGORICAL PICTURE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SUPREMACY OF THE SEA [AFTER TRAFALGAR, WITH NELSON'S PORTRAIT ADDED]

“The Isle of Corsica gave a Consul to France, a President to Italy, and an Emp..... to G. B. (Note here, But the Blanks yet want to be filled up!!!).” The face is too terrible for use as an illustration, but it evidently is intended to portray the probable consequences of the invasion scheme to its contriver, and that at a moment when the pear, i.e. power, was within his reach. “Madame Bonaparte’s Intercession or Second Thoughts are best” (December 1st, 1803, Holland) quite truthfully conveys the fact that Josephine opposed the project upon which her husband had embarked. In the background is a rough map denoting the following partition of England: London and Edinburgh, Bonaparte; Isle of Wight, Cambacérès; Plymouth, Berthier; Bath—as the City of Fashion, Josephine; Hull, Talleyrand; York, Jerome; and Liverpool, unappropriated. On the floor lie the designs of “General Vint’s balloon to convey 10,000 men to Dover,” a huge roll docketed “A List of all the Volunteers in England; a view of the Bank of England; a bill from S. Safeguard for a child’s caul; a cork jacket and corks for swimming, and a list of the Subscription at Lloyd’s by the side of another, to which Talleyrand and Berthier contribute ten francs each, and Bonaparte himself ‘all his plunder collected in Ireland.’” The plate is anonymous, but bears the initials “S.N. 1803.”

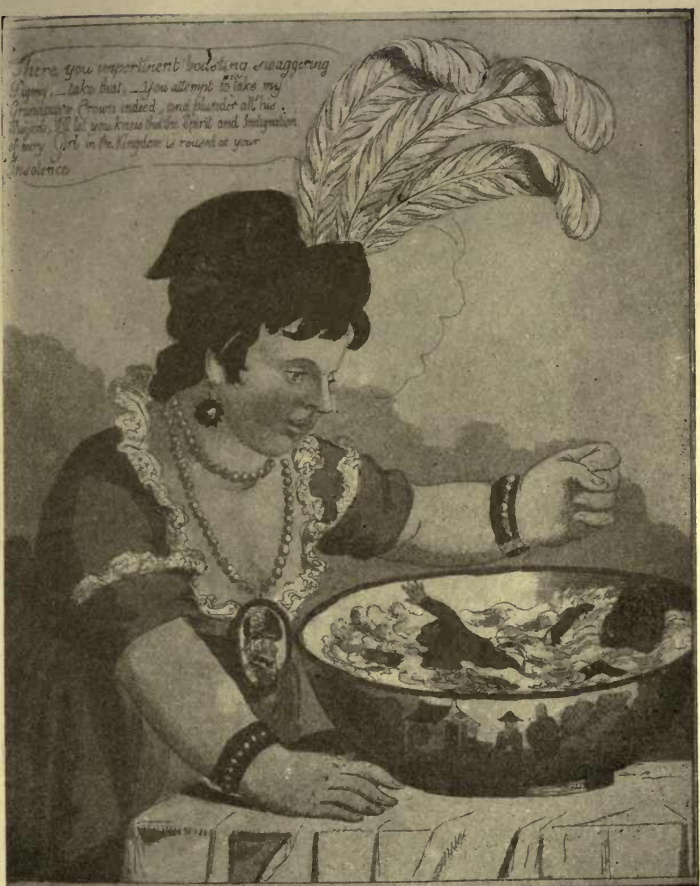
The following year begins with “Patience on a Monument smiling at Grief” (January, 1804, Holland), in which John Bull laughs merrily at the destruction of some of the French gunboats, and the distress caused thereby to “Little Boney,” who whimpers: “O! my poor crazy gunboats! Why did I venture so far from home?” Next comes the familiar Gillray plate, etched by him “from the design of an amateur” (10th February, 1804,

Humphrey), known as "The King of Brobdingnag and Gulliver." George III with Queen Charlotte, the Royal Princesses and Lord Salisbury standing behind his chair, looks on while Bonaparte (Gulliver) is trying to cross a tank in a small boat. In "Opposition and Ministerial Vision or the Modern Sir Christopher Hatton" (May, 1804, Holland) Fox seems to be upbraiding Addington for failing to realize the importance of the invasion. Says the once welcome guest at the Tuileries: "When I behold those mighty armaments, that hostile line of preparation—I cannot but surmise the State some danger apprehends." The weak-kneed Premier replies: "Why bless your heart they are nothing but cockle-shells."¹ The newest jest-book² has an invasion caricature for its frontispiece, entitled "Buonaparte taken in tow for the last time." A huge bulldog has him in his jaws, and "Jack Junk," the sailor, shouts: "Go it, Billy, give him the true English Grip. Drag him for an hour that way and he'll not want to dine with John Bull any more." The *Anti-Gallican* now makes its appearance with the plate, "The Upshot of the Invasion or Bony in a fair way for Davey's Locker" as a frontispiece. "Who shall govern the sea?" is more than ever the point upon which everything will turn. Such plates as the "Invasion" (Roberts, Holborn), "Boney on a jackass in mid-Channel," the "Bull and the Bantam" (a second version), "A KNOCK down blow in the OCEAN" (Ackermann), "Fighting for the DUNGHILL, or Jack Tar settling BUONAPARTE," "LITTLE SHIPS, or JOHN BULL very INQUISITIVE"—all deal, more or less successfully, with the same theme.

¹ Reproduced from an original sketch in Mr. Broadley's collection.

² *Jack Junk's New Jester*, London, J. Ker, 90 Holborn, 1804.

Here you importunate boldness swagging
Dams, take that. You attempt to take my
Princess's Crown indeed, and blast it all in
the night, let you know that the spirit and indignation
of every man in the Kingdom is round at your
insolence



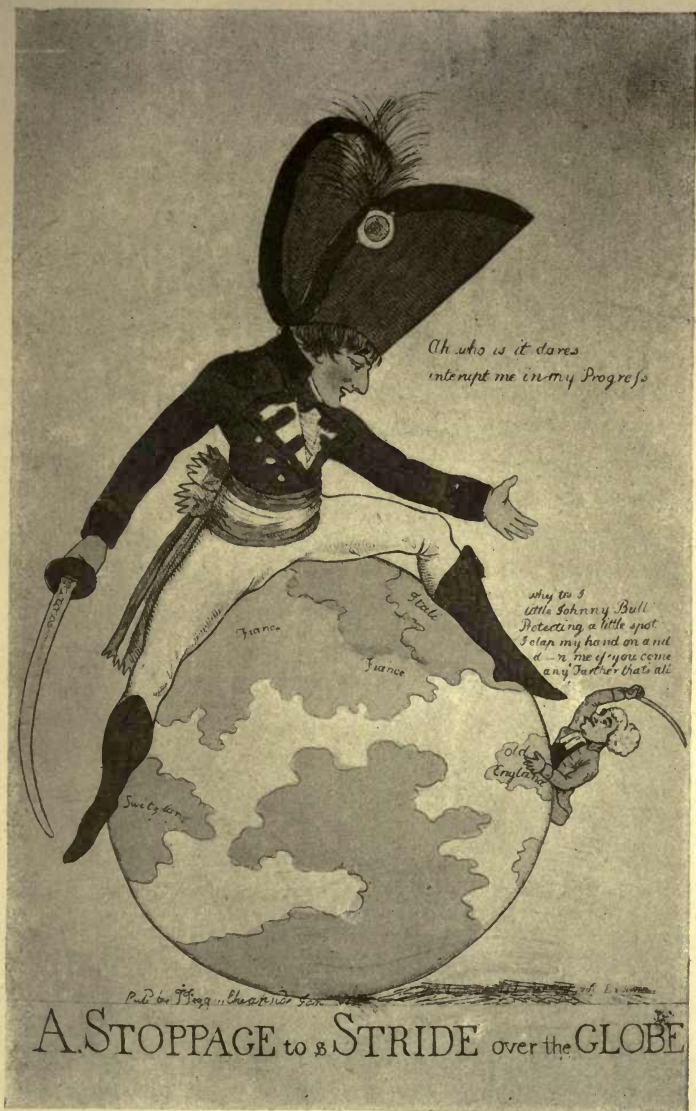
The LITTLE PRINCESS and GULLIVER

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE DROWNS THE INVADER OF ENGLAND
(WITH APOLOGIES TO DEAN SWIFT). 1805

The year of Trafalgar was scarcely as profitable a one for the caricaturist or the caricature-seller (the first term then apparently served for both) as those which preceded it. The ever-green masterpiece of Dean Swift, however, is once more referred to, and the juvenile Princess Charlotte, wearing a miniature of her father in volunteer uniform round her neck, is represented in the act of drowning Bonaparte in a punch-bowl. "There, you impertinent, boasting, swaggering pigmy," she cries, "take that. You attempt to take my Grandpap's Crown indeed, and plunder all his Subjects, I'll let you know that the Spirit and Indignation of every Girl in the Kingdom is roused at your Insolence."

Trafalgar is fought and won on the ever-glorious 21st October, 1805. The gaiety of nations is eclipsed and the hand of the satirist is stayed, but before the news came the ever watchful Fores had possibly prepared the plate for "Boney beating Mack and Nelson giving him a whack or The British Tars giving Boney his Heart's desire—Ships, Colonies, and Commerce" (November 19th, 1805, Fores). As far as the great naval duel off the Spanish coast is concerned, Gillray contented himself with an allegorical picture of the death of the hero, and Isaac Cruikshank and Rudolph Ackermann busied themselves with the preparation of numerous transparencies for the day when the sounds of national mourning hushed those of national joy. Mr. Tresham removed his Syrian battle-scene and placed the head of Nelson on the tablet of Fame. Bonaparte's "Stride over the Globe" was effectually stopped as far as the "Men of the Island" were concerned, and the situation was admirably depicted in the last of the satiric landmarks of the Great Terror.

“Ah! who is it dares interupt [*sic*] me in my progress?” says the victor of Austerlitz and the vanquished at Trafalgar in the earliest caricature of 1806 (T. Tegg, Cheapside). “Why ’tis I, little Johnny Bull,” is the reply, “protecting a little spot I clap my hand on, and d—n me if you come any further, that’s all.” There could no longer be any doubt as to England’s maritime supremacy, in which lay then, as it lies now, the secret of her safety. The Bull and the Sailor had vanquished the Corsican and the Evil One. The cloud of invasion had rolled away and the Great Terror was over.



A STOPPAGE to STRIDE over the GLOBE

NAPOLEON'S PROGRESS FINALLY ARRESTED BY JOHN BULL. [JAN., 1806]

CHAPTER XXI

MEDALLIC MEMORIALS OF THE GREAT TERROR, 1796-1805

“A cabinet of medals is a body of history.”—ADDISON.

AMONGST the landmarks of actual or threatened invasions of England from the days of the Armada downwards, none are more curious than the commemorative medals, of which the number in existence is far greater than one would imagine. “King” Monmouth’s tragic fate is perpetuated by no less than six varieties, and the caricature medals of 1745 are always eagerly sought after. Our concern, however, is solely with those medals and tokens which help us to tell the story of the Great Terror. There is no English medal of a general character called into existence by the final collapse of the invasion projects. Napoleon, on the other hand, was the originator of no less than three medals, intended to immortalize his triumph. The unexpected happened, as far as we were concerned, and to-day they serve only as mementoes of failure.

More than seventy pages of the standard work on British War Medals¹ are occupied with the enumeration of the medals, badges, and tokens struck in connection with

¹ *War Medals from 1588 to 1898*, pp. 216-98, by D. Hastings Irwin, London, I. Upcott Gill, 1899.

militia, yeomanry, and volunteer forces, the greater part of them between 1796 and 1805. In the catalogue of the medals, properly so called, are included sometimes breastplates and helmet and other ornaments bearing inscriptions. The following alphabetical list comprises only those medals and tokens which strictly belong to the decade under consideration. Only those reproduced in the accompanying illustrations are described at length.

BRITISH MEDALS, ETC., OF THE GREAT TERROR

Bantry Garrison	1797
Barnstaple Light Horse	1805
Barrack Light Company (Dublin)	1803
Bath Association	1798
Bermondsey Volunteers	
Bethnal Green Volunteers	1803 ¹

Obverse: Britannia trampling upon a dragon, an olive branch in her left hand. Legend: *England's perseverance dethroned Buonaparte*. Reverse: a laurel and oak wreath entwined; inside there is the legend, *Enrolled 13th Aug. 1803, and disembodied at the General Peace of Europe 24th June 1814*; outside the wreath, *Bethnal Green Volunteer Infantry, Lt. Col. Carrick*. By P. Wyon. Two inches in diameter.

Birmingham Volunteers	1798
Bredalbane Volunteers	1798
Brentford Volunteers	1804
Bristol Volunteers	1797-1803

Obverse: arms, crest, and motto of the city of Bristol; above, *Royal Bristol Volunteers*; below, *In danger ready*. Reverse: *Embodied for the maintenance of public order and*

¹ See illustrations, Plate B.



MEDALLIC MEMORIALS OF THE GREAT TERROR, 1796-1805. (PLATE A)

*protection of their fellow citizens, on the threat of invasion by France MDCCXCVII; revived at the renewal of hostilities, MDCCCIII; disbanded when the deliverance of Europe was accomplished by the perseverance and magnanimity of Great Britain and her allies MDCCCXIV. G.R. above; Pro patria below.*¹

Broadstairs Independent Gunners . . .	1802
Broad Street Ward Volunteers . . .	1799
Buckland Monackorum [<i>sic</i>] Volunteers .	1802
Bury (Loyal) Volunteers	1801
Bury Volunteers	1803
Caithness Legion	1799
Camberwell Volunteers	1804
Carmarthen Militia	1798
Chertsey Volunteers	1803
Christchurch Association	1800
Christchurch Infantry	1800
Clerkenwell Volunteer Cavalry	1799
Colchester Loyal Volunteers	1805
Cork (Loyal) Volunteers	1798
Crediton Loyal Volunteers	1802
Cromer Loyal Artillery	1801
Dedham Volunteers	1802
Deptford Volunteers	1803
Dodder Rangers	1798 and 1803
Drumkeen Infantry	1797
Dublin Volunteers	1805
Dudley Loyal Association	1796
Duke of Cumberland's Sharpshooters .	1803
Duke of Gloucester's Loyal Volunteers .	1804-5
Dukinfield Independent Riflemen . . .	1804
East India Volunteers	1802
East Norfolk Militia	1804
Edenside Loyal Rangers	1802

¹ See illustrations, Plate A.

Edinboro' Royal Volunteers	1803-5
Essex Volunteer Cavalry	1805
Evesham Volunteer Cavalry	1805
Falmouth Volunteers	1797
Farringdon Ward Association	1801
Fermoy Cavalry	1798-9
Fertullagh Cavalry	1796
Frazier's Fencibles	1800
Frome and East Mendip Cavalry	1805
Godley Volunteer Cavalry	1804
Gravesend Volunteers	1804
Gravesend Volunteer Artillery	1798
Greenwich Loyal Volunteers	1804
Hans Town Association	1799
Havering Cavalry	1800
Highland Armed Association	1805
Honourable Artillery Company	1803
Imokilly Blue Horse	1799
Lambeth Volunteers	1800
Langbourne Ward Volunteers	1799
Liberty Rangers	1797 and 1798
Limerick Medal	1798
London Company Volunteers	1805
London Loyal Volunteers	1803-5
Lowestoft Sea Fencibles	1797
Loyal London (Newington) Volunteers	1804
Manchester Rifle Regiment	1804
Manchester and Salford Volunteers (Light Horse)	1802
Marylebone Volunteers	1799
Midlothian Volunteers	1803
Mitcham Volunteers	1805
Newcastle Volunteers	1801-3
Norfolk Yeomanry Cavalry	1796
Norwich (Loyal) Military Association	1797
Nottinghamshire Yeomanry Cavalry	1802

Oakfield Volunteer Company	1798
Pimlico, or Queen's Royal Volunteers	1798
Pontefract Volunteers	1800
Poplar and Blackwall (Loyal) Volunteers	1799
Portsoken Ward Volunteers	1799
Preston Volunteers	1804
Prince of Wales's Loyal Volunteers	1804
Queen's Royal Volunteers	1804
Rathdown Cavalry	1796
Renfrewshire Infantry	1804
Richmond Volunteers	1804
Rye Loyal Association	1805
Rutland Legion Riflemen	1796
St. George's Hanover Square (Light In- fantry)	1798
St. James's Volunteers	1801
St. Olave's Volunteers	1798
Sadler's Sharpshooters	1802
Sidmouth Loyal Artillery	1802
Sligo Militia	1798
Somersetshire (Loyal United) Volunteers (Of a Masonic character.)	1798
South Devon Militia	1799
Southwark (Loyal) Volunteers	1801
Staffordshire Volunteer Cavalry	1803
Stirlingshire (East Battalion) Volunteers	1804
Stirlingshire Loyal Volunteers	1802-3
Surrey Volunteers (1st)	1803
Sutton's (Captain) Rifle Company	1805
Tower Hamlets Volunteers	1804
Tower Ward Association	1802
Tyrone Royal Militia	1797
Tyrone Royal Volunteers	1797
United East and West Ham (Loyal) Volunteers	1798
Vintry Ward Volunteers	1799

Walthamstow Volunteers	1802
Wapping Union Volunteers	1801
Warrington Loyal Independent Volun- teers	1798
Westminster Assembly	1798
Westminster Loyal Volunteers	1803
Westminster (Royal) Volunteers	1798
Wicklow Militia	1797
Windsor Foresters	1800
Worlingworth Volunteers	1798
Yarmouth Cavalry	1805
Yorkshire (Royal) Fencibles	1803

The list now given cannot in any sense be considered as complete or exhaustive, as many of the medals were really not of an historical character, but given as rewards for proficiency in shooting or drill. The following additional varieties were lately in the possession of Messrs. Spink, viz. the Plymouth medal or badge,¹ bearing the device "Victory or Death" on a scroll, the arms and supporters of the town, with the motto "*Turris Fortissima est nomen Jehovæ*," and the words "Plymouth Independ^t Rangers."

The West and East Ham medal of 1798 is apparently of a commemorative character. On the obverse is a volunteer in full uniform mounting guard with the inscription "THE LOYAL UNITED WEST & EAST HAM VOLUNTEERS"; below, "ASSOCIATED MAY 18 1798." On the reverse: arms, flags crossed, a Greek motto on a scroll; and below, "DEUS MAJOR COLUMN"; round the edge, "FOR PRESERVATION OF INTERNAL PEACE, OUR KING AND CONSTITUTION"; at foot, "Presented by S^r John Henniker, Stratford House, Essex, 1799." This, therefore, may be described as

¹ See Plate A.



MEDALLIC MEMORIALS OF THE GREAT TERROR, 1796-1805. (PLATE B)

a genuine invasion medal¹ of the same character as that of the First Regiment, with the inscription on the reverse "TO PERPETUATE THE MEMORY OF — AS A VOLUNTARY DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY, 1803."² The six medals now described are rewards of skill and merit, but all extremely interesting:—

I. Silver medal, with loop, of the Leicester Infantry. Obverse: Prince of Wales's Feathers, "ICH DIEN, 1800," within two sprays of laurel; above, "MILITARY MERIT REWARDED," on a riband. Reverse: "W. H. BRABAZON, P.W.O. LEICESTER INFANTRY." All engraved.

II. Silver medal, with loop, of the St. John's Southwark Volunteers. Obverse: star of four points, with flames issuing between the points; in centre is the monogram "G.R." crowned, enclosed within a fillet inscribed "A REWARD OF MERIT & SKILL." Reverse: "THE GIFT OF CAPT DAVID KING COMMANDING THE CORPS OF LOYAL VOLUNTEERS OF ST JOHN'S SOUTHWARK TO PETER BARNES BEST SHOT JUNE 2ND 1803." All engraved.

III. Silver oval medal, with ring, of the St. Margaret's and St. John's Volunteers. Obverse: volunteer firing at a target, trees and hills in the distance; exergue, "MR BLACKBURN 3RD NOV^R 1803." Reverse: "ST MARGARETS & ST JOHNS VOLUNTEERS." All engraved.

IV. Silver-gilt oval badge, with loop, of the Loyal Association. Obverse: warrior, holding in his left hand an olive branch, and figure of Peace holding in her right hand a sword, both bearing aloft a wreath enclosing clasped hands; between the two figures is a pedestal, upon which is a naval crown, and crossed Union Jacks above; exergue, "ASSOCIATION." Reverse: shield, with three cocks on same; above, another cock; the whole within two palm branches; below, "DEC^R I · 17[9]7."

¹ See Plate A.

² See illustrations, Plate B.

V. Silver medal of the Loyal Association. Obverse: a general on horseback reviewing troops, "PRO CÆSARE PRO ARIS & FOCIS. Reverse: Pallas overthrowing the giants; above in clouds, Jupiter on his eagle, "QUID CONTRA SONANTEM PALLADIS ÆGIDA POSSUNT RUENTES."

On Plate B will be found an illustration of one of the silver oval breastplate badges already alluded to. In the centre is the monogram of "G.R.," crowned, with riband above, inscribed "SOUTHWARK · VOLUNTEER · CAVALRY." Hall-marked, 1798.

Other existing varieties of volunteer badges of this kind are the following:—

I. Silver oval badge, hall-marked, 1803. In centre is the monogram "G.R." within a garter, crowned, and inscribed "PRO · REGE · ET · PATRIA." Struck.

II. Breast-plate badge of the Limerick Cavalry, bronze-gilt. In centre is a harp, crowned, 1796, and initials "L.C.;" above, on a riband, "PRO REGE"; below, on a riband, "ET PATRIA." All engraved.

III. Silver oval badge, hall-marked, 1794, with arms of the Duke of Dorset, and motto, "AUT NUMQUAM TENTES-AUT PERFICE." Struck.

As might reasonably be expected, Bath, during the Great Terror the centre of patriotism as well as that of fashion, had its token. In the chapter which Mr. Sydney Sydenham has contributed to Mr. Mowbray Green's book on the eighteenth-century buildings of Bath,¹ one of these is illustrated and thus described: Reverse: military trophy, tent, cannon, etc; over, "PRO REGE ET PATRIA"; below,

¹ *The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath*, p. 232, Plate A, by Mowbray A. Green, A.R.I.B.A. Bath, George Gregory, Bookseller to Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, 1904.

"BATH ASSOCIATION, 1798." From an article reprinted in July, 1894, from the *Volunteer Service Magazine*, in Spink and Son's *Monthly Numismatic Circular*, by Lieutenant H. Rose Mackenzie, it appears that copper penny and halfpenny tokens of this sort were in general use all over England between 1796-1803. The writer gives examples of the tokens either emanating from or connected with the Falmouth Independent Volunteers (1797), the Bristol Volunteers (1798), the Norwich Loyal Military Association (1797), the Blofield Cavalry or fifth troop of the Loyal Norfolk Yeomanry (1796), the Loyal Suffolk Yeomanry (1794 and 1795), and another and rarer Bath halfpenny, with a similar obverse to that already referred to, but with the reverse bearing the arms and supporters of the city in a sunk oval and the legend, "BATH CITY TOKEN." Lieutenant Mackenzie also gives the particulars of a Birmingham penny, showing on the obverse a presentation of colours to troops with the legend, "COLOURS PRESENTED TO THE BIRMINGHAM ASSOCIATIONS, 4 JUNE, 1798." The reverse has a curious perspective of a long row of gibbets with men hanging on them, and the legend, "END OF *BUNEPART* AND THE FRENCH ARMY." A Warwickshire penny of 1799 bears on the obverse a mounted yeoman, and the legend, "WARWICKSHIRE YEOMANRY, HANCOCK." In the exergue, "ENROLLED JUNE 25, 1794." On the reverse, in six lines, "PROMISSORY | PENNY TOKEN | ISSUED BY | THOMAS WELCH | SECOND TROOP." The edge has the inscription, divided into three compartments by military trophies, "(ARMED TO PROTECT | OUR LIVES PROPERTY) (AND CONSTITUTION | AGAINST FOREIGN) (AND DOMESTIC | ENEMIES)." Three impressions only were taken with

this edge, but there are several other varieties, differing slightly from the one given. A rare Wiltshire country halfpenny has on the obverse a horseman galloping, and the legend, "WILTSHIRE YEOMANRY CAVALRY," with the date 1794 on the exergue. The reverse is the same as that of the Somerset token of 1796 before described. York has a halfpenny of 1795 with a view of a cathedral on the obverse, and on the reverse a mounted dragoon of the Queen's Bays, and the motto *Pro Rege et Patria*. Lieutenant Mackenzie remarks that it is a strange thing that there is no record of a Scottish volunteer token, although there were many fencible regiments raised in Scotland during the French invasion scare. A few tokens, notably a Dundee shilling of 1797, with an armed Highlander on the reverse, and two Ayrshire halfpennies bearing representations of shields and military trophies, may possibly be connected with the volunteer movement, but this idea is merely conjectural.

The three Napoleonic invasion medals belong to the acute crisis of 1804. They are all very fully described in the standard work dealing with the subject, "Napoleon's Mint Medals." The first is known as "The Camp of Boulogne Medal," which is dealt with as follows:—

"*Obverse*: Napoleon, his head laureated, and in the costume of a general, seated on an elevated platform, in front of which are two laurel wreaths; he is in the act of distributing the insignia of the Legion of Honour to four soldiers of different corps and ranks in the service; behind the Emperor, two attendants, one of whom holds in a patera or shield, the crosses of the order to be disposed of.

"*Legend*: 'Honneur Legionnaire. Aux braves de l'Armée.'

"Exergue: A Boulogne le XXVIII. Therm. An. XII. XVI. Août MDCCCIV. Denon. D. Jeuffroy F.

"Reverse: represents the formation and distribution of the troops designated by the name of the Army of England, at the grand Fête or Review by the Emperor Napoleon at Boulogne on the 15th August 1804.

"Exergue: Serment. de l'Armée. d'Angleterre à l'Empereur Napoleon: N° 1. Cavalerie. 2. Infanterie. 3. Généraux. 4. Drapeaux. 5. Légionnaires. 6. Garde de l'Empereur. 7. Musiciens et Tambours. 8. E^t M^{or} D^s C^s. 9. E^t M^{or} G^{al}. 10. Le Trone. Size: 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches."

The events of August, 1804, are so fully spoken of in a former chapter that it becomes unnecessary to reproduce the historical note which accompanies the minute description of the medal itself.

The second medal, usually spoken of as that of the "Rafts" or, more correctly, the "Construction of the Two Thousand Rafts," was also struck in 1804, and probably before that of the "Camp of Boulogne." It is thus described:—¹

"Obverse: Head of Napoleon, encircled with a laurel wreath.

"Legend: 'Napoléon Empereur.'

"Exergue: I. P. DROZ F.

"Reverse: Hercules strangling the Nemean Lion.

"Legend: 'En L'an XII. 2000 barques sont construites.'

"Exergue: Denon Direxit, 1804.

"Size: 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

"After the short peace of scarcely fourteen months which followed the Treaty of Amiens, and which had promised tranquillity to Europe, the renewal of hostilities between

¹ *Napoleon Mint Medals*, pp. 72, 73.

France and Great Britain involved in fresh calamities all the nations in this quarter of the globe.

“The invasion of Great Britain at this time appeared to be the grand object of the First Consul, who, immediately on the commencement of hostilities, began to make extensive preparations for that purpose in the ports of the French and Batavian republics. All the ship and boat builders in France, from the age of fifteen to sixty, were placed in a state of requisition; and it was decreed by Napoleon that two thousand vessels should be immediately built for the purpose of transporting the Army of England to the place of its destination, and he appointed Boulogne as the general rendezvous both for the flotilla and the army.”

Far more interesting than either of the preceding is the invasion medal *par excellence*, for which dies were prepared in Paris so that the medals might be struck immediately on the arrival of the victorious emperor in London. So confident was Napoleon of success that the words “Struck in London, 1804,” were actually engraved in advance so as to avoid the possibility of delay. Dr. Burney has already been mentioned as one of the patriotic writers of this tempestuous period. He became the possessor of one of the two or three trial pieces struck from the original die, now as rare as the later English reproductions of it are common. It quite recently changed hands at a very high price, when the following description was given of it:—

“*Obverse*: laureated and nude bust of Napoleon; to right, below, *Jeuffroy fecit* and *Denon Direxit* in two lines.

“*Reverse*: DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE. Hercules standing, squeezing a Triton to death, and in the exergue, *Frappée a Londres-en, 1804* in two lines, with plain edge, a fine medal of great historical interest.



THE FAMOUS FRENCH INVASION MEDAL OF 1804
From the collection of C. Frideaux Brune Esq.



“The dies of this medal were engraved in Paris at the time when Napoleon was preparing his expedition against England, and after the taking of London they were intended to have been used there. As the invasion did not take place the medal was never struck. There is said to be only one impression in *lead* known and was in the cabinet of Dr. Burney. It was sold with other medals to Mr. Charles Stokes in 1846 or 7, from whom the present owner purchased it. Somewhat later, copies of this medal were struck in England, on which a head by Droz was substituted for that by Jeuffroy, and the former head was also used for several other medals of the Imperial series. The work on the reverse of these copies is, however, less delicately treated, the word ‘Frappée’ in the exergue of the original is incorrectly written ‘Frappé’ on the imitations, and the edge (on some) bears an inscription in raised letters.”

It is not inappropriate that the curtain should fall on the story of the Great Terror with an account of the most curious of its artistic landmarks, the medal which carried a vainglorious and empty boast on its face, and now only serves to remind us of a policy of aggression which materially helped to lead the mighty warrior it was intended to immortalize not to the shores of England and the conquest of London, but to Elba, Waterloo, and St. Helena.

APPENDIX I¹

A paper (endorsed in Pitt's writing).

Proposal of the late Dover Association to renew their engagement of 1783 for y^e defence of y^e Town and Harbour, 19 Dec^r 1792.

Sir,

We the undersigned commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates of the late Dover Association, together with we [*sic*] the underwritten, beg leave to offer our service at this alarming crisis to stand forth in defence of our most gracious King and the happy constitution of this country as by law established. The terms hereunder written, under which it was associated and served during the late war, and until its conclusion in the year 1783, we beg leave to offer as proposals for again forming a corps, as well in aid of the civil power in quelling all seditious and traitorous [*sic*] companies and insurrections as for the particular defence of this town and port. We beg leave also to represent, should these proposals be accepted, the necessity of immediately receiving arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, for the service of the said intended association, and also that the arms heretofore used by the late association having been returned to the Tower might be delivered into the service of the said intended corps. And we submit whether such officers who still have in their possessions [*sic*] H.M.'s

¹ Communicated to the authors by Dr. J. Holland Rose. Pitt MSS. No. 245. National Defence, etc., Record Office.

Commissions under which they formerly acted may not derive from them sufficient authority for the present occasion, or whether new commissions should be obtained for them as well as for those officers who may be appointed in place of such who are either dead or removed from this town and neighbourhood.

TERMS REFERRED TO.

Copy of Proposals presented to and approved by the Right Honourable Lords Amherst and North for forming an associated Corps for defence of the town and harbour of Dovor and new batteries [*sic*] there erected in the last war.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of the Town and Port of Dovor from a consideration of the danger to which the coast is exposed of invasion by the enemy, and of the situation of this town and port in particular, do hereby agree, promise, and engage that we will at all times necessary stand forth in defence of Dovor town and harbour and the works there erected, and to enable us for such service will at all convenient times to be appointed for that purpose assemble to learn the exercise of the cannon and small arms under the command of the officers undermentioned, and agreeable to the proposals following. First that this Association shall with all speed be increased to six companies of sixty men each, every company to be commanded by a captain and two lieutenants, members of the Association; Second, that such captains and lieutenants be authorized by commissions to be obtained from H[is] M[ajesty] for that purpose; Third, that these proposals or the acceptance of such commissions shall not render the Association or any of them liable to be called forth in any other service than for the defence of the town, or to the controul [*sic*] or command of any other officer or person, civil or

military, save that of superior military officers in time of action, but that the Association and services [to] be performed by them shall be considered as voluntary and independent.

Fifty-five signatures follow (three by their mark X X X).

To the Rt. Hon. William Pitt
Chancellor of H.M.'s Exchequer
Dovor 16 Dec^r 1792.

N.B. A duplicate has been sent to His Grace the Duke of Richmond.

APPENDIX II¹

Captain Parker's monument at Deal is a square upright, like a pagan altar. The inscription is on the top and the east and south sides.

[On top of monument :]

The remains of
Captⁿ Edward Thornbrough Parker
of the Royal Navy
are here interred

[On the south side :]

He was wounded on the 15th
of August 1801 off Boulonge [*sic*]
which on the 27th of Sept^r terminated
his Career of Glory in the 22nd year of
his age.

[On the east side :]

Eheu quam multis flebilis occidit.

This stone records a gallant Hero's name
Flame
Whose youthful Bosom glowed with Virtue's
A nation heard with Tears his Early Doom
The Flower of Valour withered in it's Bloom.

¹ Communicated to the authors by the Rev. R. Patterson, M.A., Rector of Deal.

APPENDIX III

The following letter, written by Robert Southey, who was appointed to the post of Poet Laureate in the Year of Battles, 1813, when Napoleon won the last of his great victories at Dresden, has but recently come to light. The author of *The Life of Nelson*, which Macaulay said was, "beyond all doubt, the most perfect" of Southey's works, thus expresses his views on the universal soldiering of 1803 to John May, of Richmond, Surrey. The letter bears the postmark "Bristol, 20 July, 1803."

"July 20, 1803.

"KINGSDOWN, [BRISTOL].

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"The more I talk or think of the house at Richmond, the more I am disposed to have the bargain concluded. . . . I was heartily glad to reach home after the labour of perambulating London every day for a fortnight. . . . All Bristol is up in arms and volunteering—cool sport for the dog days! The Duke of Cumberland is to be here to-day to form a camp upon Leigh Down, luckily there is a river between, but the camp will spoil the loveliest walks in the neighbourhood or perhaps in this country; all this, however, is very necessary. A few weeks more and England will be in a formidable state of preparation:

if they arm the people as is talked of I think I can foresee much good to arise out of the present evil—a system more favourable to the morals and security and liberties of the country than that of militias and standing armies. . . .

“ Affectionately yours,

(Signed) “ ROBERT SOUTHEY.”

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* * * *The writer, who has lived much in France, is thoroughly acquainted with French life and with the principal currents of French thought. The book is intended to be a guide to English readers desirous to keep in touch with the best present-day French fiction. Special attention is given to the ecclesiastical, social, and intellectual problems of contemporary France and their influence upon the works of French novelists of to-day.*

Although at first glance it might seem that the technology of smooth-bore weapons was very similar across nations, in fact, a gradual refinement took place, principally the introduction of the carronade, along with improvements in methods of loading and firing. The carronade itself went through many transitions that led it to become more similar to the traditional type of gun it was initially intended to replace.

There were several factors that affected the ability of the gun to perform its work. Firstly the gun was, unlike land artillery, always moving – the swell of the sea always affected the aiming of a naval gun. Secondly, other than in shore bombardments, the target was always wood and therefore was unlikely to sink by gunfire alone, so the structure of an enemy ship hull was not always the best target to hit. Causing casualties to the enemy crew was important, as was destroying the machinery enabling them to sail their vessel, namely the masts, rigging and steering gear. Tactically, the main aim of gunnery was not to destroy an enemy ship but to disable it and capture it.

BRITISH GUNS AND GUNNERY

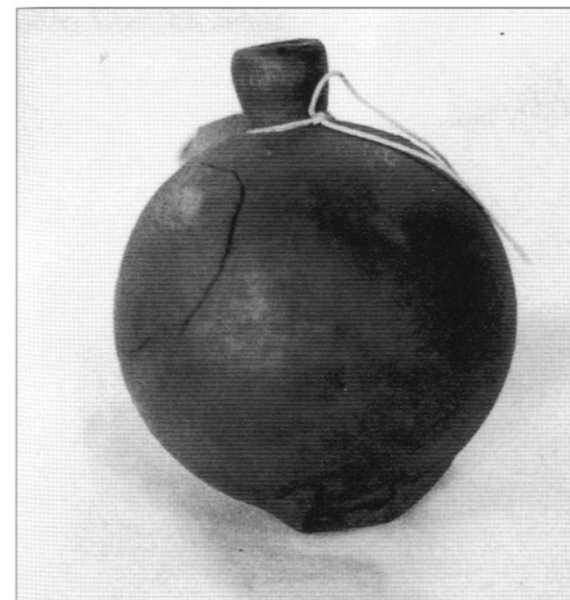
TYPES OF NAVAL GUNS IN BRITISH SERVICE

Type	Calibre	Length	Weight (cwt/qtr/lb)
42-pdr	7.018in.	10ft	67 0 0
		9ft 6in.	65 0 0
32-pdr	6.41in.	10ft	58 0 0
		9ft 6in.	55 0 0
24-pdr	5.82in.	10ft	52 0 0
		9ft 6in.	49 2 0
		9ft	47 2 0
18-pdr	5.29/5.18in.	9ft 6in.	42 0 0
		9ft	40 0 0
12-pdr	4.62in.	9ft 6in.	34 0 0
		9ft	32 0 0
		7ft 6in.	29 1 0
9-pdr	4.2in.	7ft 6in.	24 2 0
		7ft	23 0 0
6-pdr	3.66in.	8ft	22 0 0
		6ft	16 2 0
4-pdr		6ft	12 1 0
		5ft 6in.	11 1 0
3-pdr	2.91in.	4ft 6in.	7 1 0
		5ft 6in.	11 1 0

GUNS

Nature	Weight	Length	Calibre	Charge	Max. range* (in yards)
32-pdr	56cwt	9ft 6in.	6.41	8lb	2,493
24-pdr	50cwt	9ft 6in.	5.823	8lb	2,630
18-pdr	42cwt	9ft	5.292	6lb	2,130

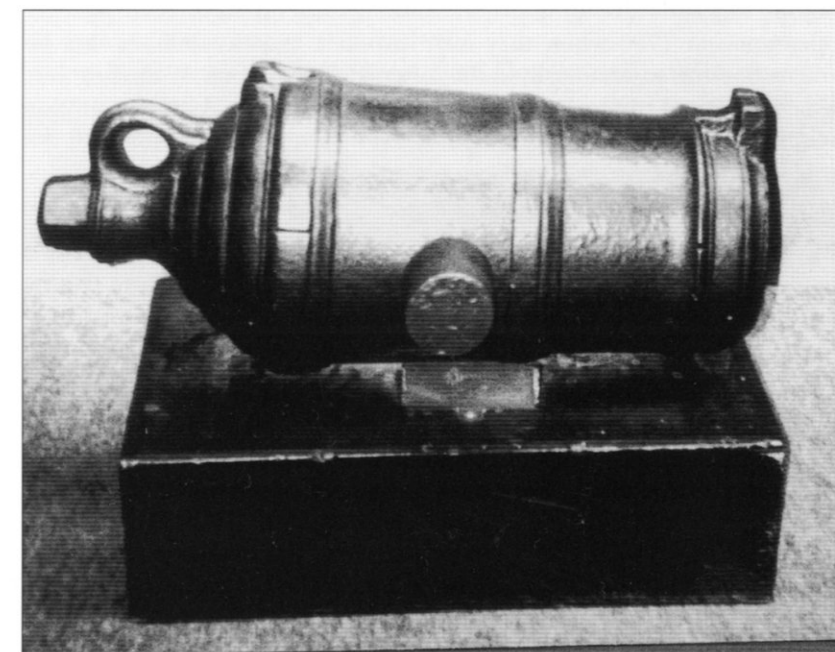
* These ranges were taken from an exercise carried out by HMS *Excellent* with the guns fired at 10 degrees elevation in 1839. These are some of the earliest recorded experiments with scientific methods and although they post-date the wars they show the range of British heavy guns at sea.



One of the more common munitions aboard warships was the hand grenade for close-quarter action. This example was brought up from HMS *Pomone* and still has its original fuse in place. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

During the Napoleonic period the main ship weapon was the smooth-bore gun; rifling was not really adopted until the 1860s. Smooth-bore guns generally fired a solid projectile, or projectiles, although there had been some experimentation with the use of explosive shell. Guns were named according to the weight of solid shot they were designed to fire. Anonymous laboratory notes in the Royal Artillery library indicate that mortar shells were prepared for 6-, 12- and 24-pdr guns on occasion the corresponding sizes being hand grenades, 4 1/2-in. and 5.5-in. shell (Caruana, p.282). The main broadside armament of the heavy-gun ships-of-the-line was typically the 32-pdr of approximately 6.4-in. calibre, although similar smaller weapons featured on the gun decks of most ships of war ranging down in size to 3-pdrs of approximately 2.91-in. calibre. The allocation of guns to each deck and the layout of each gun deck had to be carefully worked out so that the ship

remained stable and so generally the heavier guns were placed on the lower decks. On a ship-of-the-line such as one of 74 guns the lower deck held the 32-pdrs, the upper deck 18-pdrs or 24-pdrs and the quarterdeck 9-pdrs. Note that ships were classified by the number of 'great guns' aboard but this often did not take account of additional armament, such as carronades, which may have been fitted subsequently. The number of smaller weapons like swivel guns also very rarely gets a mention. Counting all weapons, ships listed as 'seventy-fours' would in fact usually have carried more than 74 guns, though smaller guns and carronades are not included in the accompanying table which sets out typical armaments.



A small bronze swivel gun of the period on a wrought-iron yoke. The yoke is interesting in that it is only designed to be depressed. The gun cannot be elevated above the horizontal and it is therefore probable that this piece was used in a fighting top or fired from a height. (Author's collection)

TYPES OF GUNS IN VARIOUS SHIP CLASSES

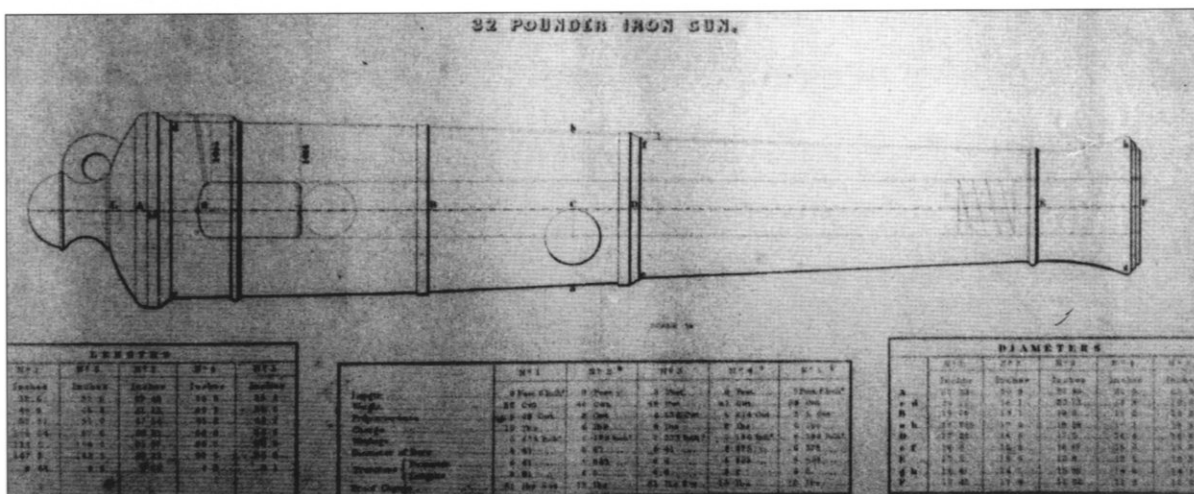
Type of ship	Calibre of gun	Deck	Total
100	32-pdr	never standardised	30
	24-pdr	never standardised	28
	12-pdr	never standardised	30
	6-pdr	never standardised	12 (HMS <i>Victory</i> c.1805)
74	32-pdr	Lower	28
	18-pdr	Upper	28
	9-pdr	Quarter	14
44	9-pdr	Fo'c'sle	4
	18-pdr	Lower	20
	12-pdr	Upper	22
	6-pdr	Fo'c'sle	2
20	9-pdr	Upper	20
14	6-pdr	Upper	14

* Guns were removed and modified over a ship's life and therefore these complements were by no means standardised. They represent a theoretical armament.

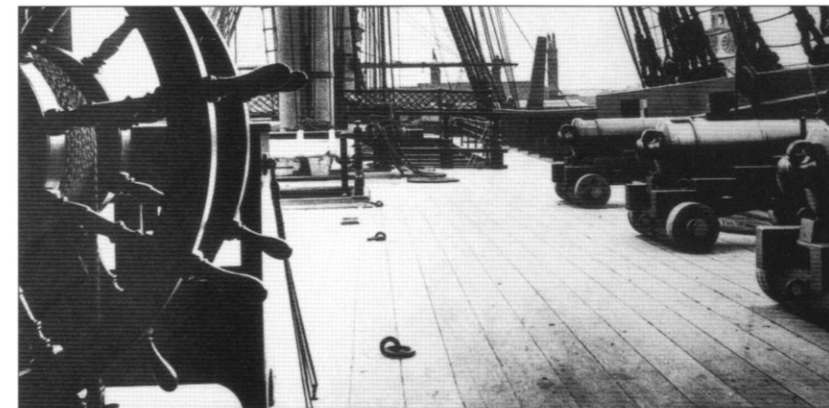
The larger broadside guns were normally of cast iron but could on occasion be made of bronze. In the 17th century iron guns had become cheap and reliable although they had the disadvantage of being heavier than those of bronze. British iron guns of the Napoleonic period were mainly of the Blomefield pattern, so called because the Inspector of the Artillery Thomas Blomefield designed them in the latter part of the 18th century. Blomefield had taken up the post at the age of 36 but by the end of his career built up a reputation as an expert on gunnery. His guns are distinctive because they are very plain in design and have a breeching loop cast into the cascable. This appointment of a 'land' artilleryman to design naval guns reflects the fact that the Board of Ordnance was responsible for supplying arms and munitions both to the Army and Navy.

Blomefield's designs were introduced into the Navy, however, in an attempt to standardise gun patterns. Blomefield's designs first made an appearance in 1786 when they were proofed at Woolwich. In fact his designs became so standardised that after the Napoleonic Wars they were quoted in Mould's *Observations on a course of instruction in Artillery* of 1825 as

Sectional view of a Blomefield 32-pdr gun shown with a cartridge and shot loaded. From this position a pricker would be forced down the vent to pierce the bag. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



An early photograph of HMS *Victory* showing the guns on the quarterdeck. (Author's collection)

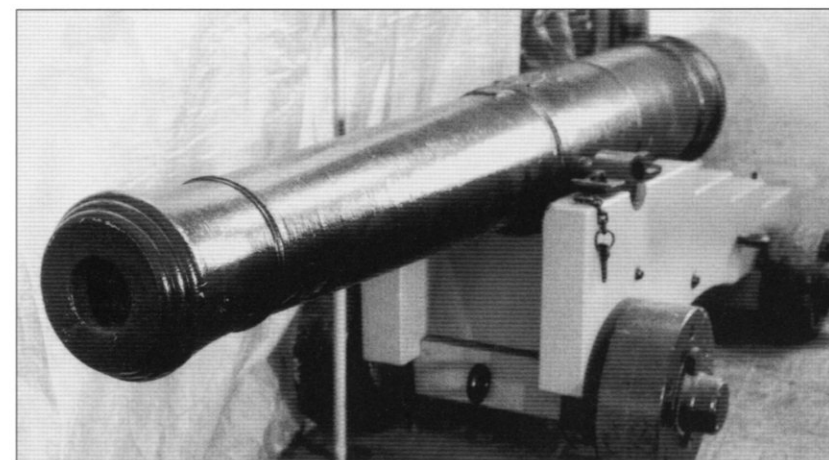


used for 'Upper Deck 74 Gun Ships, Garrison and Battering trains'. Although there was therefore a set of standard official designs, nearly all of the iron guns cast during this period were manufactured by civilian contractors, such as Samuel Walker of Rotherham, the Carron Company of Falkirk, and the Low Moor Ironworks of Bradford. However, the Board of Ordnance kept a great degree of control over the tolerances required for the supply of government guns and many companies were to fall foul of their strict rules, not least the Carron company itself.

The Blomefield guns themselves incorporated a number of novelties which, it was thought, would improve them over the old patterns. Firstly the metal of the gun was redistributed so that the greatest thickness was around the breech where the greatest strain was during the explosion of the propellant charge. The cascable area was manufactured without decoration and the metal was evenly distributed around it so there were no weak spots and the guns were provided with a breeching loop moulded into the cascable for containment of the breeching rope (whose function is explained later). In comparison with the earlier Armstrong system, Blomefield reduced the muzzle swell from 17.7in. to 16.97in. and reduced the neck diameter from 13.8in. to 13.2in.

Although Blomefield's guns predominated, that is not to say that other types were not in use. Old guns did find their way onto Royal Navy ships and full standardisation was never achieved. It was not unusual to have a

An early pattern of carronade, probably from the 1780s. The early form of carronade was very similar in shape to the howitzer. This example has trunnions and a square cascable button to which a wrought-iron tiller would have been fitted to aim or elevate the piece. It has a dispart sight on the muzzle for aiming the piece. This seems to have been common on many carronades. (National Museums of Scotland)



GUNS OF BLOMEFIELD'S SYSTEM*

Gun	Weight in hundredweight & quarters	Length
32-pdr	56cwt	9ft 6in.
	48-50cwt	8ft
	46cwt	9ft
24-pdr	41cwt	8ft
	39cwt	7ft 6in.
	50cwt	9ft 6in.
18-pdr	48cwt	9ft
	42cwt	9ft
12-pdr	37cwt 3qtr	8ft
	34cwt 3qtr	9ft
	33cwt 1qtr	8ft 6in.
9-pdr	29cwt 2qtr	7ft 6in.
	21cwt	6ft
	31cwt	9ft
	29cwt 2qtr	8ft 6in.
6-pdr	26cwt 2qtr	7ft 6in.
	25cwt 1qtr	7ft
	23cwt 3qtr	8ft 6in.
	22cwt 2qtr	8ft
	21cwt	7ft 6in.
	20cwt	7ft
	18cwt 2qtr	6ft 6in.
	17cwt 3qtr	6ft

* This list is the most common form of the system used and does not include some of the land service guns.

mix of earlier Armstrong/Frederick pattern guns with Blomefield guns, carronades and other such weapons.

It is more difficult to generalise about the smaller types of guns, such as swivel guns and bow chasers on small vessels, because there were very many of them in service. Some were very old and some had been introduced during the wars. Weapons of 3- and 4-pdr calibre existed but were not standardised. These weapons were really the armament of the smallest vessels and were often also used as guns for the ship's boats or launches carried by larger warships.

RANGES OF VARIOUS SIZES OF GUNS*

Size	Point blank (yards)	Out angle (yards)	Utmost range (miles)
42	583	2,915	1½
32	633	3,165	1¾
24	650	3,050	1¾
18	615	3,080	1¾
12	733	3,665	2
9	716	3,580	2
6	666	3,330	1¾
4	500	2,500	1¼
3	400	2,000	1

*As transcribed from the notebook of William Rivers of HMS *Victory*.

Because iron corrodes easily at sea great efforts were made to ensure that this did not happen. Gun maintenance was an important activity and the gunner was responsible for supervising it. If the bore of the gun became rusty it was possible it could cause a firing accident. Guns were normally painted and the recipe was as follows:

'Six ounces of lamp black, three pints of spirits of turpentine, and three ounces of litharge are to be put in after the turpentine and black are well mixed, add one ounce of umber to give it a gloss and one gallon of bright varnish.'

There were also other methods of using anti-corrosive coatings but these varied depending on the author. All of these recipes represented a way of sealing the gun against the corrosion inevitable in a salt-water environment.

We know from the inventories of the frigate *Inconstant* that the paint allowed was:

Downs black 44 gallons
 White 44 gallons
 Red 44 gallons
 Yellow nil
 Oil 5.2 gallons turps
 1 quart brushes L 2
 s 1

Specifically for a 32-pdr the following quantities were allowed for each gun:

gun 11b 3oz
 carriage 3lb 9oz

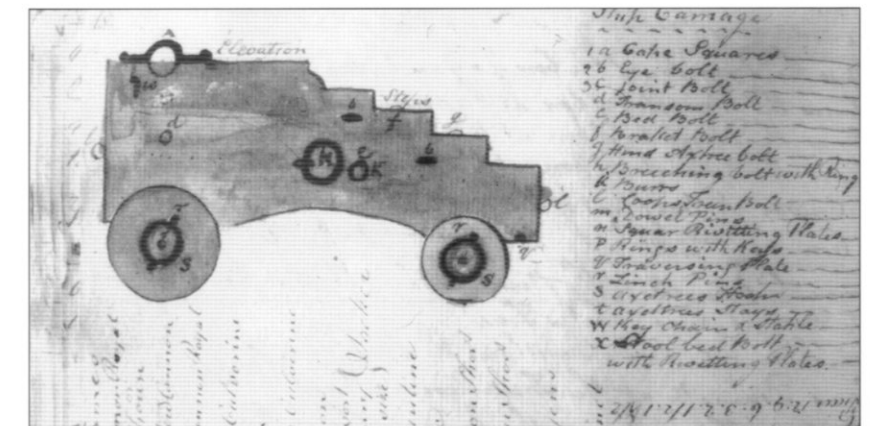
In his notebook William Rivers considered that 'guns are to be sealed before load'd [onboard the ship] at sea. I don't approve of sealing on account of damp in the gun.' Rivers also remarked:

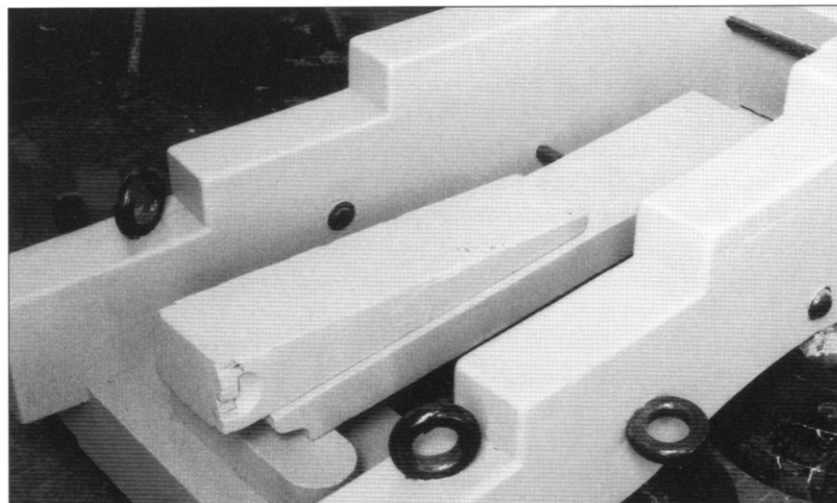
'Precautions to be taken when guns are put down in the hold. They are to be painted over with a thick coat of tar and tallow. Well washed inside the bore with fresh water and a good wad dipped in the mixture and put in the muzzle.'

British gun carriages

The gun carriage itself was of a type known as a truck carriage after the small wheels or trucks that it was mounted upon. The original design for a gun carriage in the Napoleonic period was set out in 1732. It was a truck-mounted, stepped cheek design. The design introduced in 1791 was exactly the same except that its cheeks had bevelled edges that were angled at 45 degrees.

A drawing of a standard gun carriage pattern from the notebook of William Rivers, gunner on HMS *Victory*. Rivers's notes contain few drawings but this image is remarkably clear and gives the proportions of all the natures of gun carriage. The locations of the various eye bolts seem to be at variance with other drawings of the period, particularly positions B and E. (Courtesy Royal Naval Museum)





The stool bed of a replica 18-pdr carriage showing the general layout of the quoin and stool bed. The metal ring on the right would secure the block for traversing the gun whilst the centre ring was for the breeching rope. This second ring was not always fitted and Ruyrd's *Course of Artillery of 1793* shows no such ring fitted. The fore end of the stool bed rests on a bolt that pierces both cheeks, the head of which can be seen on the extreme right. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

The 1795 pattern carriage had an additional piece added to the front transom but no clear images of this type are known. It was called the 'breast ended preventer cleat carriage' and this suggests that it had an additional fitting for the breast transom, probably to act as a spacer between the side of the ship and the gun carriage and assisting traversing.

Generally the carriage was of a relatively simple design mounted upon two sturdy wooden axles. The typical sea-service carriage has been called the 1791 pattern carriage, but it can be seen in the same form in early drawings of weapons in the Royal Artillery library from the middle of the 18th century at least. Each side cheek was stepped so that leverage could be applied through handspikes onto the bottom or rear of the breech. The carriage was not fitted with an elevating screw during this period, so the elevation of the gun relied purely on the quoin (a sliding wooden wedge placed underneath the breech end of the gun). As we shall see, adjusting the quoin was the preserve of the gun captain during action.

In 1795, changes were made to the sea-service carriage which reflected the introduction of the Blomefield pattern system.

In fact the carriage's simplicity was deceptive – the type had been developed from early truck carriages that had been introduced during the period just before the Spanish Armada campaign. Gradual refinements had taken place to create a carriage that was relatively small but strong enough to carry the weight of a gun of up to 3 tons. The carriage had to cope with the violent recoil of the gun in an enclosed space and be trained left and right for aiming. This meant that the ropes controlling it had to be long enough to allow manoeuvre but also set up to restrict the recoil of the gun and allow it to be run in for loading and out for firing, no matter how the deck was rising and falling and tilting with the motion of the ship. The gun had to be run out and fired and reloaded in any kind of weather. The method of doing this was to use ropes and tackles known as side and training tackles. It needed a crew of up to a dozen men to run the gun out using this pulley system. In addition a very large rope passing



An original quoin from a 24-pdr sea-service carriage recovered from the wreck of HMS *Invincible* which sank in 1758. The base of the quoin is inscribed with the name of the ship which is highly unusual and is thought to be because the ship had non-standard carriages since she had been captured from the French. (Author's collection, courtesy of J. Bingeman)

through, or around, the cascable loop would ensure that the gun would be controlled on recoil.

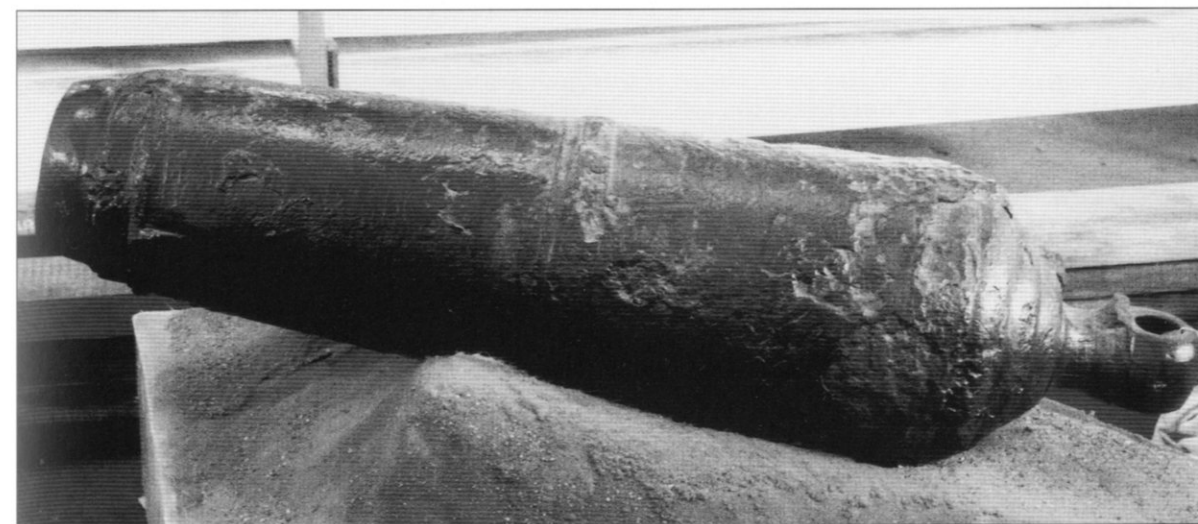
The two tackles were attached to the carriage through ring bolts and also attached to the ship's side in the same way. The tackle ropes used were normally about 3in. in diameter. They were run through a single block at the side of the ship and a double block on the gun. If one looks at the side loops on the gun carriage they are designed to take a block hook and not as is sometimes supposed to pass a rope through.

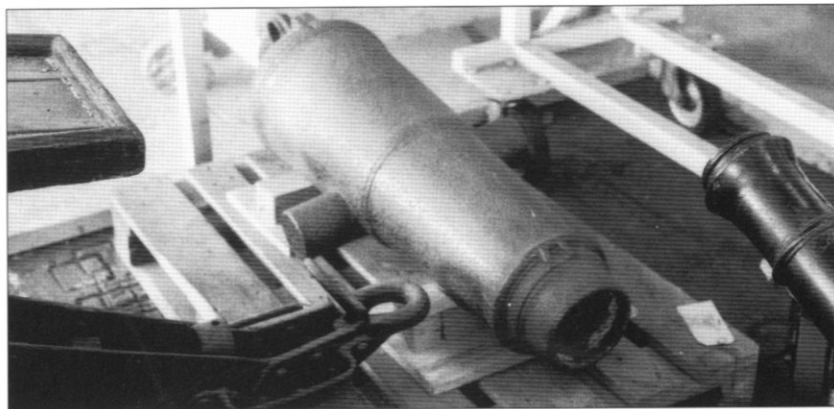
In a rough sea, and when not in use, the guns had to be restrained from moving around the deck. There was a train tackle fitted to the end of the gun carriage and a ring bolt in the centre of the deck. This stopped the gun from moving toward the gun port when the ship was heeling. The gun tackles could also be used to stop the gun from moving, safely lashing it to the side of the ship. This process was called housing the gun. It involved removing the quoin and lashing the gun against the side. There were many ways to do this and normally the muzzle was roped to the side of the ship and smaller ropes or lashings were used to keep the connections tight.

Details of the 32-pdr carriage

Weight: 9cwt 40lb
 Material: elm
 Brackets: 6ft 3in. long x 5.75in. thick x 2ft high
 Axletrees (oak): 31.5in. long (front); 36in. rear
 Arms: 6.25in. wide with 6.375-in. hole
 Trucks: front 18in. diameter, rear 16in.; 6in. wide
 Trunnion axis: 36in. above the deck.
 Quoin (could be of African oak, elm or sabicu): 27in. long x 10.75in. x 6.75in.
 Breeching rope: 8in. diameter x 34ft long
 Side and training tackles: 3-in. diameter rope through 10-in. diameter blocks; ropes for side tackles were 54ft long overall, train tackle 66ft long

An 18-pdr Blomefield gun and carriage. The carriage is a reproduction but was made to the exact specifications of a naval gun carriage of the period. (Explosion, the Museum of Naval Firepower)





Another carronade of the period, but this time a commercial example fitted with trunnions. The weapon has a breeching loop and this is the sort of weapon sold by commercial companies such as Bailey Pegg and Carron to fit out armed merchantmen. (Museum of Naval Firepower, Gosport)

Carronades and new designs

The great invention of this period was the introduction of the carronade, so called after the Carron Ironworks where many of the type were made and where it is speculated that it may have originated. However, it has often been argued that this weapon was the brainchild of Sir Charles Gascoigne, the manager of the Carron Ironworks and it was possible that it could have been called the Gasconnade after Sir Charles. There are several contenders for the honour, including Sir Charles, Lieutenant-General Robert Melvill, and the Carron Company, all of whom have a claim to be the real inventor. Unfortunately it has never been proven who the true originator really was. The first carronades appear about 1778 and were very different to that which was eventually accepted into the Royal Navy.

The carronade was a much lighter, thinner-walled piece than a conventional shipboard gun. It had a small powder chamber instead of a continuous bore and usually had no trunnions. Instead it was fixed to its mounting by a cast iron loop underneath the barrel and had a horizontal cast loop at the rear of the gun to take an elevating screw. The carronade had fittings for sights at the reinforce, and a muzzle ring cast into the iron body of the weapon.

RANGES OF CARRONADES (IN YARDS)

Carronade	Weight	Length	Bore	Charge	Range by Elevation				
					1°	2°	3°	4°	5°
68-pdr	36cwt	5ft 4in.	8.05in.	5lb	500	730	940	1,100	1,260
42-pdr	22cwt	4ft 6in.	6.84in.	3lb 8oz	430	700	900	1,050	1,200
32-pdr.	17cwt	4ft	6.25in.	2lb 8oz	380	600	800	975	1,170
24-pdr.	13cwt	3ft 9in.	5.68in.	2lb	360	580	770	950	1,120
18-pdr	10cwt	3ft 4in.	6.16in.	1lb 8oz	340	550	745	920	1,050
12-pdr.	6cwt	2ft 8in.	4.52in.	1lb	310	520	715	890	970

One of the most notable features of carronades was that they were designed to have a greatly lessened windage. Windage was the name given to the gap between the side of the round shot and the wall of the bore. The reduced windage meant that more energy was projected onto the shot because less air escaped around its sides. The shot were cast in a spherical mould of the same diameter as the bore of the carronade. In a normal gun an allowance would be made for windage. The windage for the carronade was achieved by the shot shrinking after it had cooled down. For a greatly

reduced powder charge the same velocity could be achieved at short range. So a very heavy shot could be fired from a light gun, though only at comparatively short range. The nickname of the carronade – the smasher – literally described its function. Carronades were made in calibres from the 6-pdr up to the 68-pdr monsters that were mounted on HMS *Victory*, though, as with the 42-pdr long gun, it is thought that the ammunition for these weapons was simply too heavy for practical service at sea.

From the beginning of its life, however, the carronade became widely accepted as a powerful weapon with lethal capacity at close range. Some ships were even exclusively armed with carronades, like the *Glutton*, present during Nelson's victory at Copenhagen, and famous as having Captain Bligh as its commander.

COMPARISON OF GUN AND CARRONADE CALIBRE

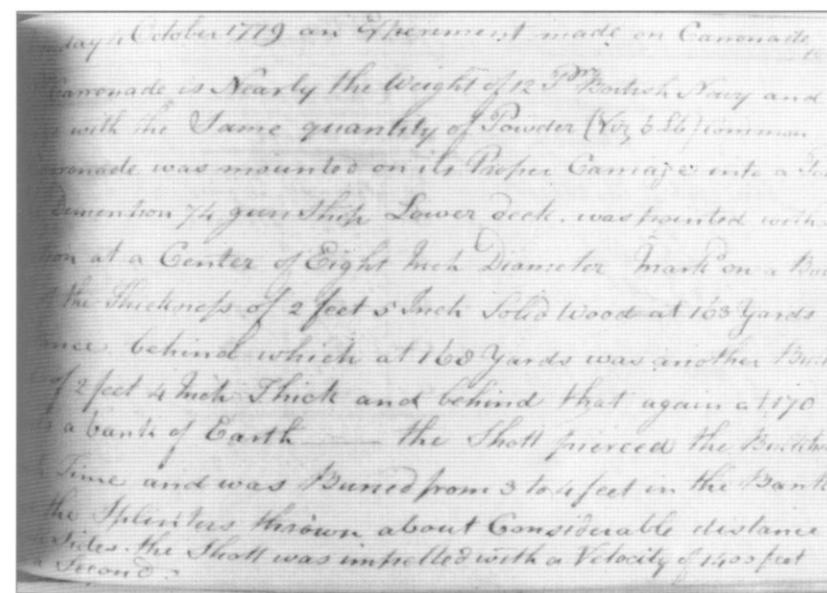
Calibre	gun	carronade	Difference
42-pdr	7.018in.	6.84in.	.178in.
32-pdr	6.41in.	6.25in.	.16in.
24-pdr	5.823in.	5.68in.	.143in.
18-pdr	5.292in.	5.16in.	.132in.
12-pdr	4.623in	4.52in	.103in

A further page from the notebook of William Rivers detailing experiments made with carronades in 1779. It concerns the ability of the carronade to pierce two large balks of wood 2ft 3in. thick at 160 yards range. After destroying both pieces the shot buried itself in a bank of earth up to 4ft. (Courtesy Royal Naval Museum)

The reduced windage combined with a short barrel meant that the process of placing the ammunition into the muzzle was difficult so a small recess was cast into the muzzle face to allow the loader's fingers to manipulate the shot. Carronades were not generally mounted on truck carriages since their design precluded this; instead they were mounted on slides. These consisted of two parts. The upper mounting was a wooden frame upon which the carronade was fitted. The lower mount of the carriage consisted of a long flat wooden board slotted along its length, through which a central pintle passed to attach it to the upper carriage. The lower carriage was attached to the gunport at the muzzle

end and the breech end rested on two iron trucks which allowed the mounting to be traversed laterally inside the ship. This whole arrangement meant that the gun could be moved up and down the slide and across the face of the gun port. The upper carriage could also be angled, giving a theoretical traverse both on the main and upper carriage.

One of the most innovative features of this mounting was the use of an elevating screw. This method of elevating a gun had never really caught on in the Navy but in land service it was



widely used. The carronade, however, as well as a breeching loop, had a flat cascable ring, cast in the horizontal plane, and threaded to take a long pin turned with a coarse screw thread. Fixed to this was a handle with four protrusions that could be used to turn the screw, thus moving the breech end of the carronade up and down. Contemporary drawings show that the design was such that, on firing, this screw and the loop underneath the barrel would take most of the recoil strain and, although there was a very sturdy breeching rope, the screw must have been damaged by continuous firing. The viciousness of the recoil of carronades was legendary, and was all the more apparent because they were mounted in such a peculiar way. The mountings could easily be damaged by repeated firings.

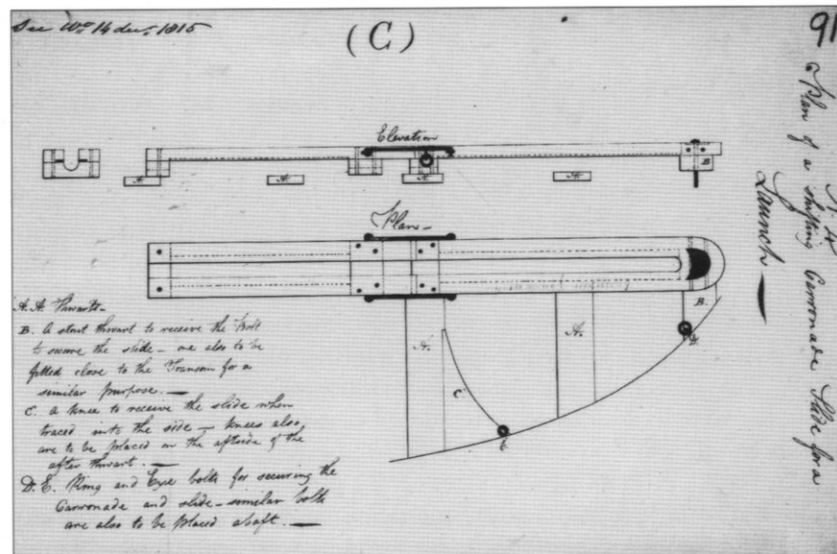
The carronade was not always mounted upon a slide and sometimes the weapon was even cast with trunnions (horizontal projections used to elevate the gun) and given a truck carriage in the bow or stern of the ship. These, however, were commercially produced guns that did not conform to Admiralty patterns, although some of them undoubtedly found their way onto ships of the Royal Navy.

Once the carronade had been invented, tried and tested, other forms of gun came to the fore. William Congreve, the great artillery designer, applied his knowledge of gunnery to what he saw as the naval problem and produced many new designs (it was common for serving officers to produce new designs as a way of drawing attention to their skills). Congreve and another gentleman called John Gover presented their ideas to the Admiralty with mixed results.

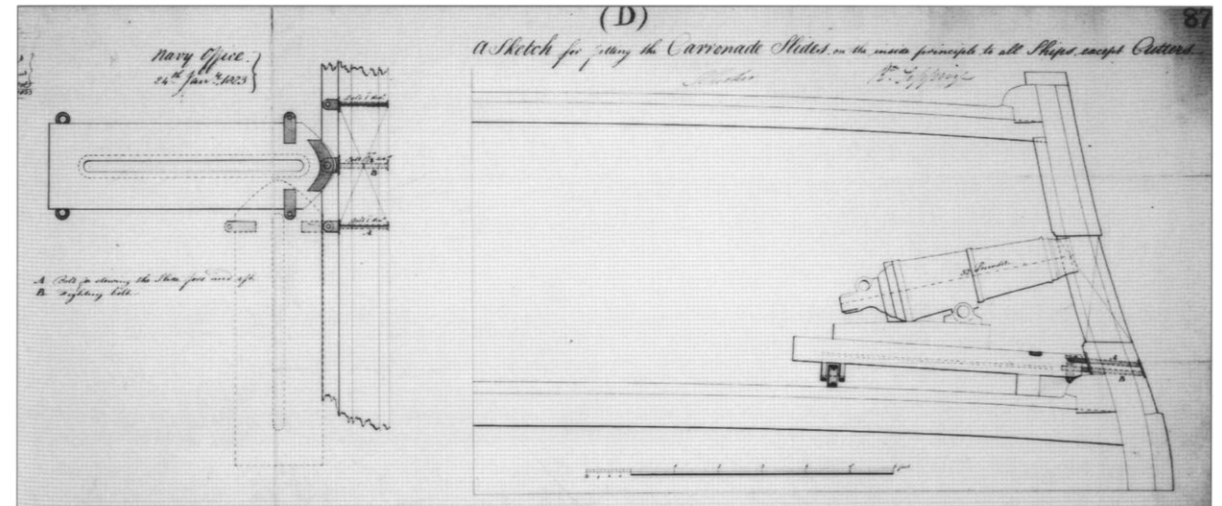
Congreve's guns appear to have been an attempt to marry the carronade to the conventional long gun and did not really come into any use until just after the Napoleonic wars. Nevertheless, Congreve also invented a highly unusual system of mounting guns – their trunnions



An apron of lead from a carronade recovered from HMS Pomone. This apron was designed so that it covered the entire lock of the carronade, hence its unusual shape. (Author's collection, courtesy of J. Bingeman)



A very interesting plan of the pattern for a carronade slide that was fitted to a ship's launch. Drawn for the Admiralty and dated 1815. (Royal Naval Museum)



Side elevation of a carronade slide that was fitted on the inside principle to all ships except for cutters. Drawn for the Admiralty and dated 1815. (Royal Naval Museum)

were mounted on a tiny-wheeled trolley – which would have considerably reduced the space needed for gun carriages aboard ship. Although he produced a pamphlet detailing these ideas, no real changes were implemented by the Admiralty.

Gover's 24-pdr gun was accepted by the Admiralty and was used to equip some older ships-of-the-line as a uniform armament. It was a move away from the traditional idea of a gun mounting and included a fairly radical gun carriage design. According to A. Caruana the system was tested aboard HMS Kent in 1799 and was adopted by the Admiralty. It consisted of a two-part carriage fixed at one end to the ship's side and with a ratcheted elevating post at the other. The carriage was traversed by ropes attached on either side of the mount. A top carriage held the gun. Looking at contemporary images of the system it would seem that the whole of the mounting would take up considerable space on a man of war. It is perhaps for this reason that the system was not widely adopted in the Navy and was used only on gunboats and bow mounts.

When firing a gun at another ship, two key movements of the barrel are involved, traverse, in other words the horizontal movement of the gun from right to left, and elevation, the raising or lowering of the breech in order to increase or decrease range. The difficulty was increased with the need to fire when the vessel itself was inclined or moving violently. Take such inhibiting factors as smoke, wounded comrades and splinters flying in all directions and one can see that keeping one's head in action was far from easy. Firing quickly and accurately could only be done through endless drill. The only standard sights available to the naval gunner were the quarter sights engraved on the breech ring and muzzle of a gun. Aligning them and aiming along them was a very imprecise way of pointing the gun, though British doctrine traditionally required that ships should manoeuvre to such close range that it was rapidity of fire and not precision of aim which determined the outcome.

In the Napoleonic Wars the only way of elevating and aiming a long gun along its upper surface was by the use of the tangent scale. Of course, fighting by the British was expected to be at close range and therefore theoretically devices to improve long-range gunnery were not required. However, in gun handling just as in gun design, there was a degree of

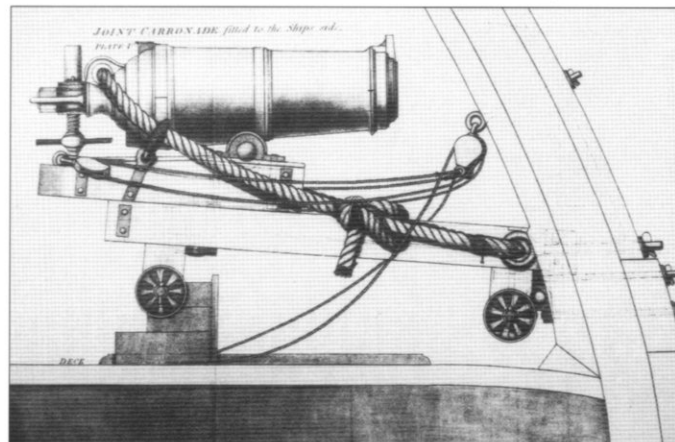
innovation, and as stated previously it was normally carried out by captains on an individual basis. Captain Philip Broke was such a man and is best known as the captain of HMS *Shannon*, the frigate that famously captured the USS *Chesapeake* during the War of 1812. His obsession with gunnery refinements was such that he had all of his ship's guns fitted with dispart sights (a raised sight at the muzzle). The guns also had tangent sights (the tangent sight was a raised sight fixed at the rear of the breech which allowed the gun to be elevated and aimed at the same time) made out of wood. These were drawn by

Broke in his notebook (Broke papers HA93 877/16). The gun-decks on the *Shannon* were also marked with pre-determined angles to which the guns could be traversed so that they could be pointed and elevated uniformly and as ordered even when their crews could not see the target. It is also said that Broke's gun carriages had been altered so that they lay horizontally despite the sheer of the deck. Contrary to common belief this commander and others like him proved that gunnery innovation did exist during this period. Unfortunately there were no real attempts at standardising these innovations, so gunnery practices varied throughout the Navy.

Other innovations also helped guns to fire at the right moment in conditions of limited vision. As was usual it was the experimentation of captains at sea that led to these innovations. One method was to fix a pendulum placed in a hatchway to indicate the angle of inclination of the ship. (If the guns on both sides of a ship were being used in an action it was usually necessary, since the ship was nearly always heeled over one way or another, to depress the guns on one broadside and elevate those on the other side. This would be done by a general order from the captain.)

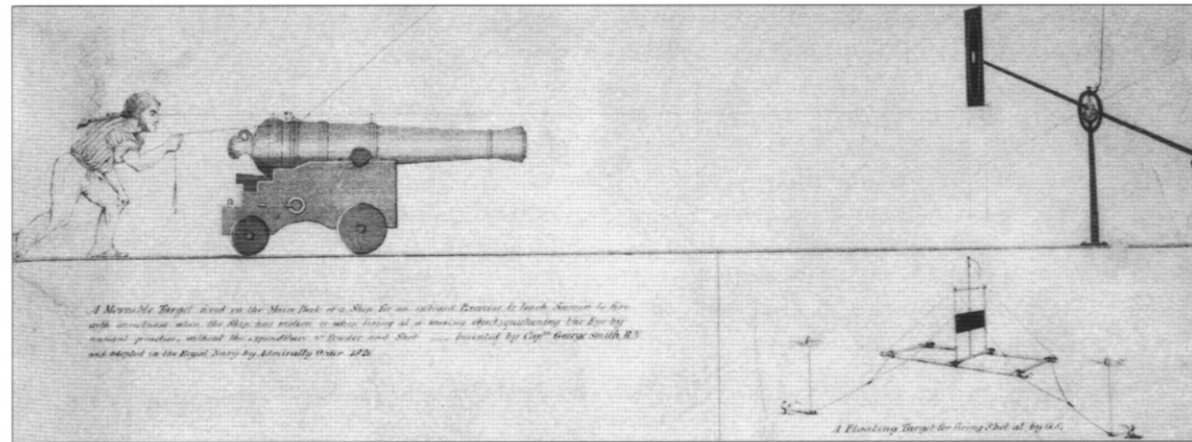
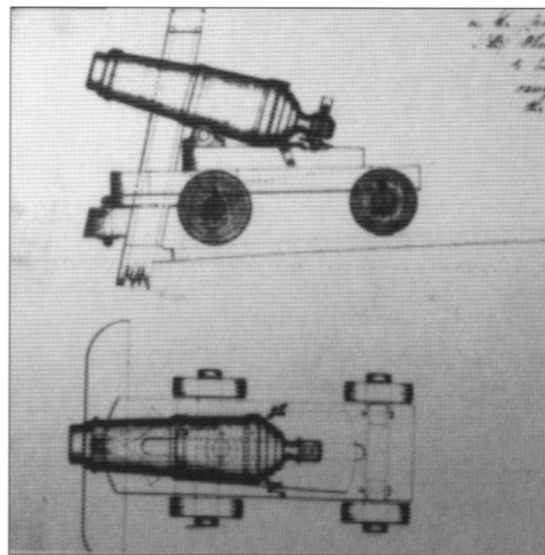
Drill and organisation

The guns of a man of war were numbered from bow to stern on each side. The first port gun was known as Port No. 1 and the starboard as Starboard No. 1. The odd numbered guns on the port side and the even numbered guns on the starboard side were known as the right guns and the others as the left guns. Guns on the various decks were organised into divisions and each was either as foremost quarter or an after quarter. The officer commanding a division was known as the officer of the quarter. The gun captain was the seaman petty officer in charge of a gun. In larger ships a lieutenant would command half the guns on a deck and smaller groups of three or four guns would be under the nominal control of a midshipman. These officers and petty officers, and the guns' crews themselves, were not in any sense



One of the finest images of a carronade and slide available, but demonstrating some unusual fittings. The mount has trucks facing the gunport and may have been for moving the carriage when it was disconnected from the ship's side. (Royal Collection, Netherlands)

BELOW An alternative method of mounting a carronade aboard ship. The carriage appears to be composed of two parts, much the same as the fixed slide would be, but this one has been fitted with axles and wheels. (National Maritime Museum)



An original document from 1820 showing the method of training a gunner in aiming at a moving target. It gives a good impression of the type of position taken up by the gunner before firing. (Museum of Naval Firepower, Gosport)

gunnery specialists; they had numerous other duties in the ship. Ships did have specialist gunnery personnel, headed by the ship's gunner, a warrant officer appointed to the ship by the Ordnance Board. His role and duties, and those of his subordinates, will be explained shortly.

In all there were typically 13 men and one boy allocated to each 32-pdr gun on a 74-gun ship. This did not mean that as many were always available to man the gun in action and training often included practice in crewing a gun with fewer men. Men could be called away for sail handling or similar duties, or could be drawn off to serve the guns on the other side of the ship, though it was uncommon for guns on both sides to be in action simultaneously. The men in a gun crew were allocated numbers and each had specific tasks to perform.

As an example, following the command 'clear for action', their main duties were as follows:

- 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 Prepare to cast loose the gun, but never to cast it loose without orders.
- 9 has charge of the sponge rammer and... staff towards the ship's side.
- 10 fetches swab and two handspikes one placed at the gun in the manner of 9.
- 2 Sees that a match and tub is at hand. Fetches a fire bucket and lantern with a number of vent plugs.
- 11 Holds priming cartridge, fetches powder horn, priming iron, tube box and casts loose the apron.
- 12 Provides shot and wads, trains tackle... and to see that spare breechings with seizings are stopped up near the gun.
- 1 The Captain of the gun fixes the lock, clears the vent, supplies flints, has a spare lanyard and examines the condition of flints in the lock.
- 13 Powderman is to fetch the cartridge from the magazine, in a salt box after which he is only to fetch one at a time in a cartridge case, as there may be one, but not more than one in the area.

In the drill manual, *Instructions for the exercise of the great guns 1818*, the carronade drill is slightly different. Here the crew is reduced to seven men largely because the carronade was normally mounted on a slide (as previously described) and did not need as much manpower to run the gun in and out.

- 1 Captain primes, points, elevates, trains slide.
- 2 Second captain stops vent and trains slide.
- 3 Loads
- 4 Sponges
- 5, 6, 2 run out
- 5 Supplies cartridge and wad to 3
- 7 Keeps cartridges supplied.

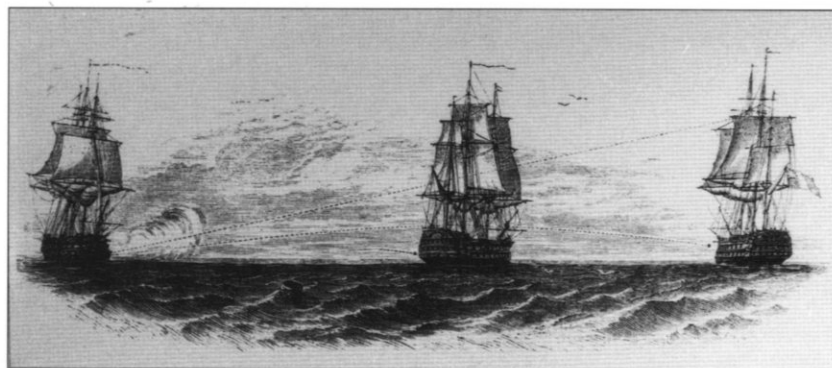
Prior to the establishment of HMS *Excellent* on Whale Island in Portsmouth in the 1840s the Navy had no training organisation for gunnery. Therefore a great deal of the knowledge that crews had to acquire in the handling of guns was given by instruction on board ship by the ship's gunner. Much knowledge was gained empirically and handed down orally.

The gunner of any ship was a key member of the crew. He was an officer of the ship but, as noted above, his authority derived from his warrant issued by the Ordnance Board. He thus had a dual responsibility, in part to the Board and in part, like any other member of the crew, to the ship's captain. His responsibilities were very varied but he was undoubtedly the ship's senior ordnance expert. He needed to be knowledgeable in maintaining the guns and their related equipment, in handling and preparing ammunition, and in training men to use the weapons in action. In action the gunner would normally work in the magazine, supervising the handling and distribution of ammunition to the guns; he would usually not be directly involved with the operation of the guns themselves. In small vessels with few officers the gunner might also serve as one of the officers of the watch, in addition to his particular tasks.

It is interesting to note the captain's instructions to his gunner on HMS *Sybil* during this period, which lay down specific duties such as the time the gunner is to get up and his responsibilities towards ammunition supply. He had to be up at five o'clock in the morning and:

'He is to see that all the guns are clean'd wash'ed and dried, that they are well secured and ready for service, that their vents and tompons are well in and no shot loose in the guns. He and his mates to inspect the guns regularly during the day and night.'

He was expected to keep 25lb of powder cartridges filled ready for use and loading and handling of powder was his responsibility, although he was never to open the magazine unless at the orders of the commanding



Different methods of firing at the hull or masts of a ship at just over 1,000 yards. From Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery of 1820* (taken from a copy of the 1855 fourth edition). (Museum of Naval Firepower, Gosport)

officer. In order to keep the crews trained he was instructed to exercise two guns daily, except on Sundays and Thursdays.

To achieve all this the gunner was assisted by various mates and others such as a Quarter-Gunner (an assistant to the gunner who maintained the guns and filled powder charges etc.). There was one quarter-gunner to every gun. According to the notebook of William Rivers, the gunner of HMS *Victory*, the following could be conceived as the specialist weapons personnel of a 100-gun first-rate or 98-gun second-rate ship-of-the-line:

Rank	first rate	second rate
[Gunner's] Mates	4	4
2nd class gunners	25	23
Armourer	1	1
Armourer's mates	2	2
Gunsmith	1	1
Gunner's Taylor	1	1

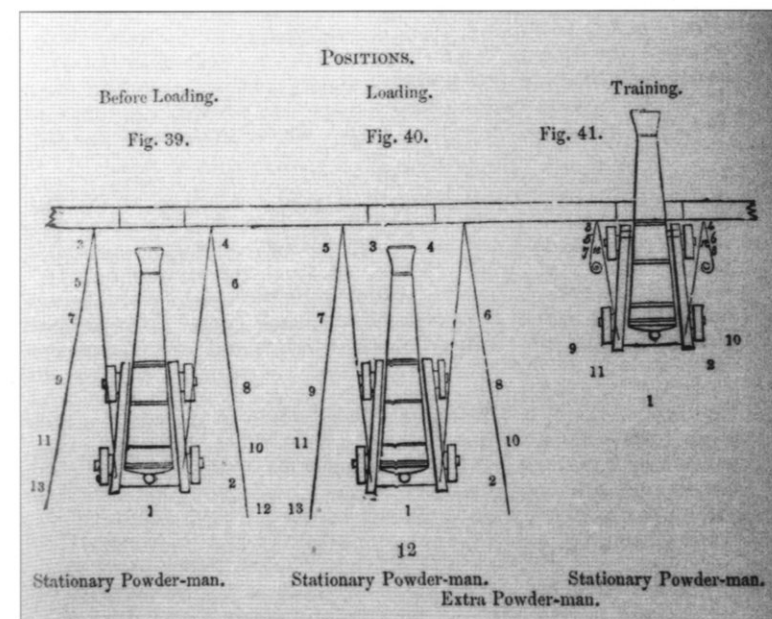
It is not clear whether this information is given solely in reference to Rivers' ship only or relates to all HM ships-of-the-line but clearly there were quite a few gunnery specialists on board ship. It is also clear that they were not only expected to be experts in their field but also worked the ship when required and were regarded as elite seamen by other sailors.

Tools and equipment

Many pieces of equipment were required to fire a gun and maintain it. There were the general tools such as the rammer, sponge, linstock, worm, handspike, apron of lead, gunlock and buckets. The handspike was a stout bar used to lever the gun carriage or barrel on the ship's deck. A worm or wadhook was used to scour the inside of the barrel to remove burning embers or blockages. It consisted of a wooden staff with a spiral iron

hook on its end. The sponge was a staff with a large sheepskin head used for damping down burning embers and cleaning the gun barrel. The rammer was a long staff with a cylindrical wooden head usually slightly smaller than the bore, used to ram home the powder and cartridge. A flexible sponge and rammer could also be used; this had the same head as the rammer described above but mounted on a length of sturdy rope. This meant that the rammer could be bent to the muzzle of the gun and rammed from the side without having to run in the gun fully. A priming iron was a tool for clearing the vent and piercing the cartridge case. This was normally a non-

Positions of the gun crew at various tasks. The first positions are before and after loading and the third image is the position with four men a side on the training tackles. From Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery*. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



ferrous metal spike. The vent needed to be kept dry in heavy seas so a fid or vent cover (a small piece of twine or even a wooden peg) was placed in the vent when not in use. There might also be an apron – a lead cover to prevent damp entering the vent. This was often placed over the fid.

Powder handling also required a great number of tools and apart from cartridge cases, leather buckets, bags and other such items there were some specialist pieces of equipment used in the magazines. Much of what we know about naval gunnery comes from information gleaned from archives and documents. However, recently gunnery implements have been recovered from many shipwrecks and studied by underwater archaeologists. One of the finest finds in recent years has been the wreck of the *Invincible* which was found complete with gunners' stores. The ship sank in 1758, which is obviously before the period under investigation, but it appears that many of the implements and tools were of exactly the same pattern as those in use during the Napoleonic Wars.

Navy guns of the Napoleonic period were fired by flintlock mechanisms, though there has been some debate in historical circles as to exactly when the gunlock was generally introduced. It is clear from letters written by the Admiralty in 1755 that gunlocks were to be fitted for use on HM ships. These locks were fixed to the side of the vent field on the gun and were used in conjunction with tin priming tubes. These tubes were filled with an exploding composition, which meant that the whole process of priming the gun became far more efficient than before. To prime the gun the charge bag was pierced with a priming iron. Then a priming tube was placed in the vent and the gunlock cocked. Previous to this the vent had to be filled with loose gunpowder, which was time consuming and dangerous with burning embers around. However, this cosy view of the efficient gunlock is not wholly realistic as we know that linstocks were also kept on hand and that the gunflints themselves frequently broke or the locks misfired. What they did do, when they were functioning correctly, was speed up the firing process.

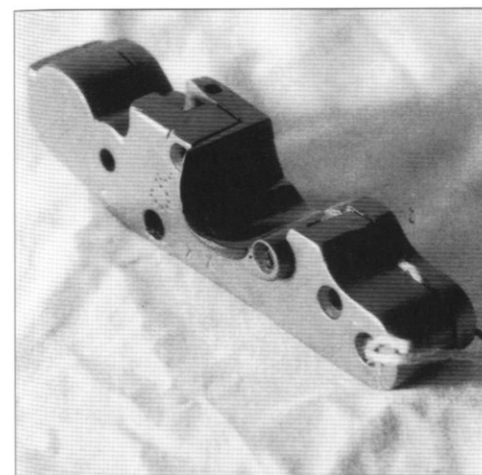
Tactical doctrine

We are lucky to have a variety of sources that help us understand sea-service gunnery. Since at least the 17th century, sea-service gunnery was singled out as a special discipline and although specific manuals relating to gunnery only appear at the end of this period, general works such as Falconer's *Marine Dictionary* deal with aspects of gunnery. Apart from these sources there are other documents that span the period of the Napoleonic Wars but also refer to later practice. One of the best is that written by General Sir Howard Douglas whose father was Admiral Sir Charles Douglas of the *Duke*. Charles Douglas was a major innovator in the Navy, introducing gun locks and sights for his guns. Unfortunately most of his ideas were not adopted until after the wars but like Broke he used them with success. Although a landlubber, Howard Douglas was extremely interested in naval guns and wrote his famous treatise *Naval Gunnery* in 1820 after the



ABOVE A leather bucket typical of the Napoleonic period with copper rivet fittings and a copper ring. These were used for dipping the sponge prior to swabbing the bore of the gun. The excess water was normally wiped off because, if the sponge were too damp, this could affect the firing of the gun. It is a common misconception that the sponge was used to clean the bore of the gun. While this was one function, the main function was to put out burning embers in the gun barrel before loading a new charge and thus preventing a premature explosion. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

RIGHT One of the diagrams in Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery*, which demonstrates how to manoeuvre across the wake of another ship and how to avoid this situation. The ship which has its stern exposed to the broadside of the other is in a dangerous position. The weakest point of any ship was the stern through which guns could pour fire down the length of the vessel, destroying everything in the path of the shot. The stern did not have the strength of the sides of the ship and was normally covered in glass windows. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



A bronze gunlock also taken from the wreck of the *Pomone*. This example does not have the firing cock or frizzen; being made of iron these parts have dissolved in the seawater. This lock was made by Walter Dick of the Armouries of the Tower of London. (Author's collection, courtesy of J. Bingeman)

Napoleonic Wars but based on all the occurrences of those years. It was reissued four times between 1820 and 1860 and has many interesting observations on naval gunnery during the smooth-bore period.

There were many different techniques for fighting the guns at sea. The basic tactic was for ships to be formed in a line of battle, with each ship following behind the one ahead. This allowed all of the guns along the sides of the ship to fire with a clear field of view. It is often not appreciated just how slow a Napoleonic naval battle could be since the ships were at the mercy of the wind and might have to manoeuvre for hours to get into position. But once within range of one another the battle would become vicious and terrifying.

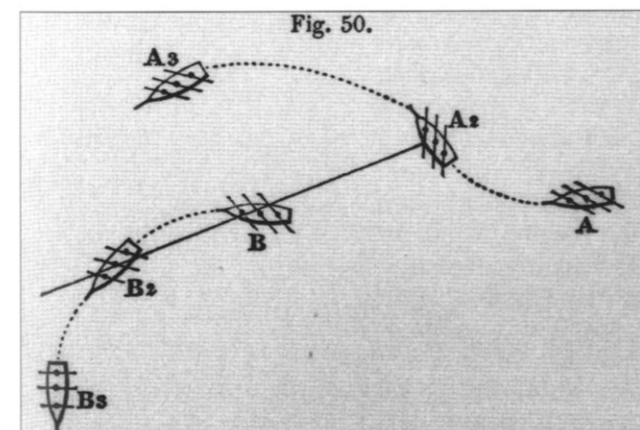
Douglas had this to say about it:

'... naval actions are subject to such sudden and unforeseen mutations in the positions of the contending ships, and are liable to such great alterations in the distances of the ships, that until the affair becomes close and the struggle is near its termination, no two rounds can be fired exactly under the same circumstances.'

This insistence on action at close range is somewhat contradicted by the existence of other forms of gunnery attack. For example the use of ricochet fire suggests subtle differences in the type of gunnery duels carried out. Ricochet fire had been known in naval gunnery since the 16th century and basically used the same technique as a child who throws a flat stone to skip across the surface of the water. This technique was well developed by the Napoleonic era. A gun could be made to extend its range, even if it lost its velocity, by bouncing the projectile off the water and if the technique was employed correctly the shot would hit the target at the right velocity to cause maximum damage, especially if more than one ship were moored, one behind the other. This phenomenon was considered by Falconer to create more disorder by going much more slowly than if thrown from the piece by greater force (Falconer, p.231). In 1828 Beachant, when investigating this phenomenon, said that a charge of $\frac{1}{2}$ the weight of the shot from a 24-pdr of 9ft 6in. and at 1-degree elevation would

achieve a range of 2,500 yards by ricochet fire. It was thought that the technique was particularly successful against groups of small vessels when one ball could damage several vessels.

At this point it would be interesting to consider the range at which vessels opened fire. A gun such as the 24-pdr would have a point-blank range of around 250 yards. That is the shot would first make contact with the water when the gun was level at 250 yards. The gun was most powerful at this range and had to be elevated by degrees to get more range. The modern author Tunstall stated that one of the most damaging attacks was to



use reduced charges and alternately depress and elevate the guns at close range causing the maximum number of splinters. Battles could often start at a range of 1,000 yards but ranges between 150–250 yards were much more likely if a vessel was to be severely damaged. Raking the ship meant firing along its length from stern or prow so that the shot scoured the whole length of the deck. It was seen as one of the most effective forms of tactical firing.

Carronades had their own tactical peculiarities. They may have had a destructive effect at short range but it was soon found that vessels armed with the weapons were at a serious disadvantage when faced with ships with longer guns, as was demonstrated in the War of 1812. Sir James Yeo, who commanded the British squadron opposing the Americans on Lake Erie, found that with only six guns in the fleet that would reach the enemy (who obviously kept out of range) not a carronade was fired. So it became obvious that a mixed weapon complement was required. When the range was closed the carronade came into its own.

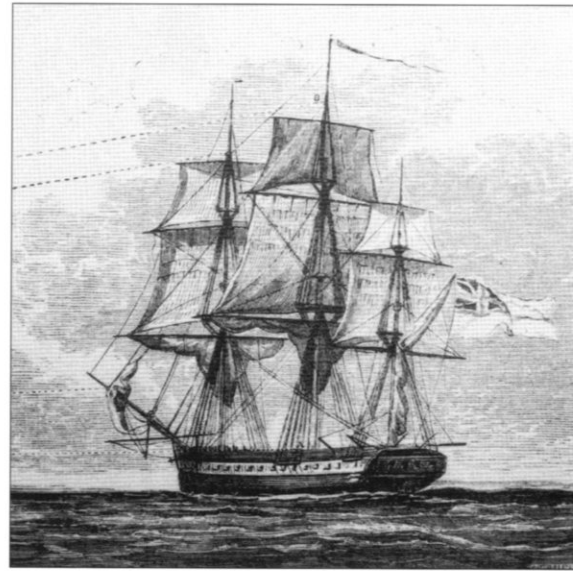
Small-bore artillery and swivel guns

The use of large numbers of anti-personnel weapons on board the warships of the period is often overlooked by historians in favour of concentrating on the phenomenal effect of the big guns. Many smaller weapons were mounted on the bulwarks and in the fighting tops of larger ships as well as forming significant parts of the armament of the smaller vessels or being carried in ships' boats. Small guns were often mounted in the bow or stern to provide additional firepower to the front and rear of the vessel that the broadside could not reach. Disabling or killing enemy crews was obviously a high priority and the number of small guns was prodigious in all navies. These weapons could produce a withering storm of small projectiles that would be devastating at short range.

Apart from the guns that were mounted on carriages all over the ships, there were also a large variety of guns mounted on the bulwarks on reinforced stanchions. These typically were of 1-in. to 2-in. calibre. These guns, which we shall call collectively swivel guns, were true cannon rather than small arms. They could be made of brass or iron and were mounted upon wrought iron yokes affixed to pintles that would be located in holes on the ship's rail or on stanchions. The cascables could have specially added iron or wooden handles called tillers, which were used to aim the guns.

It might seem at first glance that the swivel was just fitted to a socket on the rail but this does not take into account the recoil of the gun. Hence a knee behind the mounting often reinforced the stanchion and the upper head of the stanchion could be reinforced with an iron band. These guns were not solely used for combat purposes and it was quite common for them to be used as signal guns when the need arose.

It was usual for these guns to be mounted on the higher points of the ship such as the quarterdeck. They were kept loaded and spare charges



A method of range-finding by using two observers on ship to establish the angles between the observers and the main topgallant masthead. From Howard Douglas's *Naval Gunnery*. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

Two fine examples of swivel pieces for use aboard ship. The lower weapon made by Wilson is dated 1793 and is missing its yoke. The weapon is 1-in. bore. The upper weapon was made by Barnet and has part of the cock missing. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



were kept in a budge barrel near the gun. A budge barrel was a wooden barrel with a leather insert into which charges were put. It could be tied shut thus protecting the charges from any flying sparks. Swivels could fire a $\frac{3}{4}$ -pound ball or a collection of small shot known as partridge shot. The charge was around 4 ounces of powder per gun.

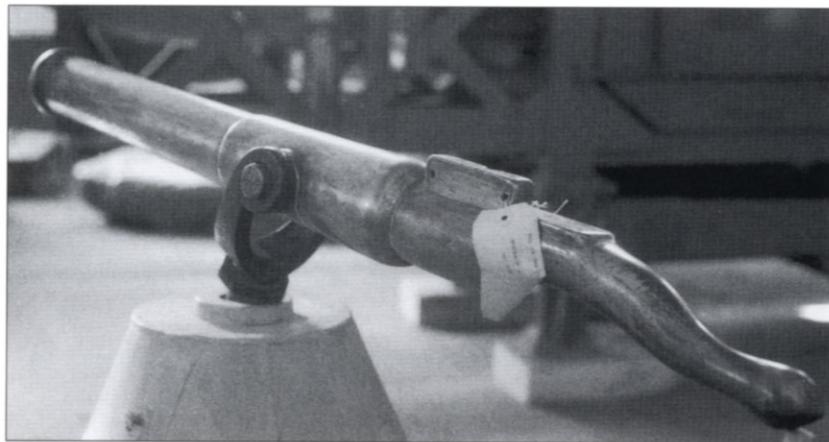
A French variation on this theme was known as the *espingole* and was a completely brass weapon with a straight barrel terminating in a flat muzzle ring. The weapon was cast with trunnions and the rear part of the gun, instead of having a cascable, had an extended bronze handle, which had become the tiller. It was fitted with a firing lock actuated by a lanyard so no trigger furniture was evident. The bore of the *espingole* was around 2in.

Only the French really tried to introduce some kind of standardisation of larger bore swivel guns, with the pattern of 1786 being the commonest. As has been stated, the gun could be fired by a firing lock but in the larger models it was usually fired by applying a match to the vent by means of a linstock.

Howitzers

Howitzers of the period are generally known as short-barrelled weapons with a small powder chamber firing explosive shells. Some commentators have considered the carronade as a form of howitzer but its primary role was to fire solid shot at short range. It is true that the carronade could be employed to fire common shell but in reality this was not done often. Indeed weapons firing explosive shell were not normally used in ship-to-ship engagements, but were often employed in bombardments of shore targets. The British tended not to use howitzers at sea and relied on mortars for close-in siege work. Hence the 13-in. sea-service mortar was normally used when explosive shells were needed. William Congreve designed a 10-in. sea-service howitzer to carry out the same role as the mortar but it never caught on.

Other countries, particularly in Scandinavia, did use the howitzer to great effect against the British especially from small vessels. Because of their defeat at Copenhagen in 1807, the Danes found themselves with very few large warships. Therefore they adopted many of their gunboats and some flat-bottomed vessels for use in the Baltic. The following is a description from James's *Naval History* describing their exploits against the British:



A French swivel gun or espingole. The lock is missing but the remainder is as issued. This weapon was in use right up until the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

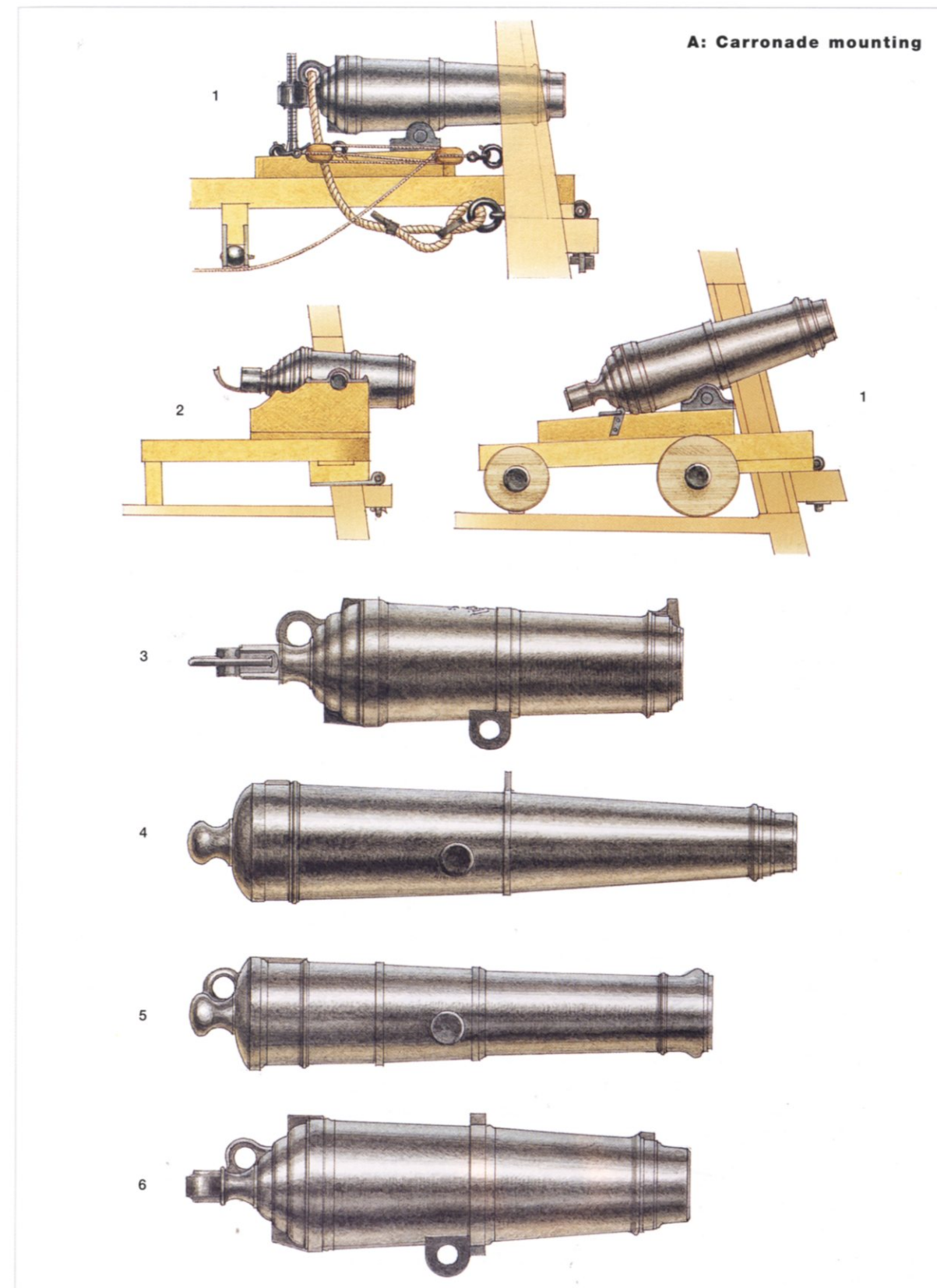
'On the 4 June 1808, during a calm in the Great Belt, the Tickler gun-brig commanded by Lieutenant Skinner, was attacked by 4 Danish gun-boats, and after a conflict of four hours in which the commander was killed, she was obliged to surrender. A few days afterwards, the bomb vessel Thunderer Captain Caulfield, and the gun brig Turbulent Lieutenant Wood, with a convoy of 70 vessels, were attacked by 25 Danish gun boats, when the Turbulent was captured. With 10 or twelve of the merchant ships: and on the 2nd of August, the gun brig Tigress Lieutenant Greensward was taken by 16 Danish gunboats.'

Clearly in their own waters, the Danes had begun to use the gunboat as offensively as a large vessel and they were able to manoeuvre with great skill. A report from Wyborg, Jutland, August 26 1812, 'The Captain of the Attack was himself attacked by a Danish flotilla of gunboats', published in *Naval Chronicle*, August 1812, explains:

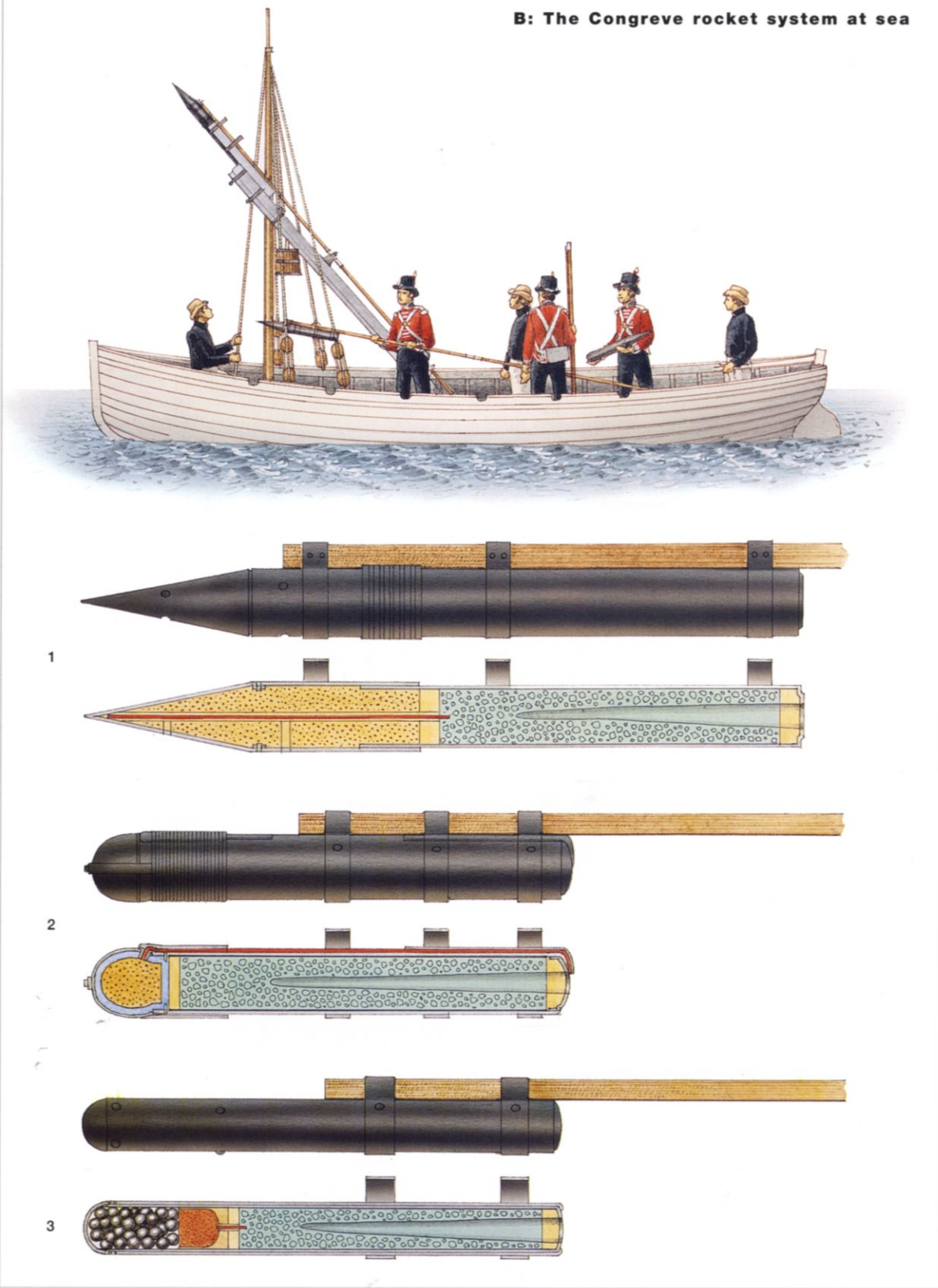
'When the force opposing us is considered, 14 gun-vessels each mounting two 24-pdrs and two howitzers and four row boats containing swivels and howitzers. Then commenced the action with a heavy fire of round, grape and grenadoes (this is the old-fashioned term for common explosive shell used with howitzers) within pistol shot. Until twenty past three, when it being still quite calm, the brig was a complete wreck quite unmanageable and in a sinking state.'

The implication was that small-bore howitzers could inundate larger British vessels with explosive shells that were extremely damaging and lethal to the crew. So what were these gunboats like? They were obviously heavily armed and their armament appears to have been a mixture of long guns and mortars. It may be that the mention of mortars indicates howitzers and not mortars, which would be extremely difficult to aim from such a vessel. A typical weapon of the Danish Navy can be seen in the Royal Armouries collection XIX.181 dated 1771. This weapon has a 3.4-in. calibre and a length of just 1ft 8in. The howitzer is cast with trunnions and was used from the bow of a gunboat.

The Swedes, Russians and Danes all employed some form of rowed warship and the Swedes had specific designs dating from the 1770s by the



B: The Congreve rocket system at sea



C: Light guns



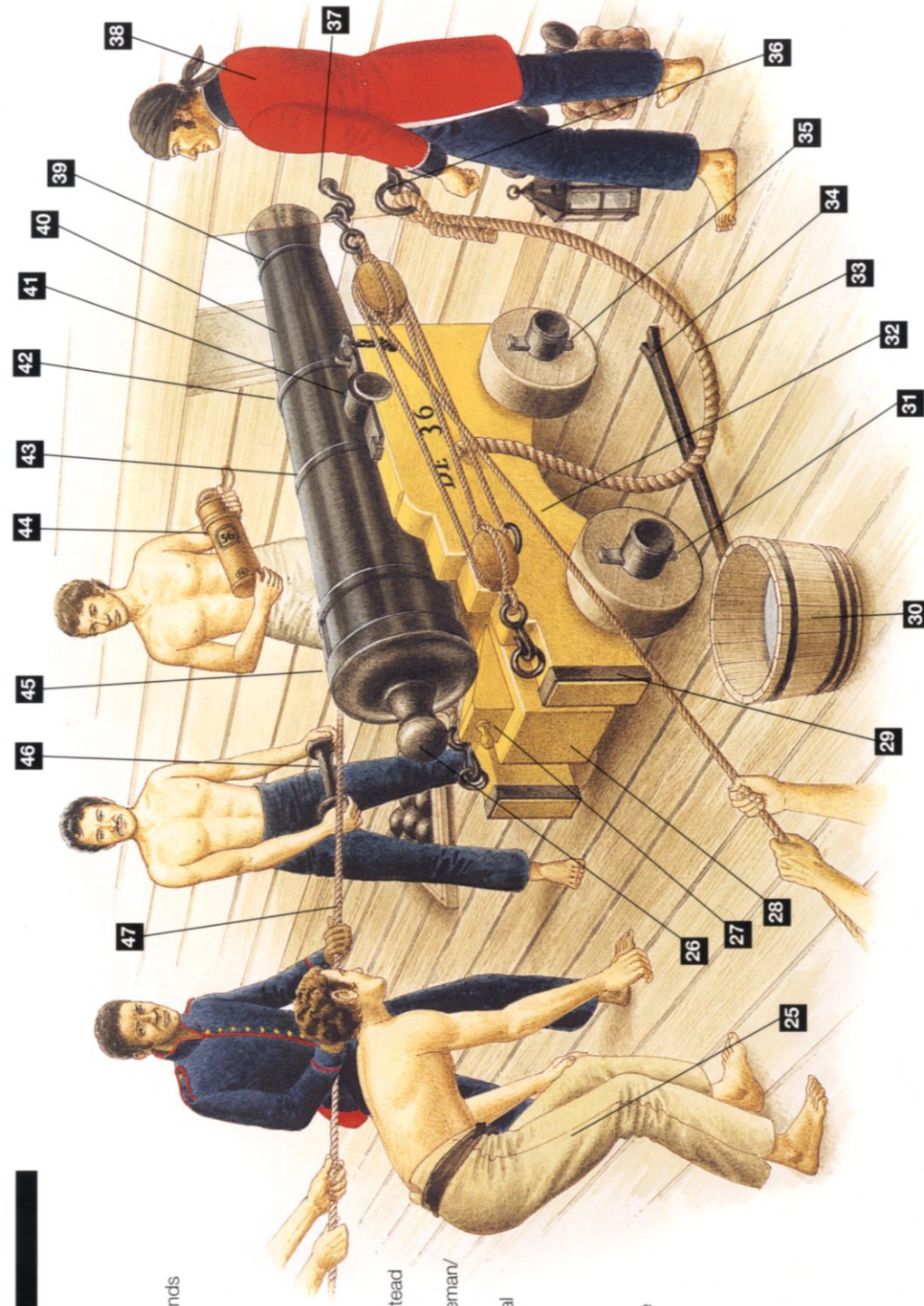
D1: 32-PDR ON THE LOWER GUN DECK



KEY

- 1 Ring bolt
- 2 Cartridge case
- 3 Fore axletree
- 4 Side tackle
- 5 Breaching eye
- 6 Eye bolt
- 7 Hind stub axle
- 8 Lynch pin
- 9 Hind truck
- 10 Breaching
- 11 Cheeks
- 12 Tackle eye
- 13 Quoin
- 14 Hind axletree
- 15 Pully sheave
- 16 Train tackle
- 17 Gun captain
- 18 Hand spike
- 19 Breaching loop
- 20 Expanding shot
- 21 Gun lock
- 22 Flexible rammer
- 23 Capsquare
- 24 Forelock

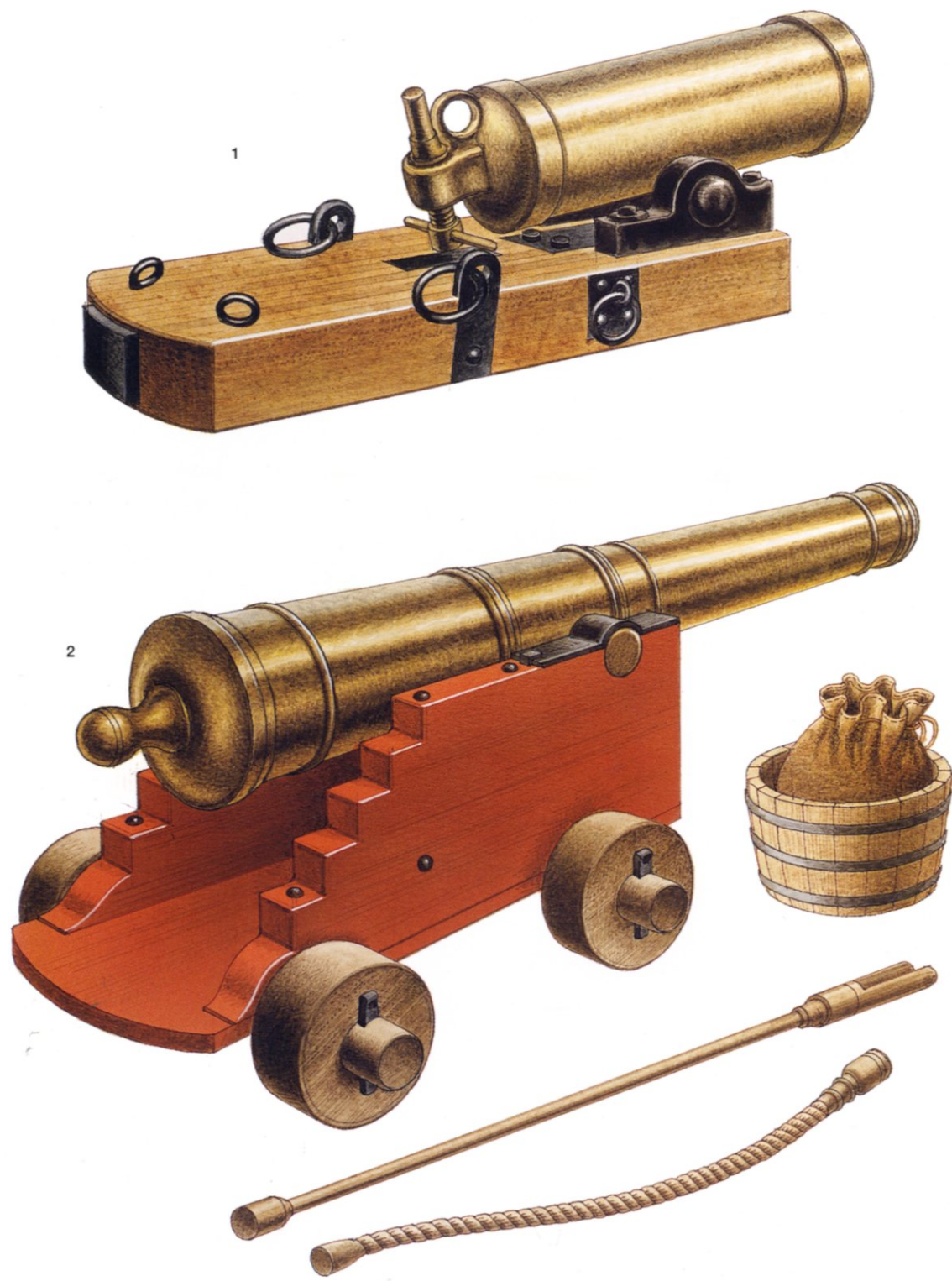
D2: FRENCH 36-PDR IN ACTION



KEY

- 25 Gun captain
- 26 Cascable
- 27 Quoin
- 28 Stool-bed
- 29 Reinforcing bands
- 30 Tub
- 31 Hind truck
- 32 Cheek
- 33 Breaching
- 34 Crow
- 35 Fore truck
- 36 Ringbolt
- 37 Hook used instead of ringbolt
- 38 French spongeman/rammer
- 39 Muzzle astragal
- 40 Chase
- 41 Capsquare
- 42 2nd reinforce
- 43 1st reinforce
- 44 Cartridge case
- 45 Vent field
- 46 Bar shot
- 47 Side tackle

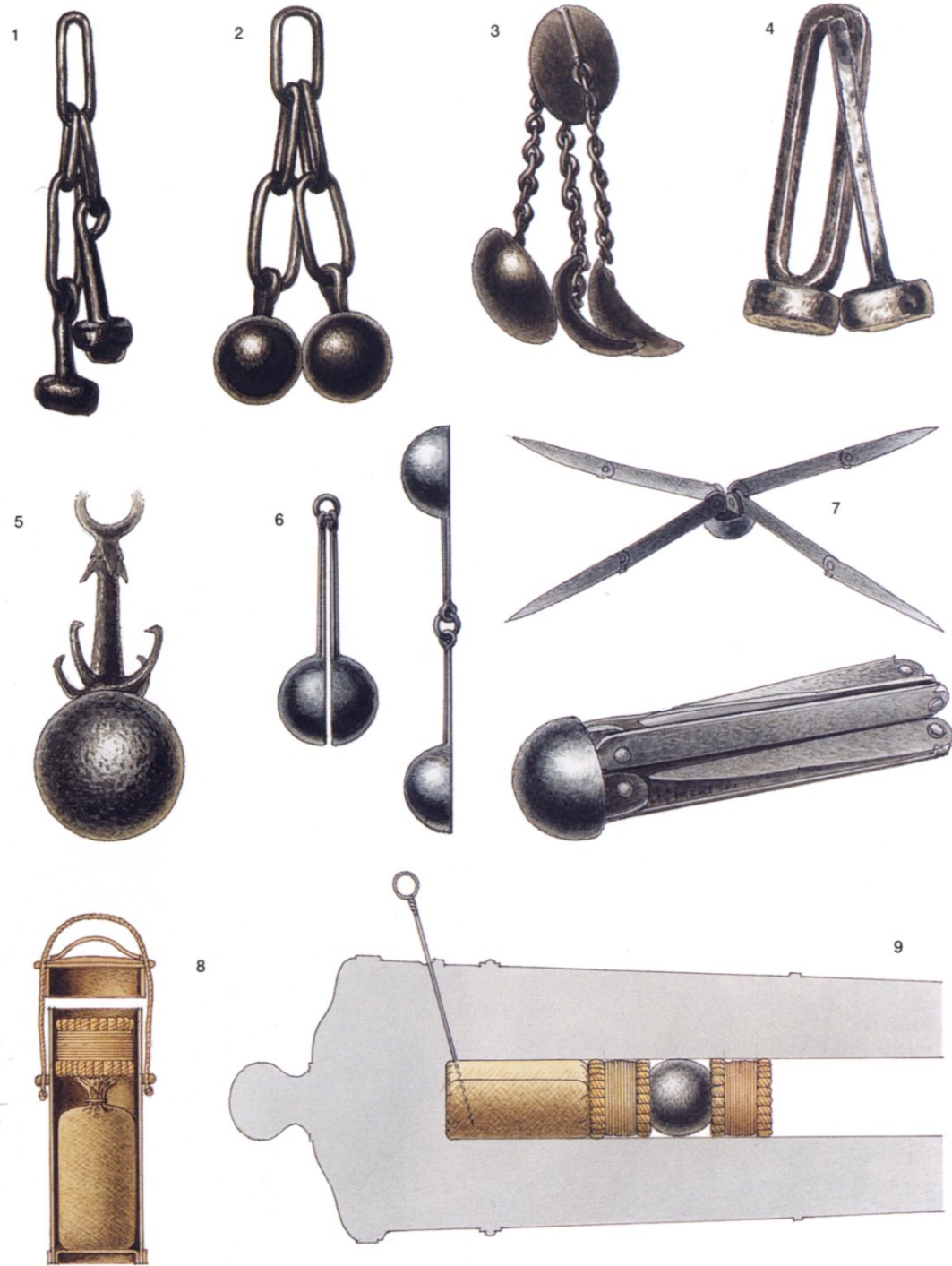
E: French and Spanish weapons



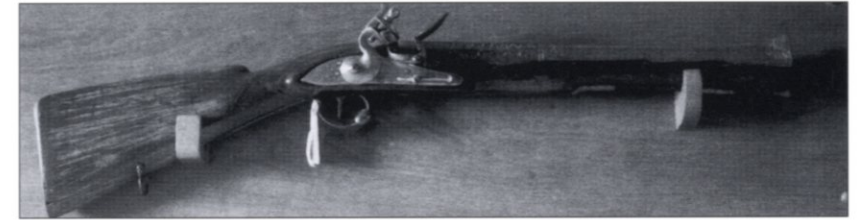
F: Small arms



G: Naval ammunition



A very fine flintlock musketoon manufactured by the London gunmaker Mortimer in 1799. The musketoon was often used to augment the small arms fire of the ship's *petit artillerie*. This example was made for the East India Company, but was presented by the Defence Ordnance Safety Group, Bath, to the Museum of Naval Firepower, Gosport. (Explosion, Museum of Naval Firepower)



naval architect Frederick Henrik Chapman. These vessels were thought to be of 60 tons displacement and could carry two 24-pdr guns, which were substantial weapons and even more destructive when such gunboats were massed in large numbers. A smaller version of this vessel existed with only one gun that could fire aft. The guns were mounted on carriages in turn mounted on rails along the bottom of the vessel. They were manned by crews of 60 and 25 men respectively. The gunboats that fought with British vessels in the Baltic may have been built along similar lines to these Swedish ones and indeed it is thought that these vessels, whether Danish, Swedish or Russian, were very similar in design throughout the Baltic.

If, as we believe, these boats were armed in some measure with howitzers then the explosive shells that were fired must have been devastating in the extreme. The Scandinavians certainly used the howitzer and it is thought that they were occasionally used to damage the rigging and masts of larger vessels. Carronades, too, came to be used by the Scandinavians since a great deal of firepower could be contained in a much smaller weapon that could be mounted on a gunboat.

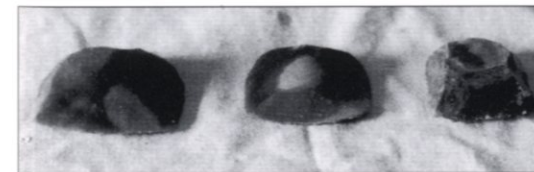
To counter them, the British also built oared gunboats. Contemporary models show that they were often armed with a carronade on an unusual slide mount that ran on a wooden race giving 360 degrees of traverse. Nearly all of the gun mounts used in these boats were stepped carriages mounted on rails that allowed them to fire forward or aft only. This did not present much of a problem because oars could manoeuvre the vessel.

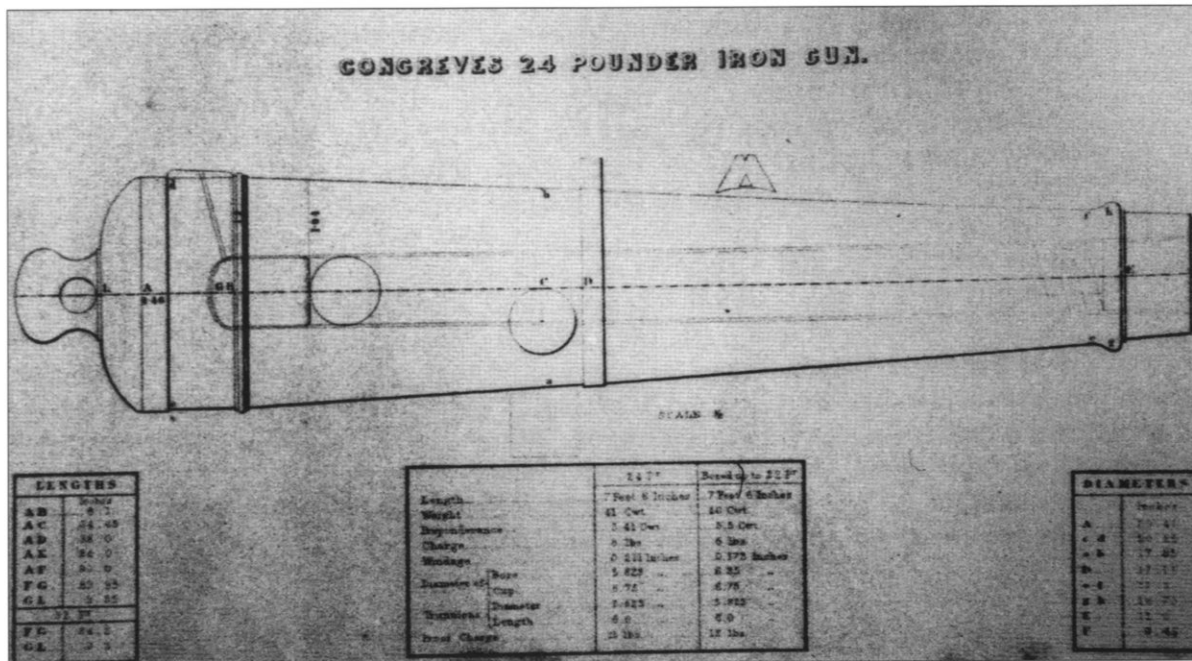
Small arms

Although not specifically part of a ship's artillery, it is worth mentioning the musket, the standard flintlock smooth-bore weapon of the period of about 1/4-in. calibre. A number of these would be carried by each ship as part of its armament. Muskets could be used by just about any seaman to repel boarders or clear the decks of an enemy ship from the fighting tops or the quarterdeck. They were an essential part of the naval armament of the Napoleonic Wars. In British service they were normally flintlock weapons similar to those used by the Army, but with a barrel 37in. long and including a number of features that distinguished them from land-service weapons. One obvious pointer is the flat butt plate presumably designed for storage purposes aboard ship. Other indicators were the simple fittings and a flatter lock plate and cock. They were made at the Tower Armouries

or at private manufacturers in London or Birmingham. Sea-service weapons were generally shorter than land-service weapons and this again is probably because of the confined areas aboard ship. The French favoured a longer weapon at 66.5in. overall but they, too, had cut-down versions of 62in. In fact, a lot of the weapons that found their way onto French ships did so because the

Comparison of gun flints from the two wrecks. The two flints on the left are from HMS *Invincible*, while the one on the right is of a stepped or pyramidal type removed from the *Pomone*. (Author's collection, courtesy of J. Bingeman)





muskets were considered to be out of date for land use. In total there were probably 120 muskets and 30 musketoons carried on a large French ship-of-the-line.

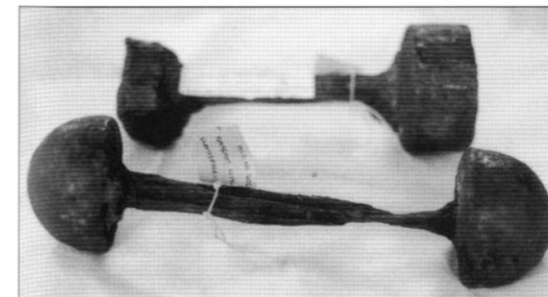
The musketoon was a close-quarter shotgun-style weapon for repelling boarders and clearing decks. It certainly was not intended for accuracy. One contemporary chronicler described the manner of firing as holding the weapon at waist height and off the hip. When the gun was fired, the firer kept his grip on it but let himself be swung partly around by the recoil. It was obviously aimed in the general direction of the target and no more than that. The stock would have been for storage and nothing more since lining up the weapon and aiming it from the stock would probably have dislocated the shoulder of the firer. British musketoons could have a barrel of brass or iron, normally about 16in. long, and had a calibre of about 1 inch, although they were often slightly larger. A musketoon fired a group of small shot and was effectively a flintlock shotgun. There were many types of this weapon and very few were standardised.

Ammunition

Ammunition was very similar in all navies of the period reflecting the limitations of smooth-bore weapons at the time. It can be broadly put into three categories: round shot, anti-personnel shot and anti-rigging shot. Round shot was a simple solid cast-iron projectile designed to smash a ship's side or cause splinters to fly around on the inside of a ship. The destructive effect of round shot was enormous and it could generate showers of lethal wooden splinters even if it did not penetrate the ship's side. Experiments were carried out by HMS *Excellent* in 1838 with an 18-pdr against the hulk of the *Prince George*. At 1,200 yards and 6 pounds of powder the shot penetrated 21–33in. into the wood to see how much damage a round shot would do to a wooden butt with wooden stanchions supporting it. A 32-pdr shot was then tried:

William Congreve the Elder's unusual design for a 32-pdr. At 7ft 6in. it was a much smaller gun than the standard 9ft 6in. The original idea was to create a much lighter gun (40cwt) that would still be strong enough to fire double-shotted. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

Two examples of bar shot. These have been recovered from the seabed and show the two main types, one with a hemispherical cast-iron end and the other with a flattened cylinder-end. The bar clearly shows the construction of wrought iron, which has been worn away by the sea. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



'Two 32 pounder shot were fired singly with charges of 10lbs 11 oz of powder they entered at the same place which made it impossible to distinguish their effects, together after penetrating the ships side in firm wood they shattered a sound wooden knee: they then passed along the deck, cutting down a wooden stanchion 6 feet long and 8in. square under the beam; this they shattered into pieces, causing many splinters six of which were very large. And one of them swept the deck as far as the pumps. One of the two shot penetrated its own depth in the sound wood on the other side of the ship and there it stuck.'

Anti-rigging shot included all sorts of strange and unusual contraptions. At its simplest, the bar shot was a plain bar connecting two hemispherical end pieces. It was wrapped with rag to make it uniform in the bore of the gun when fired. Chain shot consisted of two balls connected by a length of chain. Star shot was formed of a central hub and four or five arms, which flew out to form a star shape after leaving the muzzle of the gun. All of these latter projectiles were meant to cut cables, rip sails and smash spars and yards.

Finally there were the anti-personnel rounds. Grape shot was composed of a number of iron balls about 1.5in. in diameter clustered around a central spindle and mounted on a base, the whole then being sewn into a bag. Canister shot was a similar idea but consisted of small shot, normally of lead, fitted into a metal tin or case. In each weapon the container broke up on leaving the gun and sprayed a deadly cone of shot from the gun. Effective range was about 300 yards.

Finally there was the carcass, an incendiary device that was used as a fire weapon. A carcass could either be a hollow cast-iron globe filled with an incendiary composition or it could be a metal frame filled with similar substances sewn into a serge bag. Fire was one of the greatest hazards for a ship at war and these weapons were viewed with some horror. Contrary to popular belief red hot shot was not tried widely at sea. It required a furnace to heat it and it was also difficult to handle on ship – therefore it tended not to be used. Howard Douglas writing in *Naval Gunnery* condemned the revolutionary French for their use of heated shot but warned about the dangers of premature explosion. (Howard Douglas, p.293–4)

All of these weapons needed a propellant and gunpowder was the source of the explosion. It was sewn into paper or serge bags and kept in a leather carrying case near the gun. Only a small number of charges were kept near the gun because of the danger from premature explosions. It was the gunner's job to check and maintain the magazines that could be in various parts of the ship.

William Rivers of the *Victory* makes a distinction between two different types of gunpowder. Large Grain for long distance (Red). Large Grain for close engagement for salutes etc. (white). Whether the colours indicated the colour of the containers or their markings is not clear. The difference was about the potency. The weaker mixture or white was obviously expendable. Saluting guns only required enough power to make an audible noise and short-range work relied on the weight of the shot to do the damage.

Table for Firing Spherical Case Shot.

1809

Calibre	Length	Elevation	Range
32	3 1/2	15	1100
32	3 1/2	20	1200
32	3 1/2	25	1300
32	3 1/2	30	1400
32	3 1/2	35	1500
32	3 1/2	40	1600
32	3 1/2	45	1700
32	3 1/2	50	1800
32	3 1/2	55	1900
32	3 1/2	60	2000

Battery Guns

Another page of Rivers's notebook illustrating a table for firing spherical case shot or shrapnel shell. This demonstrates that the invention by Henry Shrapnel could have been fired from all types of gun. (Courtesy Royal Naval Museum)

Powder was brought to the great ships of war by small vessels called powder hoys. For the Portsmouth base, for example, the magazines were at Tipnor or Priddy's Hard in Gosport. A magazine was erected at Priddy's Hard in 1777 and there are records of HMS *Victory* being supplied from there in the Ordnance reports for 1793. In the returns for that year William Rivers recorded that the following were transported to *Victory*:

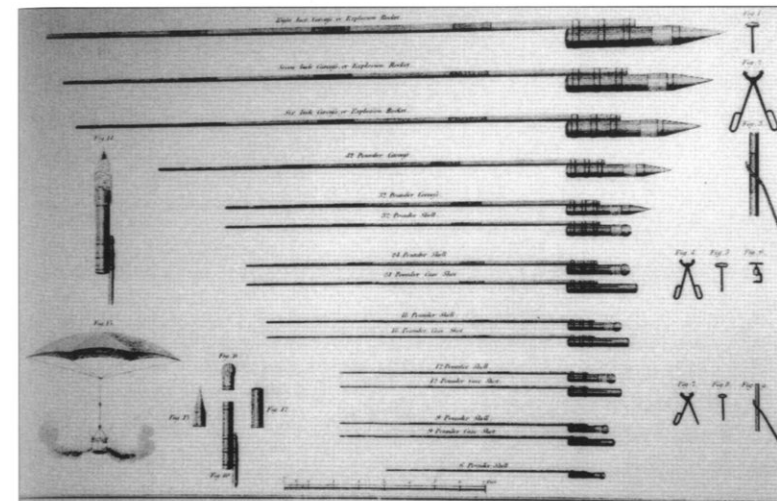
- 600 x 32lb round shot
- 400 x 24lb round shot
- 1,260 x 12lb round shot

The barrels of powder came from Priddy's Hard as well, arranged by a William Beach:

- Corned powder
- 79 x 90lb
- 205 x 45lb
- 316 x 25lb
- 315 x copper hoops for full barrels
- 824 x copper hoops for half barrels

Cartridge cases were an integral part of the ammunition of any ship. When first introduced all cartridges had been made of paper or parchment, but this created problems for the gunner because, on firing, not all of the paper burned away and the residue either blocked the vent or continued to burn inside the bore of the gun and was difficult to sponge out. Cartridges made from a material such as flannel were less likely to break when being carried and tended to be consumed almost completely on firing. Long after field artillery had moved on to the use of flannel cartridges, however, the Navy retained paper cartridges. There appears to have been a certain amount of crossover as the Navy experimented with, and did use, paper cartridges with flannel bottoms in the latter part of the 18th century.

In order to make the material stiff, whether paper or flannel, cartridges were boiled in alum and then in alum and size. It was also common to tie them in several places with worsted string. This method continued into the 19th century. Cartridges were made to a pattern. They were marked out on the material to be cut and then rolled onto a former (something like a rolling pin) that corresponded to the size and shape that the cartridge was to be. The cartridge could either be glued or sewn depending on the



Details of the Congreve rocket system, taken from Congreve's original manuscript. The drawing shows all of the types of rocket proposed by Congreve. The smaller natures of shell rocket are accompanied by a case-shot rocket designed for anti-personnel work. There are two rocket launches, firing or about to fire carcass rockets. The object on the left was a parachute flare for illumination at night. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

of the war rocket. As usual we can rely on the Congreve family to elucidate the story. William Congreve junior was the great proponent of the war rocket and certainly the Navy was not slow to recognise the potential of this weapon. Congreve was not a soldier but he developed a system of war rockets that would greatly influence military thinking in the future. War rockets were not new; the Chinese and Indians had had them for centuries and the Fire Master at the Royal Laboratory in Woolwich, General Desaguliers, had experimented with them. Congreve, however, refined a system of weapons that could be, and were, used in battle by the Navy and Army. The only difference between land and sea weapons was the way in which they were launched.

The rocket system itself consisted of two main types of rocket, the carcass and the shell rocket. The former was a metal case with a pointed cone mounted on top. It consisted of an explosive charge and a propellant charge tightly packed into the cylinder. The shell rocket was actually a common iron shell filled with an exploding charge and mounted on the propellant charge. When the shell exploded it showered metal fragments down upon the target.

The first time they were employed in a naval context was in an attack on Boulogne in 1805. The weapons used were 6- and 8-pdr rockets fired from 112 small boats. Each vessel had 48 rockets and the rockets were launched from a ladder-like construction tied to the mast of the boat. The operation was carried out by the Royal Marines. The angle the rocket was fired at affected its range and it could be adjusted to suit. Each rocket was just like a modern firework in that it was stabilised by a large ungainly stick. On 18 November a flotilla of these vessels and their escorts attacked Boulogne at a range of about three miles. The weather severely affected the launching and the whole attack was a bit of a damp squib after all the effort. Nevertheless, Congreve did not give up and in 1806 his rockets were used to attack Boulogne again, but this time he used metal-cased 32-pdr rockets with cut-down staves about 15 feet in length. Some 18 launches were used in this attack and about 200 rockets were fired. The British claimed the attack as a success but in reality the Congreve rocket could only really be used as a siege weapon at sea. Even so, attacks on shipping in harbour could be lethal, though rockets were very difficult to aim because they

material. Obviously glue would be used on paper whilst flannel was sewn. When the charges were tied up they were sewn over the top to retain their hoops by several stitches and choked off. Each one was marked with the type of gun it was to serve, what type of charge it was, and with the amount of powder, all painted in black.

Rockets

It seems fitting in a book on naval armament to have a look at one of the great innovations of the Napoleonic period, namely that

seldom followed a straight flight path. They could only be used in calm weather and they were unpredictable.

Further rocket attacks followed, particularly on Copenhagen, which was said to be a particularly successful engagement. In rockets' favour, they were a terror weapon. They had not been used before and civilian populations must have been shocked to be on the receiving end of these weapons. Any anchored fleet could now be at risk from a long-range weapon, though in fact the maximum range of the Congreve rocket was a relatively modest 3,000 yards. Two small sloops were converted specifically to fire the rockets – the *Erebus* and the *Golago*, of which a model still exists at the Royal Artillery Museum in Woolwich. The *Erebus* was used to bombard Washington during the War of 1812. These ships basically had small open ports through which the rockets were placed at an angle, with their sticks resting in the deck of the hold. They were fired in broadsides and were indiscriminate.



Rocket launches as drawn in Congreve's book on his rocket system. The left hand boat is about to fire while the rear one is loading. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

GUNNERY IN THE FRENCH NAVY

Much has been made of the supposed deficiency of French gunnery during the Napoleonic Wars. It does seem that their large warships suffered from changes in administration and command regimes which seriously affected their gunnery, but there are many examples of French ships 'giving as good as they got'. In terms of smaller ships' actions and the *guerre de course*, or commerce raiding, the French were a force to be reckoned with.

Cast-iron guns for the French Navy were normally cast at special foundries based at Rouelle near Angoulême, Indret and Bigonne. The various types were laid down in the regulations of 1767 and were designed by the *Inspecteur Général de l'artillerie Manson*. However, there were many variations to these designs, not least those imposed by the various revolutionary committees. In general, the sizes were 36-pdrs on the lower decks, 18-pdrs on the upper decks and 8-pdrs on the fo'c'sle and quarterdeck.

PENETRATION OF ROUND SHOT AS DETERMINED BY THE FRENCH NAVY WITH VARIOUS TYPES OF ORDNANCE*

Gun	Charge	Initial velocity	Range in yards					
			109	219	438	656	875	1094
36-pdr	13lb 3.7oz	1,578	4ft 6.8in.	4ft 0.7in.	3ft 5.8in.	2ft 11.4in.	2ft 6.4in.	2ft 1.6in.
30-pdr	11lb 0.5oz	1,591	4ft 1.9in.	3ft 10.1in.	3ft 3in.	2ft 8.6in.	2ft 3.6in.	2ft
24-pdr	8lb 13.2oz	1,610	3ft 10.4in.	3ft 6.5in.	2ft 11.4in.	2ft 5.2in.	2ft 0.4in.	1ft 8in.
18-pdr	6lb 9.9oz	1,630	3ft 6.5in.	3ft 2.2in.	2ft 7.1in.	2ft 1.2in.	1ft 8.4in.	1ft 4.8in.
12-pdr	4lb 6.4oz	1,640	2ft 10.9in.	2ft 8.6in.	2ft 4.6in.	1ft 8in.	1ft 3.7in.	1ft 1.2in.

* This table comes from the French *Aide Mémoire Navale* and refers to experiments carried out after the Napoleonic Wars on oak targets. The power of powder changed very little in the first half of the 19th century and therefore the table presents an accurate estimate of the penetrating power of solid shot in the earlier period.

At this time the French were not generally using bronze guns at sea. There were, however, exceptions to the rule. In 1780 60 brass 18-pdrs were cast and a heavy 48-pdr design was in existence. These last weapons were specifically used to arm two ships. The *Majesteux* and the *Royal Louise* (later renamed *Republicain*, sank 1794) were both armed with bronze 48-pdrs on the lower deck and were intended to be 110-gun ships. It is not clear whether the 18-pdrs were destined for either.

There were also attempts to emulate the carronade in French service. The *canon obusier* was a notable early attempt to produce a short weapon with a large bore and small charge. It is likely that the French were experimenting with similar ideas to the British but were never fully able to come to the right combination, so that in their latter period they actually adopted the carronade as a sea-service weapon in virtually the same format as the British weapon.

French gun carriages

As with British sea-service carriages, the French made their carriages in proportion to the size of gun they were going to mount. Compared to British carriages, the 36-pdr was squat and had several different features. The 36-pdr trucks were normally made of oak or elm. These would be mounted on square axletrees that had a turned end to fit the truck onto; each truck was held fast by a lynch pin of iron. In this case, the size of the axle was the same as the calibre of the gun and all gun carriage parts were calculated by their relationship to the calibre of the gun. The two cheeks or brackets were mounted on top of the axletrees and were fitted with bolts passing from top to bottom through the axletrees and with others passing between the two cheeks. Rings were also fitted at the rear step and in the sides to take training tackle. The key difference in the French design was that there were holes in the brackets to take the breeching ropes so that it was the carriage and not the gun barrel that took the strain on recoil. These brackets were normally made of more than one piece of timber (elm again). According to one authority it was thought that elm was less likely to splinter if hit by a round shot. French carriages and guns were painted and normally the calibre of the gun was painted on the side of the carriage.

As in British service the carriage also required a significant amount of equipment to control and train it. The rigging consisted of: one breeching rope, one breech strop, one muzzle lashing, one seizing to seize the breeching rope, two running out tackles, one training tackle (this latter was not meant to move the gun laterally but was meant to control it on recoil and run out, hence it was at the rear of the gun), one train sling so that the gun could be hooked to it, one tampion and two port ropes, one tie and one port tackle for the lids.

French ammunition

French guns were loaded with similar ammunition to the British weapons. Powder charges were made of parchment and consisted of:

- 36-pdr gun 12lb powder
- 18-pdr gun 6lb powder
- 8-pdr gun 3lb powder

These charges could be reduced depending on the type of action required or to save on stores. Typically there were 72 cartridges issued per gun but only a proportion of these would be available at the gun for

safety purposes. In terms of roundshot, an allocation of 60 per gun was made but only ten were held near the gun, with the remainder held elsewhere on the ship. Other rounds included: 10 rounds of grape shot and 10 rounds of bar shot. There were 120 wads per gun. Other more unusual anti-rigging rounds were issued as needed but were stored elsewhere in the ship.

French drill and organisation

The gunner complement of a French 74 differed somewhat from that of a British 74. There was a Master Gunner and, as would be expected, he was one of the most important men on the ship. The rest of the gunnery specialists were known as gunner's mates, second gunner's mates and quarter-gunner's mates. They were all drawn from the Company of Bombardiers or the Company of Apprentice Gunners. Typically, a 74-gun ship would have three gunner's mates, three second gunner's mates and 37 quarter gunners. The whole complement would be reduced in peacetime. To become a gunner on a French ship one had to work one's way up from the apprentice level to the highest level.

Drill was carried out in a similar manner to the British. An extremely rare and interesting document has come to light concerning gun drill in the Revolutionary Navy that details the numbers and activities of the gunners in 1795. This gives the crew of a 36-pdr as one gun captain plus ordinary crewmen numbered from 1 to 7 in pairs, making 15 men in all. It also states that an 18-pdr should have a crew of 11 men and an 8-pdr 7 men, although it does not specify whether these allocations served both sides of the ship.

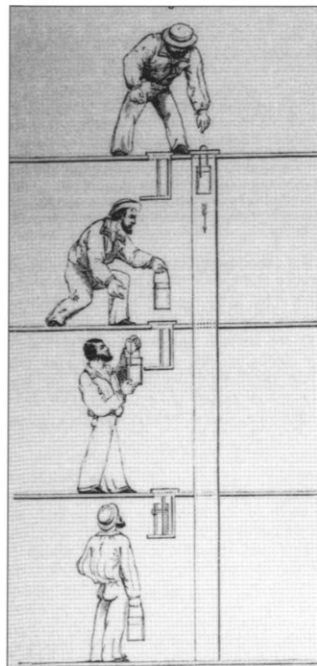
There were 13 commands in the firing sequence:

1. Captains and crewman your guns.
2. Take out the tampion. Cast off the tackles and breechings.
3. Run in.
4. Stop the touch hole. Sponge the gun and handle the cartridge.
5. Handle the rammer.
6. Handle the cartridge.
7. Ram home the wad and cartridge.
8. Ram home wad and shot.
9. Ram home.
10. Run out the gun.
11. Prick the cartridge, prime.
12. Point the gun.
13. Take your match, arm your locks.

This drill was taken from the *Ecole de Vaisseux* reprinted at Ostende.

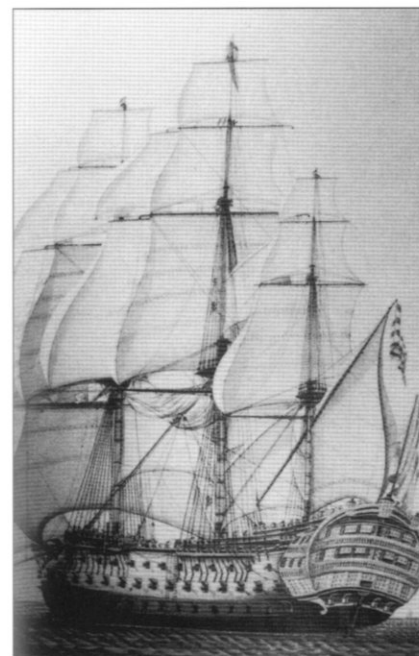
GUNNERY IN THE SPANISH NAVY

During the reign of Charles III (1759–88) the Spanish Navy was heavily developed in a more scientific manner than before. More ships were built than under the previous King Ferdinand VI and Charles III thus laid the foundations for the Spanish Navy that would fight in the Napoleonic Wars. At first, under Director de Construcción Navales Jorge Juan, ship construction was based heavily on British design and construction techniques. But in 1769 a French officer, François Gautier, became responsible



The method of supplying cartridges to the gun decks of a French first-rate ship. The cartridge boxes were returned to the orlop deck by dropping them down the chute as indicated here. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

The most famous ship of the Spanish Navy, the *Santissima Trinidad*. As a four-decker of over 130 guns she was the largest sailing ship of her time. This huge vessel was not without her problems and was structurally altered several times to make her more stable. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



for arming and fitting Spanish ships and their designs and guns thereafter relied very heavily on French systems.

Possibly the most famous vessel of the Spanish Navy during this period was the *Santissima Trinidad* which was one of the largest vessels in the world, intended to mount 130 guns. She was built in Havana in 1769 but it was found that some of her design factors forced her gun complement to be reduced. We know that when she was built she had:

32 x 36-pdrs

33 x 24-pdrs

36 x 12-pdrs

18 x 8-pdrs

10 x 24-pdr howitzers (these were actually something like the French canon obusier shown in Plate E)

6 x light swivel guns

In all then she was armed with 136 guns.

As with other nations the Spaniards favoured the 74-gun ship as the main ship-of-the-line, but their vessels were often much more heavily gunned than their British counterparts. The following list gives the main armament of several vessels:

Ship	Number of guns	Where constructed	Date
<i>Santo Domingo</i>	68	El Ferrol	1784
<i>Santana</i>	112	El Ferrol	1784
<i>San Felipe</i>	112	El Ferrol	1784
<i>San José</i>	112	El Ferrol	1784
<i>San Ildefonso</i>	74	Cartagena	1785
<i>Conde Regla</i>	112	Havana	1786
<i>Mexicano</i>	112	Havana	1786
<i>Real Carlos</i>	112	Havana	1787
<i>San Juan Nepomuceno</i>	74	Guarnizo	1766

*As transcribed from Ruiz and Juanola

There were at least seven Spanish ships with over 110 guns in the 1780s. Most of the guns made for the Spanish Navy were cast in Seville and there were three great storehouses for them in El Ferrol, Cartagena and in La Carraca. In the Americas Havana was the great Spanish naval base. Spanish naval cannon were mainly of cast iron but many more bronze guns were available to ships than in other European navies. The quality was variable and sometimes ships had some of their guns removed to arm gar-risons.

One of the newer naval designs that came about in the 1750s was the xebec, or *jabeque* in Spanish, and many of these lateen-rigged craft were in service in the Napoleonic period, typically armed with 24 guns.

Spanish guns were mounted on a double bracket carriage not dissimilar to the British types but with some design differences. The trucks were slightly smaller and each carriage was made up of two brackets or cheeks on a base plate. The plate was solid, unlike in British carriages, and iron bands bound the axletrees to it. These were led around the lower part of the front axletree and fitted to the outer sides of each bracket. Each cheek was pinned to the base with two large bolts that passed from top to bottom and

at the rear through the rear axle. There was a transverse bolt going through the two cheeks which it is assumed the stool bed rested upon. It is believed that the gun was restrained on recoil by passing the breeching rope through the two cheeks by means of a hole in each. The guns themselves were not provided with a breeching loop – it seems that only the British Navy followed this practice. Tools and equipment were very similar to those used in the Royal Navy and we need not dwell on them here.

On Spanish ships the following dimensions were given for each gun:

Projectile weight	Gunport size	Size of gun position and area of manoeuvre
42-pdr	1.066m	2.31m
36-pdr	1.041m	2.28m
24-pdr	0.99m	2.05m
18-pdr	0.769m	1.88–2m
12-pdr	0.85m	2.05m
9-pdr	0.68m	2.5–2.10m
6-pdr	0.68m	2.05–2.10m
3-pdr	0.68m	2.05–2.10m

CONCLUSION

The similarity in British, French and Spanish naval guns and gunnery is remarkable. Their gun crew numbers were very similar, as were their gun sizes and allocations of the number of guns aboard ship. So what was it that allowed the British to dominate their European contemporaries at sea? The answer must lie in the way the crews handled their guns and the advantages that new inventions gave in rapidity of fire on British ships. These two factors, tied to the Royal Navy's tactical doctrine, led the British Navy to become so powerful. Compared with American crews in single-ship actions in the War of 1812, it was clear that similarly motivated crews could inflict defeats on the British. Those countries that were defeated by Britain had the added incentive to develop new methods and technology to counter Britain's naval power. Hence the French were first to demonstrate the use of the shell gun, as advocated by Paixhans in 1822, and the first to introduce an ironclad, steam-powered warship in the guise of the *Gloire* as proposed by Napoleon III in 1854.

GLOSSARY

Apron of lead – Lead cover to prevent damp entering the vent. This was often placed over the *fid*.

Breeching rope – A large diameter rope used to control the recoil of the gun by passing it through the breeching loop or tying it around the cascable button of the gun. The rope was secured to the ship's side by iron loops.

Fid or vent plug – A small piece of twine or even a wooden peg placed in the vent when not in use.

Flexible rammer – As the rammer, but the staff was sturdy rope. This meant that the rammer could be bent to the muzzle of the gun and rammed from the side without having to run in the gun fully.

Handspike – A stout bar used to lever the gun carriage or barrel into position.

Lynch pin – Iron pin that passed through the axletree and secured the truck on the axle.

Priming iron – Tool for clearing the vent and piercing the cartridge case. This was normally a non-ferrous metal spike.

Quoin – Wedge of wood placed under the breech of a gun to elevate and depress it.

Quarter-Gunner – An assistant to the gunner who maintained the guns and filled powder charges etc. There was one quarter gunner to every gun.

Rammer – A long staff with a cylindrical wooden head usually slightly smaller than the bore, used to ram home the powder charge, wads and shot.

Seizing – A small rope used to tie two lines, or spars together.

Side tackles – Ropes and pulleys that were attached to the side of the ship and the side loops of the gun carriage which were used to traverse the gun.

Sponge – A staff with a large sheepskin head used for damping down burning embers and cleaning the gun barrel.

Stool bed – The flat wooden plate upon which the *quoin* and therefore the breech of the gun rested.

Truck – The name used for the small wheels fitted to a sea-service gun carriage.

Worm or wadhook – A tool used to scour the inside of the barrel to remove burning embers or blockages. It consisted of a wooden staff with a spiral iron hook on its end.

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A: CARRONADE MOUNTING

The slide mounting was a move away from the independent ship's gun mounted on a truck carriage. The slide mount was part of the ship's furniture and could not be removed for other purposes as it was fixed to the side of the ship. The many images in existence of the carronade mounting show slight variations in the way in which it was traversed or fixed to the ship.

A1: Two examples of carronades on slide mounts

The upper image shows a slide carriage that has been fixed to a pintle outside the ship's side and the lower image shows an alternative mounting with the gun on a truck carriage. The front of the carriage is again attached to a pintle or ring bolt and it would appear that the trucks were intended to move the carronade when it was not attached to the ship's side.

A2: Early pattern carronade

This form of carronade with trunnions was in existence from the late 18th century but was often referred to as a howitzer. The weapon is mounted on a slide that extends outside the gun port and therefore reduces the chance of setting fire to the fittings of the ship on firings. Because of the short length of the carronade barrel this was one of the biggest complaints that captains had concerning carronades.

A3: 68-pdr carronade, 1805 pattern

The 68-pdr was the heaviest carronade in service and required a shot of 8in. in diameter. It was used at sea for a time but was soon relegated to coastal defence work due to difficulties with its recoil and handling the weight of shot. It is interesting to note that the carronade was cast with a dispart sight whereas long guns were not.

The real cost of warfare at sea. A Spanish single-decker with a British frigate in tow as a prize. Note that the British ship's mizzen mast has been shot away and the mainmast is damaged. War at sea was more full of incidents such as this than sinkings and it was often the case that the vessel would be repaired and employed in the victor's navy. (Museum of Naval Firepower, Gosport)

A4: Congreve's gun

This shows the remarkable similarity between the carronade and Congreve's design, sometimes known as a gunnade. His invention was adopted by the Royal Navy but proved rather less effective than Congreve had led the Admiralty to believe. As with carronades the recoil was much fiercer than for a normal smooth-bore gun so that by 1830 Congreve's guns had been removed from service.

A5: The Gover gun

Gover's design was short and light and while it adapted well for secondary armament it was severely disadvantaged in some respects. The gun could not withstand being double-shotted. It also had violent recoil at full charge of 6lb of powder and was often fired at a reduced charge of 4lb.

A6: 24-pdr carronade

This is the classic configuration of the sea-service carronade that continued in use until the 1850s. One of the key design features was the inclusion of a mounting loop beneath the chase. It was intended to allow the carronade to be pushed further out of the gun port since the barrel of a carronade was much shorter. Unfortunately it had the added effect of causing the carronade to recoil violently even though it was fixed at the elevating screw.

B: THE CONGREVE ROCKET SYSTEM AT SEA

The sea-service rocket frame was the same unit as used for land service and was usually fitted to ships' boats. The use of rockets on the decks of ships has been recorded although this practice was not favoured due to the high risk of fire caused by the rockets. The launch frame was suspended from the mast by a halyard by which it was raised and lowered to provide elevation. In all but the very calmest weather the frame was lowered to enable the rockets to be placed in the chambers. The rockets were carried and prepared in another boat, known as the tender, which withdrew when the rockets were fired.

B1: 32-pdr carcass rocket c. 1813

This is a sectioned version of the rocket showing the warhead and rocket motors.

B2: 12-pdr shell rocket

This rocket had an explosive common shell attached to the end of the rocket.

B3: 12-pdr case rocket

This is essentially a grape shot version of the rocket that expelled a charge of shot on explosion.

C: LIGHT GUNS

C1: The French 1786 pattern swivel gun

This was one of the few smaller bore weapons in the French Navy to be designed on a specific standard pattern.

C2: The English Blunderbuss or Musketoon

C3: The *Espingole*

The *espingole* was completely cast from bronze and included a tiller in the design. The yoke was made of iron as was the pintle and a firing lock was fixed to the body by screws. This simple construction made its manufacture simple and thousands were made for French ships.

C4: Bronze swivel gun

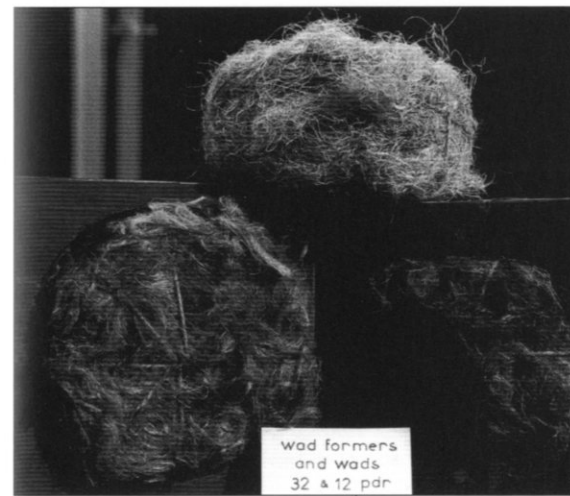
This illustration is based on an example in the Royal Armouries collection. Note the supporting bar leading off from the underside of the yoke.

C5: A small cast iron swivel gun

The weight of such small weapons was rarely greater than 1cwt.

C6: Another example of a bronze swivel gun

These guns were extremely common and were often made by specialist manufacturers such as Richard Gilpin of



Southwark; most of the weapons produced by him were of small calibre such as this example.

C7: An *orgue* or multi-barrelled gun in the Musée de la Marine in Paris

It is dated about 1800 and is a very simple design. The tiller has been formed into a ring and each barrel would have been fired at the same time as the lock is centred above a central firing pan.

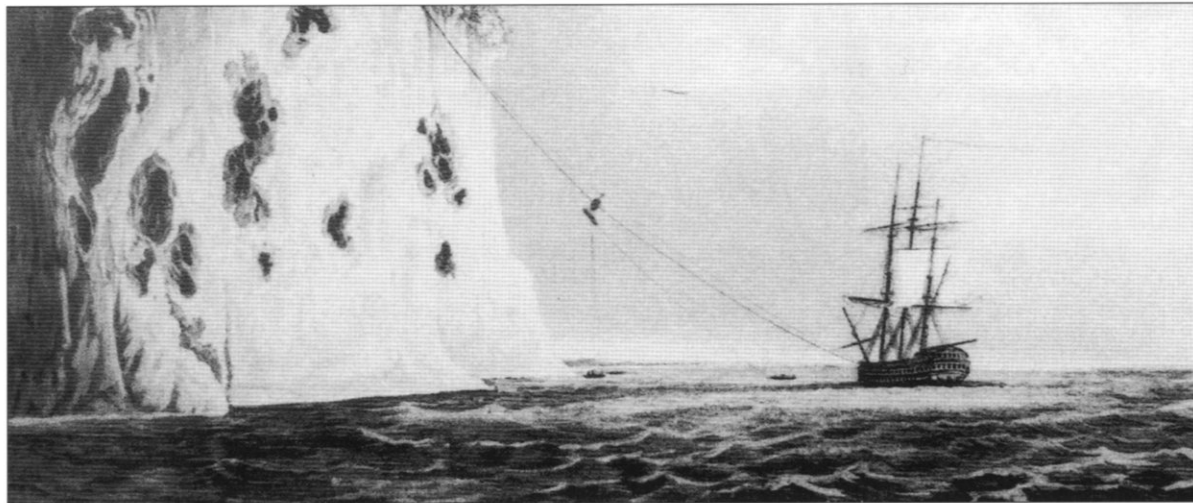
D1: 32-PDR ON THE LOWER GUN DECK

The 32-pdr was the heaviest gun on most British ships-of-the-line. There was a 42-pdr gun in existence but it was very rare. This example is seen here with part of the crew readying for fire. The gun is a Blomefield pattern weapon with a flintlock firing mechanism. Blomefield's refinements led to a gun that was well balanced, had a less violent recoil and was unlikely to burst. It became the most popular gun in the Royal Navy. At 55.5cwt or nearly three tons, the gun could be a great danger if its carriage broke loose as was sometimes the case in battle, hence the massive breeching rope to keep it in check. A complex system of rope and training tackles was used to hold the gun inboard, train it and lash it to the hull in stormy seas. The gun and crew were worked in very cramped circumstances and if the crew were hit by opposing fire the effect could be devastating. One contemporary account states, 'A man called Aldrich had one of his hands cut off by a shot and almost at the same moment he received another shot which tore open his bowels in a terrible manner. As he fell two or three men caught him in their arms, and as he could not live threw him overboard.' One of the keys to the superior gunnery usually exhibited by the Royal Navy was the speed with which the gun could be reloaded. It was thought that a very well trained crew could reload in just over one minute, given the right circumstances. Clearly this rate of fire could not be kept up for long periods of time but the ability to fire so quickly had a devastating effect at close range and victory was often a case of superior morale and training over technology.

D2: FRENCH 36-PDR IN ACTION

The French weapon described as a 36-pdr was considered equivalent to the British 32-pdr because French pounds were not equal to British ones. This gun weighed 70cwt and had a length of 9ft 8in. In comparison with British ships the crews were well trained and were normally part of a unit of trained gunners who were part of the *Compagnie des Bombardiers*. First-hand accounts of the French in action seem to suggest that they were every bit as capable as the British in handling their guns but their rate of fire was slower. The gun carriage itself was designed so that each feature was beneficial to the gun's handling. The carriage was low to keep the centre of gravity low and the cheeks were bound in iron at each side to prevent them from splitting under the strain of firing. The cascable of the gun sat directly over the point of traverse to make the gun easy to move. When

Wads and wad formers for the 12-pdr and 32-pdr gun. The wad was made from oakum and bound with twine. It was then forced into shape by pushing it into a wooden block as shown here. During firing there would normally be a wad inserted between the charge bag and the shot and one in front of the shot. (Museum of Naval Firepower)



traversing it is thought that hand spikes were placed on small blocks of wood to give extra leverage.

E: FRENCH AND SPANISH WEAPONS

E1: French canon obusier

This weapon was sometimes called a sea howitzer; a chambered weapon similar to the British carronade, but not as popular in service. It was introduced in 1787 but was found to be wanting. Hence the French eventually copied the British weapon and fitted it to their ships. This drawing is based on the 36-pdr example in the Musee de la Marine in Paris.

E2: A Spanish 24-pdr naval gun and equipment

Spanish guns were made in bronze and iron and the 36-pdr (Spanish pounds) was a huge gun. The carriage design was low and squat but lacked some of the refinements of the British designs. Much depended on the height of the gunport which was often non-standard. This plate has been drawn without the stool bed and breech support shown to illustrate the box-like structure of the gun carriage.

F: SMALL ARMS

This plate shows principal naval small arms of both the French and British Navies. They are as follows:

F1: French sea-service musket

Its length overall was 66.5in.

F2: French sling sea-service musket

F3: French sea-service pistol

F4: French sea-service blunderbuss

All fittings were brass, as was the barrel. The overall length was 30.75in.

F5: British black sea-service musket, c. 1805

F6: British sea-service pistol

It is often forgotten that one of the greatest assets of a ship in close-quarter combat was its allocation of the small arms. At close range they could present a withering fire to anyone on the enemy deck. Muskets were used from every vantage point on the ship so that no member of an attacking crew was protected unless behind a solid piece of timber.

F7: British naval volley gun by Henry Nock

The Nock volley gun has been immortalised in many books but it was as a naval weapon that the weapon was to have an effective life.

Guns were often removed from ships to stiffen a garrison or arm a strongpoint. Here a gun barrel from HMS Centaur is being hoisted up the Diamond Rock in 1804. (National Maritime Museum)

G: NAVAL AMMUNITION

Although solid round shot was the commonest form of projectile, this plate shows details of the more unusual naval projectiles. Grape shot was also very common, therefore due to the nature of the plate it has not been illustrated here. The majority of the weapons below were meant to disable the rigging and masts of an enemy ship.

G1: Link shot

Many types of linked shot were available to the naval gunner and this example is little more than a weighted chain.

G2: Chain shot was a common form of dismasting ammunition. Once fired it was common for the two spheres to fly outward causing the shot to spin one around the other.

G3 and 4: Linked bar shot.

These could be similar to a dumbbell in shape but were also formed by two hemispheres connected by a wrought iron bar of square section. They varied according to the size of gun firing them.

G5: Manby's life saving shot.

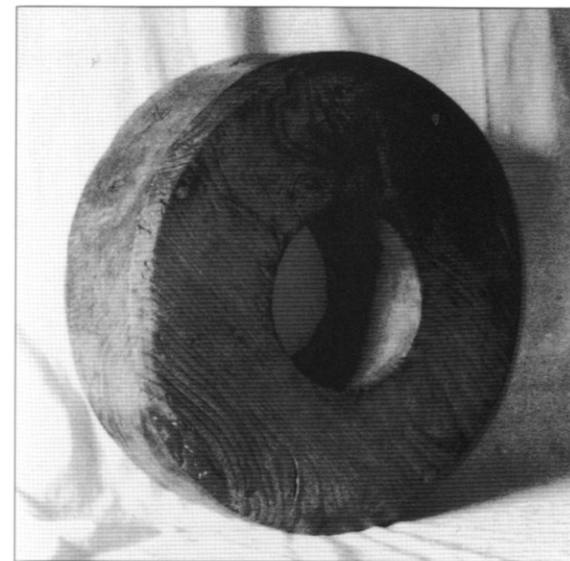
This was an unusual design of ammunition used to fire a lifeline to a ship in distress. It was first used in 1808 to rescue crew from the brig *Elizabeth*. The hooks on the bottom of the projectile were intended to catch on the wood of the stricken ship.

G6: Shown here is another version of the **expanding shot**, which was loaded as a complete sphere in the gun but expanded on leaving the muzzle.

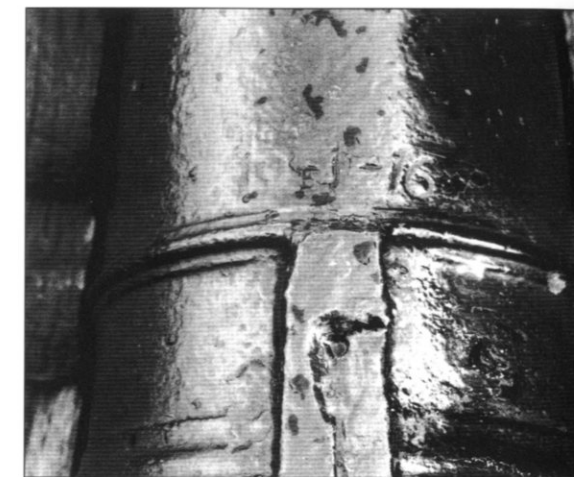
G7: Knife-bladed shot, such as that shown here, acted on the principle that when the arms expanded during flight they would damage rigging and masts.

G8: This image shows the typical **cartridge carrier** with charge and wad inserted.

G9: Shown here is the **internal bore of a smooth-bore gun** with a wad on either side of the shot and a vent pricker in place in the vent showing how the bag was pierced.



ABOVE A 24-pdr gun truck also recovered from the wreck of HMS *Invincible*. The edge of the wheel is marked with the size of the carriage and an H indicating it was for the hind pair of trucks. The adze marks can still be seen on the external edge. (Author's collection, courtesy of J. Bingeman)



A close-up view of the vent on the same gun and the weight inscription above it in hundredweight, quarters and pounds. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

BELOW An early pattern Armstrong Frederick gun, in this case a 12-pdr. The trunnion on this weapon is marked with the letter B indicating that it was cast by William Bengel. The carriages are reproductions. (Museum of Naval Firepower)

