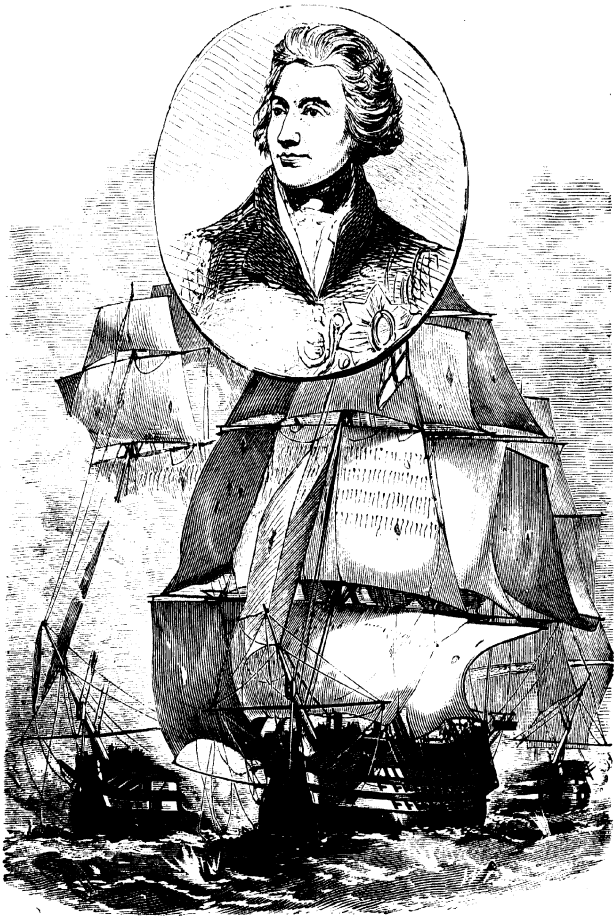
GREAT BATTLES

OF

THE BRITISH NAVY

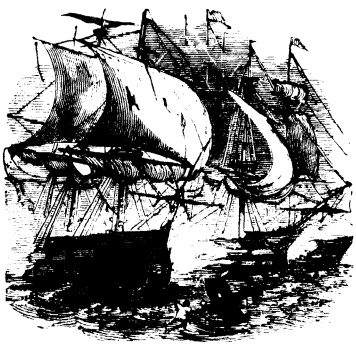


Nelson and the "Victory." *Front.*

GREAT BATTLES

OF

THE BRITISH NAVY



BY

LIEUTENANT CHARLES R. LOW

(LATE H.M. INDIAN NAVY)

LONDON

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LIMITED

NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON AND CO.

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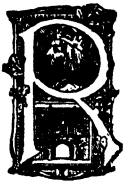
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

CHARLES RATHBONE LOW

(LATE) H.M. INDIAN NAVY, F.R.G.S.

Author of "History of the Indian Navy," "Life of Lord Wolseley," "Battles of the British Army."



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PREFACE.

On commencing this work our design was to confine ourselves to that phase of Naval History indicated by the title,—an account of the Great Battles of our Navy only; but as we proceeded we recognised the fact that the British Navy has earned as undying a reputation from the frigate and boat actions which adorn the pages of its annals, as from the grand sea-fights with which the prestige of the service is popularly connected. The frigate actions and cutting-out affairs are treated more or less in detail in the ensuing pages, and the work therefore forms, we hope, a compendious narrative of the deeds of the Navy of this country. It has been our endeavour to note, however briefly, every hostile encounter, even of boats, in which gallantry was displayed or life lost; and the reader who requires further details can refer, *inter alia*, to Allen's work on the "Battles of the Navy,"—to which valuable professional record, and to Yonge's History of the service, we desire more particularly to express our obligations. The latter writer treats at considerable length the geographical discoveries of the Navy, omitting the mention of numerous frigate and boat actions, in which, as we have said, the prowess and invincibility of our seamen have been manifested in almost bolder relief than in the great victories whose names are "familiar as household words" in the mouths of all Englishmen.

We have in these pages dismissed in a few lines the geographical and surveying achievements of the service; not from a sense of their relative unimportance, as from the

exigencies of space, and have introduced almost every noteworthy hostile encounter in which our sailors have been engaged. This book is, therefore, a complete and unbroken narrative of the History of the British Navy.

The materials have been drawn exclusively from the professional works in the libraries of the Admiralty and the Royal United Service Institution. We have been informed that a book treating of the principal battles of the British Navy has been written by a lady; but if this be so, we have not even seen it, and perhaps may not be considered ungallant in expressing an opinion that it is a subject which can scarcely be adequately treated by a writer of the opposite sex, however talented. Whether in "the Navy of the future" the proverbial roughness of our jolly tars may not be toned down to a becoming gentleness by an admixture of the softer sex, we shall not be so bold as to deny; perhaps the "platform" of "women's rights" may include among its "planks" the manning of the Navy, and thus may be set at rest a question that has perennially troubled "My Lords;" but hitherto the sea has been one of the professions selfishly reserved for themselves by the "inferior sex,"—as a Boston lady lately contemptuously dubbed us poor fellows, though really we must protest against being held responsible for a freak of *Dame* Nature. However that may be, ladies at present have no practical acquaintance with the manœuvring of fleets or single ships in action, which must be minutely recorded in any detailed account of a sea-fight. There is, therefore, a certain shock to the theory of the "eternal fitness of things" in a lady, however accomplished, writing a book on the subject of "Naval Engagements," in the professional acceptation of those terms.

Our great dramatist defines the depth of military ignorance, by comparing Michael Cassio's martial acquirements to those of an amateur soldier, who

> "Never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle knows
> More than a spinster."

With all humility and a due sense of our own shortcomings, we would submit that the description of naval

battles, in which the tactics of fleets must be necessarily detailed, if not commented upon, is more the province of those who "Go down to the sea in ships, that do business in the great waters."

It has been my object to instruct, as well as to amuse, not only the schoolboy, but the youngster of the gun-room or midshipman's berth; and I hope this book, being written in a popular manner, and with the avoidance, as far as is consistent with its purpose, of professional phraseology, will not be unwelcome to the youth of this country, who, like their sires and forefathers, may be called upon to defend, and to bequeath unimpaired to their children, that grand patrimony, the Sovereignty of the Seas.

The Navy has been in times past the chief stay of the country in the most critical periods of its history; and though, since the great war with Napoleon, its achievements have been second to those of the Army, this, indeed, is owing to the crushing nature of the reverses inflicted during that protracted struggle on the fleets of France, Spain, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Turkey. What effect the almost unchequered successes gained by the skill of our naval officers and the valour of our seamen, had upon the mind of so astute and experienced a statesman as Lord Palmerston, we have on the authority of Lord Shaftesbury, who recently stated that that great nobleman, when Foreign Minister, often said to him: "Whenever I want a thing well done in a distant part of the world; when I want a man with a good head, a good heart, lots of pluck, and plenty of common sense, I always send for a captain of the Navy."

We may be sure the prowess and professional capabilities of our sailors and their officers did not create a less favourable opinion upon our enemies; and it is recorded that the greatest of them all, Napoleon, in the height of his glory and the full career of his successes, exclaimed with bitterness that a British post-captain "made him lose his destiny." And so it was in truth, for not only did Sir Sydney Smith, at Acre, prevent Buonaparte from overrunning Syria, and perhaps extending his conquests over Turkey and the East, but he taught the world that the future conqueror of

Marengo and Jena was not "invincible on land," though he was pronounced to be so in the British House of Commons.

A recent remarkable instance of the vigour of action and sound judgment that distinguish our naval officers, was afforded during the Civil War in the United States, by the seizure of the *Oreto* (or *Florida*) at Nassau by Captain Hickley, of H.M.S. *Greyhound*. Mr. Adams, the American representative on the Board of Arbitration at Geneva, in his "Statement" appended to the Joint Award, paid an eloquent tribute to the conduct of that officer and the naval authorities at Nassau, who took a wiser and more correct view of their duty than the Governor and local attorney-general. Scarcely less deserving of commendation was the action of Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, Bart., in regard to the *Tuscaloosa* at the Cape of Good Hope.

Histories of the Navy and biographies of our great Admirals there are in abundance, but still we believe that this book is not an unnecessary addition to the literature of a subject that never palls in the estimation of Britons. In the hope that this modest volume may supply the place of more pretentious works in many tomes, which, owing to their very bulkiness, cannot be acquired by the general reader; and that it may, perhaps, be useful as a book of reference to those possessing only limited libraries, including our naval officers on active service,—we launch this our literary venture, and trust that it may meet with the favouring gales of popular approval, and be spared even the 'bated breath of critical censure.

C. R. LOW.

LONDON, 28*th September*, 1872.

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GREAT BATTLES OF THE BRITISH NAVY.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 885–1558.

Alfred—The Crusades—The Battle of Dam—Battles in the Channel, 1217 and 1295—Battle of Sluys—Relief of Harfleur, 1416—The *Great Harry*—Her Destruction off Brest—Death of Sir Edward Howard—Action off St. Helen's.

ENGLAND'S chief glory is her Navy. The reader, I trust, will agree with me that this apophthegm has, since the days of the Armada, been an article of faith with every true Briton. The mighty empires of Greece and Rome were each in its day invincible on land, and therefore arbiters of the world, or rather, of those portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa which constituted it in their eyes, though Alexander was inconsistent enough to weep for fresh worlds to conquer; while the mutinous state of his army prevented his marching across the Sutlej, to overthrow the great king who ruled over all that portion of India to the south of this river.

With the exception of the Carthaginians, who were paramount at sea for only a short time, and, perhaps, the Syracusans, we hear of no great naval power in ancient history; for we can scarcely call the peaceful galleys of the Phœnicians a navy, in the vulgar acceptation of the term. In modern times the English have not been behindhand in the race for military glory with the nations of Europe; and there have been epochs in our "island story" when great soldiers—as the Black Prince, Marlborough, and Wellington—have caused our armies to be regarded as invincible, but, nevertheless, this country has never aspired, for any length of time, to be paramount on the Continent. It is

only during the last three hundred years that we have taken a continuously active part in European politics, and that we have done so is chiefly due to our maritime pre-eminence; indeed, at the risk of offending some susceptibilities, it may be affirmed with truth, that were it not for our navy and our magnificent and wide-spread colonial and other possessions, Great Britain could scarcely now be regarded as a first-rate power. But we have ruled the seas for three centuries; and, in spite of desperate attempts by Spaniards, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen, to wrest Neptune's trident from the grasp of Britannia, she still wields that symbol of ocean sovereignty.

It is the object of the author of this work to trace the chief events by which our country has gained this proud position; and in doing so he trusts no comparison will be instituted with other writers who have penned voluminous works on this interesting theme—it is a very large subject—and as at least one hundred volumes of standard works have been written on the achievements of the British Navy, besides naval biographies and popular treatises innumerable, the great difficulty lies in digesting the vast amount of matter, and giving a concise account of only the great battles of the British Navy.

Our Saxon forefathers, during the Heptarchy and under Egbert, the first king of the seven principalities, though they fought their Danish invaders with great bravery and varying success, never sought to meet them on the sea, so as to prevent their effecting a landing; but the great Alfred, the youngest son of Ethelwolf, was the first monarch who sought to provide against invasion by building a fleet. These vessels, though of larger size than any hitherto known, were not sailing ships like those of the Danish fleet, but were propelled by oars only, sixty rowers being allotted to each.

Alfred won his first naval victory in 885, when his fleet defeated the Danes off the Essex coast. After this, the war was carried on with varying success; but a great result of the numerous battles was the increased skill and confidence the British seamen acquired in this, to them, novel warfare.

It is said this great prince despatched expeditions with

the combined objects of discovery and commerce as far as the unknown waters of the Indian seas; and British sailors doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the sight of which, six centuries afterwards, gained Bartholomew Diaz the title of its discoverer.*

Before his death, Alfred had created a fleet of 120 ships, so that his name may justly be handed down to posterity as the original founder of the British Navy. His son, Edward the Elder, and Athelstan, fostered the growing inclination of their subjects for maritime pursuits; and the latter monarch established a regulation, that any merchant who had made three voyages on his own account should be admitted to the rank of thane. King Edgar applied himself with great energy to destroy the pirates who infested our northern seas; but the navy attained still greater proportions under the reign of Ethelred, surnamed the Unready, who deserves credit on this score. The king issued an edict enforcing the building of a ship on every possessor of a certain quantity of land, and, moreover, he did not suffer them to rot in inaction, or to be employed in repelling invasion alone, but despatched them to sea, and ravaged the coast of Normandy. Soon after this, Ethelred attacked the Danes, who were at anchor off the coast of Essex, with a powerful fleet, one of the admirals of which, by the way, was a bishop, and, notwithstanding the treachery of Earl Alfric, who deserted to the enemy, the Danes feared an encounter, and escaped during the night. However, they fell into the hands of a second British fleet, described by an annalist as belonging to London, which entirely dispersed them, killing many thousands of men, and capturing the flag-ship of the traitor Alfric, though the earl himself escaped. But notwithstanding these victories the Danes established themselves as masters of the island, and for nearly fifty years nothing was heard of the British navy beyond the circumstance of the presentation, by Earl Godwin to Hardicanute, of a magnificent galley, propelled both by sails and oars, and having a crew of eighty picked rowers. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the navy again played a prominent part. Magnus, King of Norway, having laid

* Longe's "History of the British Navy."

claim to the throne, by virtue of a treaty he had concluded with Hardicanute, Edward, under the advice of Godwin, fitted out so formidable a fleet, that the Scandinavian monarch avoided a conflict; and it was not until the unwarlike Confessor disbanded his sailors that the Norsemen began to make descent upon the coast with the object of plunder. Harold, the last Saxon sovereign, paid great attention to the efficiency of the navy, and an annalist states that the British admirals encountered the Norwegian fleet of 300 sail under Olaf, the son of Harold Harfager, the ally of Tostig. Olaf's father was slain in battle, and his army routed, while the son himself suffered an overwhelming defeat at sea, and was glad to purchase safety by the surrender of a portion of his fleet. A few days afterwards the great battle of Hastings placed the kingdom at the feet of William the Conqueror, and one of the first consequences of the extinction of the Saxon dynasty was the decay of the navy, which was no longer required to repel Norman invaders.

Nearly a century after the Conquest, Henry II., having succeeded to the throne on Stephen's death, began to collect a navy for the purpose of invading Ireland. The maritime spirit of the country awoke from its lengthened slumber, and quickly a fleet of 400 ships was collected; and, after bearing Strongbow's army across the narrow seas, materially contributed to the conquest of the country, which has ever since remained united to this island. The same numerous fleet aided Henry in gaining and keeping possession of the whole seaboard of France, from Calais to the Pyrenees. "and if," says a writer, "Henry has no naval victories of which to boast, it is only because his superiority at sea was so great that no other nation could venture to engage in a contest with him."

The lion-hearted Richard, though celebrated rather for his achievements on land, possessed a formidable fleet, which he employed to carry his crusaders to the Holy Land. It was on the 9th or 10th of April, 1191, that Richard sailed from England with a fleet consisting of 150 sailing ships, 52 galleys, 10 large vessels laden with provisions and stores, and a considerable number of of smaller vessels. When near Cyprus the fleet was overtaken by a

gale, in which three ships, containing many persons of distinction, were driven ashore, and totally lost near Leinisso, or Limesol, in the island. The crews were robbed of all they possessed, and made prisoners by the Governor, who had the temerity to refuse admission into port to the rest of the fleet, whereupon Richard speedily effected a landing, and in the course of a few days entirely subdued Cyprus, and sent the inhospitable Governor a prisoner to Tripoli. In the famous siege of Acre, by the combined forces of England and France, the British fleet, which was anchored off the port, performed good service in preventing supplies from being thrown into the town. It also encountered, in a general action, a large Saracen squadron, and utterly defeated them, notwithstanding that the enemy were provided with fire-ships containing Greek fire. Some of Saladin's vessels were of a size unknown in Europe in those days; and one, the *Dromunda*, which is described by contemporary historians as resembling a floating-castle, was regarded by its crew as impregnable; but notwithstanding that this huge ship was secure against any missiles then in use, and had a crew of 1,500 men, its lofty sides were scaled, and the vessel carried in a hand-to-hand combat, in which the British seamen gave a striking illustration of that irresistible prowess in boarding, which has long since become historical. Acre, which was destined to be the scene of more than one of our naval achievements, surrendered to the combined forces on the 12th July in the same year. The rivalry of the French and English fleets first commenced in the reign of John. That king boldly asserted, and caused his captains to enforce, the old custom of compelling all foreign vessels to strike their colours in homage to the English flag on encountering one of his ships of war on the high seas. In 1213, when Philip Augustus of France attacked the Earl of Flanders, John despatched a powerful fleet, under the Earl of Salisbury, to the assistance of the Earl, his old ally. Some authorities state that the English admiral attacked the French fleet in the harbour of Dam, and others that the French were the aggressors in an action fought off the coast of Flanders, near that place; but, however, this may be, all accounts agree that the British fleet achieved a complete victory, capturing 300 sail, and burn-

ing 100 others. The remainder of the French fleet, being blockaded by the English, were destroyed by their crews, to prevent their being captured.

In the first year of the reign of Henry III., a French prince, afterwards Louis VIII., having collected troops for the subjugation of England, set sail from Calais at the head of a large army, convoyed by a fleet of eighty ships of war. The Governor of Dover, Hubert de Burgh, decided on encountering this formidable armament, and this he did on the 24th August, 1217, with a squadron of about forty sail he had hastily assembled in the Cinque Ports.

Ships of war were in those days still armed with strong sharp beaks, as in the days of ancient Carthage; and these "rams," as we call them now (though the ram proper is a weapon carried below the water line), were chiefly instrumental in deciding an action. The strong point of English admirals, as in more modern times, was their seamanship, and in this instance their superior skill in manœuvring contributed greatly to the successful result. Having gained the weather-gage by a skilful use of both oars and sails, they bore down on the French fleet with resistless force, and caused terrible havoc with their iron beaks on the ships, while the archers made great slaughter with their "cloth yard shafts." They also had recourse to the stratagem of lading their decks with barrels of unslaked lime, which they threw into the eyes of the French sailors. The enemy were compelled to retreat, and, though they effected a landing on the Kentish coast, burning Sandwich and advancing to London, the battle was decisive, in that it deprived Louis of receiving reinforcements, and compelled him to purchase a safe return to his own country by a final renunciation of all his pretensions on England.

During Henry's reign the navy was neglected so greatly that when his son, afterwards Edward I., took his departure for the Holy Land, the ships of war that convoyed him were but thirteen sail, manned by about 1,000 seamen. When, however, this most warlike sovereign came to the throne, he repaired this neglect, and was rewarded in the year 1295 by a great victory which his fleet achieved over that of the French. For some years before this date, the quarrels between the seamen of the Cinque Ports and the

mariners of the opposite coast became so violent, that outrages on the one side, and reprisals on the other, became of constant occurrence. An historian of the navy writes that the French hung some English sailors who had fallen into their hands by the side of dogs; and in retaliation, our countrymen entered the harbour of their rivals, carried off what ships they could find, and flung the crews overboard. At length both parties became so exasperated, that a challenge to settle all differences by a pitched battle was given and accepted. The 14th of April was appointed as the day for the hostile meeting; and the place of encounter was selected at a point midway in the Channel, almost in sight of both countries. The strength of the champion fleets, we are told, was not limited; for each was reinforced by all the allies that could be attracted to the rival standards by hope of gain, national animosity, or sheer love of fighting, which has always formed so prominent a characteristic of sailors. Many Irish and Dutch vessels rallied to our side, while the French were assisted by the hardy seamen of Genoa, a state which even at that time ranked as one of the first of maritime powers. Altogether the numbers of the French more than doubled those of the English ships; but the power of British sailors once again asserted itself, and a complete victory rewarded their gallantry. Many of the enemy's vessels were sunk; and nearly all the rest, to the number of 240 sail, were captured.

The French soon repaired their losses; and in the following year equipped a fleet of 300 sail, with which they made a descent on the coast of Kent, and burnt Dover, in retaliation for which a British squadron effected a landing at Cherbourg, and plundered both the town and abbey.

Edward I. divided his fleet into three portions, called respectively the Yarmouth, Portsmouth, and Irish squadrons. In 1303, a peace was concluded between the two countries, and four years afterwards this great monarch died, and was succeeded by his son Edward II., whose unhappy fate at Berkeley Castle is well known. The navy languished in his reign, but during that of his son and successor, Edward III., its ancient glories revived, and were still further illustrated by one of the most signal victories recorded, even in our naval annals. Previously to this battle

the rival fleets had been engaged with varying success. A squadron of thirteen French vessels had defeated five English ships, capturing two of the number belonging to the king, the *Christopher*, and the *Edward*; the same force also took advantage of the king's absence in Flanders, to burn Plymouth and threaten Bristol. The sailors of the Cinque Ports on their side, had crossed over to Boulogne, and burnt the town, arsenal, and all the ships that lay in the harbour.

But in 1340, Edward having resolved upon asserting his claim to the throne of France, invaded that country with a large army and a powerful fleet, which he directed towards Sluys, a place of great importance, situated at the mouth of the Scheldt, and commanding the passage most in use between West Flanders and England. It possessed a harbour, says a writer to whom we are indebted for much of our material, sufficiently capacious to hold a large fleet, with approaches so intricate and difficult, that a single vessel could scarcely even thread its way in without an experienced pilot. In front of this harbour, on the shelter of which he relied for safety in the event of any disaster, Philip, King of France, had now stationed a fleet of 400 sail, 120 of which were large ships, that is to say, emphatically ships of war. The masts of this mighty armament so filled the arm of the river in which they lay that, according to Froissart, they looked like a wood. One squadron consisted of vessels manned by picked Genoese crews. Indeed, so alarmed had the people of England become by the reports of the magnitude of the naval preparations to resist a landing, that the most experienced warriors implored the king to desist, or at least postpone the expedition to a more favourable opportunity. But neither the numbers, nor the renown of his enemies, nor the manifest discouragement of his own men, could deter this truly great monarch from carrying out his purpose, though he prudently collected a larger force than he had first deemed sufficient for the enterprise. So great were his efforts, and so popular was the project of subduing France, that all the ports in the kingdom vied with each other in fitting out ships, so that, in ten days, he had as large a fleet as he required. Even then, according to Froissart, the French outnumbered his vessels in the proportion of four to one, though other accounts put his force at 240

ships. Whatever their relative strength as to numbers, it is certain that the English were greatly inferior to the French in this respect, and equally so in the size of their ships. On the 13th June, 1340, King Edward appeared off Sluys, and, without delay, attacked the enemy, who were fully prepared to receive him. For the first time in naval warfare the iron beaks of the ships were not brought into play.

Besides the crews employed in navigating the ships, bowmen were stationed at the bows and stern of each vessel, while the midships portion was, in many instances, occupied by catapults, and arbalists, huge engines employed to discharge ponderous missiles, large darts, and heavy stones, with which the masts and sides of the ships themselves might be crushed and disabled. The largest vessels were placed in the van, while on either wing were stationed the ships containing the archers and men-at-arms, and in this manner the English fleet bore down upon the French fleet, which was divided into three squadrons. The king's orders were that each ship should engage one of the enemy at close quarters, but, being obliged to perform a manœuvre which the ancient chroniclers speak of as "tacking," (though as the rig of the vessels of this date almost prevented the possibility of effecting such an operation, it must have been that known as "wearing"), the French believed that our seamen declined the engagement, and, in turn, took the initiative of attack, by bearing down in some confusion. They were received with loud and continued cheers—this, by the way, is the first notice we have of the British hurrah—and, what was more, by deadly showers of arrows from the long bow. Edward was seen in the thickest of the fight, recklessly exposing his person, and his example stimulated his men to increased exertions. The British archers first cleared the decks with their deadly missiles, which darkened the air, and then the men-at-arms boarded and completed the discomfiture of the French hosts. The slaughter was fearful; the decks were quickly rendered impassable by the dead and the dying, while the huge projectiles, hurled into the seething mass, crushed and maimed men in scores. In an incredibly short space of time, three-fourths of the enemy's ships had struck, and the darkness of the night alone enabled the

remainder to escape up the Scheldt, whither the English, from ignorance of the navigation, were unable to follow them. It is said that nearly 30,000 Frenchmen were slain, though this is doubtless an exaggeration, while 230 ships were captured; the English loss was estimated at 4,000. During the battle, which raged from eight in the morning till seven at night, no quarter was given on either side. So galling were the flights of English arrows that it was impossible to withstand them, and many men are said to have leaped overboard to avoid certain death from them. Early in the fight the *Christopher* was retaken, which greatly pleased the king, who manned her with draughts from other vessels, and sent her into action. When one of the enemy's ships, called the *Jacques de Dieppe*, surrendered to the Earl of Huntingdon, no less than 400 dead bodies were found on board her. So great and irretrievable, says the chronicler, was the disaster that none of the French king's councillors could summon courage to break the news to him; the Court fool was therefore solicited to undertake the dangerous task. This he did by taking an opportunity to inform his august master that he regarded the English as a pack of cowards. Upon the king asking what they had done to deserve the reproach, the buffoon promptly replied that they would not have courage to leap into the sea and be drowned, as the French had done, when they had lost all their ships.

During the year 1342, the chief naval incidents were the relief of Hannebon, the capture of the fleet of Lewis of Spain, and an action off Guernsey. In 1346 Edward sailed from Southampton to Guienne with a large fleet and army; but in consequence of encountering adverse winds, determined on landing near Cape La Hogue. The invaders captured the cities of Valogne, Harfleur, and Caen, and, passing up the Seine, destroyed the towns on both sides of the river. These successes were crowned by the battle of Cressy and capture of Calais. In 1350, the English victoriously engaged a Spanish fleet, capturing seventeen large vessels. Our most formidable rivals at sea during the reign of Richard II, were the Scotch, who, under a leader of the name of Mercer, greatly harassed our commerce, until a patriotic alderman of London fitted out an expedition at his own expense, and defeated and captured Mercer, together

with his ships and prizes. Henry V.'s glorious victories in France were preceded and followed by great successes at sea. In August, 1415, he sailed from Southampton for the invasion of France, with a fleet of 1,600 vessels and a large army, which he landed at Havre. The capture of Harfleur, after five weeks' siege, led to the decisive victory of Agincourt. In the following year, the French attempted to retake Harfleur; but the English fleet of 400 sail, with 20,000 troops, under command of the king's brother, the Duke of Bedford, drove off the enemy's naval force, which consisted chiefly of Genoese ships of a size never before seen out of the Mediterranean, and relieved the beleaguered city. In 1417, another successful action was fought with nine large Genoese ships; and on the 28th July, Henry sailed from Portsmouth with 1,500 sail and a large army, at the head of which he entered Paris, and was declared Regent of France and heir to the crown.

The reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., were barren of naval events, though mention is made in one of Edward's letters of six ships, one of which was called the *Grace à Dieu*, the first of its name. After the termination of the Wars of the Roses, and the accession of Henry VII., that monarch employed Sir John Cabot, who, when in command of an English squadron, discovered Newfoundland and St. John's, which still belong to the English crown. In 1497 this adventurous Venetian reached the mainland of America. Henry, though penurious, was a sagacious sovereign, and was not slow in seeing the advantages of fostering the maritime spirit of the nation. He, accordingly, had ships constructed solely for warlike purposes, and he called the largest *Harry Grace à Dieu*, though this ship, the first built in Woolwich dockyard, was more generally known as the *Great Harry*. On the accession of Henry VIII., her name was changed to the *Regent;* but when, a few years afterwards, she was burnt in action, the ship built to replace her was named the *Great Harry*. Her size and equipment are minutely recorded. She was of 1,000 tons burden, and had a crew of 700 men. Her armament consisted of 122 guns; but the greater part of them were falcons, falconets, serpentines, rabbinets, pieces of ordnance which carried balls varying in weight from one

to two pounds, and which were fitted on the upper deck. She was, in all probability, the first ship to carry guns pointed through portholes, which had lately been invented by Descharges, a French shipwright; though, according to some prints now extant, ordnances were employed on board ships in the reign of Richard III., but were fired over the bulwarks. The *Great Harry* had thirty-four regular cannon, which were called culverins and demi-culverins. Instead of one mast, she had four, besides a bowsprit. The forecastle was introduced in the forepart of the vessel; and its name still retained, accurately describes the lofty structure then in use. The Tudors may thus be said to be the founders of the British navy as a force used exclusively for fighting purposes. Henry VIII. is also entitled to great credit as having been the first to establish an order of officers who should be confined to the sea service of the crown—a measure which soon bore good fruit. In 1512, war was declared against France, and a fleet was fitted out, the command of which was conferred on Sir Edward Howard. On the 10th August, Sir Edward, having with him forty-five large ships, arrived off Brest just as the French fleet, of thirty-nine sail, was coming out of the harbour. An action followed, in which the *Regent*, under the second in command, Sir Thomas Knevit, encountered the *Cordelier*, the largest French ship, having the French admiral on board. The two ships grappled, and a fierce struggle ensued, until, unfortunately, the *Cordelier* took fire, when both she and her antagonist blew up. On board the *Regent*, Sir Thomas Knevit and 700 men were lost, while on the side of the enemy the French Admiral and 900 perished.

In the spring of the following year, a fleet of forty-two sail was dispatched under the orders of the Lord High Admiral, Sir Edward Howard, who landed his men near Brest, and ravaged the country and burnt the houses close up to the walls. After leaving Brest, the admiral, taking with him two galleys, two barges, and some boats, endeavoured to destroy six galleys under the French commander, M. Pregent, but met his death in a somewhat singular manner. Having got alongside the galley commanded by the French admiral, he lashed his own to her, and boarded with seventeen men. By some means the lashings go

adrift, and the vessels parted, when the French rallied, and killed all their assailants, including the gallant admiral, whose body, together with those of his men, was thrown overboard. Sir Edward Howard was a skilful seaman, and a man of dauntless courage. To him is attributed a saying which was often in the mouth of no less gallant an officer, the late Lord Dundonald, that "a sailor, to be good for anything, must be nearly mad." Lord Ferrers, the commander of the other galley, could effect nothing against the superior force opposed to him, and returned to England with the fleet. M. Pregent then stood over to the Sussex coast, and ravaged the country, but was speedily forced to retire by Sir Thomas Howard, who had succeeded to the post of Lord High Admiral on the death of his brother. Early in Henry's reign this officer had been engaged as second in command, under the late Sir Edward Howard, in the destruction, off the Goodwins, of a noted Scotch freebooter of the name of Andrew Barton, who had long committed depredations on English commerce. In 1514, M. Pregent again landed on the Sussex coast, and burnt Brighton, which led to reprisals on the coast of Normandy. Soon after this peace was concluded; but in 1522 war again broke out, but was not signalized by any striking successes on the part of the navy. In 1544, King Henry attacked and captured Boulogne, upon which, in the following year, the French king dispatched a fleet of 150 large ships and sixty smaller vessels. On hearing of their arrival off St. Helen's, Henry, who had arrived at Portsmouth, ordered all the ships ready for service, numbering some sixty sail, to proceed to sea. A partial action ensued, during the course of which the *Mary Rose*, a sixty-gun ship, was upset in a light squall of wind, owing to the lowness of her ports, which were only sixteen inches from the water's edge. Some fighting took place between the row galleys of the French and the English ships, of which one, the *Great Harry*, bore the brunt of the action. M. du Billing speaks of a sort of light vessel, using both sails and oars, employed on this occasion, which he calls "rambarges," but which the English called pinnaces, a name which has been retained in the navy ever since. Regarding the *Mary Rose*, it will interest the reader to learn that several of her guns and

decayed portions of her wreck were recovered, in 1835, by Mr. Deane. Some of these relics, together with a few stone shot, may be inspected by the curious in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution, in Whitehall Yard, London.

In the short reign of Edward VI., the navy contributed the victory of Pinkey, which was fought so close to the sea-shore that the admiral, Lord Clinton, was enabled to use his guns with considerable effect against the Scotch army. The succeeding reign was equally barren of naval events; though the fate that befell a gallant explorer, Sir Hugh Willoughby, and his crew, has more recently had its counterpart in the destruction of Sir John Franklin and his gallant band. Willoughby was endeavouring to make the north-east passage by Spitzbergen, but having sought shelter with two of his ships at the mouth of the river Arzina, in Lapland, he and all his men were starved or frozen to death.

The victory gained at Gravelines by Count Egmont, the general of Philip of Spain, husband of Queen Mary, was greatly owing to the fire of the English fleet, which, as at Pinkey, was able to take a prominent part in the battle. About the middle of this century iron superseded the use of stone shot.

CHAPTER II.

1559–1588.

The Achievements of Drake—The Spanish Armada: its Defeat and Destruction.

It was in the reign of Mary's successor, Elizabeth, that the navy earned the lasting gratitude of the country, as its deliverer from the most formidable armament that had ever threatened its independence, and achieved glorious deeds that may even compare in brilliance with the triumphs of the great war with France. Sir Francis Drake was one of the first of the race of professional naval officers, and his history is one so full of romance and incident, that it is far more exciting than any book of adventures we know of. His first expedition was made under the command of a relative, the scarcely less famous Hawkins. Hawkins was a slave-trader, and the nature of the work disgusting young Drake, he turned pirate; for though his achievements were glorious, yet as having been undertaken against a country with which his sovereign was at peace, truth compels us to place them in the category of acts of piracy. In May, 1572, Drake sailed across the Atlantic in search of plunder, at the expense of the rich settlement of the King of Spain, the husband of the late Queen Mary.

The force which he took with him was such as would excite only ridicule in our time; and indeed it must have appeared miserably inadequate for any enterprise even in those days. We will see, therefore, what this gallant sailor did with the means at his disposal. His own ship, the *Pasha*, was of 70 tons burden, with a crew, "all told," of 47 men; and the *Swanne*, the only other vessel of his squadron, was of 25 tons, and boasted a complement of 26 hands. Even of this handful of men we are told one-third died of sickness in their passage, and among them his brother, Joseph Drake. Nothing disheartened this *beau-idéal* of a sailor—

who was as "mad" in the recklessness and dash of the enterprises he undertook as even Sir Edward Howard or Lord Dundonald could desire—attacked, with the survivors of his force, the town of Nombre de Dios, and other Spanish places in the Isthmus of Darien, plundered several trains of mules heavily laden with treasure from the Mexican mines, took or destroyed numerous Spanish vessels, the smallest of which was larger than his own *Pasha*, and returned home after a prosperous voyage of fourteen months, to prepare for a fresh expedition on a more extensive scale.

While at the Isthmus of Panama, Drake had caught sight of the boundless waters of the Pacific Ocean from the top of a tree he had climbed to reconnoitre, and then and there bound himself by a vow to sail a ship upon its bosom. No sooner had he arrived in England, therefore, than he set to work with the wealth he had acquired in his first expedition, to fit out a squadron adequate to undertake the enterprise he had in view. This task occupied him four years, so small were the capabilities of the dockyards that he could command; and yet the fleet only consisted of five vessels, ranging from 100 to 15 tons, while the entire complement of all their crews amounted to no more than 163 men. To Drake, however, who had done so much with the *Pasha* and *Swanne*, this force appeared sufficient to go anywhere and do anything.

Hoisting his flag on board the *Pelican*, he set sail, in November, 1577, on his wonderful voyage of adventure. Brazil was the first land he reached in the New World; then, stretching down along the South American Coast, he successfully traversed the Straits of Magellan; but soon afterwards, encountering a violent gale, lost one of his ships, while the whole of his squadron was dispersed and driven to the south of Cape Horn. Nothing daunted, the bold navigator continued his voyage with his single ship, the name of which he had changed from the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind*, and, steering up to the northward, proceeded to attack the Spanish settlements on the coast of Peru with as much hardihood as if he had a fleet at his back. We are told that he entered the port of Callao, and plundered seventeen vessels which he found there of vast quantities of the precious metals. He captured ship after ship which

he fell in with at sea, the greater part of them being heavily freighted with gold, silver, and jewels; and then, after devoting a short time to the repair of his own vessel, proceeded along the coast of North America, with the object of finding a north-east passage to England. The summer of 1579 proving unusually cold and stormy, Drake did not advance beyond California, and after taking possession of that country, which he called New Albion, in the Queen's name, with all the customary formalities, he fortunately gave up the plan of attempting a feat which has cost the country the lives of so many of her gallant seamen, and steered westward across the mighty and unknown Pacific Ocean. Touching at the Philippine Islands and Java, he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, formerly known as the Cape of Storms, and hugged the African coast until he reached Sierra Leone. At length, in September, 1580, nearly three years after he sailed from England, the gallant Drake cast anchor at Plymouth, which one of his original squadron, the *Elizabeth*, commanded by Captain Winter, had reached some time earlier.* Here, in his native county of Devonshire, he was received with every mark of distinction.

Drake, during this successful cruise, had accumulated greater riches than before, and, what was more honourable to him, may be considered the first Englishman who circumnavigated the globe. After a short delay at Plymouth he sailed round to the Thames, where he found those in authority in great doubt whether to countenance his late proceedings or to condemn them. Elizabeth entertained the greatest repugnance to, and suspicion of, Philip, King of Spain, the husband of her late sister, who had, moreover, made advances for her hand, which she rejected; but her ministers, though they had little objection to such proceedings, which created a spirit of adventure among the maritime population and fostered the navy, yet were afraid lest Drake's particular enterprise might breed war between England and Spain, which, whatever its issue, would certainly ruin the trade with that country, then the richest in the world. However, ultimately Drake's friends prevailed,

* For details of the voyages, see Sir John Barrow's "Life of Sir Francis Drake."

and though the Queen was always inclined to disapprove of anything that was done without express authority from herself, she delighted the great sailor by paying him a visit on board the *Golden Hind*, knighted him, and ordered that his little ship should be preserved as a memento of his marvellous achievements. In accordance with this royal injunction, the *Golden Hind* was laid up at Deptford as long as repairs could keep her timbers together; but a century later the progress of decay could no longer be stayed, and there remained only sufficient sound timber to make a chair. This interesting relic was presented by Charles II. to the University of Oxford, where to this day it is preserved as an "honoured memorial of an enterprise which, both in the hardihood which conceived it and in the skill which executed it, is scarcely surpassed by any other of its age, fertile as that age was in heroic and glorious exploits."

Elizabeth now appointed Drake an admiral, thus removing all stigma that might attach to his piratical and unauthorized proceedings, and, four years later, conferred on him the command of a fleet of 20 sail, which she had fitted out with the avowed purpose of striking a blow at Spain, though at this time nominally at peace with that country. Drake had never been placed in command of so powerful a fleet. His own flag-ship, named the *Elizabeth*, was a fine vessel of 900 tons, and his vice-admiral, Frobisher, almost as renowned and skilful a seaman as himself, also flew his flag on board a regular man-of-war. There were besides two more of the Queen's ships, the remaining sixteen being transports, having on board a force of 2,000 soldiers, who were destined to take part in the expedition. Sailing from Plymouth in the autumn of 1585, Drake steered for Vigo, where he took a number of vessels; from thence he proceeded across the Atlantic to the island of Hispaniola, and made himself master of the capital, St. Domingo, which he permitted the citizens to ransom from destruction by the payment of 25,000 ducats, hastening their decision by burning a portion of the city every morning until they had acceded to his terms. Proceeding onward to the American continent, he treated Carthagena in the same summary manner, and then visited Virginia,—where his great contemporary, Raleigh, had lately planted a colony,—with the object of strengthening



Drake knighted by Queen Elizabeth.—p. 18

the settlement by some reinforcements from his squadron. The settlers, who numbered 103, were, however, so disenchanted with the country, owing to the hardships they had experienced during their sojourn in it, that, at their earnest entreaty, Sir Francis embarked them all for England, where they arrived in the summer of 1586.

Philip, now greatly incensed (as well he might be) at Drake's unprovoked buccaneering attacks upon his ships and colonies, addressed a formal remonstrance to Elizabeth, and forthwith began to make preparations on a vast scale for the invasion of England, while, as a measure of retaliation, he laid an embargo on all English shipping in his ports. Drake, ever anxious for fresh opportunities of earning distinction, proposed "to singe the King of Spain's beard," as he expressed it, by attacking him in his ports and destroying his shipping. The Queen eagerly approved of the plans which he submitted to her, gave him a squadron of four of her own ships, and encouraged him to apply to her "good city" of London for the rest of the fleet which he required. The London merchants, combining public spirit with a keen eye for a profitable speculation, liberally furnished Sir Francis with 20 ships, and a few joining him from other quarters, he sailed down Channel, in April, 1587, with 28 well-found ships. Soon after passing Cape Finisterre he spoke two Spanish vessels, who gave him information of preparations going on at Cadiz. He lost no time in steering for that port, and on the 19th of April entered Cadiz harbour, and commenced operations with all his wonted ardour and success. First silencing twelve galleys which attacked him, he drove them to seek shelter under the guns of the castle, and then proceeded to capture and destroy all the other vessels in the harbour. This was no easy task, for so numerous were they, that it took him three days to complete the work of destruction. On the evening of the third day he had scuttled or burnt 150 ships, many of them of the largest size then known. Some were ships of war carrying 40 large brass guns, others were laden with cargoes of exceeding value, which he took care to remove. From Cadiz he proceeded to Lisbon, Portugal having recently been annexed to Spain, and made almost equal havoc

there. Finding that the Marquis Santa Cruz, the Lord High Admiral and the most renowned sailor in Spain, who had gained great honours at the battle of Lepanto, was in the city, he challenged him to come forth and fight him in the open sea, but the marquis—who, though a most able seaman, was more distinguished for prudence than for daring—declined the invitation. So chagrined was the Spanish admiral at the destruction which he had witnessed and the personal losses he had incurred, that he fell ill and died soon afterwards.

As to Drake, he seemed the spoiled child of fortune, for as he was returning to Plymouth, every ship laden with booty of enormous value, he fell in with a "carrack" from the East Indies, having on board a most costly cargo, which also fell into his clutches. While enriching himself, he had done his country a great service; for not only was the invasion of England postponed by the wholesale destruction of ships and stores prepared for that object, but British sailors had been taught thoroughly to despise Spaniards, even though the ships they manned were of infinitely superior size.

It will scarcely be credited that, instead of being rewarded for his great services in this last expedition, Drake found, on his return to England, that he himself and his exploits were disavowed by Elizabeth, a Queen who, with all her undoubted heroism, was oftentimes guilty of acts of ingratitude and duplicity that rob her of any claims to moral greatness. "She had shown," says a writer, "the greatest eagerness, consistent with her unvarying parsimony, to promote the sailing of Drake's expedition. She had taken care to secure herself an ample share of the profits expected from it; yet, because Philip and his agents had deluded her with a prospect of peace which must have been most inglorious for her, and could not possibly have been lasting, she now declared her disapprobation of Drake's actions, assured Philip that all he had done had been done in disobedience to her positive injunctions, and she made a merit with the Spaniard, who was ceaselessly plotting her destruction, of showing the greatest displeasure against Drake, and an intention, only with difficulty to be averted, of punishing him as he deserved."



ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JERVIS (EARL ST. VINCENT).

Enough, sir, enough! Were there fifty sail-of-the-line, sir, I'd go through them al —p. 21

But the Queen soon took a different view of Sir Francis Drake's offences against international law, and was glad to avail herself of the services of the buccaneering admiral.

Philip busied himself during the winter of 1587-88 in again fitting out a fleet for the invasion of England, to which, in his vainglorious pride, he gave the name of the Invincible Armada. To complete the subjugation of the country, he directed the Duke of Parma, the most renowned general in Europe, to assemble a vast army, which was to be embarked from the Netherlands when the fleet had forced its way through the English Channel.

The great event that ensued forms a crisis in the history of the world, for not only would the religious liberties of England have been crushed, had the expedition been successful, but a blow would have been dealt against the freedom of Europe that must have brought back again the Dark Ages. Fortunate it was that Elizabeth had able officers and patriotic statesmen, who were equal to the occasion, and that she hearkened to their voices before it was too late. As it was, much valuable time was lost, and it was not until the Armada was ready to sail, and Parma's legions were marshalled on the Flemish coast, that she would listen to their remonstrances.

On the death of Lord William Howard, High Admiral of England, who owed his appointment to Mary, Elizabeth appointed his son Charles to the post. This nobleman, known in our history as Lord Howard of Effingham, though not an experienced sailor like Drake, was in every way qualified for his high office, for he was "a high-spirited, liberal man, largely endowed with the tact and temper necessary for gaining the confidence of those under his command. He was, in fact, a fine and genuine relic and specimen of the ancient chivalry, when great lords and princes thought the most valuable privilege of their nobility was the right which it gave them to be the first in devoting their treasures and their lives to the service of their country."

We trust that, should the nation ever again pass through such a crisis, she may have a Lord Howard of Effingham to lead the van of her fleet. Howard was one of the first to apprehend the danger that was brewing against the

safety of the kingdom, while he was high and powerful enough to dare to be outspoken, and press unwelcome truths on his royal mistress, who was complacently listening to the protestations of the Spanish negotiators while the dockyards of that country resounded with the din of preparations.

At this time the entire number of the Queen's ships of war only consisted of thirty-four ships, and of these Howard could only collect twenty-four in all. At the approach of spring he began to cruise about the Channel, resolved, if it must be so, to meet the Spaniard with the squadron at his disposal. At the same time he unceasingly urged upon his sovereign and her ministers the imminence of the danger and the inadequacy of the preparations to meet it, and in a letter, dated 7th April, 1588, quoted by Motley in the admirable account of the destruction of the Armada in his "History of the United Netherlands," assured her that Philip was straining every nerve to render his fleet invincible, and that "sparing and war had no affinity together." At length the Lord High Admiral's pertinacity prevailed, and Elizabeth ordered her own ships to be equipped, and permitted demands to be made on the public bodies who were wont to furnish vessels and men in time of need. The call met with a noble response. The city of London, which was asked for 15 ships and 500 men, gave double the number. Plymouth and other cities were equally liberal and patriotic, and by the end of June a fleet was collected of 197 vessels, having a tonnage of 29,744 tons, carrying nearly 1,000 guns, and manned with a force of 15,785 men. This may seem a very formidable armament, but it was small indeed in comparison with the mighty Armada which had been prepared by the Spanish king; and had it not been that Heaven itself appeared to fight on our side, it was nearly proving all too late to save the kingdom.

The last ship of the enemy quitted Lisbon on the 30th of May, on which day the entire fleet was speeding towards these shores, in the full certainty of an easy triumph. The Invincible Armada consisted of 132 ships, having a total tonnage of 59,120 tons, armed with 3,165 guns, and manned by 8,776 sailors, and 21,855 soldiers. There were also numerous galeasses, having 2,088 galley-slaves. Thus, it

will be seen that, though in mere numbers it did not equal the English fleet, yet it was incomparably more powerful; for while some of our vessels were only 30 tons, the smallest of the Spanish ships was 300 tons, a size not exceeded by above 30 of Lord Howard's fleet. Not only, therefore, was the number of their crews and the tonnage of their ships double, but their guns, which exceeded ours in the ratio of three to one, were, for the most part, of far heavier calibre than the largest at that time in use in the British navy.

So sure were the enemy of victory, that the Armada was freighted with articles of luxury or display, as carriages and horses for use when the landing and conquest of the country should have been effected, and instruments of torture for the heretic population, as thumb-screws, and many such like tools, employed by the myrmidons of the grand inquisitors, in that priest-ridden country. Twelve of the ships were named after the apostles; and priests, to the number of one hundred, were embarked on board the ships; for the subjects of his most Catholic Majesty, like all cruel fanatics, were deeply religious.

The commander of this huge expedition was the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman eminent for his gallantry, but deficient in nautical experience, which, however, was in a measure supplied by the many skilful and intrepid admirals under his orders.

Had the winds proved ordinarily favourable, the Spaniards would have come upon us when we were ill prepared for their reception, for but half the fleet had joined the dauntless but almost despairing Howard. On the 21st of May, detaching Lord Henry Seymour, with 40 sail of English and Dutch ships, to watch the movements of the Duke of Parma, he left the Downs with as many ships as he could collect, and 20 merchantmen. On the 23rd of May he arrived at Plymouth, where he was joined by Sir Francis Drake, whom he had appointed his vice-admiral, with 60 sail. The English fleet, now amounting to 90 ships, put to sea, and cruised between Ushant and the Scilly Islands, resolved to engage the enemy at all hazards.

England, meanwhile, was left in a state of the most

feverish excitement, and the consternation that prevailed was certainly not without adequate grounds. But a kind Providence watched over this land. The very size and nature of the rig of many of the Spanish ships rendered them unwieldy and "unhandy," as sailors call it. The Spanish fleet was three weeks crawling up the Portuguese coast, and off Cape Finisterre encountered such a severe gale that they were compelled to take shelter in Corunna, or Groyne as it was then called. Here they lay a further three weeks refitting; so that by the 12th July, when the Armada again put to sea, the English ships had all joined the Lord High Admiral, and were zealously training themselves for the coming conflict.

Most exaggerated reports of this dispersion of the Spanish ships reached England, and it was stated that almost the whole fleet was destroyed, and that no further attempt at invasion would be made that year.

Accordingly the Queen, with her usual parsimony, directed the Lord High Admiral to dismantle and pay off four of his largest ships; but Howard, with a noble patriotism, objected to this order, stating his reasons for his disobedience in a most statesmanlike letter, and offering, if they should appear insufficient, to maintain the ships at his own charge rather than weaken his force. Despatching his letter, the gallant admiral determined to stand over to the coast of Spain with his squadron, in order to ascertain from his own observation the truth of the report relative to the damage the Spanish fleet had sustained. On arriving within a short distance of the coast, he learnt the truth and the wind just then shifting to the southward, determined to return forthwith to England, and prepare for the conflict. Well was it for our country that he arrived at that judicious decision, for the favouring breeze that carried him home also wafted to our shores the vast Armada that was destined to enslave a great nation. On the 12th July the admiral arrived at Plymouth, and used all expedition in refitting and revictualling his fleet; and on the 19th the Duke of Medina Sidonia arrived off the Lizard. Mistaking this promontory for the Ram Head, he stood off to sea again, as the night was closing in, with the intention of attacking the English fleet on the following morning; but,

on the same day, a pirate, Captain Thomas Fleming, discovered the Spanish ships, and made all speed with the intelligence to Plymouth, where lay Lord Howard with the principal division of his fleet, and the most experienced of his officers. His own flag was flying on the *Ark Royal;* with him, in the Sound, was the gallant Drake, his vice-admiral, on board the *Revenge;* also the scarcely less distinguished Hawkins, his rear-admiral, or third in command, whose flag was hoisted at the masthead of the *Victory;* and Frobisher, who commanded the largest ship in the fleet, the *Triumph*, of 1,100 tons and forty-two guns.

On the 19th, the wind blew fresh from the south-west; but, notwithstanding the great difficulty of clearing the Sound with the wind from that quarter, Lord Howard persevered, and beat out in the afternoon with six ships. On the 20th, his admirals, having got out with the rest of his squadron, 67 vessels in all, Howard put to sea in search of the enemy, and on Sunday, the 21st, the Spanish Armada was sighted, presenting an imposing appearance as it swept slowly up Channel in an enormous crescent, fully seven miles from one extremity to the other.

"The ships," says Lediard, a contemporary writer, "appeared like so many floating castles, and the ocean seemed to groan under the weight of their burdens." Truly it was a spectacle calculated to strike terror into the boldest hearts; and had it not been that Drake had accustomed his sailors to think nothing of attacking the largest Spanish ships with his pigmy craft, the lofty forecastles and sterns of the vast array now bearing down upon them would have caused even British seamen to quail.

The Lord High Admiral, nothing daunted, at once commenced the attack with his own ship, the *Ark Royal*, his admirals also engaging the enemy; not, indeed, at close quarters—the time for that had not come yet—but, having obtained the weather-gage, they cannonaded them from a distance, inflicting much damage, and throwing some of their ships into confusion. Before night the flag-ship of the Guipuscoan squadron had blown up, and that of Valdez, the ablest sailor of the Spanish fleet, was so much disabled that it struck at daybreak the next morning. The Lord High Admiral and Drake kept close to the enemy during the

night, and on the following morning the running fight was resumed. The Duke of Medina now made a new arrangement of his rear, and directing his captains to bring the English ships to close action, sent officers of his staff with executioners on board every ship in the fleet, with instructions to hang any commander who should quit his post in the line of battle. But even this harsh measure, "pour encourager les autres," was without effect, for the lighter and more manageable ships of the English enabled them to advance or retreat at pleasure, and keep up a harassing fire, which the enemy were unable to return with any effect. On Tuesday, the 23rd, the wind shifted to the north-east; and as the Spaniards had now the advantage of the weather-gage, they bore down upon Lord Howard's fleet, and tried to grapple with and board his ships; but this they were unable to effect, owing to the handiness of our vessels and the superior seamanship of our men. The wind, which was blowing fresh with a heavy sea, shifted during the day, but the fight was maintained with unabated vigour by both fleets; the gunnery on both sides was indifferent, particularly that on the part of the Spaniards, whose round shot passed harmlessly over their adversaries' ships. At length our ammunition began to fail; but as the rival fleets approached the Dorsetshire coast, fresh vessels came flocking in to reinforce Howard, and boats full of men, provisions, and ammunition put him in a position to renew the action again. Nothing particular occurred on the 24th. On the following day, when Howard mustered 100 sail, the enemy, while off the Isle of Wight, attacked him, when his ship and that of Frobisher sustained considerable damage.

Gaining strength as he pursued, the British admiral followed up the Armada, till on Saturday, the 27th May, it anchored in Calais Roads. The Duke of Medina Sidonia hoped to be reinforced by the Duke of Parma with his army and flotilla; but the Dutch, who regarded their own safety as bound up in the issue of this contest, blockaded the Scheldt so effectually that the redoubtable Spanish general was unable to get out. Meanwhile Howard, who had been joined by the squadron of Lord Henry Seymour, which lay in the Downs, thus increasing his fleet to 140 sail, anchored a short distance outside the Spanish fleet, and held

council of war, to debate what steps should be taken, as he greatly feared a junction of the forces of the Spanish commanders. Sir William Winter suggested the employment of fire-ships, and the design was no sooner broached than it was adopted. Eight of the most unseaworthy of the English ships were loaded in haste with combustible materials, and, under Captains Young and Prowse, were, at midnight of the 28th, moved silently into Calais harbour, and before their purpose could be ascertained were set on fire in the midst of the Armada. Owing to the narrowness of the harbour the ships were moored close together, so that the scene of panic and confusion that ensued is past description. Some of the Spaniards caught fire, the rest cut their cables, and, striving to escape in the darkness, got entangled and wrecked against each other. The Duke preserved his presence of mind amid this trying scene, and sought to preserve order ; but the instinct of self-preservation overpowered the habits of obedience and discipline, and a general *sauve qui peut* was the result. The actual loss by capture was inconsiderable, only one great galeasse, flag-ship of a Spanish admiral, being taken, but the "scare," as the Yankees say, was prodigious. By daybreak the whole of the once proud Armada was steering for Dunkirk, with the object of effecting a junction with Parma's army. Howard pressed all sail in pursuit, and overtook the fugitives near Gravelines.

Before noon every admiral led his own squadron, and vied with each other who should inflict the greatest damage on the demoralized and fugitive Armada, invincible no longer.

They ranged up within speaking distance and poured an incessant fire into the sides of the huge Spanish craft, which in return fired harmless broadsides over their dwarfish antagonists. The result of this day's fighting was decisive, for, though only the *St. Matthew* and another ship were captured, three were sunk ; the entire fleet had been so mercilessly mauled that many, drifting at the mercy of wind and tide, were wrecked on the Flemish coast, and the greater portion were so crippled as to be unable to renew the conflict. The Armada, indeed, would have been annihilated, but the English ships had expended all their

ammunition, many of them not having a single cartridge left. This saved the enemy's vessels from capture, while a lucky shift of wind enabled them to gain the open sea. The failure of the ammunition was inexcusable, and reflects the greatest discredit on that parsimonious sovereign lady "good Queen Bess," who, in spite of Lord Howard's protestations, neglected to furnish the fleet with a sufficient supply. Still, though unable to inflict any further injury on the enemy, Howard continued the pursuit relentlessly, but was forced to send back Lord Henry Seymour's squadron, as many of his ships had not sufficient food left for one single day's consumption. He himself had only enough for three days; but as he said, "he put on a brag countenance, and gave chase as though he wanted nothing." Even this course did not satisfy the ardent Drake, who counselled that the attack should be renewed with the few ships that had any ammunition left, and promised, if he might be allowed to execute his plan, soon to make the Duke of Medina Sidonia "wish himself back among his own orange-trees." Thus the chase was kept up till the 2nd August, when Howard, having reached the Scottish coast, decided to return south, leaving one or two small vessels to watch the enemy until they had passed the Orkney and Shetland Isles. And it was fortunate he did so, for two days afterwards the weather changed, and a furious gale for the time of the year set in. He managed to reach Margate Roads in safety, but the Armada was caught by the full fury of the storm among the unknown waters of the Islands to the northward of Scotland. Some were driven eastward, and were wrecked on the iron-bound coast of Norway; some westward, and some shared a similar fate on the equally-dangerous shores of the Hebrides, or further to the south on the rocks that fringe the coast of Ireland, while many, not having repaired the damages they had sustained in the previous actions, foundered in the open sea.

Of the entire Armada that had sailed forth from the shores of Spain a few short weeks before, in all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, little more than one-third ever returned to its shores, and this remnant was shorn of all its pride, and wholly unfitted for further service. By the lowest computation, eighty vessels and 20,000 men had

been lost. "Of the chief officers," says a writer, "and great nobles, who had escaped destruction, many had been taken prisoners. There was hardly a noble family in the whole peninsula which had not lost some of its members, and Philip vainly endeavoured to conceal the extent of the calamity from the nation itself, by prohibiting the wearing of mourning, which would otherwise have become the universal garb. He could not, indeed, blind his own subjects to their grief; but for some time he deceived foreign nations, publishing a boastful account, in foreign languages, of the success of the expedition; affirming that Lord Howard's flag-ship had been taken, and that he himself had but narrowly escaped; that Drake had been killed, and that the loss sustained by the Armada was limited to the single ship of Pedro de Valdez." In England this narrative was republished under the telling heading, "A Pack of Spanish Lies;" and Drake, justly indignant at being put to death in print, showed himself unmistakably alive by writing a most characteristic letter in contradiction of these mendacious statements, in which he detailed how the ships, collected by the Spaniards with so much trouble and expense, were "beaten and shuffled together from the Lizard to Portland, and from Portland to Calais; from Calais, driven with squibs from their anchors, they were chased out of sight of England; how their crews, captured by our ships, or wrecked on our shores, were sent from village to village, coupled in halters, till Her Majesty, of her princely and invincible disposition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back to their country, to recount the worthy achievements of their invincible and dreadful navy; not having, in all their sailing round about England, so much as sunk or taken one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or burnt so much as one sheep-cote in this land."

This memorable victory was achieved with the loss to the English of only one small ship, and about 100 men. For these signal services, the importance of which it would be scarcely possible to over-estimate, Elizabeth neglected to confer one single honour or reward of any kind on the gallant officers who had achieved them. Lord Howard

himself knighted Frobisher, Hawkins, and others, while the fleet was off the Sussex coast, for their gallantry during the first four days' fighting; and the Queen, eight years later, conferred upon the Lord High Admiral the earldom of Nottingham. With the proverbial ingratitude of princes, she thought she had sufficiently rewarded the sailors who had secured to her and her successors the throne of these realms, by ordering a public thanksgiving to be offered up in St. Paul's and decorating the walls of that cathedral with the trophies won by their prowess.

CHAPTER III

1589–1654.

Glorious Death of Sir Richard Grenville—Defeat of Van Tromp by Blake—Sir George Ayscough and De Ruyter—Commodore Bodley and Van Galen—Blake's Action with De Ruyter and De Witt on the 28th of September, 1652—Blake's Battles with Van Tromp of 9th December, 1652; 18th to 20th February, 1653; 2nd and 3rd of June, 1653—Decisive Defeat of Van Tromp by Monk on the 31st of July, 1653, and Death of the Dutch Admiral—Conclusion of the War.

NOTWITHSTANDING Elizabeth's ingratitude, she was glad enough to avail herself of the services of Drake and her other great seamen, and, in the spring of the following year (1589), sent an expedition to Spain, with the object of supporting Don Antonio, a prince of the old royal family of Portugal, in his attempt to recover his throne. The Queen committed the naval portion of the expedition to the charge of Sir Francis Drake, and the army she placed under command of Sir John Norris, a soldier of considerable experience and good repute; but both fleet and army were not adequately supplied with stores, and the expedition was a failure. Drake burnt the ships in the harbour of Corunna, as also some small towns, and made an abortive attempt on Lisbon. The fleet returned home with much booty and 150 pieces of cannon, but not before 6,000 men had perished of disease.

The year 1591 is memorable for an action which, for devoted heroism, is unsurpassed, even in the naval records of these islands.

In that year, a squadron of seven ships, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, with Sir Richard Grenville, his vice-admiral, flying his flag on board the *Revenge*, the ship that had borne Drake against the Armada, was lying off the Azores, for the purpose of intercepting some Spanish treasure ships, when the admiral learnt that a Spanish fleet of fifty ships, under Don Alphonso Bassano, was approaching.

The English squadron was wholly unprepared, and as the complement of his ships had been much weakened by sickness, Howard put to sea immediately, to avoid encountering so superior a force. The *Revenge* was delayed getting under weigh, owing to the circumstance that some of her crew were on shore; but the vice-admiral and his men, worthy of each other, and of the name of British seamen, disdained to surrender, and endeavoured to run the gauntlet through the vast hostile fleet which surrounded them. At one time they nearly succeeded in the attempt, but, unfortunately, were unable to avoid the *St. Philip*, of 1,500 tons, carrying 78 guns. The *Revenge* was short-handed, for she had but 100 men fit for duty, the rest being prostrated with sickness; but this handful fought as if they were resolved to make up for their deficiency of numbers by their surpassing intrepidity. They sank the huge three-decker, but soon afterwards were boarded simultaneously by four Spanish ships. The brave crew of the *Revenge*, headed by their gallant commander, who, though wounded early in the action, refused to quit the deck, repulsed every attempt to carry their ship, and drove off their assailants, sinking one of the Spaniards. The unequal fight was maintained from three in the afternoon until midnight, at which time the intrepid vice-admiral received a musket-ball in the body. He was then carried below to have his wound dressed, and while under the surgeon's hands was struck by another bullet in the head, the surgeon being killed at his side. Still his men fought on, and sank the third of the Spanish ships, driving the fourth ashore; but the cry was still "they come." Desperately these men continued the fight until daylight, when the ship was reduced to a mere wreck, and her decks were covered with the killed and wounded. Yet, though the ammunition was all expended, and resistance was hopeless, the remaining officers and crew refused to strike, unless they were promised their liberty. To this the Spanish admiral acceded, and thus the *Revenge* was captured by fifty-three ships, with a loss, it was said, of nearly 1,000 men. But not for long was she exhibited as a trophy of Spanish prowess, for the battered old hulk foundered almost directly after her capture, with her prize crew of 200 men. Sir

Richard Grenville was carried on board the Spanish admiral's ship, where he died two days afterwards, honoured even by his foes, and thanking Heaven that he had died as became a sailor, "fighting for his Queen, his religion, and his honour." The nation exulted over this glorious feat of arms; Raleigh extolled it, and a noble poem exists to this day in memory of the valour of these English worthies.

In 1592 an expedition under Raleigh and Frobisher committed much havoc on Spanish commerce, capturing among other prizes a galleon with a cargo valued at upwards of £150,000, almost the entire amount of which the Queen appropriated, according to her wont, as a small vessel of hers was present on the occasion. Two years afterwards, Frobisher recovered Brest for Henry IV. of France, that important town having been taken not long before by Philip and his allies of the League; but the admiral unfortunately received a wound, of which he died soon after his return to Plymouth. In 1595 the country sustained a still greater loss in the death of Drake—undoubtedly the grandest sailor the navy had yet produced, and whose name is worthy to rank in our naval annals with those of Blake and Nelson. He had, in conjunction with Hawkins, sailed for the Spanish settlements in America, but failed in an attack upon the Canary Islands, undertaken on the way. Some towns on the Spanish Main, including Nombre de Dios, fell into their hands, but soon after leaving the latter place Drake expired; and before the squadron returned to England from this unfortunate expedition, the scarcely less gallant Hawkins followed his distinguished commander and relative.

The Queen having learnt that the Spaniards were fitting out a powerful expedition to make a fresh attempt on England, determined to anticipate them, and in June, 1596, a large fleet of seventeen of her own ships, with one hundred and twenty armed merchantmen, under the command of Lord Howard, was despatched to Cadiz, to destroy the hostile armament. A force of seven thousand men was also embarked under the command of Elizabeth's favourite, Lord Essex, who, though a brave officer, was very self-willed, and would not subordinate his judgment to the superior experience of his colleague. On the 20th of June the fleet arrived off Cadiz, which was crowded with ships of war and

richly-laden merchantmen. Lord Howard attacked and destroyed all the vessels in the harbour, capturing immense booty; he also demolished the forts, and burnt a great part of the town; but the army, owing to Lord Essex's want of skill, accomplished no important success. The next year, Elizabeth entrusted Essex with a large fleet of one hundred and twenty English and Dutch ships, but the favourite mismanaged everything. The India fleet was suffered to escape, and he quarrelled with the most distinguished of his subordinates, the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, who, during his absence, captured the town of Fayal, in the Azores.

In 1602 a gallant exploit was performed by Sir Richard Levison, who cut out from under the guns of a strong fort a Spanish galleon, containing treasure valued at a quarter of a million sterling, and burnt five galleons, commanded by the redoubtable Spinola, who, subsequently, as the conqueror and ravager of the Palatinate, rivalled the glory of the Duke of Parma himself.

The great services rendered to this country by Sir Walter Raleigh, the founder of our first colony in America, by Davis and Cavendish, explorers of great hardihood and skill, do not concern us in this work; they are a subject of pride to all Englishmen, and in particular to the navy, in which some of these officers, including Raleigh, held commissions, but they are not associated with the Great Battles of the British Navy.

During the reign of Elizabeth, topmasts were first introduced into the navy, and in that of James I., her successor, great improvements were made in naval architecture under the auspices of the constructor or overseer of the navy, Phineas Pett, who, in 1610, built in Woolwich dockyard a ship of 1,400 tons and 64 guns, which was called the *Prince Royal*. James eternally disgraced himself by causing Sir Walter Raleigh, who, like Drake, was unsuccessful towards the close of his life, to be beheaded, in pursuance of a sentence of death pronounced upon him twelve years before, and only now carried out to please the Spanish Government, who hated that gallant and chivalrous gentleman; still further to pacify the Spanish envoy in this country, he ordered, in 1618, an expedition against Algiers, which, however, was unsuccessful. The reign of Charles I.

was not more remarkable than that of his father for its naval events; the expeditions against Cadiz and Rochelle being signal failures. It was while embarking for the second expedition against Rochelle, this time for the relief of the brave Protestants holding out at that place, that the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favourite, a most incompetent commander, was assassinated by Felton. Phineas Pett constructed for Charles a magnificent specimen of naval architecture, called the *Sovereign of the Seas;* she was the first three-decker in our navy, carried 112 guns, and was of 1,637 tons burden. After sixty years' service against the battle and the breeze, this noble ship, the pride of the navy, was accidentally burnt at Chatham.

During the civil wars of this disastrous reign, the fleet was almost unemployed, but after the collapse of Charles's cause on land, Prince Rupert took command of the fleet, and in the summer of 1649 escaped with his ships to Ireland, whither he was followed by a Parliamentary squadron far stronger than his own, under the command of an officer who has gained an imperishable renown, second only to that of Nelson. This was the immortal Blake, then a colonel in the army, and totally inexperienced in nautical affairs. His success in maritime war, when we consider his previous training, is wholly without parallel; he had passed middle age before he first embarked on board ship, but he was a man of original genius, and was born a sailor. Prince Rupert was blockaded in Kinsale harbour, but managed to break through and escape to the ports of Spain and Portugal, whither he was pursued by Blake. So great was the dread on the Continent inspired by Cromwell, that the Spaniards refused to protect him, and the gallant cavalier was forced to fly to the West Indies; and from thence, still chased by the relentless Blake, recrossed to France, where he found a refuge. Blake now reduced to submission the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and the Scilly Islands; but no long time elapsed before he had an opportunity of encountering a foreign foe in every way worthy of his steel.

After the death of the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married a daughter of Charles I., the Dutch openly expressed their strong sympathies for the English Royalists, and the condition of affairs between the two countries soon became

of so critical a character that a pretext for hostilities was not long wanting. On the 14th May, 1652, an English frigate, commanded by a Captain Young, falling in with a Dutch man-of-war, fired upon her for neglecting to salute the British flag, by striking or hauling down his colours, a compliment which our navy had claimed as a peculiar privilege in the British Channel ever since the Conquest.

An action ensued, and the Dutchman was compelled to surrender. Four days afterwards, the great Dutch admiral, Marten Harpetz Tromp, commonly called Van Tromp, who, in consequence of his victory over the Spaniards twelve years before, was considered the greatest naval commander of the age, entered the Downs with forty-two sail, while a small squadron of eight ships was lying there, under the command of Captain Bourne. The English officer requested the Dutch admiral to leave the anchorage, at the same time sending notice to Blake, who was in the Dover roadstead with fifteen ships. On the next day, the Dutchman worked up to Dover, and sailed past Blake with his flag flying at his masthead, when that admiral, notwithstanding the great disparity of forces, gave him a rude reminder, in the shape of a round shot, that he must acknowledge the British dominion of the seas. Van Tromp hurled back the defiance by a broadside. The English ships immediately got under weigh, Blake taking the lead by engaging the Dutch admiral's ship, though this manœuvre drew upon him the fire of many others of the enemy's vessels. He was soon joined by Bourne's division, but still his force was scarcely half that of the enemy, though some of our ships exceeded in size the largest of theirs. The battle raged furiously for many hours, and was only terminated by night, when Van Tromp made sail, and returned to his own harbour, leaving behind two of his ships as prizes.

On the 8th of July war was formally declared between England and the United Provinces, and hostilities and reprisals were commenced in earnest. Van Tromp, with a larger fleet than had yet been assembled under his orders, returned to the Downs, but finding that Blake had proceeded to the north-east coast, the Dutch admiral sailed for the Thames. Off the mouth of the river he encountered a small British squadron, under the command of Sir George

Ayscough, an experienced seaman, who had gained a reputation by the reduction of Barbadoes. He prepared to engage the enemy, and, owing to his skilful dispositions, and, in a measure to his having the weather-gage, succeeded in preventing Van Tromp from taking advantage of the disparity of force. The Dutch admiral retired to his own shores without effecting anything, which so greatly incensed his Government, that they removed him from the command, and appointed De Ruyter in his place. This deservedly celebrated officer went in search of Ayscough with forty men-of-war, and a powerful squadron of armed merchantmen, and on the 10th of August, 1652, came up with him off Plymouth. The English admiral's fleet now consisted of thirty-eight sail, and as his ships were mostly larger than De Ruyter's, they were not unequally matched. Sir George immediately took the offensive, and, resolving to wrest the advantage his adversary had in being to windward, bore down upon the enemy's line with great impetuosity with nine of his leading ships, and, breaking through, deprived him of the weather-gage. The fight lasted from four in the afternoon until nightfall, when De Ruyter, taking advantage of the darkness, was glad to make his escape, having experienced a heavy loss in killed and wounded, and two ships sunk.

About this time an engagement occurred off the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean, which is one of the most honourable to the British arms that we shall have to record. Commodore Richard Bodley, while employed in convoying some merchantmen, with three small men-of-war and a fire-ship, was attacked by Admiral Van Galen, having under his command eleven ships.

The action lasted a day and a half, and was fiercely contested. Four attempts were made to carry Bodley's ship by boarding, but the gallant commander beat off the enemy on every occasion, though he sustained a loss of 100 killed and wounded. The *Phœnix*, an English frigate, was captured while her crew were engaged in boarding one of the Dutchmen. With his three remaining ships, now much disabled, Bodley bore up for Leghorn without further molestation, and being joined by his convoy, proceeded to England, where he was received with demonstrations of

honour. It is gratifying to be able to chronicle that the *Phœnix*, while lying in Leghorn Roads, was "cut out" on the 26th November following, by Captain Owen Cox, who had been lieutenant of her, with three boats of an English squadron.

Cromwell, with an ingratitude not confined to crowned heads, superseded Ayscough, who had done such good service, and strongly reinforced Blake's fleet. The Dutch Government had also made great preparations for a naval war, and gave to De Ruyter, as his second in command, De Witt, at the same time raising the fleet to about seventy sail, a force about equal to that under Blake's command. The latter, directly he was joined by his admirals, went in pursuit of the enemy, and at noon of the 28th of September sighted them cruising off the North Foreland. De Ruyter would have avoided an action, and pointed out the superior size of most of the English ships; but De Witt disdained to fly, and held on his course. At about 3 p.m., Blake, in the *Resolution*, having only a portion of his fleet with him, including Penn, in the *James*, of 60 guns, shortened sail to allow of the remainder closing up, and at 4 p.m. most of the ships had joined.

The battle was hotly contested for some hours, and was only brought to a termination by the darkness, of which the Dutch admiral again took advantage to make his escape to the Texel, within sight of which he was chased by Blake. Ten Dutch ships captured, and as many more sunk, were the spoils of victory, and but for the night coming on, and that some of his ships got aground during the action, it is probable that Blake would have taken or destroyed the entire fleet. His own loss was 300 killed and as many wounded. These ten Dutch ships were not the only prizes Blake brought into port this autumn. While looking for the enemy, he learned that the French admiral, the Duc de Vendome, was fitting out a fleet in Calais harbour for the relief of Dunkirk, at that time closely besieged by the Spaniards. Notwithstanding that we were at peace with the French king, Blake, in defiance of the requirements of international law, forced his way into Calais, and carried off the French ships with their crews to England. "Though Cardinal Mazarin remonstrated," says Yonge, "as well he

might, he stood too much in awe of the imperious genius of Cromwell to go to war for so unparalleled an insult."

After cruising about the Channel for some time, Blake dispersed his fleet, retaining with him only thirty-seven men-of-war and a few fire-ships. He was near paying very dear for his temerity, for the Dutch Government had made during the month of October, the greatest exertions to strengthen their fleet, and yielding to the pressure of public opinion and the discontent of the seamen of the fleet, with whom he was very popular, had reappointed Van Tromp to the chief command. Hastening to take advantage of Blake's numerical inferiority, the Dutch admiral issued forth at the end of November with his entire fleet of one hundred sail, well equipped, and in magnificent order. Blake had as his second in command General Monk, who, according to the custom of that time, served both ashore and afloat, as his services might be required, but was deficient in nautical experience.

Nothing daunted at the superiority of the Dutch admiral, Blake, who was then lying in Dover Roads, immediately got under weigh to engage the enemy, who had also been lying at anchor two leagues to leeward. It was a little past noon of the 9th December, off the Goodwin Sands, that the rival fleets met, when an obstinately contested battle ensued. Blake, ever foremost when fighting was going on, an example which British admirals have ever since closely followed, commenced the action, and, together with the *Victory*, 50 guns, commanded by Captain Mann, and the *Vanguard*, Captain Joseph Jordan—glorious names these ships bore, names that are destined to be perpetuated, let us hope, for centuries yet to come—pressed forward, and became engaged with nearly a score of the enemy's ships at the same time. Van Tromp, who flew his flag on board the *Brederode*, of 90 guns, was attacked on the starboard side by the *Garland*, a 48-gun frigate, and the *Bonaventure*, of 30 guns, on the port side, and was in imminent danger of being taken, when his rear-admiral, Evertzen, ranged up alongside the little *Bonaventure*, with his ship the *Zealandia*, 72. For some time the four ships lay locked in deadly conflict; but at length overwhelming numbers carried the day, and both the English frigates were captured. The *Brederode* now

passed on to engage the *Triumph*, which, sorely pressed, having lost her fore-topmast, would most assuredly have been taken, had any other man than the lion-hearted Blake commanded her. With desperate tenacity, he defended his ship against the *Brederode*, which had the advantage of superior weight of metal and a more numerous crew. Three times, we are told, did the boarders swarm upon his decks, and three times did his gallant tars, cutlass in hand, meet them at every point and drive them back with fearful slaughter from whence they came. Their superhuman exertions were rewarded with success. Though the *Triumph* was almost a wreck, and though the survivors mustered but a handful of heroes, scarce sufficient to man the guns, yet when the friendly mantle of that winter night descended upon the scene, the British flag still waved triumphantly at her masthead. Blake, taking advantage of the night, withdrew his shattered fleet, bringing up the rear with his own ship, which showed a bold front to the enemy and still replied to the hostile cannon. Van Tromp thus gained a victory it is true, but it was a defeat not less honourable to the British seamen engaged. He himself lost heavily. One of his ships blew up with all hands on board, and many were so disabled that they could not keep the sea. Nevertheless, the gallant Dutchman had gained a decided success, and reaped all the material results of his victory. Blake was forced to retire into port to refit, while his victor, boastfully displaying a broom at his masthead to denote that he would sweep the English from the seas, cruised about in undisputed possession of the Channel, and proceeded down the Bay of Biscay as far as Rochelle, capturing large numbers of merchantmen. But he was not suffered to retain the sovereignty of the seas.

Blake strained every nerve to renew the contest on more equal terms, and not being satisfied with the manner in which some of his captains had stood by him in the recent battle, made a suggestion to the English Government, which was adopted, that all officers should henceforth bear a regular commission, and that the merchant-ships which were taken into the public service should be also similarly officered. At length, by great exertions, Blake was enabled, by the beginning of February, 1653, to take the sea with a fine

fleet of eighty sail, and having those able professional sailors, Vice-Admiral Penn and Rear-Admiral John Lawson, as his second and third in command. His old colleagues, Monk and Deane were also with him, but it was in their capacity of soldiers commanding a body of troops. This is the first time that soldiers of the line were employed on board vessels of war, and so well was the innovation found to answer that they ever after formed an essential portion of a ship's complement, until a regular corps of marines was formed.

Blake put to sea in search of Van Tromp, and on the 18th February, sighted him off Cape La Hogue, with a fleet almost equal to his own, and having under his convoy about 300 merchantmen and prizes which he was conducting home. With his usual impetuosity, Blake attacked his adversary, who, on his side, having ordered the merchantmen to "haul their wind," and so get out of shot range, showed no disposition to avoid the conflict. The Dutch admiral, with his two subordinates, Evertzen and De Ruyter, bore down upon the leading ships of the British fleet, which, having outsailed the remainder, were many miles in advance, and to windward of them, the wind being westerly at the time. These ships, consisting of the *Triumph*, Blake's flag-ship, the *Speaker*, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Penn, the *Fairfax*, Rear-Admiral Lawson's ship, and about twenty other vessels, had to bear the brunt of the attack of the entire Dutch fleet for many hours. On board the *Triumph*, which Van Tromp assailed with some of his best ships, the slaughter was almost unprecedented. Blake himself was severely wounded; his captain, Ball, was shot dead at his feet; above 100 men were slain, and scarcely one was left unwounded. Penn's ship was towed out of the line of battle a helpless wreck; and the *Prosperous*, *Assistance*, and *Oak*, were boarded by overwhelming numbers, and captured. But not for long did they remain in the hands of the enemy. As the day wore on, the main portion of the fleet arrived one after another, and the inequality between the contending forces was lessened. The three British frigates were recaptured, and the *Triumph*, which was in immediate danger of falling into the enemy's hands, and lay a disabled hulk, was relieved and reinforced with men. When darkness put a stop to the fighting, it was found that we had lost one ship, the *Samp-*

son, while the Dutch had in all lost six ; one had gone down with all hands, and on boarding another it was found that, of all her crew, not one single man was left alive. Truly this was desperate fighting. But the battle was not yet over. The night was passed by each side in making preparations for the morrow's conflict. On the morning of the 19th the rival fleets were off the Isle of Wight, but the wind being light, the English could not get within range of the enemy until noon. At 2 p.m., the action commenced, Blake directing his chief efforts to cut off the merchantmen which had been sent on ahead, and Van Tromp exerting all his skill to save them. A running fight ensued, but the English admiral succeeded in cutting off sixteen of the enemy's merchantmen, and capturing five of his men-of-war. The Dutch fleet having again got ahead, the English pursued them all night, and at 9 a.m. of the 20th Blake, with five of the fastest of his ships and the frigates, again closed and renewed the conflict. Van Tromp fought now not for victory, but to save further loss of his convoy, whose cargoes were of immense value, and in this he in a great measure succeeded. Towards evening the fleets were only about four leagues from Calais, and the Dutch ships stood in for that anchorage, in consequence of the wind being at N.W., and the ebb tide making. The English admiral also came to an anchor, but when the morning broke, after a tempestuous night, not a Dutch ship was to be seen. Blake now returned to the English coast, and anchored in Stokes Bay on the 24th February. In this series of desperate encounters the English were, without doubt, the victors, having captured and sunk eleven of the enemy's ships of war, with only the loss of one frigate, but our casualties were very heavy, among the killed being three captains. The Dutch, on their side, lost 1,500 men slain, and 700 prisoners.

The United Provinces could, however, claim a victory in the Mediterranean, gained on the 2nd of March, by Van Galen, over a much inferior force. On that day the Dutch admiral, having a fleet of sixteen sail, fell in with his old enemy Commodore Bodley, who, with Commodore Appleton, was cruising about with only nine ships. After a severe action, in which Van Galen was killed, Appleton's ship and

two others were overpowered and obliged to surrender, the rest effecting their escape.

After the battles in February, every exertion was made by the Dutch Government to place the fleet in a condition to renew the war; nor was Cromwell—in spite of his quarrels with the Long Parliament, which ended in his expelling them from Westminster—a whit less urgent in his preparations. Early in May, Van Tromp, having escorted in safety the homeward-bound fleet of Dutch merchantmen which came by way of Scotland so as to avoid the Channel, received intelligence that Blake had been despatched to the North with a squadron of ships. This act was, doubtless, prompted by political motives, as the Protector wished to put it out of his power to interfere with him in the execution of his arbitrary proceedings; though Blake, indeed, was the last man to do so, as his maxim was that sailors had nothing to do with politics, their only concern being to beat the Dutch. Concluding that the coast was clear, now that his great adversary was away, Van Tromp crossed over to the Downs with his whole fleet of ninety-eight sail, besides fire-ships, with De Ruyter, De Witt, and Evertzen as his admirals, and not only made prizes of many traders, but cannonaded Dover Castle for some hours. The report of these proceedings were, however, not long in coming to the ears of Monk, who, with Admirals Penn and Lawson, and the General-at-Sea Deane, was lying in Yarmouth Roads, with a magnificent fleet of one hundred and five sail, besides fire-ships, and not many hours elapsed before the entire armament was under weigh to chastise the insolent foe.

Early on the morning of the 2nd June, 1653, the Dutch fleet was discovered about two leagues to leeward, and a desperate fight ensued. Lawson led the van with his squadron, and commenced the action by the execution of the manœuvre of breaking the enemy's line, which more than a century later was performed by Rodney, who was erroneously credited with having been the first to conceive and execute it. This, it should be stated parenthetically, in no way detracts from the merit of the conqueror of the Comte de Grasse, who like his brothers-in-arms, had forgotten the exploit of the admiral of the Commonwealth.

Carrying a press of sail, the gallant and skilful Lawson cut through the Dutchman's line, thus separating De Ruyter's squadron from the main body. He succeeded in sinking two of his ships, and very nearly capturing the admiral, when Van Tromp bore down in person, and prevented the irretrievable destruction of the entire squadron. This battle is also remarkable as having been the first in which chain-shot was brought into use, and as long as sails were the chief motive power of ships, it was employed in naval battles on account of the havoc it worked with the rigging. This novel shot the enemy now employed with terrible effect. At almost the first broadside one of these missiles deprived the country of a most gallant officer, almost cutting in two General Deane, and discharges of chain-shot all day swept the decks of the English ships with terrible effect. It is recorded of Monk that, seeing his friend fall, he took the cloak from his own shoulders, and with the utmost composure covered his mangled body.

Van Tromp displayed the greatest skill and courage, but the battle went against him throughout the day. Van Kelson—one of his rear-admirals—was blown up in his ship in the middle of the action, which, however, was continued with unflagging spirit, till darkness put a stop to further bloodshed for that day. The Dutch fleet bore up and made sail away, but Monk continued the pursuit. At noon of the 3rd the battle was renewed with great fury, and the result was still undecided, when about two o'clock Blake—who had also received intelligence of Van Tromp's depredations—appeared upon the scene with his squadron of eighteen fresh ships. On being apprised of his approach, Van Tromp made one last desperate effort to achieve a victory, before this strong reinforcement deprived him of all chance of success. He bore down on Admiral Penn's flag-ship, the *James*, of 66 guns, and boarded her. But he was met by so stubborn a resistance, that not only were his men driven back into their ship the *Brederode*, but the English sailors followed them up, and a desperate hand-to-hand encounter ensued. Our countrymen drove the enemy down below, when Van Tromp resorted to the extraordinary expedient of blowing up the deck; this he did successfully, hurling into destruction the boarders, and

with them a large number of his own men. Some say that he fired with his own hand the magazine itself, which, however, was at a low ebb as regards the amount of ammunition it contained, or the result must have involved the destruction of the ship with every soul on board. Others assert that the magazine exploded accidentally, but whichever is the true version, certain it is that Van Tromp escaped unhurt. He now shifted his flag to a frigate, in which he passed through the fleet in order to show his men that he still lived, and used all his efforts to encourage them to continue the action. But his exertions were vain. Nothing was left for our gallant enemies—who had done all that brave men could to achieve success—but to retreat. This Van Tromp did in good order, reaching the Texel next morning; but he left behind him eleven of his ships, with 1,300 prisoners, among them two rear-admirals and six captains; while six more vessels—one bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Kelson—were blown up, and three sunk. Our loss only consisted of 126 men, among them Admiral, or rather General—as was his proper designation—Deane, killed, and 236 wounded. Not a ship was either captured or burnt, though many were much cut up in spars, rigging, and sails.

The Dutch Government, under the advice of their admirals, now sued for peace; but, encouraged by the fact that Blake, who was suffering much from the wound he had received in the battle of February, had been compelled to resign the chief command, they continued their preparations for renewing the war. Van Tromp soon found himself at the head of a magnificent fleet, fully manned, and well found, and then all negotiations were broken off, and resort was once more had to the arbitrament of battle. On the 31st July, 1653, the rival fleets met for the last time in this war, and the most sanguinary of the naval engagements of modern times ensued, chiefly owing to an unprecedented order issued by Monk, that no quarter should be given, and no vessel should be captured.

The British fleet, under the chief command of Monk, assisted by those renowned seamen, Penn, Lawson, Jordan, and others, consisted, including fire-ships (then considered essential adjuncts of a fleet), of 120 ships, carrying 4,000 guns and

17,000 men. Van Tromp first put to sea (according to a memorandum derived from Dutch sources, which can be seen in the "Memorials of Penn") with 83 men-of-war, four fire-ships, and 25 armed merchantmen; he was afterwards reinforced by De Witt with 25 men-of-war, and four or five fire-ships, making an aggregate of 116 ships, exclusive of the 25 merchantmen. Thus it will be seen that the rival fleets were not ill-matched, though the advantage decidedly lay with our antagonists. Both sides were inspired with the deadliest hatred and ferocity, and the British commander-in-chief's bloodthirsty order met with the entire approval of his men.

The two fleets bore down upon one another in line, Van Tromp having the advantage of the weather-gage, and every ship was quickly engaged. Soon two of our vessels, the *Oak* and the *Worcester*, were set on fire by a fire-ship, and the *Triumph*, Blake's old ship, was also in flames, and was saved from destruction with the utmost difficulty. Van Tromp was about to engage Monk's ship, when a musket ball pierced his heart, and he fell dead on the quarter-deck. The intelligence of his death spread through both fleets; it was received with exultation by the British crews, while the Dutch seamen, who regarded the dead hero as their idol, were filled with a corresponding feeling of dismay. One after another, the Dutch ships "hauled their wind," and made sail in retreat, while the English men-of-war pursued with vigour, and with a relentless cruelty only too much in consonance with the orders issued by Monk. A French gentleman, who witnessed the battle from on board a small vessel, writes:—"The smoke dispersing, the two fleets were seen in a condition which showed the horrible fury of the conflict. The whole sea was covered with dead bodies, with fragments, and with hulls of ships, still smoking or burning. Throughout the remainder of the two fleets were seen only dismasted vessels, and sails perforated throughout by cannon-balls. Nearly thirty ships perished between the two parties, and the English, having pursued the enemy as far as the Texel, had the honour of the victory, which cost them as dear as it did the vanquished." In this, however, the French narrator was mistaken. On our side, the loss consisted of seven captains and 500 men

killed, and five captains and 800 men wounded, besides three ships lost. The Dutch casualties were as follow:—slain, 1,200,* among whom were many officers of distinction besides Van Tromp;—drowned, 1,500;—wounded, 2,500; prisoners, 1,000. Twenty-six men-of-war were burnt or sunk, but there is an ominous silence as to any having been captured.

This battle off the Texel is memorable, in a professional point of view, from having been the first in which fleets fought in line in a regular order of battle, and there is little doubt that the credit of originating this formation is due to the experienced Dutch seaman who fell in his country's cause. The victory of the 31st July was decisive, and the Dutch Government, recognizing the futility of further resistance, concluded a peace, of which one clause admitted the obligation to salute the British flag in the Channel, the refusal to do which had been the primary cause of hostilities. The Dutch acknowledged the loss during the war, which had lasted only twenty-three months, of 1,100 men-of-war and merchantmen, valued at six millions sterling, while our computation placed the total at 1,700 ships.

The Commonwealth could not reward its victorious officers with titles or orders of chivalry, but Penn, hitherto a vice-admiral, succeeded to Deane's rank, and was called a general-at-sea; Lawson was raised to the rank of vice-admiral; and Commodore Bodley, who had fought Van Galen with such conspicuous gallantry, was made a rear-admiral. Blake and Monk being already admirals could receive no higher rank, but Parliament, though it did not even confer a grant of money or a pension, rewarded them and the higher officers by the gift of heavy gold chains, descending in value with the gradations of their ranks, while medals were struck for the rest. It may appear strange to us, who have been accustomed, after every war, both great and little, to a wholesale investiture of the Bath—or "shower-bath," as the irreverent have called it—with the consequent heartburnings, that this somewhat meagre distribution of rewards amply satisfied the successful warriors.

* Another account places the killed at 5,000, and the ships lost at 32, but there is no mention of prisoners or captured ships.

CHAPTER IV.

1654–1666.

Admiral Penn takes Jamaica—Blake at Tunis and Algiers—His Arbitrary conduct at Malaga—His great Victory at Santa Cruz—Death of Blake—Victory of the 3rd of June, 1665, gained off Lowestoft by H.R.H. the Duke of York—The Four Days' Battle in the Channel, 1st to 4th of June, 1666—Defeat of the Dutch on the 25th of July, 1666, off the North Foreland.

In the latter part of 1654 Cromwell despatched two expeditions from the shores of England, one under Blake, with the object of intimidating Spain, though we were not at war with that power, and the other under Admiral Penn, to seize some of her rich possessions in the West Indies. Acting according to the instructions contained in his sealed orders, which he was directed to open when some days out at sea, Penn steered for Hispaniola, which he was instructed to attack. The enterprise, however, failed, owing to the fleet and land-forces being inadequately provided with food or ammunition. Neither the admiral nor his coadjutor, Colonel Venables, was prepared to return home empty-handed, so they resolved to try their fortune against Jamaica. That magnificent island surrendered without striking a blow, and it has ever since remained a valuable though troublesome appanage of the British Crown.

Blake was directed by Cromwell to proceed, in the first instance, into the Mediterranean, and demand compensation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the amount of £60,000, for damage and loss inflicted on the English in his dominions both by Prince Rupert and the Dutch, and then his orders empowered him to sail to the Barbary coast, and insist that the rovers from Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, should no longer infest the adjacent waters, and plunder and torture the unhappy Christians, as had been their practice hitherto. Blake, having for his coadjutors Vice-Admiral Badeley and Rear-Admiral Jordan, sailed for Leghorn with twenty large

ships and five smaller vessels, but the Grand Duke having accepted his terms, and paid the required indemnity, he proceeded to Tunis. On the 8th March, 1655, Blake sailed into Goletta Roads, and in peremptory terms demanded that some English trading-vessels, recently seized, should be restored to him, that the captive crews should be released, and ample reparation made for the wrong done to them and to the honour of England. The Dey, confident in the strength of his defences, insolently replied that he should "look at his castles of Goletta and Porto Farino, and do his worst;" and forthwith Blake made preparations for securing a favourable response from those fortresses. Truly the Dey was not without warrant for his confidence; for the works of Tunis were of a most formidable character. The shore was lined with batteries, mounting 120 guns, in addition to the castles, the walls of which were of enormous thickness and strength.

At daybreak, on the 4th April, Blake ordered that Divine Service should be read on board every ship of his fleet, and then ranged up within musket-shot of the batteries, upon which he opened a most tremendous fire. While his ships continued the bombardment of these defences, the boats of the fleet, with the fire-ships, were despatched, under cover of a heavy fire, into the harbour, for the purpose of destroying the piratical shipping, which had spread terror from the Straits of Gibraltar to the waters of the Levant. The operations were crowned with complete success; the batteries were silenced, the castles breached in many places, so that the British admiral could have carried them by assault had he chosen to land his men for that purpose, and every vessel was burnt or destroyed, and these signal results were attained with the loss of only twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded.

Without waiting to enter into terms with the now humbled Dey, Blake instantly sailed for Tripoli and Algiers; but the potentates of those states, having learned the punishment that had been inflicted upon their brother corsair of Tunis for his contumacy, spared the irresistible sailor the necessity of repeating the lesson, and submitted to all his demands; though at Algiers, on a representation being made to Blake that the English slaves were private pro-

perty, he consented to pay a sum of money for their ransom, the Dey, on his part, undertaking that English vessels should for the future be exempt from all molestation by his cruisers. Blake now returned to Tunis, and found the ruler of that state in a submissive frame of mind; not only were all English captives surrendered, but some unfortunate Dutchmen, whom he demanded, were yielded up to him. In accordance with his original secret instructions, the admiral now sailed for the coast of Spain, in order to check any efforts the Spaniards might make to send a force to oppose Penn's aggressions in the West Indies. A curious anecdote is related of him, which will be of interest, as it places in the strongest light the position of naval pre-eminence to which England had at this time attained, and the extravagant pretensions Blake, with the full approval of Cromwell, put forward on behalf of this country.

The British fleet having put into Malaga, some of his sailors, who had landed and were rambling about the town, insulted a procession of priests carrying the Host. The national pride of one of these clerics prevailing over the requirements of his peaceful calling, he excited the populace to avenge the desecration of this sacred symbol of their religion. The people rose upon the sailors, beat them severely, and drove them back to their ships. Blake took up the cause of his men, demanded the surrender of the priest, and threatened, in case of refusal, to burn the town. Such a threat from a man so well known for keeping his word in such matters was not to be disregarded, and the priest was sent on board the *George*, Blake's flag-ship. The admiral instituted an inquiry into the matter, and, with an impartiality that does him infinite credit, condemned the conduct of his men, as having been the aggressors, and dismissed the priest in safety. But this act of justice was accompanied by the extraordinary declaration that, in future, complaints of his sailors' conduct were to be sent to him alone, and that he wished the Spaniards and all the world to understand that Englishmen were to be punished only by Englishmen. No more indefensible claim was ever advanced; but, nevertheless, so great was the terror of his name, that the Spaniards, than whom no more haughty people exist, quietly acquiesced in it. Cromwell, when he

heard of the incident, reported the whole circumstances, with expressions of the warmest approval, to his council, affirming that he would make the name of Englishman as great as the name of Roman had ever been in the ancient world. This, we believe, is the first enunciation of the "*Civis Romanus sum*" doctrine, for upholding which Lord Palmerston was so famous during his career as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

However, the duty of disputing this pretension lay manifestly with foreign nations, but they appear to have coincided with Blake's view of the transaction that gave rise to it; while, as regards the general applicability of the doctrine, they seem to have been impressed, not so much by the arbitrary violation of law and justice involved in its execution, as with the boldness which could advance, and the undoubted power which could support and enforce, its requirements.

Perhaps it may be said that in our more prosaic age we have gone to the other extreme, and take affronts as calmly as our more warlike forefathers would have proceeded to wipe them out in the blood of the offenders; but we are treading upon delicate, because debateable, ground, and as we are not particularly anxious to have applied to us the saying that "fools rush in where angels" (in this instance represented by politicians) "fear to tread," we will retrace our steps, and proceed with our narration.

Blake proceeded to Cadiz, and from thence returned to England, he himself being in bad health, and his ships requiring repair. Soon after this, Philip, king of Spain, formally declared war, and Blake was again appointed to the chief command of a fleet, with which he sailed in February, 1656, for the Spanish coast, having as his second in command Rear-Admiral Montagu, an officer destined to attain eminence in his profession.

Blake blockaded the Tagus and Cadiz, detaching one squadron to burn some ships in Malaga Harbour, and another, under Captain Stayner, to intercept some galleons laden with treasure from Mexico. This officer sank two of these treasure-ships, and captured two more, laden with so valuable a cargo of gold and jewels that it took thirty-eight waggons to transport the booty from Portsmouth to London. Thoughout the whole winter Blake maintained a strict

blockade of the Spanish vessels, until in April, 1657, hearing that the great silver fleet, for which he had long been waiting, was on its way to Spain, and had put in at the harbour of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, he set sail with his entire fleet of twenty-five ships.

He arrived at the Canary Islands on the 18th of the month, and there found the flotilla, consisting of twenty-two large vessels, all laden with the most precious merchandise of the New World, and heavily armed. The town of Santa Cruz lies in a deeply-indented bay, and the harbour was fortified with castles and batteries of great strength, the guns of the latter being only a few feet above the water's edge. So confident was the Governor that these works were fully equal to the defence of the town and the treasure-ships, that when a Dutch vessel, fearful of capture, prepared to escape, he contemptuously told her captain that "he might retire if he pleased, and that Blake might come in if he dared." Of course Blake did dare; for there was literally nothing that this dauntless seaman would not have undertaken with his British hearts of oak.

The wind was blowing steadily into the harbour, and, as this would prevent the possibility of his bringing the galleons out, he resolved to destroy them at their moorings. Dividing his fleet into two portions, he entrusted one squadron to Captain Stayner, who was to assail the treasure-ships, while he, with the other division, attacked the fortified works. This daring plan was rewarded with complete success. Laying his ships as near the batteries as he could, he drew upon himself their whole fire, replying with a cannonade that was not less effective than tremendous. After an engagement which lasted with the utmost fury for four hours, he had either dismounted or silenced the enemy's guns, and was in a position to assist Captain Stayner, who had met with considerable opposition in his work of destruction. In two hours, every Spanish galleon was either sunk or burnt, and now nothing remained but to return to the open sea. But to sail out of the harbour was not so easy as to sail into it. The wind, which was "right aft" before, would be now "dead ahead," and with ships crippled in their rigging by a severe engagement, to beat out of a narrow harbour lined with hostile batteries, which, although silenced, contained



Death of Admiral Blake.—p. 53

large numbers of men who could easily board and capture any ships that went ashore, or, from the confined area of the anchorage, were unable to make their exit, this was a task requiring a combination of boldness and good seamanship which, we may say without fear of contradiction, few, if any admirals, except the immortal Nelson, and perhaps Lord Cochrane, would have attempted. Had it come to blow, or even had the wind remained in the quarter from which it came when he made his attack, he would, in all probability, have lost some of his ships; but marvellous good luck, the fortune he well merited for his dauntless valour, stood by the great sailor—the wind suddenly shifted, and with a "flowing sheet," Blake sailed out of Santa Cruz Harbour as he had sailed in.

This operation, one of the most perilous recorded in naval warfare, cost the victors only 48 men killed and 120 wounded.

Blake now sailed for England; but he was not destined to receive the applause of his countrymen, who gloried in his achievements. His health had long been failing, and was now quite broken, and confinement on board ship, with the accompanying diet, had affected him with dropsy and scurvy. He daily grew worse, and, on the 17th August, as his ship was entering Plymouth Sound, he died, leaving behind him a name that, in our naval annals, is only second to the victor of the Nile and Trafalgar. His patriotism was pure and unselfish, and his only aim was to contribute to the glory and welfare of his native land. Even the Royalists admired and applauded him, and Clarendon, the great historian of the Civil War, says of him:—"He was the first man who brought ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them; and though he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage and bold resolute achievement."

In 1658 Cromwell died, and on the 23rd May, 1660, Charles II. embarked at Scheveling on board the *Royal Charles*, hitherto called the *Naseby*, Admiral Blake's flagship, of 80 guns. Monk was chiefly instrumental in bringing back the House of Stuart, and the squadron which escorted

the exiled prince was commanded by Montagu, who, with Lawson, was the principal agent in securing the co-operation of the fleet. Montagu was created Earl of Sandwich, while Lawson, Stayner, and Ayscough were knighted, partly for their services, but in a measure also for their well-known leaning to the Royal cause under the Commonwealth. The King's brother, the Duke of York, was created Lord High Admiral, as a special mark of favour to the navy.

The only naval operations during this year were the surrender of Tangier, which had become the property of the nation as a portion of the queen's dowry, and the submission of the Dey of Algiers to a demand for the renewal of the treaty he had made with Blake, which was enforced by the guns of a squadron commanded by Sir John Lawson.

But a hostile feeling was growing up against our old enemies the Dutch, who, being restive, as well they might be, under the obligation to salute our flag, were not unwilling to test the ability of the Royal officers to repeat the naval feats of the Commonwealth. A pretext was not long wanting. Our merchants alleged that they had unfairly occupied Cape Coast Castle, in our African possessions, and Sir Robert Holmes was despatched with a squadron thither to make reprisals. He recovered Cape Coast Castle, took the island of Goree, and, crossing the Atlantic, reduced one of the principal Dutch settlements on the North American continent, which he called New York in honour of the Lord High Admiral, a name which it bears at the present day. The Dutch Government retaliated by sending De Ruyter to the African coast, who destroyed several forts belonging to the African trading company.

Almost immediately after his return early in 1665, the Dutch made a formal declaration of war, an announcement which was received with enthusiasm in this country.

A large fleet was at once fitted out under the supreme command of H.R.H. the Duke of York, who had under him many experienced seamen and great captains. Sir William Penn was appointed "great Captain-commander" in the Duke's ship, the *Royal Charles*, and the admirals of the division under his Royal Highness's more immediate command were Sir John Lawson and Sir W. Berkeley. With Prince Rupert's squadron were Vice-Admirals

Christopher and Myngs, and with that of the Earl of Sandwich, who commanded the third division, were Sir George Ayscough and T. Tiddiman.* The grand total of this fleet, exclusive of fire-ships, was 110 men-of-war, carrying 4,537 guns, and manned with 22,206 men.

Not less formidable was the enemy's fleet. It consisted of 103 ships of war, and 11 fire-ships, while some of the number were larger than the finest ships we could oppose to them. The chief command was conferred on Opdam, a pupil of Van Tromp; and a son of that hero, known as Cornelius Tromp, and Evertzen were his chief admirals, the latter being a seaman of tried ability.

While at the Nore on the 8th March, the *London*, of 80 guns, bearing the flag of Sir John Lawson, caught fire, and blew up, causing a loss of 300 men, in addition to that sustained by the country by the destruction of one of the finest ships in the navy. Sir John now hoisted his flag in the *Royal Oak*, of 76 guns. The British fleet put to sea in April, and stood towards the coast of Holland, but, meeting with bad weather, was obliged to return, and brought to an anchor at Solebay, on the 1st of June. At noon of that day the Dutch fleet hove in sight, and the Duke of York immediately proceeded to encounter it. After various manœuvres, which tended to the advantage of the English from their superior seamanship, the battle commenced on the morning of the 3rd June, at a point in the vicinity of Lowestoft. The English line was formed on the port tack, extending several miles, Prince Rupert's being the van division, the Duke of York's the centre, and the Earl of Sandwich brought up the rear with his squadron. On the side of the Dutch, Cornelius Tromp led the van, and Baron Opdam the centre. The enemy commenced the action at three in the morning, by a vigorous cannonade from their leading ship, which was taken up by the ships of the entire fleet as they passed each other on opposite tacks. At 6 a.m. the English fleet tacked by signal, as did also the Dutch, when the two fleets again closed, and the action recommenced. The Dutch had gained a little in their last tack, but not being able or willing to

* See "Memorials of Penn," vol. ii.

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cut the English line, bore up and passed to leeward again, as they had done before. The rear squadron of our ships now again tacked, the sooner to close with the enemy. Sir John Lawson, a very able and practical seaman, gallantly led the English line, with the Duke of York's ship, the *Royal Charles*, a little astern. It was about an hour after noon that the van of the Dutch, having again tacked, weathered upon the leading English ships;—but though this might have been an advantage to them, it became the primary cause of their discomfiture, for seizing their opportunity, our admirals repeated Lawson's manœuvre of cutting the enemy's line. The action now became general, and was hotly contested on both sides. The Lord High Admiral's ship, under the command of Sir William Penn, engaged Opdam's flagship with such effect that, about three o'clock she blew up with all on board, including the Dutch commander-in-chief. Some of the enemy's vessels ran foul of each other, and got so entangled together that several were burnt by a fire-ship. After their line was cut in two, the van, without attempting to succour the centre and rear, made the best of its way to the Texel.

Thus the battle, which had lasted the whole of a long summer day, ended in a complete victory for the English, though it was not followed up by a vigorous pursuit of the enemy, as would have been the case had Blake, or even Penn or Lawson, been entrusted with the supreme direction of affairs. Many reasons were alleged for this neglect, the most probable being that the Duke of York's officers were fearful of exposing him to great danger; indeed, Brounker, who was said to have taken upon himself to direct that sail should be shortened, was dismissed from the service of his Royal Highness, and expelled from the House of Commons, of which he was a member. Nevertheless, the Dutch loss was very heavy. Mr. Granville Penn, in the "Memorials" of his father, sums it up as "24 ships taken, burnt, or sunk; 2,500 prisoners, besides the slain and wounded;" these were stated to amount to 8,000 men. Among the Dutch commanders killed, besides the commander-in-chief Baron Opdam, were Vice-Admiral Schram, and Lieutenant-Admirals Cortenaer and Stellingworth. Our loss cannot be considered as severe. One ship, the *Charity*,

was captured. The total number of killed is stated at 250, of wounded at 340. Among the former were Rear-Admiral Sansum, and Captain the Earl of Marlborough, who commanded the *Old James*, of 68 guns.

The Dutch, however, were not disheartened by this defeat, but set themselves so vigorously to work reparing their old ships and building new ones, that they were enabled to take the sea, in 1666, with a magnificent fleet, numbering, according to Lediard, 71 sail of the line, 12 frigates, 13 fire-ships, and 8 yachts, carrying 4,716 guns and 22,000 men. This formidable force was placed under the chief command of that veteran seaman De Ruyter, having as his colleagues Cornelius Tromp and Evertzen, as well as De Witt, the chief minister, or "Pensionary," of Holland. The English fleet was nearly equal in numbers, but unfortunately, some false intelligence received, to the effect that a squadron of the French king, with whom we were also at war, was at Belleisle, and ready to proceed to sea, induced the British Government to detach 20 sail, under Prince Rupert, to the mouth of the Channel, to prevent the French forming a junction with De Ruyter. The departure of this squadron reduced the fleet of Monk (created on the Restoration, in which he took a most prominent part, Duke of Albemarle) to only 60 ships, a force manifestly unable to cope with such formidable rivals for the supremacy of the sea as we had always found the Dutch to be. Monk, however, though not an experienced or able seaman, was a man of great personal courage, and when, as he was cruising near the Goodwins on the 1st June, the signal was made that the Dutch fleet was approaching, instead of drawing the enemy to the westward and postponing a general action until he was joined by Prince Rupert, a course dictated by prudence in view of his great numerical inferiority, he bore down on the Dutch fleet.

De Ruyter was standing under easy sail to the northward on the port tack, with a fresh wind blowing from the south-west, and the English, in accordance with the usual practice of manœuvring for the weather-gage, retained it, although it put them to the great disadvantage of being under the necessity of closing their lee lower-deck ports. The Dutch, on the other hand, were enabled to keep open their weather

lower-deck ports, from which they kept up a heavy fire, which, early in the action, told with great effect on the rigging and crowded decks of their opponents. The battle which ensued lasted four days, and was the longest in the annals of war, with the exception of the conflict with the Spanish Armada. Each night the rival fleets hauled off to repair damages, only to renew the engagement on the following morning with unabated fierceness and animosity. There was little manœuvring; the ships engaged each other at close quarters, and the carnage on both sides was frightful. On the first day Tromp's ship was so much injured that he was under the necessity of shifting his flag. De Ruyter himself was in the most imminent danger, and one Dutch ship was blown up. Towards evening the ship of Rear-Admiral of the White Sir John Harman was surrounded by the enemy; but he succeeded in sinking three fire-ships, and Admiral Evertzen, an experienced seaman, was killed. Sir John Harman was himself wounded, and his ship, in maintaining this unequal conflict, was reduced almost to a wreck. Another equally gallant officer, Sir William Berkeley, Vice-Admiral of the White, was also engaged with three of his ships against an overpowering force; and after he and a large portion of his men had fallen, all the three vessels were taken. Night caused a temporary cessation of hostilities.

During the early part of the second day, when there was little or no wind, both parties, and in particular the English, were employed in refitting, but shortly after noon, a breeze springing up from the southward, the fleets closed, and the action recommenced. Tromp was again hard pressed, and must have been captured had not De Ruyter rescued him, and the Dutch Vice-Admiral Hulst was killed by a musket-ball. On this day three English ships were disabled, and night again separated the infuriated combatants. On the third day the wind sprung up from the eastward, and the Dutch—reinforced by 16 ships—commenced the action when Monk bore up in the hope of falling in with Prince Rupert. Still preserving an undaunted front, with the 16 ships now alone left in a condition to fight, he retreated in unbroken order of battle, the disabled ships ahead, the gallant 16 in line abreast, bringing up the rear. The Dutch

pursued under all sail, but only got near enough at 5 p.m. to open fire, which they did, however, with but little effect. Suddenly a fleet was descried ahead, and an anxious scrutiny assured the gallant Monk and his noble sailors that the ships were sailing under the Cross of St. George. Never was reinforcement more heartily welcome, but it came too late in the battle to convert a reverse into a victory. It was Rupert's squadron, and the prince of cavaliers—ever eager for the fight—crowded all sail to effect a junction with the Duke of Albemarle. Unfortunately, one of the English ships, the *Royal Prince*, of 78 guns, bearing the flag of Sir George Ayscough, touched on the Galloper Sands, and was obliged to be left astern, when the Dutch took possession of her.

The enemy, satisfied with the advantage they had gained, hauled their wind in order to return into port, but Monk and Rupert pursued and attacked them on the fourth day. On the whole, the result of this day's battle was disastrous to the British; for in spite of the accession of Rupert's squadron, De Ruyter's superiority in numbers enabled him to inflict more damage than he sustained.

Between 8 and 9 a.m., Sir Christopher Myngs commenced the battle with the headmost ships, and fought until no longer in a condition to do so, when he bore up. The gallant admiral received a musket-ball in the throat, but refused to leave the deck or have the wound dressed, staunching the flow of blood with his hand: half an hour afterwards he received another bullet-wound in the neck, of which he shortly expired. At length, towards evening, Monk drew off his ships, thus acknowledging himself vanquished, but it was a defeat scarcely less honourable than the most brilliant victory. The account of the losses sustained by both sides was, as was usual, very conflicting. Some writers place our loss at 9 or 10 ships captured or destroyed; others at 20, while it is certain that most of the fleet were so terribly mauled as to be unseaworthy. The loss in men was also severe, amounting, according to Evelyn, to 600 killed, including two admirals, 1,100 wounded, and 2,000 prisoners, among whom was Sir George Ayscough. However, the gallantry and devotion displayed by our seamen were not unavailing. All was lost, but certainly honour

was gained. De Witt—and no man could speak with greater authority—thus expressed himself of British sailors and the opinion, which ought to be preserved in our annals in letters of gold, must have brought balm to many a wounded seaman, as well as to the nation. "Their defeat," he writes, "did them more honour than all their former victories. The Dutch fleet could never have been brought on again after such a fight as that on the first day, and he believed none but the English could; and all that the Dutch had discovered was that Englishmen might be killed, and English ships might be burnt, but that English courage was invincible."

Notwithstanding these great losses, both fleets were again at sea in the course of a week. According to Sir W. Coventry's statement, as recorded in Pepys's Diary, the British fleet, commanded as before by the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert, who on this occasion embarked on board the same ship, consisted of 89 men-of-war, the smallest of which was a 40-gun frigate, and 18 fire-ships. The admirals were Sir Thomas Allen, Sir Jeremiah Smith (who bore his flag on board the *Loyal London*, carrying 800 men, and considered the finest ship in the world), Sir Joseph Jordan, Sir Robert Holmes, Sir Thomas Tiddiman, and Sir Edward Spragge, who, though he died young, has left behind him a very high professional reputation. The Dutch fleet was commanded by De Ruyter and Cornelius Tromp, and numbered one vessel less than the fleet to which it was opposed.

On the 25th July, Monk and De Ruyter again met off the North Foreland, and a sanguinary battle ensued. At noon Sir Thomas Allen, commanding the van or white squadron, commenced the action, and shortly afterwards the centre, or red squadron, engaged De Ruyter, and the fight continued for three hours with varying success. At length Sir Thomas Allen put to flight the squadron opposed to him, among the killed being Vice-Admiral De Vries, and Rear-Admiral Coenders, while Vice-Admiral Bancquert's ship was taken, but was afterwards burnt, as was also the *Sneik*, of 50 guns. The Duke and Prince Rupert so hardly pressed De Ruyter that, being deserted by most of his ships, he bore up and joined his squadron to leeward, the

Guelderland, of 66 guns, being disabled. Sir Jeremiah Smith, commanding the rear or blue squadron, attacked Tromp with equal vigour. The Dutch vice-admiral's ship was reduced almost to a wreck, having lost more than 100 men, and Rear-Admiral Houtwyn was killed. Tromp himself narrowly escaped capture at the hands of Sir Edward Spragge.

Ship after ship struck its flag to the victorious British fleet; and when evening closed, De Ruyter, who, maddened by defeat, had in vain sought death in the thickest of the fight, was compelled to seek safety in flight. The victory was decisive. With the loss of only one ship, the *Resolution*, which was burnt by a fire-ship, and 300 men killed and wounded, we had taken, sunk, or burnt 20 sail of the enemy, while they mourned the loss of no less than 7,000 men killed and wounded. Prince Rupert, with characteristic energy, crossed over to the Dutch coast, where he destroyed a fleet of 160 merchantmen and two men-of-war; after which he landed on the island of Schelling, where he burnt the chief town with its extensive magazines of naval stores.

This great defeat disgusted the Dutch with the war, and they sued for terms of peace. Their French allies did not appear inclined to try conclusions with the veteran seamen who had fought and conquered under Blake and Monk, and a squadron which put to sea was glad enough to seek safety by a speedy return into port, after losing a fine 70-gun ship, the *Ruby*, which fell into the hands of Sir Thomas Allen. At this time took place an event unprecedented in our annals, and which, in the opinion of every patriotic Englishman, must cover with disgrace the name of Charles II. and his ministers.

CHAPTER V.

1667–1704.

De Ruyter sails up the Medway and burns Sheerness—Sir Edward Spragge reduces the Algerines to submission—Battle between the Duke of York and De Ruyter on the 28th May, 1672, and death of Lord Sandwich—Battles of the 28th May, 4th June, and 11th August, 1673, and death of Sir Edward Spragge—Battle off Cape La Hogue, 19th May, 1692—Sir George Rooke's action with De Tourville, and other operations in the Mediterranean and on the coast of France, 1693–1702—Sir George Rooke's victory in Vigo Bay—Admiral Benbow's last action in the West Indies.

CHARLES II., lulled into a sense of security by the suggestions of the French king, who advised him to reduce his navy as a proof of the good faith with which he entered into negotiations with the Dutch Government, gave directions to lay up most of his ships in ordinary and disband his seamen. Unfortunately, there was a more discreditable reason than that of having been duped, which weighed with this monarch in thus disarming before peace was concluded, and that at a time when De Ruyter was employing all his energy to take the sea again with a powerful squadron; and it owed its origin to a disinclination on the part of Charles to burden his treasury with carrying on a war only productive of glory, when his indolent, pleasure-loving disposition prompted him to squander all the money he could accumulate upon disreputable men and still more disreputable women. The result was that this country was exposed to the deepest insult that perhaps it has sustained since the Norman invasion.

In the spring of 1667, two small squadrons which were stationed at the Nore and Spithead, besides a third squadron in the West Indies, included all the ships that were commissioned of the fleets that once conquered under the mighty Blake, and this notwithstanding that the Dutch dockyards were ringing with the din of preparation. No armistice having yet been agreed upon, on the 7th of June De Ruyter,

with 70 ships, appeared off the mouth of the Thames, and sent a squadron to attack Sheerness. The garrison, being ill-prepared, were unable to offer any resistance; the fort was taken, and the magazine of stores burnt and plundered. On receiving intelligence of this invasion, the greatest dismay spread through London; for the citizens saw that there was absolutely nothing to hinder the bold De Ruyter from sailing up the Thames and burning the capital itself.

At this juncture the Duke of Albemarle was called by the unanimous voice of the nation to assume the chief command. On the 11th of June he arrived at Chatham, accompanied by Sir Edward Spragge, and one or two others of his most trusty officers. Here he found everything in disorder and confusion; there were no men, and the authorities seemed to be only concerned in securing their own property from pillage. Some temporary batteries were, however, raised, and the garrison of Upnor Castle was strengthened. The duke proceeded to sink ships and throw a boom across the Medway, to impede the Dutch squadron, but these were forced by the enemy's ships, and De Ruyter advanced as far as Upnor, upon which two of his vessels opened fire, while several fire-ships advanced further up and burnt the *Loyal London*, the *Great James*, and the *Royal Oak*, carrying off the *Royal Charles* in triumph, after which they retired. While these proceedings were in progress up the Medway, the citizens of London sank ships at Woolwich and Blackwall, though the bold attitude assumed by that gallant seaman, Sir Edward Spragge, alone saved the metropolis from an unwelcome visitation.

When De Ruyter regained the river, this officer, having hastily collected together a small squadron, ventured to attack him, and inflicted considerable damage upon his fleet, though he was ultimately compelled to seek shelter under the guns of Tilbury. De Ruyter, satisfied with the damage he had done, and, to use an expressive Yankeeism, the "scare" he had caused the wealthy Londoners, proceeded to Portsmouth, and from thence to Torbay, but was unable to effect anything at these places. He accordingly returned to the Thames, but was again encountered and defeated by Sir Edward Spragge. In the course of a few days, intelligence was received that a peace had been signed on the

21st July, upon which the Dutch fleet withdrew to its own shores. So ended this disgraceful episode in the history of our country; disgraceful alone to a libertine king and pusillanimous ministers, who cared nothing for the honour of England so long as they were at liberty to carouse or intrigue with the taxes paid by the people. How fallen was the country from its high estate under the Protector!

It is pleasant to have to chronicle that the year 1667 did not close without successes which, in a military point of view, far out-balanced the losses sustained at Sheerness.

On the 10th May, being off St. Christopher, in the West Indies, Sir John Harman, having with him only 12 frigates, encountered a combined French and Dutch squadron of 22 sail, and obtained a signal victory, burning five or six ships, and sinking several others. Our sailors also took St. Eustatia, Tobago, and Surinam. A peace of five years' duration now ensued between ourselves and our old enemies the Dutch; but the navy was not idle, and British seamen earned fresh laurels in some desultory actions with Algerine pirates, who had forgotten the lesson Blake had taught them. In 1668, Sir Thomas Allen, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron under Van Ghent, destroyed several corsairs, and released a number of Christian slaves; but yet, in the following year, and in 1670, the Algerines had the temerity to attack British frigates, though, in both instances, they were beaten off. In one of these conflicts, commemorated in a picture now in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, Captain Kempthorne lost a large number of his men, and was himself mortally wounded. At length, in 1670, Sir Edward Spragge, who had been Lord Sandwich's flag-captain eight years before at Algiers, was despatched to chastise these vermin with six frigates and a fire-ship, and with this small squadron most skilfully carried out all the operations he undertook. He attacked the principal part of the Algerine fleet in the harbour of Boujayah, and bursting the boom, silenced and almost totally destroyed the castles, and burned the whole of their shipping. The Algerines thereupon rose in revolt against the Dey, and, having murdered him, made their submission to the English admiral.

A year after the treaty of 1667, Charles formed a triple alliance with Holland and Sweden, but, influenced by his

minister, Clifford, one of the intriguing Cabal ministry, and his brother, the Duke of York, who were both Roman Catholics, the English king treacherously proposed to Louis XIV. a compact, having for its object a war with Holland, as being a Protestant power, and the forcible conversion of his own subjects to the Romish faith by means of French gold and soldiers. Feigning a firm adherence to the principles of the triple alliance, Charles demanded from his parliament a large grant in money and a powerful fleet. Having secured this, he despatched Sir Robert Holmes, in March, 1672, with a small squadron of ships, to intercept the Dutch merchant fleet from Smyrna.

On the 13th March, the English admiral encountered these ships; but, though taken by surprise, the Dutch ships offered a gallant and not unsuccessful resistance. Out of 72 sail, only one was sunk and four were taken, the remainder effecting their escape. A few days after this flagrant act of treachery, war was declared by England and France against Holland. The Dutch speedily sent to sea 90 men-of-war (or, according to Rapin, 72), and 40 fire-ships, commanded by the veteran De Ruyter, while the Duke of York and Lord Sandwich rallied under their flags to oppose him 65 ships, to which the French added 36 more, under Count d'Estrées.

Our fleet left Portsmouth, in company with the French squadron, early in May, and, after a short cruise, was lying in Solebay on the coast of Suffolk, when on the 28th May, 1672, De Ruyter sailed in and commenced the attack. So unexpectedly did the enemy make their appearance that many ships were obliged to cut their cables, not having time to weigh their anchors; indeed with any other than British seamen, a great disaster must have ensued, but the alacrity and steady courage of the English crews saved the day. The fight commenced at 8 a.m. by an attack upon the French fleet by Admiral Bancquert; but Count d'Estrées, whether from cowardice or, as was said, in obedience to orders received from Louis, soon bore away, and left his English allies to bear the brunt of the attack of the superior numbers of the enemy. The action that ensued was one of the most sanguinary and hotly contested of any that we had fought with our gallant adversaries, the Hollanders.

The Duke of York's squadron was first assailed by De Ruyter, and the *St. Michael*, the ship bearing his royal highness's flag, lost her maintopmast, and was so much injured that the duke thought it necessary to shift his flag to the *Loyal London*. The Earl of Sandwich, who commanded the blue squadron, conducted himself with that bull-dog courage and contempt for danger for which he was remarkable, even among his contemporaries of the navy. His flag was hoisted on board the *Royal James*, of 100 guns, which, as the largest ship present, attracted the fire of a great portion of the enemy's fleet. The *Great Holland*, of 80 guns, Captain Brackel, first attacked her, and was soon supported by Admiral Van Ghent and a squadron of fire-ships. The *Great Holland* attempted to carry the earl's flag-ship by boarding, while the fire-ships attacked her on every side. But Sandwich and his men were equal to the occasion. After a conflict of five hours' duration, Van Ghent was killed, three of the fire-ships were sunk, and the *Great Holland* was beaten off with the loss of her captain and most of her officers, as well as two-thirds of her crew killed and wounded. The *Royal James* being reduced almost to a wreck, fell to leeward of her squadron, which was at the time too hard pressed to render her assistance. Of her crew of 1,000 men, 600 lay dead on her decks. The remainder were engaged in clearing away the wreck when a Dutch fire-ship struck her and set her on fire. The earl, her gallant commander, used every endeavour to extinguish the flames, but without success; and he and nearly all the survivors of his crew perished in the ship they had defended with such devoted heroism.

Sir Richard Haddock, captain of the *Royal James*, who was severely wounded, and a few of her men were picked up out of the sea; but the catastrophe stands recorded in our history as a brilliant example of what deeds the British sailor is capable when influenced by stern obedience to the requirements of discipline and unflinching adherence to the calls of duty.

The confusion caused by the death of Van Ghent induced the Dutch to withdraw temporarily from the conflict, which gave the blue squadron an opportunity of uniting with the Duke of York's, at that time attacked by the combined

divisions of Bancquert and De Ruyter. Thus reinforced, the duke was enabled to make some impression upon the enemy; Cornelius Evertzen was killed, and De Ruyter, who was wounded, and his Rear-Admiral Allemand narrowly escaped destruction from a fire-ship. As it was, the Dutch commander-in-chief lost 150 men killed, and was obliged to sheer off from taking part in the engagement.

The late Van Ghent's squadron now appeared in support of the main division of the enemy's fleet, and the fight raged with renewed fury until about 9 at night, when both fleets slackened their fire, and a separation took place as if by mutual consent. The result was a drawn battle, highly honourable to us, considering the great disparity of force; for our French allies regarded the conflict from afar, evidently considering discretion the better part of valour.

The losses on both sides were nearly equal: four of our ships were burnt, while, on the other hand, we captured the *Staveren*, of 70 guns, the only ship taken in the action, and sunk or burnt two more, besides disabling the *Great Holland*.

But the loss in men better proves how desperate was the conflict between the seamen of the two greatest naval powers of the day. Besides the Earl of Sandwich, says Allen, there were slain Captains Digby, of the *Henry*; Pearce, of the *St. George*; Waterworth, of the *Anne*; Sir Fretchville Holles, of the *Cambridge*; Sir John Fox, of the *Prince*; and Hannan, of the *Triumph*. Of volunteers there were killed Lord Maidstone, Mr. Montagu, a relative of the Earl of Sandwich, whose family has ever since supplied many gallant seamen to our navy, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harboard, Mr. Trevanion, and many other gentlemen of note. The total number of killed amounted to 2,500, and a like number of wounded.

The Dutch did not publish any list of their casualties, but De Ruyter, in his letter describing the action, spoke of it as the hardest-fought battle he had ever witnessed. That the English fleet was surprised was due to the culpable negligence of the Duke of York, to whom Lord Sandwich, it was said, pointed out their exposed position, and recommended some change in the positions of the ships; the duke, however, scorned the advice, and even reproached

him for it as being dictated more by fear than skill. Stung by this cruel aspersion, Sandwich resolved not to survive the battle, and, when his ship was in flames, refused to quit her.

In the following year the operation of the Test Act, passed against all Roman Catholics, deprived the Duke of York—who had openly embraced that religion—of the chief command, and Prince Rupert was installed Lord High Admiral, having under him Sir Edward Spragge and Sir John Harman.

The first battle of the year 1673 took place on the anniversary of the sanguinary engagement at Solebay, the 28th May.

The French fleet was still attached to that of the English admiral, but they were rather an embarrassment, from their pusillanimous conduct, than of any material assistance. On the 28th of May Prince Rupert, being to windward, bore down upon the Dutch fleet, and Sir Edward Spragge gallantly attacked Cornelius Tromp, who was three times obliged to shift his flag, the ships he fought in being disabled. The Dutch were so hard pressed that they were compelled to retreat.

Being reinforced by fresh ships, the Dutch once more put to sea, and on the 4th June the hostile fleets again met. Sir Edward Spragge singled out Tromp's ship, and their squadrons engaged with great fury, and with heavy loss on both sides. At 10 p.m. the Dutch hauled their wind, and returned to their own shores. The allied fleets having landed their wounded, embarked 4,000 soldiers, intending to make a descent upon the coast of Zealand, and put to sea on the 17th June with that object. For a third time Prince Rupert, with only 60 ships and 30 French vessels, encountered a vast force of nearly 100 sail. The Dutch, having manœuvred successfully during the night of the 10th August, in order to gain the weather-gage, bore down on the combined fleets on the following morning. The French disgraced themselves by making sail in retreat, with the exception of one ship, the commander of which was subsequently sent to the Bastille as a punishment for his gallantry and high sense of honour. Spragge and Tromp, as before, vied with each other in deeds of chivalrous

valour. They singled out each other's ships, and Spragge, who flew his flag on board the *Royal Prince*, backed his main-topsail, and waited for the latter to come up in the *Golden Lion*.

After a severe fight of three hours, the *Royal Prince* was dismasted, most of her upper tier of guns were disabled, and 450 out of the 750 men which composed her crew, were either killed or wounded. Nothing daunted, Sir Edward shifted his flag to the *St. George*, and engaged Tromp, who had also betaken himself to a fresh ship—the *Comet*. After engaging some time, the *St. George* lost her mainmast, when the gallant admiral took to his barge, intending to renew the conflict in the *Royal Charles*. Unhappily for his country and the service he adorned, Sir Edward never reached the ship; a shot sank the barge and he was drowned, to the grief of all, including his gallant adversary. Thus perished as dashing and brilliant a seaman as the navy could boast.

This engagement concluded the war, which was the last of a series of naval campaigns with Holland, whose seamen we found the toughest of all those with whom we have yet waged war for the sovereignty of the deep. Peace was signed on the 9th February, 1674, the Dutch agreeing to salute the national flag, as well as to pay full compensation for the expenses incurred.

While negotiations were in progress, an action took place between an English and Dutch frigate, which is remarkable as being the first of those duels which form so glorious a page in the history of this country. In this instance a fight was arranged between Captain Harman of the *Tiger*, of 40 guns, and Captain De Witt of the *Schaerlaes*, of 36 guns, and carrying 90 more men than her adversary. The battle took place off Cadiz, in presence of the citizens, who crowded the beach and heights. The first broadside of the *Tiger* killed or wounded 80 men, thus nearly equalizing her crew with that of the enemy, and brought the mainmast of the *Schaerlaes* down by the board. The English seamen soon boarded and carried the Dutch ship, losing altogether in the encounter only 24 men.

In January, 1676, Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to chastise the pirates of Tripoli, and the expedi-

tion was crowned with complete success, owing chiefly to the skill of a young officer, Lieutenant Shovel, who subsequently earned a great name, and rose to high distinction as Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Under his advice, the admiral decided to destroy the ships lying in the inner harbour. Young Shovel, who was entrusted with the boats of the squadron, first seized the guard-boat, thus preventing it from giving the alarm, and then proceeded, still unperceived, towards four ships, each mounting between 20 and 50 guns. These he surprised, and having burnt them all, returned without the loss of a single man. This was the last exploit of the fleet under the Stuarts.

In 1688 James, who had lost the confidence of his people, was deserted by the greater part of his fleet and compelled to take refuge in France, while William of Orange, escorted by a powerful squadron under command of Admiral Herbert, landed at Torbay, and was proclaimed king amid the acclamations of the nation. With the glorious Revolution of 1688 commences the era of war with France for the French king was not only bound to the Stuart family by relationship, but was induced by considerations of policy to regard with hostility the accession of the Dutch prince, whom he regarded as an usurper. In March, 1689, Louis, having sent a powerful fleet of 37 ships to escort James to Kinsale, for the purpose of seeking to recover his throne, Admiral Herbert was despatched to Ireland with 22 sail. On the 15th May a partial and indecisive engagement took place between the hostile fleets off Bantry Bay. William made the most of the affair, and more as a matter of policy to conciliate the navy, created Herbert Earl of Torrington, and knighted Captains Shovel and Ashby. An indecisive action between Torrington and De Tourville off Beachy Head, and some minor affairs in the East Indies and the coast of Ireland, paved the way for the great encounter off Cape La Hogue in May, 1692—the first of those series of triumphs which ended in placing the British navy on the pinnacle of fame it at present occupies.

At the commencement of that year a formidable fleet was fitted out against the French, and placed under the orders of Admiral Edward Russell (afterwards created Earl of

Orford), who had succeeded the Earl of Torrington, now placed at the head of the navy. This fleet, which was divided into the red and blue squadrons, numbered 63 line-of-battle ships, and carried 4,504 guns, and 27,725 men. The commander-in-chief, Admiral Russell, who took the more immediate direction of the red squadron, had his flag (the Union Jack at the main) flying on board the *Britannia*, having for his vice- and rear-admirals, Sir Ralph Delaval and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The blue squadron was led by Sir John Ashby in the *Victory* (word of happy omen), with Rooke and Carter as his vice- and rear-admirals.

The French king, not content with assisting James in Ireland, had planned an invasion of England, and with this object used every exertion to strengthen his fleet. De Tourville, who commanded it, put to sea early in May, in the hope that the Dutch division would not yet have effected a junction with Russell, and that he would thus be able to encounter the hostile squadrons in detail. The English admiral had been meditating treachery against William's Government, and was intriguing to bring James back to his throne; but in consequence of the manner in which the latter replied to his overtures, he now made up his mind to stand faithfully by the new order of things, and effected a junction with the Dutch squadron of 36 ships under Admiral Allemand. The grand total of the fleet now numbered 99 ships, having on board 6,998 guns, and 40,675 men. De Tourville had under his orders, according to a list published by the French just before they put to sea, 63 ships of the line, and a large number of smaller vessels.

On the 18th of May, the allied commanders sailed from Spithead, and had scarcely cleared the Isle of Wight when at daybreak on the following morning the French fleet was descried to the northward. At 8 a.m., our line of attack was formed; the Dutch in the van, Admiral Russell in the centre, and Sir John Ashby in the rear. De Tourville, considering that his instructions compelled him to engage, notwithstanding the superiority of his enemy, made the signal for action, and with great gallantry bore down on the centre and rear of the British fleet. Admiral Russell, inspired by a chivalrous feeling for his brave antagonist, withheld his fire, when he might have raked the advancing ships, and

ordered that the signal to engage should not be made until the French admiral had taken his own distance; at the same time he signalled the Dutch squadron to tack. In consequence of the French evolution, Admiral Russell found himself opposed to a force not greatly inferior to his own.

Advancing until within musket-shot of the English line, De Tourville, who flew his flag on board the *Soleil Royal*, of 104 guns, hauled up, and being joined by five of his best ships, made a desperate attack on the *Britannia*, on board of which was the English commander-in-chief. Russell was at once joined by two of his ships, and with these he so successfully repelled his assailants, that after a fight of two hours, the *Soleil Royal* was so much cut up in sails, rigging, and spars, that she ceased firing, and was towed out of the action. De Tourville's fleet in general shared no better than their admiral. Our officers showed not only great courage, but a far more thorough knowledge of seamanship than the enemy. Vice-Admiral Rooke and Rear-Admiral Shovel, in particular, distinguished themselves greatly by the manner in which they handled their squadrons. The firing caused the light breeze to give place to a calm, and had it not been that a thick fog came on, it is probable that these distinguished seamen would have cut off the entire French fleet.

During the course of the pursuit, which continued the whole of that night and the following day, several of the enemy's ships were captured, and four were burnt by fire-ships. During the night of the 21st, a division of the French fleet, which had been watched by Sir John Ashby, succeeded in making their way through a most dangerous passage, known only to native pilots, to St. Malo. At noon of the 23rd May, the combined fleet had assembled off La Hogue, when Admiral Russell made the signal for all boats, manned and armed, to proceed to the destruction of the division of the French fleet that had taken refuge in the harbour. Vice-Admiral Hon. George Rooke was appointed to carry out this hazardous operation, and that officer having shifted his flag to the *Eagle*, of 70 guns, which was of less draught than his own ship, proceeded to the attack. It was soon found that there was not enough water to float the smallest frigate; accordingly, when night closed in, he

started with the boats alone, and, notwithstanding a severe fire from the forts and shipping, boarded and set fire to six of the men-of-war, but was obliged to desist from completing his design in consequence of the remainder being "high and dry" on the shore, and protected by a large body of troops. On the following morning the boats returned to the attack, and burnt all those they had left on the preceding night; Vice-Admiral Delaval had previously destroyed three large ships, so that the total of the French loss amounted to 16 large sail of the line, including the *Soleil Royal*, and another first-rate vessel, and many transports.

The French Government, nothing daunted by this great reverse, used such diligence in recruiting their fleet, that, by the beginning of the spring of 1693, they were able to send to sea a powerful fleet of above 100 sail, which they again placed under the command of De Tourville. The English ministry neglected the navy, and when, at the representation of the owners of our merchantmen, they consented to convoy the fleet of vessels trading to the Levant and Smyrna, fitted out a squadron of 13 men-of-war, to afford the necessary protection. This small force, together with 10 Dutchmen and Hamburgers, was placed under the orders of Admiral Rooke, who had been knighted for his gallantry, and he was directed to convoy the vast fleet of 400 sail of merchantmen, consisting of English, Swedish, Dutch, and Danish ships.

De Tourville had been for some time lying in Lagos Bay, or cruising about the adjacent headlands, when the first ships of the English convoy hove in sight. Sir George Rooke had been misinformed as to the strength of the French fleet, and continued to advance, until, about noon, he was undeceived as to their great numerical superiority. At about 3 p.m. of the 16th June, the combined English and Dutch squadrons were only four miles to windward of the French fleet, which, numbering above 100 sail, bore down upon them in resistless force. The English admiral was placed in a terribly trying position, but he was equal to the occasion. With rare courage and presence of mind, Sir George Rooke signalled the merchantmen to disperse as widely as they could, and make for Cadiz, Ferrol, and St. Lucia, at the same time affording them all the protection in

his power, by placing ships between them and the enemy, and edging off imperceptibly to the westward.

Having stood off shore all night under a heavy press of sail, he found himself the next morning in company with 54 merchant-ships, and several men-of-war, with which he arrived in safety at Madeira. Had De Tourville not acted with great indecision, he must have captured a large portion of the enormous convoy with its valuable cargo, while, as it was, the whole number of ships taken and destroyed amounted to 90 sail, and two Dutch and one English men-of-war, which were captured after maintaining a gallant fight for several hours against vastly superior numbers.

In retaliation for this blow, Commodore John Benbow, an officer who deservedly enjoys a high reputation in our annals, bombarded St. Malo, and destroyed some ships he found there. Our Government, having fitted out a fleet of 93 ships of the line, exclusive of frigates and fire-ships, early in 1694 despatched Admiral Russell to the Mediterranean with the main portion, while Lord Berkeley and Sir Cloudesley Shovel were entrusted with two powerful squadrons to operate on the enemy's coasts. Lord Berkeley's attack on Brest failed, owing to the strength of the fortifications raised by the genius of Vauban; but he was more successful at Dieppe, which he burnt, and at Havre, which he bombarded, destroying a greater portion of the town. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, after an unsuccessful attempt to burn Dunkirk, made his way to Calais, which he shelled with great effect. A portion of Admiral Russell's fleet took or destroyed 52 French merchantmen and some war vessels, while he himself proceeded to the Mediterranean with a combined English and Dutch fleet of 63 sail, with which he raised the siege of Barcelona, which was on the point of surrendering, and forced De Tourville to withdraw to Toulon. One squadron, consisting of the *Plymouth*, of 60 guns, and five frigates, captured, after a hard-fought running action, protracted for 36 hours, two French line-of-battle ships, though Commodore Kelligrew of the *Plymouth* fell a sacrifice to his gallantry.

In the year 1700, William, having entered into an alliance with the youthful Charles XII. of Sweden, sent Sir George Rooke with a powerful fleet to coerce Denmark.

which had been stirred up by Russian intrigues to act against that rising Scandinavian power. The British fleet appeared off Copenhagen, but all necessity for testing the prowess of our seamen against its batteries, as has been subsequently done more than once, was obviated by a timely surrender.

In March 1702 that truly great sovereign William III. expired, and was succeeded by Anne, daughter of James II.; his exiled monarch having died the previous year, the title of his son to the crown of England was recognized by Louis, in spite of the terms of the treaty of Ryswick.

Within two months of the accession of Anne war was declared against the French king by England, Holland, and Germany, and while Marlborough was sent to command the army in the Netherlands, Rooke was placed at the head of a fleet. Thirty English and 20 Dutch ships of the line were put under his orders, and, accompanied by the Duke of Ormonde with 14,000 men, he essayed the capture of Cadiz; but the city was found to be very strongly fortified, and the naval and military chiefs were unable to effect anything. Soon after this failure Rooke, receiving intelligence that a large fleet of French and Spanish galleons, escorted by a powerful squadron of 18 ships of the line and 7 frigates, was lying in Vigo Bay, eagerly embraced the opportunity for retrieving his laurels. On his arrival at Vigo he found that the treasure-ships lay under the protection of forts and batteries armed with 70 heavy guns, while a boom and other engineering devices, together with the shoal water, rendered it impossible to attack with the largest of his line-of-battle ships. Rooke, however, decided to make the attempt with only 25 English and Dutch vessels. Vice-Admiral Hopson led the way on board the *Torbay*, and, crowding all sail, burst the boom, when after some difficulty the squadron found their way into the harbour, and a general action ensued. Meanwhile some ships attacked the batteries, and Ormonde with 2,500 men having effected a landing, stormed the principal fort which commanded the entrance. Still the enemy's fleet made a gallant resistance, and the *Torbay*, which was most hotly engaged, lost 115 men and was entirely disabled, narrowly escaping destruction from a fire-ship. At length every

vessel in the harbour was taken or destroyed, the total loss of the enemy amounting to 15 French and 3 Spanish ships of the line, 7 French frigates and 15 Spanish galleons, with treasure valued at two millions sterling. Four days after the battle Shovel arrived with reinforcements, and Rooke, leaving him to repair and bring back the prizes, returned to England.

During the autumn of this year, Admiral Benbow fought an action which is noteworthy from the circumstance that in it, for the first, and we may say, the last, time, English naval officers showed the white feather; nor is it less memorable as an occasion on which an English admiral immortalized himself by his heroic bravery.

In September of the previous year (1701), Benbow had been despatched to the West with a small squadron, for the purpose of committing depredations on Spanish commerce. At the beginning of August, 1702, having learned that Du Casse, with four ships of the line and one large frigate, was off Carthagena, he proceeded to attack him with a squadron consisting of his flag-ship the *Breda*, 74, the *Defiance*, Captain Kirby, 64, the *Greenwich*, Captain Wade, 54, and four frigates. On the 19th August, Benbow fell in with Du Casse off Santa Martha, and immediately gave chase. The *Falmouth* was the first to engage, and the *Windsor* and *Defiance*, after firing a few broadsides, hauled off, and stood out of gunshot. The brunt of the action was borne by the admiral, who continued his pursuit all night, and at daybreak found he had only the *Ruby*, Captain George Walton, with him, the rest of the squadron being some miles astern. Benbow all that day pursued the enemy vigorously with his two ships, and on the 21st, the French, seeing that he was almost unsupported, shortened sail to engage him. The *Ruby* fought a ship of the line until she was disabled, and might have been taken had not the *Breda* protected her. Upon arriving at the scene of action, the captains of the other frigates refused to fire a shot, and on the following day displayed the same disgraceful cowardice. The admiral still continued the chase, and on the 23rd engaged the whole French squadron single-handed, and even captured a small vessel, a prize of Du Casse's. On the 24th the *Falmouth*, 48-gun frigate, came to the assistance of the *Breda*, and Benbow continued

the unequal conflict with unabated vigour. Three times in person he boarded the sternmost of the enemy's ships, receiving a severe wound in the face and another in the arm. Shortly afterwards his right leg was shattered by a chain-shot, and he was borne below; but the spirit of the old admiral was impervious to the agony of his mortal wound, and he insisted upon being carried on deck again, and there remained giving orders with an unaltered countenance.

"I am sorry, sir," said Fogg, his captain, "to see you here in this state."

"I am, too," said the gallant sailor; "but I would rather have lost both my legs than have seen this disgrace brought on the British flag."

So brilliant was the gunnery of the *Breda's* sailors that the ship to which they were opposed was in a short time reduced to a mere wreck, having lost her fore-topmast, mainyard, and mizen-mast, while her hull was riddled with shot. Soon after daylight Benbow learned that all the ships of his squadron, with the exception of the *Ruby* and *Falmouth*, were running away to leeward in defiance of his signal for "close action"; while the French ships, emboldened by this dastardly conduct, steered for the *Breda*, and opened a hot fire upon her, carrying away her maintopsail yard and otherwise damaging her. They then took their crippled consort in tow, and made sail in full flight. Benbow still determined to follow them, and signalled his captains to keep their stations in the line for chasing; upon which Captain Kirby, of the *Defiance*, came on board the flag-ship, and had the audacity to advise the admiral "that he had better desist, that the French were very strong, and that from what had passed he might guess that he could make nothing of it." On sending for the other captains, they, to the admiral's indignation and chagrin, gave similar advice, and he was obliged to bear up for Jamaica.

Du Casse made his way to Carthagena, and from thence wrote Benbow the following letter:—

"SIR,—I had little hopes on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin, but it pleased God to have ordered it otherwise: I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by —— they deserve it. "Yours, DU CASSE."

And Benbow was not slow to act upon this advice, which chimed in with his own notions of what was due to these traitors or cowards. He convened a court-martial on the 16th October, the sentence of which was that Captains Kirby, of the *Defiance*, and Wade, of the *Greenwich*, should be shot; Captain Constable, of the *Windsor*, cashiered, and sentenced to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. Captain Hudson, of the *Pendennis*, died before his trial came on, and thus escaped the punishment he so richly merited; and Captains Walton, of the *Ruby*, and Vincent, of the *Falmouth*, were exonerated from all blame. In pursuance of the sentence of death passed on them, Captains Wade and Kirby were shot on board the *Bristol*, at Plymouth, on the 16th April, 1703.

The chief event of importance connected with the navy in this year was a violent hurricane which, on the 26th November, swept our southern shores, sinking 13 fine ships of war in the Downs, some of which were lost with all hands. Shovel, who was returning from the Mediterranean with a squadron, narrowly escaped the fate which subsequently overtook him, and only saved his ship by cutting away her masts.

The Eddystone Lighthouse was utterly destroyed, and it is related that the tides rose to so great a height that the water lay many feet deep in Westminster Hall. A day of humiliation and general fast was ordered in consequence of this great calamity, and was strictly observed by the mourning nation. During the year some actions took place between the ships of war of the two belligerent countries, in which our vessels were victorious over the French. The chief naval exploit was performed off Jersey by Admiral Dilkes, who, on the 27th July, while in command of three ships of the line and three frigates, captured or destroyed 43 French merchantmen, together with three ships of war that were convoying them.

CHAPTER VI.

1704-1743.

The Capture of Gibraltar by Sir George Rooke on the 23rd July, 1704—The Battle off Malaga, 13th August, 1704—Operations in the Mediterranean—Death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel—Victory of Sir George Byng over the Spanish Fleet, off Messina, on the 11th August, 1718—Vice-Admiral Vernon takes Portobello, 22nd November, 1739—His failure at Carthagena, and disgrace on his return to England—The Expedition of Commodore Anson round the World, 1740-44—His Attack on the Spanish Settlements in South America, and Capture of the Acapulco galleon—Sufferings of Lieut. Byron and the Crew of the *Wager*.

THE year 1704 was remarkable for the performance of an exploit which has had an incalculable effect in raising the power and prestige of Britain, especially in the Mediterranean. Early in February, Sir George Rooke sailed with a fleet for the Tagus; and, after some desultory operations, was joined in June by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with strong reinforcements, when he resolved to undertake an operation which even the mighty Blake had shrunk from as beyond his resources. This was none other than the reduction of the almost impregnable stronghold, Gibraltar.

The council of war that decided upon the attack was held on the 17th July; and on the 21st the whole fleet, consisting of 60 English and Dutch ships, sailed into the bay. The same afternoon a force of 1,800 marines, under the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, was landed on the isthmus which connects the rock with the mainland, thus isolating the small garrison. To a summons to surrender now sent by the prince, the governor replied in big words (which we have heard repeated in more recent times, and with a like result), to the effect that he would bury himself and the garrison beneath the ruins, rather than surrender the post entrusted to him by his royal master. Rooke now pro-

ceeded with his preparations; but owing to unfavourable winds, the whole of the following day was occupied in placing his ships in the positions assigned them.

At length, at daybreak of the 23rd July, the fleet having taken up its position, the admiral gave the signal for the bombardment; and forthwith commenced the most terrible cannonade that the world had yet witnessed. During the five hours the attack lasted, 15,000 shot were poured on the works; the enemy, unable to withstand this fearful ordeal of fire, were driven from their batteries on the South Molehead. The admiral, perceiving the advantage that must accrue by the occupation of these works, which formed the key of the fortress, ordered out the boats to take possession of them. Captain Whitaker of the *Nottingham*, who commanded, with Captain Hicks of the *Yarmouth*, and Captain Jumper of the *Lenox*, rowed ashore with characteristic ardour, and seized the batteries; but, unfortunately, not without considerable loss, for the whole place was mined, and the train being fired by the retreating Spaniards, two lieutenants and 40 men were killed, and 60 wounded. Unappalled by this unlooked-for disaster, the remaining seamen pushed on; and when the whole party was landed, Captain Whitaker, advancing, stormed a strong redoubt between the mole and the town, thus hemming in the garrison. Rooke now sent in a second summons to the governor, who surrendered, the honours of war being granted to him and the garrison.

The admiral, astonished at his success (as well he might be), took possession of this world-renowned fortress; and, since that day, the British flag has remained hoisted on the "Rock," as it is affectionately termed by the Services, in spite of all-comers. Never did the British sailor appear to greater advantage than on this occasion; and the headlong valour displayed in the attack was said to be almost unexampled. The total loss amounted to three officers and 60 men killed, and nine officers and 216 wounded; a surprisingly small price for a stronghold which, having regard to the narrowness of the approaches, the steepness of the precipitous rock, and the numerous and heavy batteries mounted on every accessible point by the Spanish engineers, might well be expected to baffle any force, no matter how

superior in numbers. As Rooke said in his despatch, quoted by Campbell, it seemed as if fifty men might have defended these works against thousands.

Louis, who had fitted out a powerful fleet, anxious to gain some counterbalancing victory, despatched his son, the Count de Toulouse, to encounter the conqueror of Gibraltar, with 50 ships of the line, 17 of which were three-deckers, and 17 frigates and fire-ships; the whole carrying 3,700 guns, and upwards of 25,200 men. Rooke sighted this magnificent fleet on the 9th of August, 1704, there being under his orders 41 English and 12 Dutch sail of the line, having about the same number of guns as the enemy, and 23,000 men. The fleets were not unequally matched, except that the French vessels were better built, and infinitely superior in their sailing qualities.

The Count of Toulouse shunned an action, and retreated; but, on the 13th of August, the English admiral, who followed in close pursuit, overtook him off Malaga, and forced on an engagement, which the Count accepted. Sir George Rooke commanded the centre, having for his rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes; Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van, the Dutch ships being in the rear.

At ten o'clock on this Sunday morning the battle commenced, and was contested with great resolution by both parties. By two o'clock in the afternoon we had gained a decided advantage, having, according to Charnock, beaten back their leading squadron and destroyed one of their three-deckers, *Le Fier*, of 88 guns. The action continued till nightfall with no decisive result on either side. Under cover of the darkness, the French made all sail in retreat; and when morning broke, they were discovered four or five leagues distant. Rooke following them up, endeavoured to renew the engagement; which, however, the Count of Toulouse declined, and aided by a fair wind, was enabled to make his escape into Toulon. Louis had the audacity to claim this battle as a victory, and ordered a *Te Deum* to be celebrated in Notre Dame; thus setting an example to his countrymen, whether Imperialist or Republican, which they have not been slow to follow in more recent times. In pite of the superiority of numbers, the Count de Toulouse

could not pretend to have taken one British ship; while, on the other hand, Rooke captured or sank, besides the *Fier*, four ships of the line and frigates, whose names are given by Charnock.

The losses on both sides were very heavy. Two captains and 687 men were killed, and three captains and 1,632 men were wounded, in addition to one captain and 400 men killed and wounded in the Dutch squadron; the casualties thus being nearly one-eighth of the entire number of men engaged, while in Lord Howe's famous action of the "glorious 1st of June," 1794, they amounted to only one-fifteenth. The French own to having lost *rather more* than 1,500 men; but we may safely infer that it was much larger, as they remained in Toulon the rest of the year, while the magnitude of the victory claimed by the French king may be accurately measured by the fact, that during the remainder of his reign he never sent out another naval expedition on a large scale.

Rooke returned to England, leaving Sir John Leake in command of the squadron. That officer, while refitting his ships at Lisbon, received a message in October from the Governor of Gibraltar, the Prince of Hesse, requesting assistance, as the French were about to attack him. The admiral accordingly threw a large body of seamen and marines into the place, and then retired on the approach of Admiral de Pointis with a much superior fleet. On the 29th of the same month, Leake returned and found the fortress in imminent danger of capture, it being blockaded by 13 French ships of war, and besieged by 3,000 Spanish troops. The admiral's opportune arrival changed the aspect of affairs. The greater portion of the enemy's fleet escaped, but four frigates and some smaller craft were captured. A sufficient body of men were landed to enable the garrison to hold out until, in the beginning of December, four regiments having arrived, Sir John Leake once more returned to Lisbon.

In March of the following year, the enemy renewed the siege of Gibraltar, when Sir John Leake achieved a second great success. Having been reinforced by Sir Thomas Dilkes, he sailed for Gibraltar to succour the Prince of Hesse, who was again beleaguered, and off Europa Point

discovered a squadron of five sail of the line, all of which he took or destroyed, nearly capturing De Pointis, who escaped by running his ship, the *Magnanime*, of 74 guns, on shore, a little inside the straits.

About this time, by a wretched party intrigue, of which our annals in Queen Anne's reign afford too many instances, Sir George Rooke was deprived of the chief command. An anecdote is told of this noble seaman which well illustrates his character. Shortly before his death, which took place four years after his enforced retirement, one of his friends expressed to him his surprise that an officer who had held such high commands and had so many opportunities of amassing money, possessed so small a fortune; the veteran replied:—"It is true that I leave little behind me, but what I have has been honestly earned; it never cost a sailor a tear nor the nation a farthing." The country, or rather we should say the government, was not worthy of being served by such men.

Rooke had an able successor in Shovel, the most distinguished of his lieutenants. In the latter part of 1705, the Count de St. Paul, a brilliant French sailor, and one of the most enterprising of the successors of Jean Bart, fell in with 12 English merchantmen as they were returning from the Baltic, convoyed by only three frigates. The enemy's squadron, which included five line-of-battle ships, captured the entire fleet, after a desperate resistance, during which St. Paul was killed. In the following year, Shovel co-operated with the Earl of Peterborough in the capture of Barcelona, a success which had an important bearing in the Spanish War of Succession, as it induced the whole province of Catalonia to acknowledge the Archduke Charles King of Spain. On returning to England, Shovel relegated the command to Sir John Leake, who, in the spring of 1706, repaired to Barcelona at Charles's urgent request, the French king, who was resolved to maintain his grandson Philip on the contested throne of Spain, having despatched the Count of Toulouse with a fleet to assist an army of 14,000 men in effecting its reduction.

The British fleet arrived in time to prevent the capture of this important town, and Toulouse having retreated, the French general De Tesse raised the siege, leaving behind

all his artillery, and great stores of food and ammunition. Leake then sailed against Alicante, which made a vigorous resistance; but having been reinforced by a squadron he had sent under Sir John Jennings to take possession of Carthagena, his seamen stormed the strong works which defended the town with the loss of only 30 killed and 80 wounded. The admiral then took possession of Majorca and Iviça in the name of Charles, the prince whose claim to the crown of Spain we supported in this war.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel returned to the Mediterranean in the autumn of the same year, but was not able to effect anything of importance. In April, 1707, the Duke of Berwick gave a heavy blow to the already failing cause of the Archduke Charles by his victory over Lord Galway at Almanza, one of the few pitched battles in which our army has been defeated, though the victor was an Englishman, and his adversary a Frenchman. Shovel, determined to inflict damage on his enemies if he could do nothing to forward the cause of his country's allies, made an attempt on Toulon, in conjunction with the forces of the Emperor of Austria, under the command of the two brothers the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene. The naval operations under Sir Cloudesley were crowned with success. Commencing to bombard this great French arsenal on the 16th July, he destroyed eight ships of the line, made large breaches in the walls and burnt a great portion of the town, and that in spite of the powerful fleet outnumbering his, which lay in the harbour. He even supplied the military commanders with cannon, ammunition, and a body of seamen to work the guns; but all his exertions were fruitless. On the 4th of August the enemy made a sally, destroyed the batteries, and carried off some of the guns. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, whose want of unanimity greatly conduced to the unhappy result, were forced to raise the siege, and Shovel, foiled and disappointed, covered their retreat as far as the frontier stream of the Var by the fire of his ships.

Leaving Sir Thomas Dilkes with 13 ships in the Mediterranean, the admiral set out to return home with the rest of the fleet; but he was destined only to see the shores of the land for which he had done so much. On the 23rd of October he arrived off the Scilly Islands, in a gale of wind,

and his ship, the *Association*, went to pieces during the night off those treacherous rocks known as the Bishop and Clerks. Besides this gallant ship, the *Eagle*, of 70 guns, and the *Romsey*, 50, commanded by a brave and distinguished young officer, Captain Coney, were lost, together with their entire crews. The next day the corpse of the admiral was washed ashore, and, being recognized by a ring, was, by the Queen's command, brought to London, and interred in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent tomb was erected to his memory by a grateful and sorrowing nation. Thus perished one of the most gallant and successful of England's sailors, a man who raised himself from before the mast by his own unaided talents. During the year 1708, one of the French admirals, the Count de Forbin, succeeded in capturing 21 merchant-vessels in the Downs, together with two out of the three ships of war which were convoying them; and our navy sustained a little heavier loss on the 10th of October. Commodore Edwards was convoying the Lisbon fleet of 130 sail of merchantmen, with the *Cumberland*, 80, *Devonshire*, 80, *Royal Oak*, 76, and two 50-gun frigates, the *Ruby* and *Chester*, when he fell in with the united squadrons of the Count de Forbin and M. Duguai Trouin, consisting of 12 sail of the line. The commodore maintained a spirited action against this superior force for several hours, thereby enabling the merchant-ships to escape; but it was with the loss of his entire squadron, with the exception of the *Royal Oak*, which effected her escape into Kinsale. The *Devonshire* blew up during the action, and two only out of her crew of 700 men were saved.

The Admiralty, who alone were to blame for sending vast convoys to sea with insufficient protection, thereby risking valuable lives, tried the captains of the captured ships, and cashiered the unfortunate commander of the *Royal Oak*, who had frequently distinguished himself, and on this occasion had disabled a French line-of-battle ship, and beaten back her boarders. In spite of the vigour displayed by the Admiralty in thus vicariously punishing the authors of these disasters, the authorities at Whitehall did not escape censure at the hands of the House of Lords, who, in obedience to the popular outcry, instituted a formal inquiry into their mismanagement.

In the West Indies Commodore Wager, with three ships, fought a brilliant action with a strong Spanish squadron convoying some galleons which were proceeding from Portobello to Havannah, laden with a vast amount of treasure. During the engagement, the Spanish admiral's ship, which Wager engaged, blew up; but he, in company with his two consorts, succeeded in capturing the rear-admiral's flag-ship, having on board a portion of the treasure. Owing to the misbehaviour of his captains, who were cashiered for their conduct, the rest of the galleons escaped.

During the year 1708 Sir George Byng chased a French fleet which had embarked 12,000 men for the invasion of Scotland in the Pretender's interest, and, though the hostile squadron reached the Firth of Forth, they dared not land the troops, but returned to Dunkirk with the loss of one ship. Leake also performed brilliant service in the Mediterranean. He captured 69 transports laden with supplies for Philip's army in Spain, bombarded Cagliari, which was surrendered to him by the governor, together with the whole island of Sardinia; and assisted General Stanhope in a well-devised attack upon Port Mahon, the chief town of Minorca. After operations extending throughout the month of September and a portion of October, this strong place, together with Citadella and Fort Fornelle, were reduced, and the island was taken possession of in the name of her Britannic Majesty. In the Channel, Lord Dursley greatly distinguished himself by his successful arrangements in convoying merchant-vessels in safety, and on the 9th April, 1709, having sought for the noted French admiral, Duguai Trouin, he encountered him cruising off the Scilly Islands with three ships. Lord Dursley pursued him, retook an English 50-gun ship, the *Bristol*, he had captured the day before, as also *La Gloire*, of 44 guns, and would have taken the French admiral's ship but for her superior sailing capabilities. Other gallant exploits were performed by our seamen: notably one on the 2nd of March of this year, when Captain Tollet, of the *Assurance*, 70, with two 50-gun ships, who were convoying a large fleet of merchantmen, beat off Duguai Trouin with four ships of superior strength after a brilliant and protracted action, in which the *Assurance*, Tollet's ship, lost 78 men. Again, the *Falmouth*, 50, com-

manded by Captain Riddell, encountered and successfully repelled the attacks of four French ships, one being of 64 guns, and conducted his convoy in safety to Plymouth. Before the year closed Duguai Trouin had the satisfaction of a partial revenge in capturing the *Gloucester*, 64, which, with the *Hampshire*, fought a desperate action with his whole squadron. In the winter of 1708 Prince George of Denmark, the Queen's husband, who had held the office of Lord High Admiral, died and was succeeded at the Admiralty by Lord Pembroke. In 1710 Sir John Norris, who had been appointed to the command in the Mediterranean station, displayed great ability in thwarting the enemy in their military designs, and performed some services of importance, chiefly at Barcelona, and in the island of Sardinia; but active operations ceased in the Mediterranean by the election of Charles to the Imperial Crown, on the death of the Emperor, in the following year. Numerous brilliant actions were fought in the Mediterranean, in the Channel, and elsewhere, between single ships and squadrons.

Across the Atlantic, Commodore Martin expelled the French from Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, to which he gave the name of Annapolis, in honour of the Queen; and the Commodore also seized Newfoundland. In April, 1713, peace was restored to Europe by the signing of the Peace of Utrecht; the last achievement of British seamen before that event being in August of the previous year, when Sir Thomas Hardy, with a squadron of eight ships, fell in with seven men-of-war, six of which he captured after a smart action.

Queen Anne and Louis XIV. both died in 1714, and during the following year the Pretender made his abortive attempt to recover the throne of these realms; but his hopes were quenched on the field of Sheriffmuir, and he narrowly escaped capture from the squadron commanded by Sir John Jennings.

In the summer of 1715, a powerful fleet of twenty sail was placed under the command of Sir John Norris, who, having been joined by the Danish and Dutch squadrons, proceeded to the Baltic, and overawed that most warlike of the monarchs of Sweden, Charles XII., who prudently

withdrew his own fleet into Carlscrona. Subsequently, Peter the Great having menaced Denmark by his invasion of the duchy of Mecklenburg, Norris addressed a remonstrance to him, which, backed up as it was by the presence of his fleet, induced the Czar to withdraw his army.

Before these transactions were thus peacefully settled, King Philip of Spain, instigated by his able minister Cardinal Alberoni, sent an expedition against the island of Sardinia, which belonged to the Emperor of Germany.

As our government had guaranteed Charles's Italian possessions, a fleet was despatched, early in 1718, to the Mediterranean, under command of Sir George Byng, with instructions to seek, in the first instance, to avert hostilities by negotiation. The King of Spain returned for reply to the admiral's letter that "he might follow his orders," and appeared confident in the success of a second armament he had despatched to effect the capture of Sicily, which formed a portion of the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, who had recently joined the quadruple alliance between England, France, Holland, and Germany. This expedition, which consisted of 29 large men-of-war and a numerous fleet of transports, having on board 35,000 men, with a powerful train of artillery, was very successful at first. Palermo fell, and then Messina, with the exception of the citadel, which still held out. The day after the Spanish troops landed to occupy Messina, Sir George Byng arrived at Naples with his fleet; taking on board 2,000 of the Emperor's troops, he hastened to the succour of the garrison of the beleaguered castle, and on the 9th August arrived at the Faro di Messina. Anxious to avert unnecessary bloodshed, Byng made a last effort for peace, and proposed to the Spanish admiral, Castañeta, a suspension of hostilities for two months, so as to give time for the diplomatists to negotiate. The Spaniard, confident of success, rejected every pacific overture with the haughtiness of his race, when Byng, having landed the German troops, returned to bring his adversary to reason by more material arguments.

The rival fleets were of the following strength: that under the command of Sir George Byng consisted of 21 ships, carrying 1,380 guns and 8,883 men; while Castañeta had under his orders 26 ships of war and some smaller

vessels, having on board 1,284 guns and 8,830 men. On the 10th of August Byng sighted the hostile fleet, upon which the Spanish admiral made sail away with the wind abaft his beam, but Sir George, having gained upon him considerably during the night, prepared for battle on the following morning, a challenge which Castañeta seemed loth to accept. The first gun in the action, which was throughout a running fight, was fired at 10 o'clock. The *Orford* attacked and took the *Santa Rosa*, 64, and the *Kent* the *San Carlos*, 60. Captain Nicholas Haddock, of the *Grafton*, who greatly distinguished himself throughout the day, after first delivering broadsides into these ships, shot ahead and took up a position as close as he could to the *Principe de Asturias*, 70, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Chacon, which he engaged with great effect. Following the same tactics as before, Captain Haddock, finding the *Breda* and *Captain* to be closing up, made sail for the next ships, leaving the *Principe* so greatly shattered that the vice-admiral struck his flag to his two new opponents. At about 1 p.m. the *Kent* and *Superbe* engaged the Spanish admiral in the *St. Philip*, and Castañeta, supported by two ships of his fleet, maintained a running fight for two hours, when the *Kent*, being enabled by her superior sailing to pass under the stern of the *St. Philip*, poured a terribly destructive raking broadside into her, and then came up on her lee-quarter. The *Superbe* also attacked her on the weather-quarter, and at length, after a most gallant and protracted defence, Castañeta was obliged to surrender his ship, having lost 200 of his crew.

Byng's flag-ship, the *Barfleur*, was engaged with two 60-gun ships, which arrived in the midst of the engagement; but seeing that a defeat was imminent, these vessels, one of which bore a rear-admiral's flag, stood in for the land and escaped, owing to the light and baffling winds. Three other ships were taken by the main portion of the fleet, and Captain Walton, who had been detached with a squadron to cut off a force of equal strength, which had sought early in the day to escape by getting in shore, was even more successful, he having taken and destroyed the entire squadron.

The *St. Philip* was destroyed by fire at Port Mahon shortly afterwards; and the gallant but rash Spanish

Admiral Castañeta, who was landed at Sicily, died of the wounds he had received. For his services Sir George Byng was, in the following year, created Viscount Torrington.

On the 17th December war was formally declared against Spain, but the only hostile operation of importance was a successful attack upon Vigo, in the autumn of 1719, by a combined naval and military expedition, under the command of Admiral Mighels and Lord Cobham. Philip, disgusted at the disaster which had befallen his fleet, banished his minister Alberoni in December of this year, and in the following February joined the quadruple alliance. So greatly feared at this time was our fleet and so absolute our naval supremacy, that the appearance of Sir John Norris in the Baltic for the second time, with a powerful squadron, was sufficient to cause the great Czar Peter to cease ravaging the shores of our ally, Sweden; and six years later, when the Russians had greatly augmented their navy, a similar demonstration by another admiral, Sir Charles Wager, sufficed to compel a like compliance with our demands.

Passing over some successful affairs with pirates on the coast of Africa, and an expedition under Sir John Jennings, who sailed in 1726, to aid in the defence of Gibraltar, which was threatened by the Spanish army, we come to the year 1739, when war was declared by our government against Spain, and an expedition fitted out to operate against the enemy's settlements in America. George II. had been ten years on the throne when, on the 24th July, 1739, a fleet was entrusted to the command of Captain Vernon, an officer who had rendered himself notorious in the House of Commons by his bold and blustering manner, and his invectives against our officers, whom he accused of timidity in not attacking Portobello.

Having affirmed that he could capture this important Spanish settlement with six ships, the ministry of the day took him at his word, raised him to the rank of vice-admiral, and placed under his orders four 70-gun ships, three of 60 guns, and a 50-gun frigate, thus giving him nearly half as many vessels again as he considered sufficient for the purpose. Vernon sailed on the 3rd of August, and having missed encountering a rich fleet of galleons, he left three of his ships to cruise in search of it off Cadiz, and proceeded

to cross the Atlantic with the remainder, now reduced to the number he had originally considered necessary for the enterprise on which he was engaged.

On the 20th of November the squadron came in sight of Portobello, which stands on the north side of the Isthmus of Panama, and has a convenient bay with a good anchorage. The works defending the town were very strong, and had the Governor displayed any energy, might have successfully withstood the attacks of a much larger force than that brought against it. On the north side of the bay, at the entrance to the harbour, was the Iron Castle, mounting 78 guns, with a battery beneath, and nearly level with the water, of 32 guns; the whole being garrisoned by 300 men. A mile higher up on the southern side of the bay was Gloria Castle, altogether mounting 98 guns, and having 400 men to work them. Above this castle again, and like it, completely commanding the anchorage, stood Fort St. Jeronimo, a very strong work, mounting 20 guns.

Having anchored on the night of the 20th of November, the squadron on the following morning got under way, and having worked up the harbour, three of the ships attacked the Iron Castle. Vice-Admiral Vernon soon after arrived, and the furious cannonade of the four ships soon compelled the artillerymen on the castle to slacken their fire, while the small-arm men from the tops drove the soldiers from their guns in the lower batteries. Upon observing this, the admiral manned his boats, and in a short time the men, clambering up the face of the ramparts, with sailor-like agility, by the aid of each other's shoulders, first made themselves masters of the castle, and then advanced upon the town. The Spaniards made no further resistance, and upon the arrival of fresh reinforcements of sailors, hung out a white flag, as a token of submission.

The castles of St. Jeronimo and Gloria still held out, and preparations were made for effecting their reduction. On the following day the Spanish Governor, after some parley as to terms, surrendered them also; and thus was consummated this important conquest, with the loss to the British of only 17 men killed and wounded. The result must have surprised no one more than Admiral Vernon, and notwithstanding the want of preparedness of the Spaniards, the

defence is not creditable to the skill and courage of the Governor and his garrison. The captors divided ten thousand dollars found in the town; but with a humanity that does the admiral credit, he would not permit any plundering, though the sailors, exasperated by tales they had heard of the cruelties practised by the Spaniards on their countrymen, desired to retaliate upon the inhabitants of the town now at their mercy. To prevent Portobello from again becoming the formidable stronghold it was, Vernon ordered Captain Knowles of the *Diamond*, assisted by the Hon. Captain Boscawen, to effect the destruction of the fortifications. Owing to the thickness of the walls, these gallant officers found it no easy task; but at length, on the 6th December, the mines, being properly charged, were sprung, and the castles were levelled with the ground. Admiral Vernon having sent off to the ships 40 brass guns, 10 field-pieces, 4 mortars, and 18 smaller cannon, together with ammunition, destroyed all the iron guns, and on the 15th of December returned to Jamaica.

The news of this success arrived in England in March of the following year, 1740, and filled the nation with such exultation that Admiral Vernon became the hero of the hour. Perhaps in this country there are few more reliable indications of popular appreciation than that denoted by the sign-boards hung out in front of public-houses or wayside inns. On the present occasion the successful admiral's portrait was adopted throughout the length and breadth of the land. The people, however, showed themselves possessed of as much fickleness as their detractors credit them with; for a writer says, "Twenty years afterwards some of these portraits had their noses sharpened, their facings altered, and were made to do duty for Frederick the Great, as others later still were transformed into Blucher." As a tribute to the constancy of some portion of the brotherhood of Licensed Victuallers, it is consoling to add that some publicans have proved faithful to the captor of Portobello through evil report (of which he was, still later, a victim), as well as good report, and to this day some sign-boards dedicated to, and embellished with the physiognomy of, Admiral Vernon may be seen by the curious in such matters.

Parliament voted him the thanks of the nation, and ministers sent him large reinforcements with a powerful land-force. During 1740 Admiral Vernon entered the river Chagre and completely destroyed the castle of Lorenzo, but it was not until the following year that, having received all his reinforcements, he left Port Royal on the 25th of February, with the intention of attacking Carthagena. The force destined for this operation consisted of 29 ships of the line with a squadron of frigates, and, including the transports, in which were embarked 12,000 soldiers, numbered no less than 124 sail.

Unfortunately, Vernon was cursed with a domineering temper, and being greatly inflated with his good luck at Portobello, withheld his cordial co-operation from General Wentworth, the officer in command of the troops: the result was a miserable and most disgraceful failure. On the first day, the 9th March, the ships engaged the forts of St. Jago and St. Philip, which they silenced, when the soldiers landed and took possession of them; but during the subsequent operations the crews suffered greatly from the fire of the town batteries, which were admirably served by the Spanish artillerymen. After many days' delay, during which the enemy repaired the damages already made, and rendered the works stronger than ever, the attack was renewed; on the 24th and 25th of March, further successes were gained by the combined British force; but when the principal obstacles to the conquest of Carthagena were removed, Vernon so consistently thwarted the general, even refusing him food and water for his troops, which had been landed earlier in the siege, that there no longer existed any possibility of a successful prosecution of the undertaking. Added to these obstacles, sickness broke out among the soldiers and increased to an alarming extent. On the 30th of March the fleet entered the harbour; but the admiral, when he had it in his power, would do nothing, and the troops being repulsed with great loss in an attack on Fort Lazar, it was resolved to raise the siege, which was accordingly done on the 14th of April. The entire force of the soldiers that were re-embarked was, from sickness and losses, reduced to 3,000 men.

When the fleet had refitted, and the soldiers had recruited

their health, an attack was planned in the month of October upon Cuba; but so great was the feeling of rancour between the military and naval authorities, that General Wentworth, in order to satisfy his grudge against the admiral for his treatment at Carthagena, was so oblivious of the honour of his country that, after halting a day or two on the spot where he had landed, about sixty miles from Santiago, into which he might have marched almost without resistance, declared that the reports he had received of the difficulties of the intervening country and of the strength of the Spaniards, prevented a chance of success; and accordingly he re-embarked his troops, and once more the expedition returned to Jamaica without achieving anything.

In 1742 Admiral Vernon returned to England, and speedily got himself into hot water with "my lords" at Whitehall. After sundry displays of his unfortunate temper, he committed the unpardonable indiscretion—to use a mild term—of publishing confidential correspondence with his superiors, an act which involved so gross a breach of discipline that his name was struck off the Navy List.

One of the most extraordinary and interesting episodes in the history of the British Navy is the account we have of the sufferings and achievements of Anson's expedition round the world. This gallant officer, an altogether different character from his contemporary Vernon, was entrusted with a squadron, with orders to round Cape Horn and make his way to the Spanish possessions in the South Seas, where he was to use his best endeavours to annoy and distress the Spaniards, either at sea or on land; he was also directed to attack any place that he might judge worthy of making an attempt upon. Callao and Panama were specified as points he was to visit with hostile intent, and he was directed to endeavour to effect the capture of the great treasure-galleon which sailed usually from Acapulco to Manilla.

In September, 1740, Captain George Anson sailed from Portsmouth with six ships—the *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, *Wager*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, and the *Trial*. The *Centurion*, his own flagship, carried 60 guns; of the others, two had 50 guns, one 40, one 28, and the *Trial* 8 guns. All these ships were insufficiently manned, the crews having been largely recruited

from the hospitals; but the indomitable will and courage of the commodore overleaped all obstacles, and achieved a great success in an undertaking in which he was, perhaps, the only man of the age who would not have failed. The commencement of the voyage was beset with the difficulties which pursued the commodore during the four years of its continuance. The equinoctial gales retarded his progress soon after leaving England. He was forty days in reaching Madeira, and more than three months elapsed before he arrived at the island of Santa Catarina, at the southern extremity of Brazil. During the passage to the South American continent, sickness had committed fearful ravages among his men.

After refitting his ships, he started from Santa Catarina in January, 1741, and two months afterwards entered the Pacific, which, however, belied its name, for scarcely had the squadron got clear of the land than they were assailed with tempestuous weather, which lasted, with more or less violence, for two months. The squadron was scattered, the *Centurion* was driven far out of her course, and it was near the end of May before the hearts of the crew of that ship were gladdened by a return of fine weather. Since his departure from England the commodore had committed to the deep, or buried at Santa Catarina, above 200 of his men, and of the survivors one half were so prostrated by disease and hardships as to be incapacitated from doing duty.

But Anson's courage never forsook him, and he determined upon still prosecuting the designs for which he had been despatched to the southern hemisphere. The *Centurion* was now joined by the *Gloucester* and the *Trial*, and the three vessels took refuge in the island of Juan Fernandez, a spot immortalized by the genius of Defoe. Here they remained three months, and the tempest-tossed and sorely-tried mariners found a haven of rest in this lovely island, which is bountifully stored with fruits and vegetables of various kinds. At length, having recruited the health of his men, Anson set sail once more, and proceeded to carry out the instructions with which he had been furnished by the Admiralty. At this time, of the 969 men and boys who had formed the original complement of three ships now alone left him, there were left but 214 in the *Centurion*, 82

in the *Gloucester*, and 39 in the *Trial*, little more than one-third the number that had embarked at Portsmouth.

The ships were detached in different directions, in order the better to prey upon Spanish commerce, and all were successful; each vessel captured two prizes, some of which were laden with cargoes of great value. Anson, learning that Paita, a town on the coast of Chili, was stored with much treasure, determined to attack it. Arriving in its harbour by night, he despatched his first lieutenant ashore with a well-armed body of men. So complete was the surprise that it was only in the morning, when the place was occupied, that the people were aware of the attack. The town was plundered by the sailors, and the commodore proposed to the inhabitants that they should ransom the more bulky portion of the merchandise. The citizens, however, refused to give money or supplies, and Anson immediately applied the torch, and reduced the town to ashes. He now determined to go in quest of the Acapulco galleon, and, as a preparatory measure, landed all the prisoners he had made from his prizes, and whom, it should be mentioned in justice to the gallant commodore, he had treated with the greatest kindness. He then destroyed the *Gloucester* and *Trial*, and removed the crews into his own ship, which even with this addition had not half her complement.

Having obtained some fresh provisions at Quito, Anson put to sea; but again the unfortunate ship was attacked with scurvy, which decimated the crew. Numbers died, and the remainder, including the commodore, were greatly weakened by its effects. At length, in August, 1742, the *Centurion* reached the Ladrone Islands, and anchored on the coast of Tinian, the largest of them. Here the enfeebled crew recruited their health and strength, and revelled in the fruit and fresh provisions with which it abounded. But while in this island a circumstance occurred by which they were reduced to the depths of despair. While the commodore and a portion of his men were on shore, a furious tornado suddenly, and without warning, arose, and the *Centurion* was driven out to sea. After many days of anxious watching for her return, it was concluded that she had foundered; and the small party of seamen who happened to be ashore, were filled with horror at the prospect of passing

the remainder of their lives on this solitary island. It was a terrible blow to all, but to none more than to the gallant Anson, who thus saw suddenly blighted all those visions of honour and fame in his native land which had induced him to encounter such perils. But his spirit never quailed; he cheered his men, and encouraged them to make an effort to obtain their deliverance by lengthening and fitting out a small native boat, which he had seized on approaching Tinian, and in which he now purposed to voyage to China with his handful of survivors. Suddenly one day, as he was himself working with an axe, a sail was sighted, which proved to be none other than the long-lost *Centurion*. For nineteen days she had been buffeted about by the winds and waves; but the crew, after great exertions, had managed to weather the storm, and succeeded in bringing her back to her anchorage. Anson's biographers describe the rapturous joy with which the poor fellows hailed the return of their countrymen and of the bark which was to bear them back to friends and fortune; and relate that, for the first time during all the trials and vicissitudes that had befallen him, the gallant commodore could not restrain his emotions of thankfulness and joy at this unlooked-for deliverance.

The *Centurion* now sailed for Macao, where she arrived in November, 1742. Though a Portuguese settlement, the Governor of Macao was in some degree subject to the Chinese viceroy of Canton, and the Chinese authorities, with their usual jealousy of foreigners, declined at first to allow the ship to lay in the necessary provisions, until Anson threatened to bombard the place, and even hinted that his men, if deprived of more legitimate fare, might take to cannibalism, and devour some of the choicest of the subjects of the "Brother to the Sun." Leave was accordingly given to the redoubtable Englishman to purchase what he liked; and here the ship remained until the end of April, 1743, when Anson set sail, intending to waylay the famous Acapulco galleon. It was the last day of May when the *Centurion* reached the chosen cruising-ground, and her commander had not very long to wait. At this time the crew of the British ship mustered only 201 souls, including men and boys; even of this total many were enfeebled by long illness, and the highest calculation did not place the able seamen at above 45. Yet this

handful of men, with true British pluck and constancy, entertained no doubt as to the result of an encounter with their huge adversary, were they so fortunate as to cross her path.

On the 20th of June, the long-expected ship was sighted, bearing down straight upon them. She bore the high-sounding name of *Nuestra Señora del Caba Donga*, was armed with 42 heavy guns and 28 smaller pieces called pateraroes, and had a crew of 550 men. She carried treasure to the amount of a million and a half of dollars, and so much importance was attached to her safety, that she flew the flag of an admiral, Don Gérinomo Montero.

The Spaniards were no less eager for the fight than were their English antagonists, and doubtless were equally confident of a favourable result. Anson reserved his fire until his huge antagonist came within pistol-shot, when he opened upon her with great effect. The Spaniards fought with the ardour of their race, but their gunnery was not equal to that of the highly-disciplined and well-trained Englishmen, and, after a battle which lasted an hour and a half, Don Gérinomo Montero hauled down his flag, and Anson found himself in possession of the prize for which he had sailed half round the globe, and had encountered dangers and losses that would have disheartened almost any man. In making this capture his crew of effectives was still farther lessened by the loss of 33 men, while the Spanish casualties were no less than 58 killed and 83 wounded.

But the victory was scarcely assured, says a writer, when Anson was informed of the imminence of the most appalling danger which can befall a sailor—the *Centurion* was on fire, and the flames were spreading near the magazine. Without showing the slightest sign of fear, or losing his presence of mind at this critical juncture, the commodore at once repaired to the scene of danger, and, by the promptitude of his measures, extinguished the conflagration.

His greatest difficulty now lay in the safe custody and feeding of his prisoners, who nearly trebled his own crew in number. He accordingly returned to Canton, landed them, and sold his prize. The Chinese authorities received him with great distinction. The viceroy granted him an audience, at which all the chief mandarins attended, and

remitted the dues usually paid by vessels visiting the port, though he lost nothing thereby, for Anson had no intention of satisfying any such demand had it been made.

In December, 1743, the gallant commodore set sail for England, where he arrived after a voyage of six months.

The remainder of his squadron were not equally fortunate. We have seen that the *Gloucester* and *Trial* were broken up, and the crews incorporated with his own men. The *Severn* and *Pearl*, after encountering many dangers, and nearly falling into the hands of a Spanish squadron, returned to England, having lost the greater part of their crews from sickness. The *Wager* met with a still more disastrous fate. Irrespective of the tragic interest attaching to her loss, the history of the sufferings of her crew has acquired a world-wide celebrity, from the fact that an ancestor of the immortal Byron was an officer on board her; and the incidents which befel him and his companions in misfortune having been faithfully narrated by the young lieutenant, formed the groundwork for one of the most striking descriptions that proceeded from the pen of his gifted descendant, the poet.

In brief, the *Wager*, like the rest of the squadron, was separated from the *Centurion* by the gale which fell upon them on entering the Pacific. Her captain was a bad-tempered impracticable sort of man, whom his crew detested, and would have deposed from his command had they dared. The ship was driven by the hurricane upon a desert island and went to pieces, leaving the crew with little food and almost without clothes and shelter; for many months the wretched seamen of the *Wager* endured the extremity of hardship. At length a party of 30 of the strongest of the survivors, driven to despair by the captain's brutal temper, mutinied; and, taking the long-boat, with most of the provisions, sailed away, and eventually reached Brazil in safety. With rare loyalty, Lieutenant Byron remained by his commander, and at length, after terrible sufferings and many strange adventures, which read more like a romance than a sober reality, he, with the captain and two midshipmen, the only survivors of the ill-fated ship's crew (with the exception of the deserters), was conducted by some natives to the Spanish town of Castro.

For a period of two years they were transported from place to place, generally meeting with kind treatment, and were sent to Brest in a French ship that had put into Valparaiso, their ultimate destination being Spain. On their arrival in Europe, the Spanish government released them; and, having obtained a passage in a Dutch vessel, they landed in their native country in November, 1745, more than five years after their departure, and were regarded by their friends and countrymen almost as men who had been restored from the dead.

CHAPTER VII.

1743-1759.

Sir Challoner Ogle in the West Indies, 1743—Admiral Matthews's Action with the French and Spanish Fleets off Toulon, 11th to 13th February, 1744—Loss of the *Victory*, with Admiral Balchen and 1,000 men—Action between the *Lion* and *Elizabeth*—Successes in the East Indies and on the coast of North America—The Victories gained off Cape Finisterre by Vice-Admiral Anson, on the 3rd of May, and by Rear-Admiral Hawke, on the 14th of August, 1747—Operations in the East and West Indies—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748—Admiral Byng's Action off Minorca, 20th May, 1756—His Condemnation by Court-Martial, and Execution—The Naval Operations in India under Admiral Watson: the Capture of Gheriah, of Calcutta, and of Chandernagore. The Seamen of the Fleet at the Battle of Plassey—Admiral Pocock's Action with Comte d'Aché, on the 10th of September, 1759.

THE war still continued with Spain, but not with any remarkable results as regards Europe. In the West Indies Sir Challoner Ogle, who had succeeded Admiral Vernon, determining to strike a blow against the Spanish settlements, sent Commodore Knowles, with a squadron of nine ships, to attack the forts on the Venezuelan coast. The squadron commenced the bombardment of La Guayra at noon of the 18th February, 1743, but, though they inflicted considerable damage on the town, were unable to silence the batteries, as, owing to the shallowness of the water, the ships could not approach within a mile of them. In addition to this great disadvantage, a heavy swell set into the roadstead, rendering it difficult to take good aim, while the batteries, which were powerfully armed and admirably worked by the Spanish gunners, committed great execution. When night came on the commodore discontinued the action, and proceeded to Curaçoa with his ships, which had suffered severely in hull and rigging. The loss in this disaster was very severe. The commodore's ship, the *Suffolk*, received 97 shot in her hull, lost her mizen and maintopsail yards, and was repeatedly set on fire by the

red-hot shot the enemy fired. She also had 30 men killed, and 80 wounded. The *Burford* suffered equally in spars and hull, and, besides her captain, who was mortally wounded, her dead numbered 25 men, and wounded 50. The total casualties of the squadron reached 97 killed, and 308 wounded. From thence, after refitting, Commodore Knowles, who was reinforced by some Dutch volunteers, proceeded to Porto Cavallo, but was equally unsuccessful, and had to retire with the loss of 200 men.

On the 21st March, 1744, France, which had exhibited great hostility towards this country, issued a declaration of war, and, placing the command of her armies under the great Marshal Saxe, the first soldier of the age, made great preparations for the invasion of England. The battle of Dettingen, fought in 1743, before war was declared, is a curious instance of the manner in which nations, ostensibly at peace with one another, were wont in those days to act as if engaged in open hostilities; but the reader will not have forgotten that our sailors under Drake and Blake set the example by the barefaced way in which, in the former instance, they "singed the King of Spain's beard," and in the latter bombarded forts, or generally conducted themselves as if the world were made for British seamen. The attempt to invade England ended in failure. The French admiral, De Roquefeuille, put to sea from Brest with 23 ships, while the army, with which was Charles Edward, the young Pretender, was embarked at Dunkirk, on board a vast number of transports, ready to join the admiral as soon as he should appear before that harbour. But the vigilance of the British caused the entire scheme to miscarry. As De Roquefeuille lay off Dungeness, he was suddenly surprised by the veteran Sir John Norris, who commanded the Channel fleet, consisting of 25 sail of the line and 18 frigates; and, had not a storm suddenly come on, many of his ships must have been captured. As it was, the French fleet was scattered; many of the finest vessels composing it were wrecked or foundered, causing a great loss of life. So discouraged was the French king, that the expedition to these shores was countermanded, and Marshal Saxe returned to Paris with his army.

When war began, we had in the Mediterranean a powerful

fleet under the orders of an able officer, Vice-Admiral Matthews, who had, as his second in command, Rear-Admiral Lestock, also an experienced seaman. Unfortunately for the good of the service, the relations of these officers were incompatible with the primary condition of success in all operations—perfect concord and unanimity. A quarrel of long standing existed between them, and no sooner were they thrown together than the vice-admiral accused his subordinate of want of respect towards him, while the rear-admiral retaliated with great asperity, and in somewhat insubordinate language.

In the second week in February, 1744, the French admiral, De Court, having effected a junction with the Spanish fleet which Lestock had been blockading at Toulon, proceeded to sea in search of the British fleet with 28 sail of the line and four frigates. The enemy were scarcely clear of Toulon when Admiral Matthews came up with him, having under his command a formidable fleet of 29 sail of the line and 15 frigates. The action that ensued is one of the most discreditable in our annals—a result wholly due to the want of concert of the two admirals, who, though both personally brave, wrangled in presence of the enemy, totally indifferent to the honour or interest of their country. After two days spent in manœuvring, Admiral Matthews made the signal for action on the 11th February. At this time the British fleet was much scattered, Lestock's division being five miles in the rear; but Admiral Matthews, nothing doubting that he would come to his support, commenced the action, about one o'clock, by engaging the *Royal Philip*, of 114 guns, the huge flag-ship of the Spanish admiral Navarro. Matthew's ship, the *Namur*, 90, was well supported by the *Marlborough*, 90, the *Berwick*, 70, under the command of Captain Edward Hawke (afterwards created a peer for his services), and the *Barfleur*, 90, flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Rowley. The wind being light, the ships could with difficulty keep clear of each other, and the action was fought at close quarters. The *Namur*, aided by the *Marlborough*, soon reduced the Spanish admiral's ship to a wreck; but many of the enemy's ships coming up, the *Marlborough* lost her mainmast and mizenmast, her captain (Cornwall by name) was killed by a round shot which

carried off both his legs, and the gallant officer's nephew, who then assumed command, also lost his right arm, while 160 men were killed or wounded. Notwithstanding that only 15 English ships fired a shot, we lost none of our vessels, while Captain Hawke captured the *Poder*, of 60 guns, which was destroyed on the succeeding day, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

On the morning of the 12th of February, the combined fleets were standing to the south-west, as if making for the Straits, and Matthews gave the signal for action. Still Lestock hung back with his squadron, and nothing was done. On the following day the rear-admiral, now seemingly eager to engage, closed with the enemy, and was on the point of engaging with his fresh ships, when Admiral Matthews signalled him to discontinue the chase.

The result of this discreditable transaction was a long series of courts-martial. The commander-in-chief brought charges against the rear-admiral for contumacy and cowardice; and Lestock recriminated by imputing the failure to the order given on the 13th to desist from the chase. In those days political corruption was rampant, and its existence at the War Office and Admiralty was testified by an utter disregard of the requirements of justice as regarded a political opponent, no less than by jobbery and favouritism to the friends of the party in power. Matthews usually voted with the Opposition in the House of Commons, of which he was a member: so the House, under dictation from the Admiralty, examined him, Lestock, and other officers, and ultimately presented an address to the King requesting a court-martial to inquire into their conduct. Eleven captains and four lieutenants were successively tried, and of the number, some were convicted but pardoned, others were cashiered, and but few were acquitted. Two years after the battle Lestock was tried, and although his disobedience in abstaining from taking any part in the action was proved (notwithstanding the signal to engage of his superior officer), he was unanimously acquitted. Finally, Matthews was prosecuted, the rear-admiral being his accuser, and though he could point to his having engaged the entire fleet of the enemy with only a few ships, he was sentenced to be cashiered, after a trial which lasted four months, during

which, Walpole affirms, "whenever the Admiralty perceived any of the court-martial inclined to favour Matthews, they were constantly changed."

Lestock was employed again immediately after the conclusion of the trial; but the expedition, the land portion of which was commanded by General St. Clair, effected nothing. Port l'Orient, on the coast of Brittany, which was the point attacked, successfully repelled the combined forces, which returned to England in October, 1746, having only taken or destroyed one or two insignificant forts.

Two years before this our navy sustained a disaster more terrible than any that had befallen it since the catastrophe of a similar nature which overwhelmed Sir Cloudesley Shovel and his gallant crew. As Admiral Balchen was returning with a squadron from the Tagus, where he had raised the blockade instituted by a French fleet under Rochambeau, he encountered a terrific storm. Some of his ships lost their masts; some could only save themselves by throwing overboard their guns, and others managed with the greatest difficulty to keep themselves afloat till they reached Plymouth. Admiral Balchen's flag-ship, the *Victory*, of 110 guns, regarded as the noblest specimen of naval architecture in the world, was never seen again; but from the circumstance that signal-guns of distress were heard by the inhabitants of Alderney above the din of the storm on that fearful night, it is supposed that she struck on the Caskets, off that island. When morning dawned not a plank of her was to be seen, and she and the distinguished admiral who commanded her, and her gallant crew of above 1,000 men, all perished in the waters.

During the month of May, 1744, a 70-gun ship, the *Northumberland*, was captured by two French ships, each of her own weight of metal, after a severe action, in which her brave commander, Captain Watson, was wounded.

The following year, 1745, is memorable in English history for the abortive attempt made by Prince Charles Edward to regain the crown his ancestors had forfeited by their misconduct. The young Pretender embarked on board a small frigate, *La Doutelle*, and convoyed by the *Elizabeth*, of 64 guns, made sail for the coast of Scotland.

On the 9th July, two days after leaving the French coast,

the Prince fell in with the *Lion*, of 58 guns, commanded by Captain Brett, who had been Anson's first lieutenant in his memorable voyage round the world. A sanguinary battle ensued, during which Captain Brett suffered *La Doutelle* to escape, not being aware of the distinguished passenger she had on board her.

After a chase of some hours, the *Lion*, having at 5 p.m. got within pistol-shot of the *Elizabeth*, opened fire upon her. A desperate battle ensued; and, after five hours' conflict, during which the enemy's ship suffered severely in her hull, several of her ports being knocked into one, she made sail for Belleisle, which she reached in safety. The *Lion* was so much cut up in her rigging and spars, having lost her mizen-mast and maintopsail and foretopsail yards, that she was unable to give chase. The losses on both sides were unusually heavy. The *Lion* had 55 men killed and 107 wounded, among whom were Captain Brett, all the lieutenants, and the master; and the loss on board the *Elizabeth* was afterwards learned to have been 64 killed and 140 wounded.

During the year 1745 several actions took place between single ships in the Mediterranean, the North American station, the West Indies, and the Channel, in which our vessels were almost uniformly successful; indeed, success in such combats was looked upon as a matter of course, and failure, even against superior force, was generally punished by sentence of court-martial. In one such instance the *Anglesea*, a 40-gun ship, encountered a French vessel of 50 guns and 500 men; and after a most gallant action, in which the captain and first lieutenant were killed, the second lieutenant, Mr. Baker Phillips surrendered the ship, an offence for which he was tried and sentenced to be shot—an unjust decree which was carried out on board the *Princess Royal*, at Spithead.

On the 25th January, 1746, took place the first naval action fought in the East Indies between ourselves and the French, our rivals for dominion in that part of the world. Commodore Barnet, with the *Deptford*, 60, and the *Preston*, 50, under the command of Lord Northesk, engaged off the eastern coast of Sumatra, and captured, five French ships, each carrying 30 guns, and laden with valuable cargoes.

The commodore then proceeded to the relief of Madras, threatened by Admiral Labourdonnais, but unhappily died during the winter of this year, before he had had an opportunity of measuring swords with his distinguished adversary. Barnet was succeeded by Captain Peyton, who, after a partial action with the French admiral, disgraced himself by fleeing to Trincomalee. Madras, being thus left almost defenceless, surrendered to the French officer. Fortunately, the jealousy existing between Labourdonnais and the able governor of Pondicherry, General Dupleix, stood us in good stead, and soon after Commodore Griffin's arrival from England with a well-appointed squadron, which raised our force to 11 ships, Dupleix found himself blockaded in Pondicherry.

Not more fortunate were the French in their struggle for supremacy in America. Commodore Warren, in 1745, captured Louisburg and the whole island of Cape Breton, with a small squadron, and in the following year a fleet sent out under the command of the Duke D'Anville failed to dispossess us of that dependency. The duke died of apoplexy, and his successor, in despair at his inability to achieve anything, committed suicide.

The year 1747 is memorable for more than one brilliant general action. The French government, determined to retrieve their ill-fortune in the two continents in which they had striven with us for mastery, fitted out two powerful expeditions, one to relieve Cape Breton, under Admiral de la Jonquière, and the second to render aid to Dupleix, under M. de St. George. For greater security, these squadrons were directed to keep together as long as possible. Our ministry, on the other hand, equally resolved to nip these expeditions in the bud, prepared a fleet, which they placed under the orders of Vice-Admiral Anson; who, since his return from his adventurous voyage round the world, had been employed at the Admiralty, and gave him as his second in command Rear-Admiral Warren, an able and skilful officer. The fleet consisted of the *Prince George*, 90, flag-ship of Admiral Anson; the *Devonshire*, 66, carrying the flag of the rear-admiral; one ship of 74 guns, three of 64, six of 60, two 50-gun ships, and the *Ambuscade*, of 40 guns, which had been captured in the previous year from

the French, and bought in for the navy. The East India Company despatched with this fleet four armed ships, two of which carried 30 and two 20 guns.

Vice-Admiral Anson sailed from Plymouth on the 9th April, and cruised off Cape Finisterre until the 3rd May, when the French fleet, consisting of 38 men-of-war and armed merchantmen, was sighted. Nine of their largest ships shortened sail and formed a line of battle, while the remainder, crowding all canvas, sailed to the westward, and were subsequently joined in their flight by the others. The British admiral made the signal to chase, and soon overtook the latter. Anson's old ship, the *Centurion*, was the first to commence the action, by attacking the rearmost French ship, and with such spirit that two of her consorts dropped astern to support her. Three of our ships now came up, and a general action ensued between them and five of the enemy. At length the *Centurion*, being almost disabled, fell out of the line of battle; but Captain Denis having quickly repaired his damages, again joined in the fight. Soon some more of our ships arrived, including Admiral Warren's, and eventually, at half-past six, after the engagement had lasted two hours and a half, six French sail of the line and four armed merchantmen were compelled to strike their colours, among the prisoners being both the admirals. Our loss in killed and wounded numbered 520 men.

For this victory Vice-Admiral Anson was created a peer, and received the public thanks of his Majesty George II. Rear-Admiral Warren, to whom the success was no less due, was honoured with the order of the Bath.

On the 20th June the French again sustained severe loss off Cape Ortegal, when Commodore Fox, who had been intrusted with the command of six large ships, fell in with the homeward-bound West Indian fleet of 170 sail, under convoy of four ships of war. The commodore captured 48 of the merchantmen, the remainder with the men-of-war managing to effect their escape.

Soon after this Rear-Admiral Hawke was intrusted with the command of a fleet, and sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of August, with the object of attempting the destruction of a large number of merchantmen assembling in Basque Roads, under the protection of a strong squadron



Anson's Victory off Cape Finisterre.—p. 108

of ships of war. Hawke's fleet consisted of 14 vessels, of which the largest were his flag-ship, the *Devonshire*, of 66 guns, and the *Edinburgh*, 70. The French squadron of 9 line-of-battle ships and a great many frigates and smaller vessels, under the command of M. de l'Etendeur, sailed from Ile d'Aix on the 6th August in charge of the convoy, and early in the morning of the 14th, when off Cape Finisterre, the two squadrons came in sight of each other. Admiral Hawke immediately made all sail to close with the enemy, and at 10 a.m., having neared sufficiently to make out that they were heavy ships, he gave the signal for the fleet to form line of battle. M. de l'Etendeur, under the impression that the British ships formed a portion of his convoy, edged away towards them; but on perceiving his mistake drew up his ships in line of battle to bar the advance of Hawke's fleet, and ordered all the merchantmen and transports to proceed on their way under the charge of the *Content*, 64. It displayed great gallantry on the part of the French admiral thus to await the attack of a superior force, for though his ships were larger and carried more men and guns than ours, yet the disproportion of 8 to 14 was so great that he could have had but little hope of success. Admiral Hawke, on discovering that the enemy's design was to enable the convoy to escape to windward, hauled down the signal to engage and substituted the orders for a general chase. The *Lion* and *Princess Louisa*, both of 60 guns, took the lead in the pursuit, and at a quarter of an hour before noon the former opened fire upon the enemy; but these two ships, in their eagerness to engage the French van, ran the gauntlet of the fire of the whole squadron. Other ships coming up, the action soon became general. The *Severn*, 56, the smallest of the enemy's vessels, was the first to surrender to the *Devonshire*, bearing the admiral's flag; Hawke left her to be taken possession of by the frigates, with the intention of engaging the *Tonnant*, 80, on board of which was M. de l'Etendeur, who, with the *Intrépide*, 74, had almost overpowered the *Eagle*, 60, Captain George Bridges Rodney, and the *Edinburgh*, 70, Captain Thomas Coles. As the *Devonshire* ranged up to their assistance, the *Eagle*, which had become unmanageable owing to her wheel having been shot away, fell on board

her, thus rendering both ships incapable of continuing the action. At this juncture the breechings of the lower-deck guns of the *Devonshire* were carried away, and the *Tonnant*, taking advantage of the confusion and powerlessness of her adversary, poured a hot fire into her. The British admiral's position became very critical, when the *Tilbury*, 60, Captain Harland, opportunely arrived to his assistance, and, sailing in between the two ships, received the Frenchman's fire.

Having replaced the breechings of his guns by new ones (in action spare breechings are always kept handy), Hawke recommenced the battle, and laid himself alongside the *Trident*, 64, and *Terrible*, 74, capturing them in succession. The *Neptune*, 70, struck to the *Yarmouth*, 64, Captain Saunders, after a gallant fight, in which she lost her captain and 200 men killed and wounded, and was dismasted. The *Monarque*, 74, and *Fougueux*, 64, struck at 5 p.m., when the entire squadron had surrendered, with the exception of the *Tonnant* and *Intrépide*, who, finding that all was lost, endeavoured to effect their escape. Captain Saunders, of the *Yarmouth*, perceiving their intention, hailed the *Eagle* and *Nottingham* to join him in the pursuit. The three ships gave chase, but the *Nottingham*, as the swiftest, was the only one to close, and she carried on a running fight until her commander, Captain Saumarez, fell mortally wounded, when the commanding officer relinquished the chase. Favoured by the night, the two line-of-battle ships escaped, as did also the entire convoy. Admiral Hawke now returned to England with his prizes.

Our loss in this brilliant action amounted to 154 killed, including Captain Saumarez, and 558 wounded—no inconsiderable number out of a total of 5,895 men engaged. Besides losing six ships, some of which were totally dismasted, the French casualties amounted to above 800; but M. de l'Etendeur covered himself with glory by the gallantry of his defence against a superior squadron.

On their return to port on the 31st October, Captain Fox, of the *Kent*, the same officer who early in the summer had so greatly distinguished himself for his attack upon the West Indian fleet, was brought to a court-martial for disobeying one of Hawke's signals, though it was given in evidence that the neglect was due to a misunderstanding,

and was sentenced to be dismissed from his ship. The Admiralty must have been hard masters to please in those days; for this harsh sentence was passed on an officer who had engaged and captured, single-handed, the *Fougueux*, a ship of equal force with his own.

Allen tells an amusing anecdote connected with this action. In his official letter Admiral Hawke made use of the following expression:—"As the enemy's ships were large, except the *Severn*, they took a deal of drubbing." The despatch was being read to King George II., when on arriving at this part, his Majesty, from his imperfect knowledge of the English language, not understanding the term "drubbing," requested Lord Chesterfield, who was reading the letter, to explain it to him. At this moment the Duke of Bedford entered the closet, and his grace, having a short time previously been engaged in a fracas on the racecourse at Lichfield, Lord Chesterfield, with his accustomed wit, referred his Majesty to the duke for an explanation; upon which the king laughed heartily, and expressed himself perfectly cognizant of the meaning of the term.

In this year, 1747, British cruisers and privateers were very successful in their actions with French ships of war. One of the most brilliant of these combats—the number of which, no less than the devotion displayed by our seamen, have added undying lustre to our navy—was an engagement between the *Nottingham* and a French 74, the *Magnanime*, which struck, after losing 150 men killed and wounded. In the West Indies a battle was fought between Rear-Admiral Knowles and a Spanish squadron under Admiral Reggio. Knowles having been unsuccessful in an attack upon Santiago de Cuba, made himself master of Port Louis, in Hispaniola; and soon after receiving information of the presence of a Spanish squadron near the Gulf of Florida, went in search of them. On the 1st October the rival fleets came in sight of each other, half-way between the Tortugas and the Havannah, and the British admiral, being to leeward, formed his line and awaited the attack. Knowles had under his orders one ship of 80 guns, one of 70, four of 60, and one 50-gun frigate, with 2,900 men. Admiral Reggio had also seven ships, and though they were larger, and had upwards of 4,000 men on board, a more skilful seaman than

Knowles—a braver man there could not well be—would have given a good account of them.

After a well-contested action which lasted the whole day, the Spanish squadron made sail away, leaving in our hands one ship, the *Conquestadore*, and having experienced a loss of 86 men and three of their captains killed, and the vice-admiral, 14 officers, and 197 men wounded. On board the British squadron 59 were killed, and 120 wounded. On the following day the *Africa*, having been dismasted, shortly after Admiral Knowles abandoned the chase, was captured off Havannah. For his remissness in not continuing the pursuit with more energy, the admiral was brought to a court-martial, and was reprimanded.

In the East Indies Admiral Boscawen, who had been sent out with some ships and a strong body of troops with orders to supersede Griffin, failed in an attempt upon the Mauritius, and was not more fortunate in his endeavours to capture Pondicherry, which was defended with great resolution and resource by Dupleix. Boscawen took the command of the land-forces conducting the siege; but, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of himself and his men, was compelled on the 30th September, 1748, to abandon all further operations. In this siege young Clive, the future hero of Plassey, and the real founder of our Indian empire, greatly distinguished himself.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed this year, concluded for the present all further hostile undertakings. Though peace nominally existed between ourselves and the French, the warlike preparations openly carried on by the latter clearly indicated the precarious nature of what was only an armed truce; and accordingly in 1755, our government fitted out an expedition of which the naval portion consisted of 11 ships of war under Admiral Boscawen, to which a reinforcement of six more under Admiral Holbourne, was shortly added. Boscawen's instructions were to protect the British possessions in America and attack the French squadrons wherever he found them. No man was better fitted than he to carry out such orders, and the war that was declared next year—one of the most glorious ever waged by this country,—resulted in placing England at the summit of her renown. The British admiral quitted England on the

27th April, 1755, and soon after his arrival off Cape Race, descried on the 6th of June the advanced squadron of Admiral Bois de la Mothe, who had been despatched to North America with 16 sail. After a chase which lasted until the morning of the 9th, two of our ships, the *Dunkirk*, 60, commanded by Captain Howe, an officer who subsequently earned great renown, and the *Defence*, 60, Captain Andrews, found themselves several miles from the main body of their fleet, and close to two French ships, the *Alcide*, and the *Lys*, both carrying 64 guns.

Captain Howe, as senior officer, hailed the *Alcide*, and summoned her to shorten sail. Her captain, M. Hocquart, demurred compliance to this haughty summons, inquiring if there was peace or war between their countries. Howe replied that he must accompany him to the British admiral for an answer, at the same time warning him to be prepared for war. While they were still speaking the admiral signalled the British officers to attack, upon which Howe opened a furious cannonade, which, on the approach of a second ship, caused the *Alcide* to strike her colours. The *Lys* was also captured.

On the 17th May, 1756, war was formally declared by the British ministry against the French nation, but the year passed away without any naval event of importance in North American waters. Far different was it nearer home, for 1756 is memorable for the indecisive action fought off Minorca by Admiral Byng, which resulted in his trial by court-martial and the unjust sentence by which he was deprived of his life.

In February, 1756, the British Government having received certain information of vast preparations being in progress at Toulon, with the object of launching an expedition for the conquest of Minorca, at length yielded to the popular clamour, and gave orders for the fitting out of a fleet to afford protection to that island. Instead of despatching a powerful force, they only prepared 10 ships of the line, and these were so badly equipped and insufficiently manned that it seemed like inviting failure to send them for the purpose indicated. Byng, who was nominated to the command, in vain urged upon the Admiralty that the ships' crews were several hundred men below their complement

and remonstrated against the removal of the marines to make way for soldiers who were to be landed at Gibraltar.

The fleet sailed on the 6th April, and arrived at Gibraltar on the 2nd May, when the admiral's discontent was increased by finding that most of the stores of which he was in great need could not be supplied to him, and that the governor refused to give him the regiment he was authorized to embark to act as marines. The admiral sailed on the 8th May from Gibraltar, and arrived in sight of Minorca on the 19th. At this time a French army of 16,000 men, under the Duke de Richelieu, was laying siege to Port Mahon, which was defended by General Blakeney and 3,000 troops, while M. de Galissonnière was off the town with twelve sail of the line and five frigates. The fleets were well matched as to the ships, the French having only 24 more guns, but our inferiority in men was great; for, while our combined crews numbered under 7,000, the enemy exceeded them by above 2,600 men; still, doubtless, a Benbow or Blake would have made light of such an inequality.

At daybreak on the 20th May the *Defiance* captured a small vessel having on board a reinforcement of 300 men for the French ships; but it was not till 2 p.m. that the two fleets were sufficiently near each other for Byng, whose ships were formed in two lines, to signal his captains to bear away two points and engage. Rear-Admiral West, the second in command, who led the van, either misinterpreting the order, or deeming it simply a signal to bear down upon the enemy and bring them to action, bore up seven points—that is, brought the wind right aft—and was soon hotly engaged with the van and centre of the enemy. Byng shortly afterwards bore up with his division to the aid of the rear-admiral. Unfortunately, one of West's squadron had her foretopmast shot away, which, most unaccountably, threw the line out so greatly that the *Revenge*, the *Princess Louisa*, the *Trident*, and the *Ramilies*, the admiral's flag-ship, were brought up and did not pass her at all. Thus the flag-ship, with the *Revenge*, *Trident*, *Culloden*, nd *Kingston*, were unable to participate in the action, and ad not the French admiral shown great pusillanimity in retreating, it is very possible that Admiral West's squadron, being unsupported, might have been captured.

Byng lay to during the night, and on the following morning convened a council of war, which decided that, even if the French fleet were away, the admiral would be unable to relieve Minorca; that any accident to the fleet would endanger the safety of Gibraltar; and that his duty required him to return thither. The loss in this partial engagement was confined entirely to West's division, and numbered 38 killed, including Captain Andrews, the gallant commander of the *Defiance*, and Captain Noel, of the *Princess Louisa*, and 155 men wounded. Minorca, though thus abandoned to its fate, held out for four weeks, and, General Blakeney, being offered honourable terms, surrendered on the 29th June.

Byng arrived at Gibraltar on the 19th June, when he found a reinforcement of five ships of the line, under Commodore Brodrick, waiting his return. His intention now was to sail once more to the relief of Minorca, but on the 3rd July Admirals Hawke and Saunders arrived in the bay, with orders to supersede both himself and West, who were required to return to England.

We will not enter here into a detailed account of Byng's trial and condemnation to death, which has been stigmatized, and with justice, as a judicial murder. That his sentence was determined on beforehand by king, ministers, and, scarcely in a less degree, by the people, who burnt him in effigy in the streets, and were with difficulty prevented from destroying his country seat in Hertfordshire, there can be little reason to doubt. As for the ministers, they had an object in providing a scapegoat who was to suffer for their sins of omission and commission in sending to sea a squadron inefficiently manned and ill found. Not only were the despatches of the unfortunate admiral relating to the battle and his reason for returning to Gibraltar garbled, but the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, actually had the baseness to reply to a deputation from the Common Council, demanding his impeachment: "He should be tried directly; he should be hanged immediately." As to the king and the Duke of Cumberland, they were, if possible, even more determined that Byng should expiate his offence with his life; and notwithstanding that the new ministers, Pitt, the Secretary of State, and Lord Temple, the first lord of the

Admiralty, recommended his majesty to grant a pardon, the king remained obdurate, and refused to annul the sentence of death passed on him by the court-martial. The people, having calmed down during his trial, which took place in the winter, did the ill-fated admiral justice after his condemnation, and hoped to the last that he would be pardoned.

Byng throughout this trying time of disgrace and uncertainty, bore himself with the manly fortitude of a Christian gentleman and officer, and expressed himself satisfied when he was informed that his character for courage, the virtue above all others most highly prized by the service, had not been impeached. On the 14th March, 1756, he was shot at Portsmouth on the quarter-deck of the *Monarch*. When about to suffer, he delivered a paper to the marshal of the Admiralty, in which he claimed credit for "a faithful discharge of his duty to the best of his judgment;" spoke of himself as "a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of the people from their proper objects," and expressed a confident persuasion that "justice would be done to his reputation hereafter." And his countrymen and posterity have done justice to his reputation, and recognized the fact that the crime for which he suffered was an *error of judgment*. Voltaire cynically said at the time that the king put one of his admirals to death "pour encourager les autres."

There were no naval events of great importance in the year 1757—that is in Europe; for though Hawke undertook an expedition against Rochelle, the incompetence of his coadjutor in command of the land forces, Sir John Mordaunt, caused it to end in utter failure. In the West Indies, Captain Forest, with three 60-gun ships, engaged a superior squadron of seven French men-of-war, and put them to flight with severe loss. In this action, fought on the 21st October, we first hear of Captain Suckling, the immortal Nelson's uncle, and under whose auspices the hero commenced a naval career, which terminated so gloriously at Trafalgar, exactly forty-eight years after the date of this action. Many brilliant engagements between single ships were fought, chiefly in the Channel; and among the captains who distinguished themselves by their courage and skill were Alexander Hood, who subsequently

attained the highest distinction, Gilchrist, John Elliot, Taylor, and Lochart.

The most hardly-contested of these duels was that fought early in the succeeding year between the *Monmouth*, 64, commanded by Captain Arthur Gardiner, Byng's flag-captain at Minorca, and the *Foudroyant*, 84. After a desperate action, which lasted from 8 p.m. until half an hour after midnight, during which the British ship lost her mizen-mast, and the Frenchman her main and mizenmasts, the latter surrendered. The slaughter on both sides was very heavy, the *Monmouth* losing 27 men killed, and 79 wounded, among the former being the captain, who had been heard to say that, if he ever encountered the *Foudroyant*, which bore the flag of M. de Galissonnière, the French admiral's ship in the partial action off Port Mahon, he would attack her at all hazards, even though he should perish by it. Nobly he now redeemed his word! The *Foudroyant*, a ship of vastly superior size and weight of metal, her guns throwing 1,136 lb. of shot to 540 lb., the broadside of her antagonist, lost no less than 190 killed and wounded.

Before treating of Hawke's and Boscawen's great victories in European waters, we will give a short summary of the actions fought in the East Indies, by which our navy assisted in founding the glorious Anglo-Indian empire, of which 100 years later Queen Victoria assumed the direct control as Empress of Hindostan. Toolajee Angria, the noted Mahratta chief, had two strongholds on the Malabar coast, Severndroog and Viziadroog (better known by its Mogul name of Gheriah), from whence his ships sallied out and became the dread of all trading vessels. On the 3rd of April, 1755, Commodore (afterwards Sir William) James, a gallant and skilful seaman of the service now historically known—for it has ceased to exist—as the Indian Navy, attacked Severndroog with a squadron consisting of his own ship, the *Protector*, 44, and three smaller vessels. Standing within 50 yards of the great fort mounting 50 guns, he silenced it and two smaller forts, which were demolished.

Early in the following year (1756), Admirals Watson and Pocock, with three ships of the line and three frigates,

and Commodore James, with four frigates and five bomb-vessels, accompanied by Colonel Clive, having under his orders 800 European soldiers and 1,000 Sepoys, sailed from Bombay, and arriving off Gheriah, opened fire on the town on the 12th of February, Commodore James leading the fleet. For two days the ships rained shot and shell on Angria's forts and batteries, mounting 250 guns, and at length succeeded in reducing them to silence. That portion of the squadron which attacked Angria's piratical fleet was equally successful; one of his vessels was set on fire by a shell, and, drifting among her consorts which were lashed together, communicated the flames to them, and to the buildings on shore, so that the whole of the pirate chief's dockyard and arsenal were also completely destroyed. Clive, in order to anticipate the action of our allies, the Mahrattas, marched in and occupied the town. Angria himself escaped, but his family were captured, with all his warlike stores, and the treasure he had amassed during depredations extending over many years.* But more important conquests were yet in store for Clive and Watson, who, in the race they ran for glory, were every way worthy to be competitors.

Embarking Clive's small force, Admiral Watson sailed on the 16th of October, 1756, for Calcutta, which had been captured by the Nabob Suraja Dowlah, who had committed atrocities on our countrymen for which his name will be handed down, in conjunction with that of Nana Sahib, for the execration of posterity. With rare resolution and ability the heavy ships were worked up the Hooghly, towards Calcutta, a seaman of the name of Strachan performing on the way an amusing and half-involuntary feat, eminently characteristic of the British sailor, which is chronicled by Yonge in his interesting "History of the British Navy."

The fleet having anchored near the first fort, Budge-Budge, the boats landed Clive and his men, and preparations were being made to attack at daybreak, when in the middle of the night a shout was heard, and news came to the fleet that the British were in possession. And so it was: a single

* Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas."

seaman, named Strachan, half-drunk, had strolled under the walls, and clambered up to the top of a breach, which had been made by a short cannonade from Watson's ship on the preceding evening. Finding only a few natives sitting on the platform, he shouted out, "The place is mine!" and to make his words good, fired his pistol into the middle of them. The Indians resisted for a moment, but two or three of Strachan's messmates had followed him, and joined in the fray. The noise drew the attention of some of the soldiers who were not far off. Directed by the tumult to the spot, a score of them swarmed up the same breach, the garrison fled at the opposite gate, and Budge-Budge was ours, having been gained with the loss of one life only, that of Captain Campbell, who was accidentally shot by one of his own men.

The next morning, which had been fixed for the attack, there was nothing left to do but to inquire into the circumstances of our success. Watson, who was a strict disciplinarian, sent for Strachan, to hear his account of it. "To be sure, sir," said the unconscious hero, "it was I who took the fort, but I hope there was no harm in it."

The admiral was amused by the answer, followed as it was by the sailor's own account of the transaction, as far as he understood it, and could not fail to be pleased at the result of the exploit; but for the moment he thought it necessary to reprimand him for his drunkenness and absence from his ship. Strachan was sent forward after receiving an admonition, and was heard to express himself energetically to the effect that, "if he were flogged for taking this fort, he would never take another." We are told that he was not flogged, and that Admiral Watson would have gladly promoted him, but his craving for drink brought him into such frequent disgrace that it was impossible.

A week after this, on the 2nd January, 1757, the combined forces retook Calcutta, and then proceeding up the river, after encountering great obstacles owing to the ships frequently grounding on the shoals, captured Hooghly after a brief resistance. Watson now reinforced Clive's small force with 500 seamen; but soon after the Nabob, terrified by the audacity and success of the British, sued for and obtained peace.

Then followed an attack upon the strong French settlement at Chandernagore, which yielded to the genius of the naval and military chiefs. Watson proceeded up the river to the town, which is thirty miles higher up than Hooghly, on board the *Kent*, 70 guns, and Pocock, shifting his flag to the *Tiger*, 60, accompanied him. "It was," says Sir John Malcolm, in his Life of Clive, "a subject of wonder" how these admirals could work up the river in the face of the difficulties and dangers that beset every mile of their course, but, nevertheless, they surmounted them all, and anchoring close under the walls of Chandernagore, opened fire upon the works. These were armed with 120 heavy guns, besides mortars, and were well served by French artillerymen; but Watson, assisted by Clive from the land side, poured so destructive a fire upon them that in three hours the garrison surrendered. Thus the death-blow was dealt to the French power in India, and even the appreciative biographer of Clive allows that the chief credit of this brilliant result was due to Admiral Watson and his sailors. But it was not consummated without severe loss. The *Tiger* had 63 men killed and wounded, among the latter being Admiral Pocock, and the *Kent* lost 68, both vessels being also severely damaged in hull and rigging.

We were soon at war again with the Nabob, and within three months of the fall of the French stronghold of Chandernagore, was fought the decisive and glorious battle of Plassey. A brigade of sailors from the fleet participated in the dangers and glories of this action, which took place on the 23rd June, 1757. Soon after, Admiral Watson's death of fever robbed him of the rewards to which he was entitled, and which he would doubtless have received from the home government. Fortunately for British interests, his successor, Pocock, was a man imbued with the late admiral's self-sacrificing patriotism, and endowed with professional talents of a high order. He was destined soon to exhibit them; for the French ministry, determined on making a great effort to restore the ascendancy of their country in the East, despatched a fleet of 11 sail of the line and two frigates, under Comte d'Aché, having on board a well-appointed army of upwards of 3,000 men, commanded by Comte Lally.

The French admiral lost much time on his way out in visiting Rio, Mauritius, and the Isle of Bourbon, and did not arrive until nearly a year after he set sail from France, before which Pocock had received reinforcements which enabled him to meet him at sea, though still numerically far his inferior. An indecisive action was fought off Negapatam on the 28th April, 1758, and on the 10th September, in the following year, another battle took place, in which Pocock's fleet, carrying 560 guns, engaged the Comte d'Aché, whose ships had an armament of 820 guns. The result was again indecisive; but the French squadron bore up and quitted the scene of action, leaving the British in too disabled a state to follow them up. Our nine ships lost 184 men killed and 385 wounded, the casualties of their antagonists being estimated at 1,500.

Admiral Pocock returned to England after this hardly-contested battle, and was deservedly rewarded with the ribbon of the Bath.

In reviewing the events of the half-century following the signature of the Peace of Utrecht, it cannot, on the whole, be denied that it witnessed a decline in our glory upon the seas. When the news was spread in England that Admiral Holbourne, with 17 sail of the line and 5 frigates, had shrunk from an encounter with 18 French ships of the line and 6 frigates, justifying his timidity by the assertion that the enemy had "a greater weight of metal," there was an outburst of national indignation. Lord Chesterfield asserted that the admiral had coined "a new phrase, and one unknown to Blake." The great Pitt and the House of Commons attempted to shield Holbourne, who had brought dishonour on the British flag; but the King made his celebrated *mot*, that the minister had taught him to look for public opinion outside the House of Commons. Our rulers then rushed to the extreme of severity, and, as we have seen, shot Admiral Byng. It was a cruel and unjust sentence; it gave a shock to the public conscience; but, says a writer, "it produced an electric influence on the profession."

CHAPTER VIII.

1758–1778.

Successes in North America — Expedition against Seaports on the coast of France—Admiral Boscawen's Action with M. de la Clue, 18th and 19th August, 1759—Decisive Defeat of M. Conflans by Sir Edward Hawke, 20th and 21st November, 1759—Commodore Boys's Action of the 28th February, 1760—The reduction of Basseterre, in Guadaloupe, by Commodore Moore, 23rd January, 1759—The Capture of Pondicherry, January, 1761—A valuable Prize—Capture of Belleisle—Capture of Havannah by Sir George Pocock, July and August, 1761—The Surrender of Manilla and the Philippine Islands to Admiral Cornish and Brigadier-General Draper, 5th October, 1761—Capture of the Islands of Martinique and Grenada by Rodney and Hervey, in 1762—Voyages of Discovery by Captains Cook, Byron, and other officers, 1764–1778—The American War of Independence, 1776–1783—Sir Peter Parker repulsed at Charleston, 28th June, 1776—Lord Howe's Action with Count d'Estaing, 18th August, 1778—Battle between Admiral Keppel and Count d'Orvilliers, 27th August, 1778.

THE year 1758 is chiefly remarkable in our annals for the reduction of Louisburg, in Cape Breton, by an army of nearly 12,000 men under General Amherst, assisted by a fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen. The expedition arrived off Louisburg in June, and the fleet engaged those batteries and forts which commanded the approaches from the sea, while the army successfully prosecuted the siege operations. After the capture of Louisburg, the whole of the island of Cape Breton, as also St. John's, were taken possession of, and have ever since remained an integral portion of the dominions of the crown. The navy was present, though it can hardly be said to have participated in the glories of the capture of Quebec, achieved by the army, at which fell the immortal Wolfe.

In the same year (1758) the fort of St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal, on the west coast of Africa, was captured from the French, and a little later an expedition of four sail of the line and four frigates bombarded, and after

a gallant resistance, captured, the island of Goree, which had foiled a previous effort by a smaller squadron.

But the great minister, afterwards created Earl of Chatham,—the elder Pitt, as he is called, in contradistinction to his equally great son, who by his coalitions assisted so greatly to overthrow Bonaparte,—determined to strike a blow at the French dockyards and arsenals. Expeditions were fitted out against Rochefort, St. Malo, Cherbourg, and other places on the north-west coast of France, but in consequence of the incompetence of the military commanders who were associated with the admirals, they were not in every instance conducted to a successful issue. Hawke, Anson, and Howe formed a trio of seamen rarely equalled, even in our annals; but the generals selected by Pitt, as the Duke of Marlborough (a degenerate son of a mighty sire) and General Bligh, possessed neither energy nor ability.

Hawke, when employed alone with the fleet, succeeded in his object of preventing a powerful force of men-of-war and transports from being despatched to America. On the 3rd April, 1758, he entered the Basque Roads, in which were five sail of the line, seven frigates, and 40 merchantmen; and, notwithstanding that they were protected by heavy batteries on the Isle of Aix, they did not dare to exchange shots with the dreaded English Admiral; but the crews, throwing their guns and stores overboard, cut their cables and ran the ships aground. A second expedition sailed from Spithead on the 1st June, 1758, Lord Anson, who, at Pitt's request, assumed the chief command, being directed to blockade Brest, while Commodore Howe, with a portion of the fleet, and 14,000 men under the Duke of Marlborough, proceeded to attack the French coast from St. Malo to Havre. A great quantity of stores and 14 ships of war were destroyed near St. Malo; but, at the end of a month, the expedition returned, the Duke not having ventured to attack that town or Cherbourg. Howe again quitted England on the 1st August, and his colleague, General Bligh, was successful in capturing Cherbourg, which surrendered without firing a shot. After destroying the fortifications and arsenals, the expedition proceeded against St. Malo, which the general attempted to reduce. The force at his disposal was too small, and a disaster ensued which nearly

terminated in the capitulation or destruction of his little army. Our loss was 1,000 men, and had it not been for Howe's great exertions with the boats of his squadron, would have been much greater.

Early in 1759 the English ministry made strenuous efforts to thwart the preparations in progress in the French dockyards for the invasion of England, which had been projected on a grand scale. One hostile fleet was being equipped at Toulon under command of M. de la Clue, who proposed to effect a junction with the Marquis de Conflans, who was fitting out a still more powerful armament at Brest. It was arranged that the combined fleets were then to embark the Duke d'Aiguillon's army from Havre, which was to land on our coasts, while M. Thurot, an experienced and successful officer, was to issue out of Dunkirk and throw a second land-force on the coast of Scotland or Ireland. Such was the project hatching against the peace of these kingdoms, which was only baulked by the watchfulness and gallantry of our seamen. George Bridges Rodney, lately promoted to rear-admiral, was the first to strike a blow against these deeply-laid schemes. He anchored in the roads of Havre on the 3rd July, 1759, with one 60-gun ship, four of 50 guns, and five frigates, besides a few bomb-vessels, and at daybreak on the following morning commenced a bombardment which continued without intermission for two days. The batteries were silenced, the stores and boats which were to transport the army of invasion burnt, and the admiral only consented to spare the town from a like fate by the promise of the commandant to destroy the remainder of the boats which had escaped. He then returned to England, having, says a writer, "so completely destroyed Havre, that it has never recovered its former importance as an arsenal for ships of war."

During the whole summer Admiral Hon. Edward Boscawen was blockading M. de la Clue in Toulon, with the following ships:—*Namur*, 90, carrying the admiral's flag; *Prince*, 90, with Vice-Admiral Thomas Broderick on board; the *Newark*, 80; *Warspite* and *Culloden*, 74, *Conqueror* and *Swiftsure*, 70; *Edgar* and *St. Albans*, 64; *Intrepid*, *America*, *Princess Louisa*, and *Jersey*, 60;

Guernsey and *Portlana*, 50; besides 10 frigates, two sloops, and two fire-ships. After an unsuccessful attempt with three line-of-battle ships to capture two of the enemy's frigates from under some powerful batteries, Boscawen seeing that De la Clue, whose squadron numbered 12 ships of the line and three frigates, would not venture out of Toulon, proceeded to Gibraltar to refit his ships, leaving one of his frigates to cruize off Malaga, and another off Ceuta, to give notice of any attempt of the French admiral to push through the Straits in order to join M. Conflans off Brest. On the 17th August, Captain McCleverty, of the *Gibraltar* frigate, discovered the enemy close over on the Barbary shore, and immediately hastened to apprise Boscawen. The British fleet was quite unprepared, but, with great exertions, was enabled to put to sea at 10 p.m., and, at seven o'clock on the following morning, seven sail of the enemy, which had cleared the Straits, were sighted standing to the northward. The French admiral, mistaking the van division of the English for the remaining portion of his ships, at first stood towards them, but on finding out his mistake, made sail away. It was not until 2·30 that the *Culloden*, the leading ship, was able to open fire with effect upon the *Centaur*, the French rearmost vessel. Two hours later Boscawen in the *Namur*, having shot ahead of the rest of his fleet, brought to action the *Ocean*, 80, bearing the flag of the French admiral. The latter directed his fire chiefly at the rigging of the *Namur*, until she having had her mainmast and fore and main-topsail yards shot away, dropped astern. M. de la Clue, in order to escape, now crowded all sail with the rest of his fleet, with the exception of the *Centaur*, which, having lost her topmast, was unable to fly, and at length was compelled to surrender, after a most gallant and protracted resistance, in which she lost her captain, and 200 men killed. Admiral Boscawen, having shifted his flag to the *Newark*, continued the chase all night, and at daylight on the morning of the 19th, four of the enemy's ships were observed completely embayed about five leagues from Lagos, on the coast of Portugal. The *Ocean*, having struck the ground, lost her masts, and was compelled to surrender to the *America*; but, as it was not considered possible to get her off, she was burnt, and her

captain and officers transferred to the English ship. The French admiral, being severely wounded in the leg, was taken on shore, and died of his wounds at Lagos. A second ship, the *Terrible*, 64, struck her flag to the *Warspite;* the *Redoubtable*, 74, which grounded, shared the fate of the *Ocean;* and the *Modiste*, 64, was captured by Vice-Admiral Broderick's squadron. Our total loss was 56 killed and 196 wounded.

The fleet assembling at Brest met with even a greater disaster than the Toulon squadron. Sir Edward Hawke had been blockading M. Conflans from May to November with a powerful fleet, consisting of the *Royal George*, 100, his flag-ship; the *Union*, 90, Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy; *Duke*, and *Namur* (Admiral Boscawen's late ship), 90; *Mars*, *Warspite*, *Hercules*, *Torbay*, *Magnanime*, *Resolution*, and *Hero*, 74; *Swiftsure*, *Dorsetshire*, *Burford*, *Chichester*, *Temple*, 70; *Revenge* and *Essex*, 64; *Kingston*, *Intrepid*, *Montagu*, *Dunkirk*, and *Defiance*, 60; and ten frigates.

The above fleet, having been driven by stress of weather off the French coast, took refuge in Torbay; but, on the 14th of November, proceeded to resume its station off Brest. Hawke on his way learned that Conflans, taking advantage of his absence, had escaped to sea, and had been seen steering to the southward. Rightly divining that it was the French admiral's intention to attack Commodore Duff's squadron, which had been blockading a number of transports in Quiberon Bay, Hawke steered for that point; but having to contend against a strong south-east wind, did not arrive off Belleisle before the morning of the 20th of November. One of his look-out frigates made the signal that a fleet was in sight, and Sir Edward immediately ordered his ships into line of battle. It was blowing a fresh gale from the south west, but the weather soon cleared up, and the French fleet was discovered making every effort to get away under a press of sail; for though the difference between the two fleets, 21 sail of the line to 22, was only slightly in our favour, the odds were considered too great to offer any chance of success to a French fleet. Sir Edward ordered seven of his headmost line-of-battle ships to give chase, and soon the pursuit became general, the two fleets carrying all the canvas they

could spread. At half-past two, the *Warspite* and *Dorsetshire*, having arrived up with the French rear, opened fire, and were soon joined by other ships, when the action became general.

Hawke, determining to engage the French admiral, who bore his flag on board the *Soleil Royal*, 80, disregarded every obstacle that stood in his way, and passing by the other ships, reserved his fire for the antagonist he had singled out. It is related that, as he approached the *Soleil Royal*, his pilot remonstrated with him for pursuing M. Conflans among the islands and unknown waters to the south of Belleisle, declaring that he could not reach the enemy's flagship without imminent danger of running on a shoal. "You have done your duty," said Hawke, "in pointing out the danger; you are now to obey my orders, and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." Accordingly, straight for the 80-gun ship the pilot steered. As she was nearing her, a French 74, the *Thésée*, had the temerity to seek to divert the fire of the *Royal George*, when the huge line-of-battle ship sank her rash antagonist by a single broadside.

Another work gives a different account of the loss of the *Thésée*. This writer says that Lord Howe, who commanded the *Magnanime*, having disabled her after a close engagement, passed on, when the captain of the *Thésée*, imagining, from a slight lull in the gale, that he could fight his lower-deck guns, opened his ports and commenced firing at the *Torbay*. Suddenly a heavy squall came on; the French ship filled and went down, and out of her crew of 800 men only 20 were saved by the boats of her adversary, who, following the example of the *Thésée* in opening her lower-deck ports, nearly shared her fate.

The *Formidable*, 80, flag of Rear-Admiral Verger, sustained the fire of the *Resolution* and some other ships for some time; but at length, having lost 200 of her crew, struck her colours. The *Superbe*, 70, was sunk, and at 5 p.m. the *Héros*, having been closely engaged by Lord Howe, struck to that officer, though the sea ran so high that it was considered too dangerous to send a boat to take possession of her.

What sailors call "a dirty night" now set in; it blew great guns, and Hawke, unable to effect any further damage,

and unwilling to stand out to sea, was forced to anchor for the night. In his despatch to the Admiralty he declared that had he had only two hours more of daylight, he would have destroyed or taken the whole French fleet.

During the night frequent guns denoted the distressed condition of both friends and foes, and when morning broke, the *Héros*, which, though she had surrendered, had endeavoured to escape, and the *Soleil Royal*, were discovered to be both on shore. The *Resolution*, 74, had also got on shore, and was totally wrecked, with the loss of a great many of her crew. Sir Edward Hawke ordered the *Essex*, 64, to stand towards her to render assistance, and to destroy the *Soleil Royal;* but she also got ashore on the Forn Bank, and was wrecked, her crew, however, being saved. Greatly concerned at this disaster, the admiral sent in other ships t bring off their crews and destroy the two Frenchmen. Th *Héros* was burnt, while her own crew set fire to the *Sole Royal.* Seven or eight other French ships were observed at anchor in the river Villaine, and Hawke reconnoitered their position with the object of destroying them; but this was found impossible, for the crews had thrown their guns overboard, and warped their ships over the bar of the river into such shoal water that pursuit was out of the question. The caution thus displayed ensured the ruin of these ships, for they were so firmly grounded that their crews were ultimately compelled to destroy them. Hawke weighed anchor on the afternoon of the 23rd, and stood out to sea, having so roughly handled Conflans's fleet that all possibility of invading this country was put out of the question. On the 26th of November he was joined at Belleisle by Admiral Saunders's squadron, which had returned from America, after conducing to the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, and taking part in the other operations that terminated so gloriously in the conquest of Canada.

As to M. Thurot and the squadron he commanded at Dunkirk, it was blockaded for some months; but the same gale that compelled Hawke to leave Brest, also forced Commodore Boys to stand out to sea. The way being thus clear, Thurot got out with five frigates, and steered towards the north. He was chased by Boys, who pressed so closely on his heels, that he was unable to attempt

anything against the coast of Scotland; but was forced to take refuge in the Baltic, from whence he managed to escape to Bergen, in Norway, where he wintered. Early next year, finding that Boys had gone to the southward, Thurot rounded the Orkneys, and, though his squadron was dispersed by a storm, so that two of his ships never rejoined him, he proceeded to the northern coast of Ireland and captured Carrickfergus.

This success, however, proved his ruin, for a naval officer, Captain Elliott, who lay at Kinsale, having received information of the approach of an enemy at Carrickfergus, intercepted M. Thurot on the 28th of February, 1760. The British squadron consisted of one frigate of 32 guns, and two of 36, the united crews of which numbered 700 men; while the French commodore had under his orders the *Marshal Belleisle*, 44, carrying 545 men, including troops, the 32-gun frigate *Blonde*, 400 men, and the *Terpsichore*, 26, 300 men. After a chase of five hours, Captain Elliott's ship, the *Æolus*, having arrived alongside the *Marshal Belleisle*, fired the first shot at 9 a.m., and, being well supported by her companions, the action in a short time became general. The French commodore defended his ship with the utmost resolution, and at length fell a victim to his gallantry. His ship's bowsprit, mizen-mast, and mainyard were shot away; but her acting commander would not yield until she was reduced to a sinking state, and her decks were covered with killed and wounded. After an action of one hour and a half, all the French ships struck their colours, having sustained during the conflict a loss of 300 men, while our killed and wounded only amounted to 36.

In the West Indies, a squadron of nine ships of the line and a frigate, under command of Commodore Moore, embarking a body of troops, proceeded early in 1759 against the island of Guadaloupe, arriving off the capital, Basseterre, on the 23rd January. Moore, notwithstanding the opinion of the military engineer that the fortifications were too strong to be successfully assailed, immediately laid his ships alongside the walls, and battered them with such effect that in a few hours he silenced the fire of the citadel and batteries, blew up the chief powder-magazine, captured the

vessels which lay in the roads, and compelled the town to surrender. The soldiers were landed under command of General Hopson, and, after three months' operations against the fortified positions in the interior, the whole island was reduced, and ultimately the other neighbouring French islands also came into our possession.

In the East Indies Admiral Stevens, the successor of Sir George Pocock, who had been created a Knight of the Bath for his hard-fought actions with M. d'Aché, contributed greatly, by his cordial co-operation with the army, to the success that crowned the efforts of the gallant Eyre Coote in driving the French out of the Carnatic. He blockaded Carrical and forced it to surrender, and, during the siege of Pondicherry, cut out of the harbour two French frigates in the most gallant style. Though driven off the coast by a terrible hurricane, in which some of his ships foundered with all hands on board, the indefatigable admiral returned as soon as the storm subsided, and frustrated by his skill and watchfulness every attempt of the enemy to throw supplies into the beleaguered city. At length the efforts of the admiral, and of that distinguished soldier, Sir Eyre Coote, were crowned with the success they so well merited, and Pondicherry surrendered before the close of January, 1761.

The events of the years 1760 and 1761 present a large number of single actions, in which our sailors fully upheld their renown for reckless gallantry, no matter what the odds against which they might be opposed; but our space forbids us to notice these, even in the most cursory manner. As a proof of the extraordinary skill in gunnery attained by British seamen, the case may be instanced of the *Bellona*, 74, engaging the *Courageux*, when the latter, after an action of forty minutes, surrendered, having lost out of her crew of 700 men, 200 killed and 110 wounded.

In the West Indies, Admiral Holmes falling in with a French squadron of five ships, destroyed or captured four of the number. At the mouth of the St. Lawrence, Commodore Byron captured the whole of another squadron, while Lord Colville, with five sail of the line, prevented supplies being sent up the same river to the French army, which was vainly endeavouring the recapture of Quebec. The

British Government now first established a powerful flotilla for service on the American lakes, a force that performed good service in assisting the military in the conquest of Canada, which was completed in the autumn of this year.

In October, 1760, George II. died, and was succeeded by his son, whose memorable reign, rendered even more glorious by the achievements of the navy than that of his father, lasted sixty years, and at its close left England as it found it at its commencement, at the summit of military renown.

War was declared by our Government against Spain on the 4th January, 1761, and among the ships of that power taken by our cruisers was a rich galleon, which gave to the fortunate captors, the crews of two frigates, no less than £519,705. 1s. 6d. in prize-money; the shares of each of the captains being about £65,000, while the lieutenants received upwards of £13,000 apiece, the warrant officers £4,336, the petty officers £1,800, and each seaman £485. An anecdote is related of the gallant tars of the *Actæon* and *Favourite*, which has often been repeated, as affording an amusing instance of the simplicity and extravagance of the British seaman,—qualities which are, happily, now-a-days greatly neutralized by savings banks, sailors' homes, and other similar institutions for keeping him clear of the land sharks that dog his steps directly the honest but foolish fellow puts his foot on *terra firma*. The seamen of the two frigates, amazed at finding themselves masters of a sum of money, such as they had never even dreamt of possessing, turned their whole attention to the best method for speedily ridding themselves of the unexpected encumbrance. They bought up all the watches to be had at Portsmouth, from Jews or crimps, and fried them over galley fires; they passed a formal resolution (fancy Jack at a meeting at the "Benbow Arms," or the "Three Jolly Sailors," pipe in one hand and glass of grog in the other, taking part in "proceedings" of any sort, except thrashing Frenchmen or Spaniards to his heart's content!) making a gold-laced hat a necessary part of every sailor's "rig," and were only restrained from inflicting summary punishment on one unhappy wight, who appeared in a hat ornamented only with silver, by an assurance that he did not go to the hatters until after the gold lace had all been sold, but that he had made the man take the money all the

same, an explanation that was gravely received as satisfactory.

In April of the new year (1761), a combined military and naval expedition was fitted out against Belleisle, and though the troops under General Hodgson at first met with a repulse in which they lost 500 men, yet ultimately the garrison, driven from their forts and strong ground near the sea by the fire of the fleet, consisting of 10 sail of the line and eight frigates, commanded by Commodore Keppel, were compelled to take refuge in the citadel, which was soon after surrendered by the governor, M. de St. Croix, the garrison receiving honourable terms in consideration of the gallantry displayed by them. The fortifications on the island of Aix were then destroyed, and after placing a strong garrison in Belleisle, and leaving a squadron to cruise about it and the Basque Roads, the general and commodore returned to England.

As soon as war was declared against Spain, the successor of the elder Pitt—who had resigned in the previous September, in consequence of the rejection of his advice to commence hostilities against the Spanish king before the return to Europe of the annual treasure fleet—adopted the plans of that great war minister, and it was resolved to despatch an expedition against Havannah, which, from the unrivalled excellence of its harbour, and greatness of its commerce, has always been considered the most important city in the island of Cuba, the richest of all the Spanish colonies. From hence the treasure-ships started for Spain: it contained an arsenal and dockyard of great magnitude, and warehouses filled with stores for its wealthy and luxurious population of 50,000 souls. The forts and batteries defending this city mounted over 350 guns; its garrison numbered 20,000, and in its harbour lay 12 sail of the line and three frigates.

Sir George Pocock, who was directed to undertake the reduction of this famous city, sailed from Ireland on the 5th March, with a small squadron, and some 4,000 men, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, with authority to reinforce his fleet with the squadrons already in those waters. The preliminary arrangements were all carried out as proposed, and he eventually arrived off Havannah with 22 sail of the line, four ships of 50 guns, 10 frigates, and 17 sloops

and smaller vessels, besides a vast fleet of transports, having on board 14,000 soldiers. Keppel, the admiral's second in command, conducted the disembarkation on the 7th July. The brunt of the siege operations naturally fell upon the army, but the fleet cannonaded the outer forts. The chief obstacle was the strong castle of El Moro, which was obstinately defended for seven weeks by the commandant, Don Luis de Valasco, who died in the breach, sword in hand. At length, when his successor, the Marquis Gonzales, and half his men had fallen, the castle was surrendered, and on the 11th August, within a fortnight of its capture, the entire city capitulated. Our casualties had been heavy, the army alone having lost 1,800 men killed and wounded, but the acquisition was splendid. The prize-money actually paid to the captors amounted to upwards of £736,000, and nine line-of-battle ships found in the harbour were sent to England.

The British army was also equally victorious in the East. An expedition was fitted out against Manilla, the land portion of which, consisting of 2,300 Europeans and sepoys, under a distinguished officer, Brigadier Draper, sailed from Madras at the beginning of August, 1761. Admiral Cornish, who had lately succeeded to the command in the East Indies, sailed for the same destination with a squadron of seven sail of the line and four other ships, carrying altogether 4,330 men. When the fleet anchored in Manilla Bay on the 23rd September, the Spaniards were totally unprepared to receive them. A summons to surrender having been refused, preparations to land the troops were commenced, as it was resolved to attack the city itself in the first instance, and after its capture a fortified suburb and citadel called Cavete, which commanded the entrance to the inner harbour. Owing to the rough weather the disembarkation of the troops occupied three days, but notwithstanding the heavy surf, they were landed by the boats of the fleet, under the direction of Captain Kempenfeldt, who subsequently met so tragic a fate at Spithead on board the *Royal George*. The siege was pushed on with great vigour by General Draper, whose small force had been strengthened by a reinforcement of 1,000 sailors and marines; and on the 5th October, ten days after its commencement, the breach being pronounced practicable, the city was stormed after an hour of

heavy fighting. The citadel of Cavete also surrendered without firing a shot, and the submission of Manilla carried with it that of the Philippine Islands, together with a large amount of treasure and stores. The city itself was ransomed from pillage by the promise of an indemnity of 4,000,000 dollars.

Our soldiers and sailors were not less successful in the West Indies. In January, 1762, a powerful fleet of 18 sail of the line, 14 frigates, and 9 sloops, under the command of Rodney, with 14,000 soldiers under General Monkton, was directed against Martinique. As the operations that resulted in the reduction of the strong defences of Fort Royal were chiefly conducted by the army, we will not enter into a detailed account of them, which may be perused in Mundy's interesting "Life of Rodney." A brigade of 1,000 blue jackets was landed by the admiral, and took a prominent part in the operations. The energy and hardiness they displayed astonished the officers of the army, one of whom, in a letter quoted in the above-mentioned work, draws a lively picture of the unflagging spirit and defiance of all danger with which these gallant fellows worked in throwing up the batteries, and dragging over precipitous rocks guns and mortars, without any regard to natural obstacles or the weight of the burdens. After the capture of Fort Royal, Rodney despatched Captain Hervey, who had distinguished himself in these operations, to the bay of La Trinité, on the opposite side of the island, the forts commanding which he seized with his seamen; thus rendering a retention of the strong town of St. Pierre impossible.

Captain Hervey was now sent with a division of his ships against Santa Lucia, which surrendered, as did also the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent. Thus the French were completely driven from the Caribbees. A temporary French success, in the capture of St. John's, near Newfoundland, on the 24th June, 1762, soon resulted in their final expulsion from that island in the autumn of the same year.

The Spanish and French were alike both disgusted with their uniform ill success during the war, and the preliminaries of peace were agreed to in the first week of November, 1762, the definite treaty, known to historians as the Peace of Paris, being signed on the 10th February, in the following year. Lord Bute, the prime minister, a man of a narrow

intellect, secured good terms for the nation, if we regard our position before the war; but, considering the vast sacrifices of blood and treasure made by the country, and the glorious achievements of our soldiers and sailors in every quarter of the globe, a more patriotic minister might have coerced our exhausted enemies into permanently ceding to us more of our conquests.

We retained Canada and Cape Breton, and received back Minorca in exchange for Belleisle; but we restored to France, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Santa Lucia, in the West Indies, and Pondicherry in the East Indies, with the stipulation that she was to erect no fortifications or keep troops in Bengal. To Spain we yielded up Manilla, and exchanged Havannah for the barren province of Florida. At the conclusion of this war, known in history as the "Seven Years' War"—in which our chief ally on the continent was the rising power of Prussia, then ruled by that mighty warrior prince, Frederick II., called the Great—our fleet was in a most efficient state. We had 80 ships mounting between 100 and 70 guns, 91 having between 70 and 50 guns, 85 frigates of between 44 and 28 guns, and 123 sloops and smaller vessels. The total of the seamen manning this powerful navy was 70,000, a truly formidable number when we consider that the population of these isles, including Ireland, was little above 12 millions.

Until the unfortunate war with our American colonies in 1776—a conflict which, looking to its disastrous results and the consequent loss of prestige, threatened to bring this country down from its proud pedestal as the chiefest of powers of the first rank—there is nothing to chronicle in our naval history beyond the peaceful achievements of science and discovery; but the interval is nevertheless memorable in our naval annals as that in which that great seaman, Captain James Cook, made his voyages of discovery to the South Seas. The incidents which marked the progress of these circumnavigations, from the day in August, 1768, when he started from Plymouth in the *Endeavour* of 370 tons, for the main object of observing at the newly-discovered island of Otaheite the transit of Venus, which was to take place on the 3rd June in the following year, to his cruel murder in December, 1778, at Owhyhee, the largest of the

Sandwich islands, are of a deeply interesting character; and to those of our readers, whether adult or youthful, who have not perused their records, we would give the advice to do so, as they are more interesting than half the books of imaginary adventures with which the press teems. Some years before Cook embarked from Plymouth, in 1764, Commodore Byron, already mentioned in the account of Anson's voyage as an officer of the *Wager*, made interesting observations in Patagonia, and discovered several islands in the South Pacific Ocean; and in the following year other officers; Captains Carteret and Wallis, discovered more islands, among the number being Otaheite. The American War of Independence furnishes little material for a history of the Battles of the British Navy, perhaps rather a subject of congratulation than otherwise; the events of the war which ended so disastrously for Britain were chiefly of a military character, and the operations of the fleet, except in a few instances, were chiefly combined with, and subordinate to, those of the army.

In June, 1776, Commodore Sir Peter Parker was sent with two 50-gun ships, four frigates, and some smaller vessels, to co-operate with a land force under command of General Clinton, against Charleston; but the attack ended in failure. Three of the frigates got aground in their endeavours to take up the post assigned to them, and the remainder sustained for ten hours the fire of all the batteries. Our seamen fought their guns with unflinching courage, and at one time drove the American gunners away from their batteries; but the British troops were unable to cross the passage between Long Island and Sullivan's Island, so as to capture the evacuated works, and ultimately the Americans returned, and Sir Peter Parker was forced most reluctantly to signal the squadron of four ships, which had borne the brunt of the day, to discontinue the action. His own ship, the *Bristol*, 50, which had suffered most severely, lost 36 men killed, including the master, and 70 wounded, many of them mortally, among the number being Captain Morris, who died on the 5th July. A second ship, the *Experiment*, 50, had 23 men killed and 55 wounded, including the captain, who lost his right arm. Having re-embarked the troops, Sir Peter Parker left Charleston, and joining Lord Howe

at New York, took part shortly afterwards in the reduction of Long Island.

Captain Douglas, with two frigates and a sloop, made his way up the St. Lawrence, and was engaged in the operations which resulted in raising the siege of Quebec by the colonists; this gallant officer, on the 12th October in this year, also defeated General Arnold, a distinguished soldier of the United States, in an action fought on Lake Champlain, capturing or burning the entire flotilla of the enemy, and establishing our supremacy on this large lake during the remainder of the war. Sir George Collier captured, in the summer of 1777, the *Hancock*, American frigate, after a spirited chase of 36 hours; and during this and the following years many sanguinary actions took place between our frigates and those of the enemy, generally with success on our side. But we had soon a more formidable enemy to compete with at sea; for, when France, taking advantage of our difficulties, acknowledged the independence of the United States, we retaliated by a declaration ofwar.

The French Government despatched a powerful fleet to America to the assistance of the colonists, and on the 11th July it appeared off Sandy Hook, in the harbour behind which Admiral Lord Howe, who had done good service in the previous year when co-operating with his brother, Sir William Howe, in his campaign on the Delaware, was lying, with the view of keeping up communications with the army, which had its head-quarters in New York. Count d'Estaing, the French admiral, had under his orders a superior fleet to that of Lord Howe; and the latter, though as desirous as his sailors for a trial of strength, wisely deferred it until the arrival of Admiral Byron, who had been despatched with reinforcements from England. Leaving Sandy Hook, D'Estaing withdrew to the northward, and soon after four large ships of Byron's squadron arriving, the British admiral issued out in search of the enemy, and on the 9th August found him in Narragansett harbour, whither he had gone to assist in an attack upon Rhode Island. Count d'Estaing weighed anchor, and advanced towards the British fleet, but seemed loth to attack. Two days were consumed in attempts by Lord Howe to gain the weather-gauge, and at the end of that time a furious storm, which

fell upon the two fleets, so crippled the enemy's ships, that the British admiral resolved to assume the aggressive. An action between individual ships, which were separated from the main fleets, ensued on the 18th of August, in which the French suffered severely, but no decisive result was obtained. D'Estaing retired to Boston, and after pursuing him thither, Lord Howe returned to New York. Soon after Admiral Byron arrived, and his lordship, deputing to him the chief command, sailed for England. During the remainder of the year 1778 little was done by the main fleets in American waters; though one squadron under Commodore Evans expelled the French from some islands on the coast of Newfoundland, and another, under Commodore Parker, assisted in the capture of Savannah while we, on the other hand, lost Dominica. In Europe in this year some naval events of importance also occurred.

On the 12th of June Admiral Keppel, hoisting his flag in the *Victory*, of 110 guns, put to sea with a fleet of 20 sail of the line and three frigates, with orders to prevent the French fleet, then fitting out at Brest, from proceeding to sea; but learning from the papers of two captured French frigates that the enemy's fleet in Brest amounted to 32 sail of the line and 12 frigates, he returned to Spithead for reinforcements which had been promised him. Keppel put to sea again on the 11th of July with a magnificent fleet of 30 sail of the line, among them six 90-gun ships, one of 80 guns, and 15 of 74, together with six frigates. His admirals were Sir Robert Harland, who hoisted his flag in the *Queen*, 90, and Sir Hugh Palliser, who went on board the *Formidable*. Among his captains were some officers who afterwards attained the highest distinction; as Jervis in the *Foudroyant*, 80, and Alexander Hood, afterwards Lord Bridport, in the *Robust*, 74. In the meantime Louis had despatched the Comte d'Orvilliers to sea with an equally powerful fleet, consisting of his flagship, the *Bretagne*, of 110 guns, one ship of 92 guns, three of 80, 13 of 74, 12 of 64, one of 50, and 13 frigates. The British fleet had on board 2,278 guns, the French 2,222; and though this exhibits a slight superiority on our part, yet their ordnance were of larger calibre, while in number of men the French had the advantage. One of Count d'Orvilliers' officers was the Duke

of Chartres, afterwards Duke of Orleans, better known in history by his nickname Égalité, a wretch who voted for the execution of his relative the unfortunate Louis XVI., and paid the penalty of his crime by himself falling under the avenging stroke of the guillotine.

The rival fleets sighted each other on the 23rd of August, when D'Orvilliers, shunning a conflict with a force of equal strength, thus tacitly acknowledging British superiority, made sail in full retreat. Keppel signalling to his fleet to form in line of battle, gave chase. The pursuit continued for four days; but on the 27th a slight shift of wind placed it in the British admiral's power to force on an action. This he was not slow in doing, and a partial engagement ensued. In order to bring his fleet into better order, for they had been much scattered in their eagerness in the chase, Keppel made the signal to Sir Hugh Palliser, who was four miles to leeward, to chase to windward. After some manœuvring D'Orvilliers, finding that he could not cross the British line with his whole fleet, determined on bearing up and passing to leeward of it.

At about 11.45, the *Victory* opened her fire upon the *Bretagne*, which was followed by the *Ville de Paris*, 92, and each ship of the French line as it passed to windward. The van division, led by Sir Robert Harland, sustained little loss; but the rear, under Sir Hugh Palliser, suffered more heavily, owing to its being exposed for a greater length of time to the fire of the French fleet. At 1.30 D'Orvilliers, having passed along the British line, Keppel made the signal for the fleet to wear and follow the enemy, and the *Victory* and ships of his division wore accordingly; but it was found impossible to continue on the port tack, owing to the shot-holes many of his ships had received between wind and water, and he therefore again wore round to the starboard tack and edged off the wind. On his part, the French admiral came to the wind on the same tack, the starboard, thus placing himself on the lee beam of the British fleet. Owing, however, either to disobedience or a misunderstanding on the part of Sir Hugh Palliser, who did not close with the van and centre of the British as they edged away in chase, the rear-admiral made no attempt to renew the action, and, as was afterwards alleged, by his example

prevented the rest of his squadron from going to the support of the admiral and Sir Robert Harland. Later in the afternoon, Keppel sent a frigate to him with an express order to bear down; but he did not do so, and it was not until daylight the next morning that the *Formidable* again took up the station assigned her. But D'Orvilliers was in no mood to continue the battle, and leaving three of his fastest sailors to keep up the same lights as were shown by his flagship, made sail away: as soon as day broke, these frigates alone were discovered, and they crowded all sail to rejoin their admiral. Keppel now returned to Plymouth to repair the damages his ship the *Victory* and five more of his vessels had received to no inconsiderable extent; for the French, according to their custom, aimed chiefly at the spars and rigging. The battle was indecisive, as no ship was taken on either side, though we were clearly the victors, as the flight of the French on the night of the 27th incontestably proved. Our total loss was 133 killed and 373 wounded; that of the French 163 killed and 519 wounded.

No action, if we except those of Admiral Matthews and of Byng off Minorca, ever gave rise to more discussion and recrimination. As usual political considerations were brought into play, and the question of who was to blame for the failure became a party affair. Palliser was not only a supporter of Lord North's ministry, but a lord of the Admiralty; while Keppel was an ardent member of the opposition, and had carried his predilection for the policy enunciated by its leaders to such an extent that, on the breaking out of hostilities with our colonies, he had refused the chief command of the fleet destined to coerce them, which had in consequence been conferred on Lord Howe.

Palliser, soon after his return to England, made a demand on Keppel that he should deny the truth of the charges of cowardice and incapacity levelled at him in the press. This, as commander-in-chief of the fleet, Keppel declined to do. His refusal gave rise to ill-feeling and controversy, and, at length, Palliser preferred an accusation against his superior officer, for that he had not only failed to draw up his fleet in line of battle, but by his ill-judged signals had increased that disorder,

and that it was owing to the "unofficer-like want of method in those signals, that a general engagement was not brought on." Other articles accused him of failing to take the needful steps to renew the action, and, by his mismanagement, of exposing Palliser to be cut off by the enemy, and of not chasing the enemy on the morning of the 28th August. After a lengthy trial, in which every captain in the fleet was examined on one side or the other, Keppel confuted the charges, and was unanimously acquitted by the court-martial on the 11th February, 1779. The popular feeling against Sir Hugh Palliser ran very high all through the trial; one mob attacked his house in Pall Mall, and made a bonfire of all his furniture, and by a second he was burnt in effigy on Tower Hill. While the most general illuminations that had been seen in the reign ratified the verdict of the naval court that acquitted his chief, Sir Hugh now, in turn, found his own conduct subjected to the test of a court-martial; but he was, in general terms, acquitted of the charges brought against him.

The House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to Keppel for his conduct in the battle; but the gallant admiral was so disgusted with the treatment he had received from the Admiralty, that he wrote a long letter to the king, complaining of the conduct of the ministers, and resigning his command of the Channel Fleet, from which he had not been displaced during his trial. Three years afterwards, when his friend Lord Rockingham became Prime Minister, he was raised to the peerage with the title of Viscount, and was appointed to preside over the Admiralty. It should be said to his credit that during the short time he held that office he displayed great zeal for the service as well as energy and judgment, and it was due to his initiative that a general order was issued that all ships should have a copper sheathing, an innovation which his knowledge as a practical seaman taught him would be a great improvement.

CHAPTER IX.

1779–1783.

Vice-Admiral Byron's Action off Grenada with Count d'Estaing, on the 6th July, 1779—Frigate Actions fought during the year 1779—Sir George Rodney's Victory off Cape St. Vincent, 16th January, 1780—His indecisive Action with De Guichen on the 17th April, 1780—Captain Horatio Nelson's Exploit at Fort St. Juan in 1780—Sir Samuel Hood's affair with the Comte de Grasse, 28th April, 1781—Action between Sir Thomas Graves and the Comte de Grasse, 5th September, 1781—Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker's Engagement with the Dutch fleet, 5th August, 1781—Commodore Johnstone beats off De Suffrein at Port Praya, on the 16th April, 1781—Sir George Rodney's great Victory over the Comte de Grasse, 12th April, 1782—Relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe, 1782—Sir Edward Hughes's Actions in the East Indies with M. de Suffrein, 6th February, 12th April, 6th July, 3rd September, 1782; 20th June, 1783.

In the West Indies, Admiral Byron, who had succeeded Lord Howe in the supreme naval command, fought, during the course of the year 1779, a successful action with Count d'Estaing. The French admiral had been unable to prevent the capture of the island of Santa Lucia by an inferior squadron under admiral Barrington, in conjunction with a force of 4,000 soldiers commanded by General Grant; but in June of this year, hearing that Byron had moved up to St. Christopher's, he took advantage of his absence to master St. Vincent, and then proceeded with 25 sail of the line and 12 frigates, having on board 6,500 troops, against Grenada. This island was bravely defended by Lord Macartney, the governor; but after enduring a heavy bombardment for two days, his lordship was forced to surrender, on the 4th July.

Byron, hearing of the fall of Santa Lucia, and the projected attack on Grenada, proceeded thither with all speed, but arrived two days too late. The admiral had with him only 21 line-of-battle ships and one frigate, with Barrington as his vice-admiral, and Hyde Parker and Joshua Rowley his rear-admirals; but thinking, from what he

could see of the enemy as they were getting under weigh at daybreak of the 6th July, that they were in inferior force, he made the signal for a general chase to the south-west, and for each ship to engage as she arrived up. Admiral Byron soon discovered the mistake into which he had fallen regarding the force opposed to him; but this did not alter his determination to fight, and he gave the signal for close action. At 7.30, the *Prince of Wales*, 74, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Hon. S. Barrington, *Boyne*, 70, and *Sultan*, 74, gallantly commenced the battle, and the whole British line soon afterwards became exposed to the enemy's fire, as the French fleet, steering to the north-west, passed to leeward across their bows. Our rearmost ships, the *Grafton*, 74, *Cornwall*, 74, and *Lion*, 64, being to leeward of their stations, were exposed to the fire of the whole French line, and suffered very much, while the *Monmouth*, 64, having, in the most gallant style, bore up in order to get nearer the enemy's van, was completely disabled. The fleets passed one another, sailing thus in opposite and parallel lines, and at 10 a.m., D'Estaing, having cleared the van of our line, tacked, and hauled close to the wind, with the intention of cutting off the disabled ships, and also the transports. In order to frustrate the designs of the French admiral, and renew the action, Byron also tacked, and bore up to their support, but D'Estaing, as on so many previous occasions during the last two years, avoided a close conflict when he saw the resolution of his antagonist to accept a challenge, and, making sail, escaped to windward.

In this indecisive action, our loss was 183 killed and 346 wounded, among the number being Vice-Admiral Barrington. The French fleet, which was stated to have lost 1,200 killed and 1,500 wounded, made the best of its way to Grenada, and the British ships returned to St. Christopher's. Towards the end of the summer, Byron set sail for England, leaving the command to Rear-Admiral Hyde Parker, who, in conjunction with Commodore Sir George Collier, had great success in capturing the armed ships and merchantmen of France and the United States,—the gallant commodore on one occasion, with one ship of 64 guns, five frigates, and one sloop, destroying a squadron of 18 frigates and smaller vessels, mounting 330 guns.

On the other hand, our navy sustained losses in European waters at the hands of the notorious American privateersman, Paul Jonès. The 44-gun frigate *Serapis*, Captain Richard Pearson, while convoying a fleet of merchantmen, engaged two 40-gun ships, the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Alliance*, and after a desperate action, during which the muzzles of her guns and those of the *Bon Homme Richard* were locked, Captain Pearson was forced to haul down his colours, having lost 48 killed and 68 wounded, out of his crew of 320 men. The former of his antagonists was even more severely handled, for her loss amounted to nearly 300 men killed and wounded, her stern and quarter were beaten in, nearly all her lower deck guns were dismounted, and on the next day she foundered. Captain Pearson was knighted for his distinguished gallantry.

Another sanguinary action was fought between the *Quebec*, 32 guns, Captain Farmer, and the *Surveillante*, 40, in which the English ship, after losing her captain, and 80 men killed and wounded, blew up with 150 souls on board. To mark his sense of this devoted gallantry, the king conferred a baronetcy on Captain Farmer's eldest son, and Lieutenant Roberts, one of the survivors who was picked up, was promoted to be a commander. The value of the prizes taken during the year from the French and Spanish, who had joined the alliance against us in the spring, was computed at £1,025,600. A squadron of our ships also achieved successes off Jersey and Cancale Bay.

At the beginning of August an enormous hostile fleet of 66 sail of the line swept the Channel, but the commanding admirals, D'Orvilliers and Don Louis de Cordova, quarrelled and effected nothing, although our fleet, mustering only 46 ships, was of course, from its numerical inferiority, unable to attack them.

At the beginning of 1780, the attention of the enemy and ourselves was fixed upon Gibraltar, which had now been blockaded for upwards of half a year by a Spanish fleet and army, and its garrison reduced to the utmost straits for want of food. The British Government was fully alive to the absolute necessity of retaining that stronghold; and Sir George Rodney, commanding a fleet of 21 sail of the line and nine frigates, was directed, on his way to the Leeward

Islands, to convoy a large number of merchantmen with provisions for the beleaguered fortress.

Rodney's admirals were Digby and Sir J. L. Ross, and among his officers were Duncan, who commanded the *Monarch*, the future hero of Camperdown, and Prince William, afterwards William IV. The British admiral had scarcely cleared the Bay of Biscay, and had detached a fleet of merchantmen to the West Indies, when he fell in with and captured 15 vessels, laden with supplies and stores, destined for the Spanish possessions in those islands, together with the escort of six ships of war. Having arrived off Cadiz, Rodney, who had still 19 sail of the line with him, learned that a Spanish fleet of 11 line-of-battle ships and two frigates was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, and he accordingly immediately proceeded thither. On the 16th January, 1780, at 1 p.m., the Spanish fleet was sighted, and an hour later Rodney, perceiving that it was crowding all sail to escape, threw out the signal for a general chase. At this time it was blowing strong from the westward, with hazy weather, and it was 4 o'clock before the four of the swiftest of his 74-gun ships approached near enough to commence firing. The *Bienfaisant*, 64, having an hour later got up with the *San Domingo*, 70, engaged her, and in a short time the latter blew up, when every soul on board perished. The action was continued during the night, which was dark and tempestuous; at 2 a.m. Rodney's ship, the *Sandwich*, captured the *Monarca*, and the admiral, conceiving the enemy's ships to be so disabled as to prevent their escaping, ordered the fleet to "heave to." In the morning it was found that besides the *San Domingo*, six sail of the line were captured, among the number being the *Phœnix*, 80, bearing the flag of the Spanish admiral Langara. Two others of the enemy's ships, on board which prize crews had been put, managed during the succeeding heavy weather to overpower their captors, and effected their escape into Cadiz. Don Juan de Langara, on going on board the British admiral's ship, was struck with astonishment when he was introduced to the Prince William, and exclaimed that it was no wonder success attended the efforts of the British navy, when a prince of the blood royal performed the ordinary routine duties of a midshipman, and

subordinated himself like any other young officer to the orders of his father's subjects.

Rodney, after achieving this signal victory, proceeded to Gibraltar, which he now abundantly revictualled, as also Minorca, and then sailed for the West Indies. On his arrival, Sir George blockaded the French fleet, under the Comte de Guichen, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, but as he could not induce the French admiral to come out, he soon retired to Gros Islet Bay. On the 15th April, Rodney learnt from the frigates he had left to watch the enemy, that they had put to sea; when he followed motions, and, on the following day, came in sight of them off the Pearl Rock.

The French fleet was composed of two 80-gun ships, 11 of 74 guns, and 10 64-gun ships; in all 23 sail of the line, and five frigates. Rodney had under him 20 sail of the line and five frigates; the former consisting of two ships of 90 guns, 11 of 74, one of 70 guns, five of 64, and one of 60 guns. At 6 a.m. of the 17th, the British commander, determining to attack the rear of the French fleet, signalled his ships to wear and form the line of battle on the starboard tack; and at half-past eight, having reached a favourable position for carrying out the movement on which he had resolved, Sir George made the signal to bear up in line abreast, and commence the action. The intention of this manœuvre was, however, perceived by the French admiral, who frustrated it by veering round on the larboard tack, thereby reversing his line. Sir George now hauled to the wind on the starboard tack, and about noon made the signal for the fleet to bear up in line abreast, and close the enemy. This order Captains Bateman of the *Yarmouth*, and Carkett of the *Stirling Castle*, and several ships of the van division, disobeyed, and, instead of following the admiral's motions, kept their "luff," in order to bring to action the French van, instead of endeavouring to cut off the rear. Rodney made fresh signals for close action, and himself, showing a noble example, engaged a French ship, which was astern of Comte de Guichen. Rear-Admiral Rowley supported the admiral with his rear division, and had it not been for the mistake or misconduct of the van ships, a decisive blow might have been struck As it was, the French fleet bore up about 4 p.m., and made sail before the wind, while the scattered state of our ships

rendered impossible any attempt at pursuit. The flagships of Admirals Rodney and Rowley, and the *Cornwall* and *Trident*, suffered most, and our entire loss was 120 killed and 362 wounded. The French casualties, including officers, amounted to 158 killed and 820 wounded. Captain Carkett, who, as first lieutenant of the *Monmouth*, had fought that ship in her celebrated action with the *Foudroyant*, after Captain Gardner's death, and Captain Bateman were brought to court-martial, and the latter was dismissed the service.

A second partial and indecisive engagement took place on the 19th May. In August, De Guichen returned to Europe, and Rodney, who was greatly outnumbered by the combined fleets of Spain and France, sailed for the American coast.

Many single actions were fought during the year, in which British prowess shone with unrivalled lustre; but we have only space to particularize one, in which the immortal Nelson, then only 22, first showed that dashing courage and singular aptitude for command which have rendered him unrivalled in our naval history. While in command of the *Hinchinbrooke*, 28, he took the chief part in an attack upon Fort St. Juan, at the entrance of the great lake of Nicaragua, on the Isthmus of Darien. At the head of a handful of his own men, with whom he had landed, he stormed a ten-gun Spanish battery, and with his own hands pointed nearly every gun that was fired against the fort. In less than a fortnight the place surrendered, and both General Darling, the Governor of Jamaica, and Major Polson, commanding the troops, attributed the success of the expedition to the young hero's ability and determined energy.

In December, 1780, the Dutch joined the coalition against us; but notwithstanding that this country commenced the new year with France, Spain, the rebellious provinces in America, and Holland arrayed against her, yet by means of her navy she was enabled to ward off all attack, and add fresh lustre to her glorious history.

Rodney had already been reinforced by a strong squadron under Sir Samuel Hood, and, on receiving information of the declaration of war issued against Holland on the 20th December, he struck a heavy blow against the Dutch by capturing in the first week of February the island of St. Eustatia, with six ships of war and above 150 merchantmen,

some of which were laden with rich cargoes. The fall of St. Eustatia was followed by the reduction of the adjacent islands of Martin and Saba, and also of Demerara and Essequibo, while a squadron he detached under Captain Reynolds of the *Monarch*, captured another rich fleet of Dutch trading vessels. Rodney now heard of the approach of a large French fleet of 20 sail of the line and several frigates, under command of Count de Grasse, an officer who enjoyed a reputation for great skill; and Sir Samuel Hood was detached with nine ships to Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique, to effect a junction with Rear-Admiral Drake, who, with nine sail of the line, was blockading a small squadron of the enemy. On the 28th April, 1781, the rival fleets came in sight of each other, and, on the following day, a partial engagement took place; but, notwithstanding every exertion of the British admiral to bring the enemy to close action, the latter, though in greatly superior force—for he was joined by the squadron hitherto blockaded in Fort Royal Bay—and possessing also the advantage of the weather-gauge, contented himself with a distant cannonade. The total loss sustained by our fleet in this affair was 36 killed and 161 wounded, and by the French 119 killed and 150 wounded. The *Centaur* and *Russell* received much damage in the hull, and the latter, being in a sinking state, was despatched to Rodney with intelligence of what had taken place. Rodney, leaving the main body of his fleet at St. Eustatia, proceeded with two sail of the line to join Hood, who had only 17 ships to 26 under the orders of the Count de Grasse. The French admiral, though in such superior force, declined to meet his formidable antagonist, and in July, Rodney, who was suffering from ill-health, returned to England, leaving Hood in command.

In March of this year, Admiral Arbuthnot, with eight sail of the line, encountered Admiral Barras off the Chesapeake, with a squadron of equal strength; but, after a spirited action, a fog coming on, the French effected their escape. At the end of August, Sir Samuel Hood proceeded to the American coast to join Admiral Graves, who had succeeded Arbuthnot, and the combined squadrons, consisting of 19 sail of the line, at once sailed southward in quest of the French; Sir Thomas Graves, the senior officer present,

hoping by this movement to assist the operations of the army under Lord Cornwallis.

On the morning of the 5th September, the enemy's fleet, consisting of 24 sail of the line, under command of Count de Grasse, whose flag was flying on board the *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns, reckoned one of the finest ships in the world, was seen lying at anchor within the Capes of Virginia. The French admiral, whose force outnumbered ours not only as to ships, but by above 400 guns and nearly 7,000 men, got under weigh, and at 1 p.m., when the two fleets were nearly abreast of each other on opposite tacks, Rear-Admiral Drake was signalled to bear up and close with the enemy with his squadron, which had now become the van division. Subsequently the whole British fleet wore round on the starboard tack, and, at 4.15, the leading ships, having got within less than half cannon-shot, commenced the action. The van and centre were soon pretty hotly engaged, but the rear, under Sir Samuel Hood, was unable to participate at all. After about two hours' cannonading, Count de Grasse, with his centre and van, began to draw off, and though Graves did his best to renew the action, he was unable to attain his object. For three days the rival fleets lay in sight of each other, and then the French retreated to the Chesapeake. Seven of our ships were greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, but our loss in killed and wounded was only 236, less than half that of the enemy, who owned to having had 700 casualties.

Count de Grasse was reinforced a few days after this indecisive action by eight sail of the line, under M. de Barras; and, in the course of a few weeks, Graves also received an accession of five line-of-battle ships; but the French fleet was relatively too strong to be attacked, and towards the end of the autumn, the unfortunate surrender of Lord Cornwallis with his whole army, at York Town, virtually terminated all possibility of coercing the colonists.

In Europe, in this year, a hard-fought action took place, on the 5th August, between Vice-Admiral Hyde Parker, and Rear-Admiral Zoutman. The British squadron, consisting of five line-of-battle ships and eight frigates, encountered off the Dogger Bank the Dutch fleet, commanded by Admiral Zoutman and an officer of the honoured name of De Ruyter,

who had under their orders an equal force of five ships of the line and eight frigates. At 8 a.m., the British ships, having approached within pistol-shot to windward without the enemy's firing a gun, the action commenced, and, after a spiritedly contested engagement of three hours and forty minutes, Admiral Parker hauled down the signal for battle, and hove to in order to repair damages. The loss on both sides was heavy, ours being 109 killed and 362 (many mortally) wounded; while that of the enemy, besides the loss of the *Hollandia*, 64, which went down the same night from the injuries she had received, is reported to have been 142 killed and 403 wounded. The Dutch admiral put before the wind with his shattered ships, and, on his return to Holland, claimed a victory; but it was at best only a drawn battle, and King George recognized Parker's gallantry in visiting him on board his ship.

In the beginning of 1781, our Government, having determined to attack the Cape of Good Hope, despatched with that object Commodore Johnstone with a squadron consisting of one 74, one 64, three 50-gun ships, and five frigates, together with a large convoy of transports and ships of the East India Company, having on board a small land force under General Meadows, for operations in the East Indies. A French spy named De la Mothe, who was afterwards hanged, advised his Government of the projected attack on the Cape, and on the 22nd March, only nine days after Johnstone had sailed, Admiral De Suffrein, perhaps the most gallant and able seaman France has ever produced, left Brest with a powerful squadron in pursuit of him.

The British commodore, acting under his orders, put into Port Praya in the Cape de Verd Islands, to re-victual his ships, and was lying there utterly unsuspicious of danger, for the group, as belonging to the Portuguese, was neutral ground, when, on the 16th April, the French squadron of 5 sail of the line, and 6 frigates and smaller vessels, was reported in sight. Johnstone was a skilful and energetic officer, and though taken at this terrible disadvantage, for 1,500 of his men were on shore, he quickly took such measures, that, when at 11 o'clock De Suffrein led into the bay, and attacked with vigour, he was met by so well-directed a cannonade that he was beaten off with

considerable loss. All the French squadron, except the *Hannibal*, 50, succeeded in getting out of the bay without difficulty, and that ship, which was dismasted, very nearly fell into the hands of the victors. The enemy captured the *Hinchinbrooke*, East Indiaman, which, however, was recaptured on the following day, when Johnstone, having repaired damages, proceeded on his way to the Cape. Had it not been that his rate of sailing was regulated by that of the merchantmen he was escorting, and to the delay occasioned by one of his damaged ships, the *Isis*, repairing her rigging, it is more than probable that De Suffrein's squadron would not have escaped with impunity. Our loss in this action was 36 killed and 147 wounded. As De Suffrein reached the Cape before him, all prospect of attacking it with success was at an end; but the commodore succeeded in capturing five large armed Dutch vessels, which were lying in Saldanha Bay, laden with the richest produce of India and China. Having secured these prizes, Johnstone now divided his squadron, despatching 3 or 4 ships to reinforce Sir Edward Hughes, the admiral in Indian waters, and returning with the rest to England.

On the 12th December, Rear-Admiral Richard Kempenfeldt was cruising off Ushant with 12 sail of the line and five frigates, when he fell in with a French fleet of 21 line-of-battle ships and six frigates, which, under the command of M. de Guichen, had issued out of Brest as an escort to a large number of transports and merchantmen. The only ships that exchanged shots were the *Edgar*, 74, and the *Triomphant*, 80, and Kempenfeldt, discovering the disparity of force of the two fleets, contented himself with cutting off and capturing 15 sail, containing 1,062 soldiers and 548 seamen. The only other naval event of importance this year was the second relief and revictualling of Gibraltar by Admiral Darby.

The year 1782 is memorable for a great victory achieved by our sailors under Rodney, which we will now proceed to describe. The British fleet in North America, under command of Hood, having refitted at New York, sailed to the West Indies, where lay De Grasse with 29 sail of the line, being seven ships more than the British admiral had with him. Sir Samuel, having induced his opponent to leave the

anchorage of Basseterre in St. Kit's, which he was besieging, and come out in the open sea to attack him, by a most clever nautical manœuvre, tacked with his whole fleet, and fetched the anchorage the enemy had just quitted. Greatly enraged at being thus outwitted, De Grasse made three furious attacks upon the British fleet during the two following days, but was repulsed each time with heavy loss. Notwithstanding this success, the French troops, who had been previously landed, were enabled to reduce the island of St. Kit's, and before Rodney arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th February, the islands of Nevis and Montserrat, as well as Demerara and Essequibo, had fallen to the French arms.

It is recorded in Mundy's "Life of Sir George Rodney," that when that great admiral was about to sail from England, Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in a letter to him dated 2nd January, 1782, affirmed that "the fate of the empire was in his hands," and, looking at the reverses we had suffered in America and the losses in the West Indies of which his lordship was not then aware, together with the indecisive character of our recent naval victories, the statement can hardly be regarded as exaggerated. Within a day or two of his arrival at Barbadoes, Rodney received a reinforcement of two sail of the line, and, when Hood joined him, he had under his orders a fleet of 36 line-of-battle ships, 14 frigates, three sloops, and two fire-ships. Sir George first proceeded to Santa Lucia, posting his rear-admirals, Hood and Drake, to keep watch over De Grasse, who was lying in Fort Royal Bay in Martinique; and keeping himself advised of the position and movements of the French admiral by a chain of frigates, which brought him daily information, so that when on the 8th April he was signalled that the enemy's fleet was putting to sea, he instantly weighed, and by noon all his ships had cleared the bay.

On the morning of the following day, the French fleet was discovered, two flagships and 14 sail of the line being in the passage between the Saintes of Dominica, while the remainder, with a numerous convoy of transports, was becalmed in Prince Rupert's Bay. Sir Samuel Hood, with the van division on the starboard tack, was enabled to chase, but the rear and centre were still becalmed under the lee of the land. Count de Grasse, observing the isolated position of the British

van, bore down before the wind upon Hood, who hove to in order to allow the remainder of the fleet to close up. With his broadside directed towards the enemy, eight of his ships engaged 15 of theirs with such vigour that, when at 11 a.m. the British van and centre caught the sea-breeze, the French admiral tacked, and, standing on shore to rejoin his rear, relinquished the action. At 11.30 De Grasse formed line of battle on the starboard tack; but with the exception of distant cannonading, nothing more of importance took place on this day. The two succeeding days were occupied in chasing; but it became manifest, from the superior sailing qualities of the French, that they could avoid a conflict if they desired. Happily an accident threw it into Rodney's power to force on an action, and he was not slow to avail himself of it.

At sunrise of the 12th April, the British fleet was standing on the starboard tack to the northward, about five leagues off Prince Rupert's Bay, and the French were on the same tack to windward of the Saintes, the most southerly point of Guadaloupe; one of their ships, having lost her foremast and bowsprit, was being towed into Guadaloupe by a frigate, when Rodney made the signal for four of his vessels to chase the disabled vessel; on perceiving which the French admiral bore up with his fleet to protect them. Finding that by standing on he could give the British the weather-gauge, the Count de Grasse gave up his intention, and formed his line on the larboard tack. On his part Sir George Rodney, perceiving an engagement to be inevitable, recalled his chasing ships, and made a signal for the line of battle on the starboard tack. The two fleets now slowly neared each other, and at a few minutes before eight the *Marlborough*, 74, the leading ship of Rear-Admiral Drake's division, opened fire upon the centre and rear of the French. Sir George now made the signal for close action, and soon all Drake's ships were engaged. For some hours the battle raged, the ships being enveloped in their own smoke; but about 11, the sea-breeze having freshened, Sir George Rodney and Sir Samuel Hood were enabled to close up with the enemy's van. At this time the fleets were in parallel line and sailing in opposite directions, when Rodney resolved upon the manœuvre, the execution of which has conferred such celebrity upon this

action; for in the midst of the battle, the gallant admiral perceived a break near the centre of the enemy's line, when with the intuition of genius he seized his opportunity. Keeping a "close luff"—that is, lying as close to the wind as he could—he directed that his ship, the *Formidable*, 90, should be steered straight for the opening. His flag captain, Sir Charles Douglas, carried out the order, and presently the *Formidable*—as the admiral said, she proved herself worthy of her name—had passed through the enemy's line, followed by six ships of the centre division. Thus the enemy's van was separated from the centre, and Rodney crowned his successful manœuvre by wearing his ships, so that the French van was placed between two fires, that of the English commander-in-chief and of Sir Samuel Hood. In this trying position the French admiral and captains displayed all the national gallantry, and fiercely continued the fight, until at length the concussion and smoke of the cannonade, which had dissipated the light breeze, so enshrouded the ships of the two fleets, that both sides ceased firing. But it was only for a few minutes, for as soon as the smoke cleared away the firing was resumed. The French now, with the intention of effecting a junction, bore up, but were closely followed by the British ships, for all the officers and men were animated with a fixed determination that the action should not be classed in the category of indecisive engagements.

The French ship *Cæsar*, 74, was attacked by the *Centaur*, 74, Captain Inglefield, but her captain nailed his colours to the mast, and would not yield even when his opponent was joined by the *Bedford*, 74; at length the gallant captain was killed, and after maintaining the unequal struggle until she was a perfect wreck, the acting commander of the *Cæsar* struck his colours, and surrendered. Equally noble was the resistance maintained by the *Glorieux*, which only struck to the *Royal Oak*, 74, when all her masts and bowsprit had gone over the side. The *Hector* was engaged by the *Alcide* and *Canada*, and taken possession of by the former, and the *Belliqueux*, 64, captured the *Ardent* of the same force. Rodney had destined De Grasse's own ship, the *Ville de Paris*, a magnificent three-decker carrying 110 guns, for his own antagonist in the *Formidable*, 90, and in

the action of the 9th, when abreast of her at a distance of three miles, he had "laid his maintopsail to the mast," as a challenge to her; but on that day she had refused to take up the gage of battle, and indeed did not fire a shot. Very different was her conduct on this memorable 12th April,—a day equally glorious to the French, for De Grasse fought his ship with desperate gallantry. In vain now Rodney pressed on in pursuit of his huge antagonist; the *Diadème*, 74, crossed his path, when the *Formidable* brushed away the obstacle, sinking the stately line-of-battle ship by a single broadside. But other foes interposed, and the British commander-in-chief was disappointed of his purpose; yet, nevertheless, the *Ville de Paris* was not to escape. The *Canada*, 74, Captain Hon. W. Cornwallis, after the surrender of the *Hector*, brought De Grasse to bay, and engaged her until Sir Samuel Hood came up in the *Barfleur*. De Grasse had previously driven off more than one assailant, and had no thought even now of surrendering, but was seen on the quarter-deck encouraging his men to fight. The first broadside of the *Barfleur* killed 60 men; but De Grasse continued the fight until only himself and two unwounded men stood on his upper deck; then, but not till then, this gallant admiral of France hauled down his colours and surrendered his sword to his victorious antagonist. This historic incident worthily closed one of the most glorious days in our history. It was now sunset, and Sir George Rodney made the signal of recall: five ships had in all been taken, one of which the *Cæsar*, took fire during the night, and was destroyed; one had been sunk, and a few days afterwards Hood, who had been despatched in pursuit, brought in two more sail of the line, a frigate and a sloop. The following is a statement of the relative strength of the guns and crews of the rival fleets. Count de Grasse had under his orders, besides the *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns, five ships of 84 guns, 19 of 74, six of 64, and three of 80 guns; total 34 sail of the line, carrying 2,560 guns. Sir George Rodney's fleet consisted of five 90-gun ships, 20 of 74 guns, 10 of 64, and one of 70; total number of guns, 2,640. Yet our numerical superiority was more than counterbalanced by the superior size of the French ships, and in addition to

the crews, they had embarked an army of 5,500 men, with a complete train of battering-guns and field-pieces, destined for the conquest of Jamaica. The French commander-in-chief himself acknowledged the superiority of his fleet, for Rodney, in a letter to his wife, which is published in his "Life," says, "Comte de Grasse, who is at this moment sitting in my stern galley, tells me that he thought his fleet superior to mine, and does so still, though I had two more in number. And I am of his opinion, as his was composed all of large ships, and ten of mine were sixty-fours."

The loss on board the British fleet was very light considering the severity of the action, which had lasted for nearly twelve hours; 240 officers and men killed and 797 wounded. The French suffered more severely, the number of their killed alone having been stated to amount to 3,000. After Hood's return from the pursuit of the defeated fleet, during which we have seen he captured the French 64-gun ships *Caton* and *Jason*, and 32-gun frigates *Aimable* and *Ceres*, Rodney left that distinguished officer in command of the sound part of the fleet, while he proceeded with his crippled ships to Port Royal to refit.

In the meantime, Lord North's ministry, including Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, to whom Rodney owed his appointment, had left office, and were succeeded at the end of March by Lord Rockingham, whose naval minister, Keppel, had no love for Rodney. Taking advantage, therefore, of the clamour raised against the successful admiral by the British merchants,—whose property, captured in February of the previous year in the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, Rodney had confiscated, together with that of the Hollanders, who had acted with greater loyalty and patriotism than our own traders, the latter having made the island an emporium whence they carried on a secret commerce with our revolted colonies—the new ministry, who, when in opposition, had taken up the cause of the disloyal planters, immediately recalled Rodney, and sent out Admiral Pigot to supersede him. The very day after the arrival of the news of the glorious victory of the 12th April, Admiral Pigot sailed from Plymouth, the messenger sent to stop his departure arriving too late. Rodney despatched Admiral Graves to England with six of the finest

of his prizes and three of his own ships, that had suffered most in the action; but before they had gone halfway, they were overtaken by a hurricane, against which they were unable to battle owing to their damaged condition. Sad to relate, the *Ville de Paris* and the *Glorieux* went down with all hands on board; the *Caton* was driven back a total wreck to the American coast, and of all the prizes captured on that glorious day, the *Jason* and *Ardent*, 64, were the only trophies that reached England; for the *Cæsar*, as related, was unfortunately burnt, and with her perished 400 of her crew, as well as the prize-crew of one lieutenant and 50 British seamen, and the *Hector*, after beating off two French frigates, had to be abandoned. Irrespective of the lamentable death of so many gallant men, and these hardly-earned prizes, the loss of the *Ville de Paris* was much to be deplored. She had been presented by the city of Paris to Louis XV. at the close of the preceding war, and no expense or pains had been spared in her construction. She measured 2,300 tons, and her total cost is stated to have been £156,000, a sum unprecedented in those days to be expended on a single ship.

On his arrival in England, Rodney was received with the greatest distinction by all classes. He was created a peer, with a pension on both the English and Irish establishment, that on the English being attached to the title in perpetuity. Hood also was deservedly rewarded with an Irish barony.

In Europe, the year 1782 is chiefly remarkable for the relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe, and the loss of the *Royal George* at Spithead. We have seen how Rodney relieved Gibraltar after his victory over the Spanish admiral in 1780. Admiral Darby, in the following year, again rescued the garrison from starvation, by forcing the blockading squadron to retire; while at the head of a powerful fleet he threw supplies into the fortress from 100 store-ships. But by 1782 the supplies thus brought were for the third time exhausted. In order to relieve the gallant Elliott and his army, and to compel the final abandonment of the siege, a splendid fleet was assembled in August of this year at Spithead, under the command of the veteran Lord Howe, who had been cruising in the summer off

Ushant with 21 sail, with which he had rescued two most valuable fleets of merchantmen from the East and West Indies, from a superior French and Spanish fleet of 36 sail of the line cruising off that headland. The force collected at Spithead was of a far more imposing character than that previously placed under his orders. As a writer on these events cogently remarks, "It gives us a favourable idea of the resources of the empire at this time, and of the steady and judicious attention which had been paid to our navy, to find that at the very moment when such a splendid fleet was with Rodney in the West Indies, and while other squadrons were protecting our interests, or threatening our enemies on the American, African, and Indian coasts, we could still give Howe a force equal to Rodney's, without denuding our own shores of their necessary defences."

The fleet placed under the command of the gallant old admiral (he was in his 60th year) consisted of 36 sail of the line, 8 frigates, and several fire-ships.

On the 29th August a terrible calamity occurred. As the *Royal George*, a noble three-decker of 108 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Kempenfeldt, was being careened over for the purpose of having one of the pipes in her bottom slightly repaired, she was struck by a squall, and suddenly, without any warning, the huge ship filled, her lower deck gun-ports being all open, and went down. It was in smooth water, the admiral was writing in his cabin, the crew were mostly between decks, with their wives and children (who had been allowed to come on board), when in a moment she sank in deep water. The number that went down in her was never correctly ascertained, but it was believed to amount to nearly 1,000 souls. Two officers and about 200 of her crew, who happened to be on watch or on the upper deck, were saved. The hull of the *Royal George*, which had carried Boscawen's flag in his encounter with De la Clue, and had been the favourite ship of that brilliant seaman Lord Hawke, long cumbered up the anchorage at Spithead, until in the present generation the wreck was cleared away. Cowper's noble lyric on the death of Kempenfeldt and his gallant crew will recur to our memory, in reading this tragic episode in our naval chronicles.

But Howe had under his orders many not less noble and valorous seamen than the officers who went down in the *Royal George*, and among the number was the greater part of that unequalled band of admirals and captains who illustrated the history of our great struggle with France by their matchless prowess on the element they had selected as the scene of their triumphs. Such a brotherhood of great spirits as John Jervis, captain of the 74-gun ship *Foudroyant*, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, who had gained the ribbon of the Bath for the gallant manner in which, during the previous year, he had captured the *Reguse*, 74; Duncan, captain of the *Blenheim*, the hero of Camperdown; Hyde Parker, who commanded in chief at Copenhagen, the glories of which were, however, not reaped by him; Commodore Hotham, the victor of Lissa; and Rear-Admiral Alexander Hood, brother of Sir Samuel, subsequently raised to the peerage as Lord Bridport; such an assemblage of warriors, with the veteran Howe at their head, only required the greatest hero of all, the immortal victor of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and of Trafalgar, to complete a group of seamen the equal of which the world has not yet seen.

Howe, having his flag on board the *Victory*, a ship subsequently so world-famous, sailed in September, 1782, for Gibraltar. The gallant garrison had forestalled the admiral in causing the investing forces to raise the siege, though the hostile fleet still maintained the blockade as effectively as ever. General Elliott would, therefore, have had to succumb to the attacks of the irresistible enemy, famine, had not his look-outs descried from the top of the rock, on the morning of the 11th October, the British fleet bearing down in compact line of battle, with a vast convoy of storeships under their protection. That evening a portion of the storeships discharged their supplies at Gibraltar, as did also on the 14th the remainder, which had been forced to the eastward through adverse currents. On the morning of the 13th, the combined fleets of France and Spain having stood out of Algesiras Bay, in which they had taken shelter from a gale that had set in on the night preceding Howe's arrival, the British admiral again drew up his fleet in order of battle. But though the hostile squadrons numbered no less than 42 sail

of the line, one of which, the *Santissima Trinidada*, carried 120 guns, and five others 110 each, the French and Spanish admirals feared to attack the 32 line-of-battle ships opposed to them. On the 14th October, the enemy were still further strengthened by the arrival of two sail of the line, but suffered Howe to land all the supplies and reinforcements he had brought for the Gibraltar garrison, and, when he repassed the Straits and again offered them battle in the open sea, would not accept the challenge, but put in at Cadiz. Howe, therefore, according to orders, detached Sir Richard Hughes with a portion of his fleet to the West Indies, and returned to England.

The hardest fighting of the whole war took place during the year 1782, in the East Indies, between the French admiral De Suffrein and Sir Edward Hughes. The latter gallant officer had, previously to De Suffrein's arrival, been carrying on operations with great spirit and success, having reduced Negapatam, Trincomalee, and Chinsurah, while a division from China had captured the principal Dutch settlements in Sumatra. When Sir Edward was joined by the squadron detached from the Cape of Good Hope by Commodore Johnstone, he prepared to defeat the plans for the capture of Madras, which the French admiral had elaborated with Hyder Ali, the Sultan of Mysore, one of the most able and warlike princes our power had yet encountered in the East.

On the 16th February, 1782, Sir Edward Hughes sailed from Madras Roads with two 74-gun ships, one of 68 guns, five of 64, one of 50 guns, and a sloop, and at dawn of the following day, came in sight of the enemy's fleet, which consisted of four ships of 74 guns, five of 64 guns, and two of 50 guns, besides three frigates of 40 guns, and a corvette. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, the British admiral prepared for battle. The enemy attacked our centre and rear, the van, owing to the lightness of the wind, being unable to tack to their support; the *Exeter*, 64, Captain H. Reynolds, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Richard King, suffered very severely, having no less than four ships upon her at once. For two hours the centre and rear sustained the whole brunt of the action, and when a shift enabled the van to come to their assistance, the French ad-

miral made sail away, leaving our ships unable to pursue, owing to the damaged state of the *Exeter* and *Superb*, the admiral's ship. Our total loss was 32 killed, including the captains of the *Superb* and *Exeter*, and 83 wounded. An anecdote is related by Beatson, which testifies to the coolness of the second in command, Commodore King:—"While the battle raged with the greatest fury, the blood, &c., of Captain Reynolds was dashed over him by a cannon-ball, in such a manner, that he was for a time absolutely blinded. Still, however, he preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper; and when, at the close of the action, the *Exeter* was little better than a floating wreck, the master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down upon her, he, with great firmness, answered: 'There is nothing to be done, but to fight her till she sinks.'"

Sir Edward Hughes repaired his damages at Trincomalee, and, having been reinforced by the *Sultan*, 74, and *Magnanime*, 64, whose crews, however, were in an inefficient state, owing to severe sickness, proceeded to sea, and on the 12th April, the very day his brother-officer, Sir George Rodney, broke the power of France in the West Indies, the admiral, after four days' manœuvring, again brought to action his antagonist, whose squadron consisted of 12 sail of the line and three frigates.

The action commenced at 1·30, with an onslaught on the British van by five French ships. The *Superb* was attacked at pistol-shot range by the 74-gun ship the *Héros*, flying De Suffrein's flag, and *Orient*, while the *Monmouth* was also engaged by two ships. The action raged with much fury between the admirals, but so vigorous was the fire of the *Superb*, that the *Héros* soon sheered off, and closed with the *Monmouth*. At 3 p.m., this ship, fighting gallantly and single-handed against three of the enemy, lost her main and mizen-masts, and dropped out of the line: while in this helpless condition she was in imminent danger of being captured, when the *Superb* and *Sultan* bore down to her rescue. The action was continued until 6 p.m., when Sir Edward, finding his squadron drifting into shoal water, made the signal to anchor. A little later, the French admiral, who had been obliged to shift his flag to the *Annibal*, caused his squadron to haul

their wind to the eastward, and the battle ended. The loss on both sides was very heavy. The *Superb* lost 62 men, including two lieutenants and the master killed, and 96 wounded; the *Monmouth*, besides being reduced to a wreck, lost 45 men and one officer killed, and 102 wounded, being nearly one-third of her crew. Our total casualties were 137 killed and 430 wounded; that of the French, according to their own statement, being 139 and 264 respectively.

Having refitted his fleet at Trincomalee, Sir Edward Hughes sailed on the 23rd June. While lying in Negapatam roadstead, he learned on the 5th July, that the enemy had appeared in the offing, and at once got under weigh. At daylight on the following day, the French fleet was discovered at anchor, after which De Suffrein proceeded to sea, and at 10·40 commenced firing. After a smart conflict, the captain of the French 64-gun ship *Le Sévère* struck his colours to the *Sultan;* but while the latter was wearing to join the admiral, the French ship, under the orders of a subordinate officer, who quietly superseded the captain, hauled to the wind, and pouring a broadside into the *Sultan*, hoisted her colours and got away. The action ceased at about 1·30, with the exception of some partial cannonading, and towards evening, Sir Edward made the signal for his squadron, most of the ships of which had been closely engaged, and had suffered greatly in spars and rigging, to anchor, which they did accordingly; M. de Suffrein also "brought to" about three leagues to the northward.

Our loss in this engagement was 77 killed, including the new captain of the *Superb*, and 233 wounded, among whom were many officers. The French are stated to have suffered heavily, their dead numbering 412, and wounded 676.

In the fourth action between the rival fleets, fought on the 3rd of September, off Trincomalee, our squadron amounted in all to three ships of 74 guns, one of 70, one of 68, six of 64, one of 50, and four frigates; but they were all in bad condition, and their crews were much reduced by sickness. The French ships, which included four of 74 guns, eight of 64, and three of 50 guns, on the other hand, offered a favourable contrast in their superior condition, and had their full complements of men. At 2·30, after some manœuvring, the action commenced by five of the enemy's ships bearing down to attack

the British van, two others attacking the rear-ships, the *Monmouth* and *Worcester;* the latter suffered a great deal until the *Monmouth*, which had beaten off her assailant, gallantly threw all aback, and dropped astern to her support. The action soon became general, the two flagships engaging with much spirit. At 5·30, a shift of wind gave the British admiral the weather-gage, and at seven, M. de Suffrein, whose ship had lost her main and mizen-masts, wore his squadron, and stood in shore towards Trincomalee, where they anchored, with the exception of the *Orient*, which grounded and was wrecked. Sir Edward did not attempt to follow his beaten enemy; so, like the preceding engagements, this action cannot be called decisive, although the advantage clearly remained with the British admiral.

The loss of officers was again remarkably severe. The captains of the *Worcester* (which had lost her main-topmast), of the *Sultan*, and of the *Isis*, together with 51 men, were killed, and 283 were wounded. Sir Edward Hughes then returned to Madras with his shattered squadron.

For the fifth time the champions of England and France met in sanguinary strife, the arena being again the waters of Trincomalee, which had been recaptured by the enemy, as well as Cuddalore. Sir Edward Hughes had under his command on this occasion 16 ships, carrying between 80 and 64 guns, two 50-gun ships, and 12 frigates and sloops. The enemy again was in superior force when, on the 20th of June, 1783, De Suffrein, being to windward, bore down on his old enemy. The action commenced about 4 p.m. and lasted three hours, but without any definite result, both sides contending for victory with great obstinacy. Our loss was 99 killed and 431 wounded, that of the French is not stated, but must have been very considerable. News of the signing of the preliminaries of peace, agreed to in Europe early in 1783, now reached Sir Edward Hughes, and the two fleets were suffered to enjoy the hardly-earned honours they had both reaped in almost an equal degree. Seldom have more sanguinary naval conflicts occurred than those between the two distinguished admirals, who, with a pertinacity and courage above praise, were, notwithstanding all their losses, preparing for a sixth battle when their hands were stayed by the welcome intelligence of the conclusion of peace. Some

of the ships must have had mere skeletons of crews, as the following statement of their casualties during 18 months will show.

The *Superb* had lost 324 men killed and wounded; the *Hero*, 120; the *Sultan*, 117; the *Magnanime*, 63; the *Monmouth*, 183; the *Monarca*, 143; the *Burford*, 155; the *Sceptre* (joined at the fourth action), 89; the *Eagle*, 69; the *Exeter*, 262; the *Worcester*, 106; the *Isis* (a 50-gun ship), 148. Of the ships that took part only in the last engagement, the *Cumberland* lost in killed and wounded 13 men; the *Bristol*, 10; the *Africa*, 30; the *Gibraltar*, 46; the *Inflexible*, 36; and the *Defence*, 45. The total losses were 1,866 men.

On the conclusion of peace, England had of ships in commission, according to Beatson; ships of the line, 112; of 50 guns, 20; frigates, including sloops, 150. The number of seamen voted for the years 1780 to 1783, both inclusive, was 85,000, 90,000, 100,000, and 110,000, respectively; from these vast armaments and bodies of seamen, some idea may be formed of the great power wielded by this country as a warlike state of the first magnitude. At the end of the fourth year of a struggle with four powerful states, our resources for offensive and defensive warfare, so far from being impaired, were greatly increased.

CHAPTER X.

1783-1794.

Voyages of Discovery during the Peace between 1783 and 1793—Captain Edward Pellew's Action with the *Cléopâtre*—Vice-Admiral Lord Hood's operations against Toulon, 1793—Captain Horatio Nelson on board the *Agamemnon*—Operations in Corsica; Nelson at Bastia and Calvi—Lord Howe's great Victory of the "Glorious 1st of June," 1794.

BEFORE the termination of the ensuing peace of ten years, a period of tranquillity broken only by the war between Russia and Turkey, were enacted some of the most momentous events in the history of the European race. That terrible political convulsion known as the great French Revolution, ushered in a period of war and devastation from the date of the execution of the unfortunate Louis XVI., early in 1793, up to the day when the power of the mighty conqueror of Austerlitz and Marengo was shattered for ever at Waterloo; for a period of twenty-two years, the continent of Europe was bathed in the blood of myriads of brave men shed in countless battle-fields. With the political and military events of that period we have nothing to do here, but the naval incidents are not less memorable and glorious for this country, and to detail these, even in a cursory manner, is a task that would worthily employ far abler pens than mine. But as one who takes a professional as well as patriotic interest in these events, I will not shrink from the congenial task of showing how battles were won by the great seamen whose names are household words in every British home, and whose achievements are studied in every gunroom mess in her Majesty's service, by youngsters who aspire to be "sucking Nelsons."

During the ten years peace took place the mutiny of the *Bounty*, in April, 1788, an event, the details of which have afforded a well-nigh inexhaustible field for the writers of

books* of adventure; also the voyage of investigation undertaken in 1790 by Captain Vancouver, who paid two visits to Nootka Sound, and examined the straits and inlets of the island which bears his name.

On the 21st January, 1793, the Revolutionary Government of France guillotined the king, and on the 1st February the National Convention declared war against this country and the United Netherlands, a challenge which was followed by a counter-declaration on our part. On the 4th March a similar challenge was hurled at Spain. The following is the strength of the respective navies of England and France at the commencement of hostilities, according to James, the eminent historian of the Revolutionary war. We had 115 ships of the line, carrying 8,718 guns, and 107 frigates; the French, 76 ships of the line and 84 frigates. But this disproportion in our favour was more apparent than real, for their line-of-battle ships were not only much larger, but they were so much more heavily armed, that our aggregate broadside weight of metal was 88,957 lb., being only 15,000 lb. more than that of the enemy, a disproportion they used every exertion to lessen. The first action of the war was fought on the 13th March, between the *Scourge*, of 16 guns, and the *Sans Culotte*, 12 guns, in which the latter was captured. It would be utterly impossible in our limits to describe even a tithe of the actions fought between single ships, but we ought to refer to the duel between the *Nymph*, 36, commanded by an officer who subsequently gained great distinction and fought his way to a peerage, Captain Edward Pellew, and the *Cléopâtre*, also of 36 guns. The crew of the French ship numbered 320, that of her opponent 240; but nevertheless the former, after a fierce resistance, was forced to strike her colours; in this highly honourable engagement, she lost her captain, two lieutenants, and 63 men killed and wounded. Captain Pellew, who carried the enemy by boarding, lost 23 killed, including five officers, and 27 wounded. It is related of the gallant French captain, that when

* The latest account of the mutiny of the *Bounty*, and the subsequent history of the mutineers in Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands, is from the pen of Lady Belcher, the wife of the gallant Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, published in 1870, and giving details up to date.

expiring from the mortal effects of a cannon-ball, which had almost torn him in two, he recollected that he had in his pocket the list of coast signals in use in the French navy, and taking out what he considered to be the paper, tried to gnaw it to pieces; but by mistake he had laid hands on his commission, and died with his teeth fixed in that parchment.

On the return of the *Nymph* to Portsmouth with her prize, the Earl of Chatham introduced her gallant captain, and his younger brother, Captain Israel Pellew, who was a volunteer on board the frigate, to the king, who knighted the elder brother and gave the younger post rank, while the first lieutenant was promoted to commander.

The British Government, having resolved to attack Toulon, which was only second in importance as a naval arsenal to Brest, and moreover sheltered a large fleet, despatched to the Mediterranean, in the month of August, 1793, a powerful fleet under Vice-Admiral Lord Hood. The *Victory*, 100 guns, bore the flag of the commander-in-chief, with whom was also Rear-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker; the *Britannia*, 100, carried the flag of Vice-Admiral William Hotham; the *Windsor Castle*, 100, of Vice-Admiral Philip Cosby; the *Princess Royal*, 98, of Rear-Admiral Charles Goodall; and the *St. George*, 98, of Rear-Admiral John Gell. In addition to these five flagships, there were 12 seventy-fours, and four sixty-fours, among the latter the *Agamemnon*, rendered illustrious as bearing the pennant of Captain Horatio Nelson, who, though so young an officer, had earned the command of a line-of-battle ship by his exertions during the peace in protecting our trade in the West Indies—where he was known as "the great little man of whom every one was afraid"—from the peaceful encroachments of the American merchants. So great was his zeal, and judicious the manner in which he carried out this duty, that though he was opposed by the admiral and the military governor of the Leeward Islands, yet they ultimately recognized the superior wisdom of his views, and in spite of the misrepresentation of certain officials, whose corruption and malpractices he fearlessly exposed, Nelson received, on his return to England, the approval of Lord Howe, the first Lord of the Admiralty.

Having seen two convoys from India and the Mediterranean safely past the Scilly Isles, Hood proceeded to Toulon, where he arrived in the middle of July. Here he was joined by a Spanish fleet of 17 sail, under Admiral Langara; but though consisting of fine ships, the crews were inefficient, and our officers, among them Nelson, entertained great contempt for their new allies, which the result of their co-operation was calculated to strengthen.

At this time France was ground down under the despotism of the monsters of the "Reign of Terror," and a large portion of the citizens of Toulon, together with the greater part of the fleet under Admiral Count de Trogoff, were anxious to negotiate with the British commander for the purpose of surrendering the city, to be held in trust for Louis XVII., as the unhappy little Dauphin was called. Lord Hood gladly closed with these proposals, and after some negotiations agreed to land troops to take possession of the forts commanding the shipping. On the approach of the British fleet of twelve sail—for a portion had been sent away to the eastward—the forts surrendered to Captain Elphinstone, of the *Robust* (afterwards Lord Keith), who had landed with two regiments and some marines; and the French fleet also submitted, with the exception of 5,000 of their seamen, who, professing democratic sentiments, made their escape, under command of Rear-Admiral Julien, and joined the Republican forces in the interior. Hood appointed Rear-Admiral Goodall governor of Toulon, and at the beginning of September despatched Nelson to Genoa and Naples to procure 10,000 soldiers from those governments to hold the forts and city. A portion of these troops was sent; but it soon became apparent that the monarchical party did not muster in any strength in the south of France, and that the task of holding Toulon for the French king would devolve chiefly upon the sailors of the British fleet. A large Republican army soon arrived, and siege operations were opened against the ill-fated city. Batteries were erected on the heights, which commanded both town and harbour, as well as the forts, which were gallantly held by the small party of 2,000 British, aided by some 15,000 Neapolitans and Spaniards: these last, however, were of little use, but rather embarrassed

the defence by plundering and murdering the citizens (see Nelson's Despatches, vol. i. p. 232), while their officers set up an absurd claim for Lieut.-General Valdez to be recognized as Governor of Toulon in place of Major-General O'Hara, who had arrived from Gibraltar to relieve Admiral Goodall. Meanwhile, the Republican forces besieging Toulon had been gradually raised to 60,000 men, and among the most recent arrivals was a young officer, destined to rival, if not eclipse, the military glory of Alexander and Cæsar: of course we refer to Napoleon Buonaparte, then holding the commission of a captain of artillery. Buonaparte was chiefly instrumental in erecting batteries which rendered the works occupied by our men no longer tenable; and on the 17th December Fort Mulgrave was captured, and all the posts on the heights of Pharon were carried, so that the ships were compelled to retire. On the same day Lord Hood held a council of war, at which it was unanimously resolved to evacuate the city, and destroy the magazines and dockyards and all the French ships that could not be carried off. The execution of this important operation was confided to Captain Sydney Smith (the officer who subsequently foiled Napoleon at Acre), and, had he been able to employ only British seamen in carrying it out, it is certain the enterprise would have been conducted to a successful issue. The Spaniards, however, made a claim to share in it, and the result was that, so far as they were concerned, their want of skill and courage marred its complete success.

Sydney Smith blew up the forts which had been in our possession, totally destroyed the arsenal, magazines, and stores, and burnt two line-of-battle ships. All these operations were carried out with a handful of men, in the face of a heavy fire of musketry and heavy guns, and displayed in conspicuous relief the daring of the British seamen, and the skill of the distinguished officer who led them. The Spaniards, on the other hand, retreated before they had completed the task entrusted to them, and in their hurry and confusion set fire to, instead of scuttling, two powder-ships, causing the death of several of our men. In all, 14 ships were burnt, and 15 ships were taken to England, of which four subsequently did good service against their former owners. The troops and seamen under Captain Elphinstone,

taking advantage of these operations, evacuated the only fort remaining in our possession, and by daylight on the following morning, the wretched inhabitants of Toulon were left to the sanguinary mercies of the revolutionary leaders. Lord Hood embarked about 15,000 of the people, who fled to him for protection, and were carried to England; but of those who were left, nearly half, about 7,000 souls, irrespective of age or sex, were massacred with the most ruthless barbarity by the brutal soldiery, who thus carried out a decree of the Committee of Public Safety.

During the defence of Toulon, Captain Nelson was cruising off the Sardinian coast on board the *Agamemnon*, and at 2 a.m. on the 22nd October sighted a French squadron of four frigates, carrying respectively 44, 42, 40, and 32 guns, and a 16-gun corvette, and with the happy audacity that always distinguished him, at once gave chase. The *Agamemnon* being the fastest sailer in Lord Hood's fleet, approached the 44-gun frigate *Melpomene*, which at daylight opened upon her with her stern-chasers, occasionally firing a broadside as she yawed to the wind. The other ships soon after arrived up, but though the *Agamemnon* was considerably injured aloft, they shrunk from attacking a single ship of 64 guns, and were glad to purchase safety by flight.

In this same month of October, Captain James Saumarez, commanding the *Crescent*, 36, fought a spirited action with the *Réunion*, a frigate carrying the same number of guns as his own, and captured her after a gallant resistance of two hours and ten minutes. The successful commander was knighted by the king, and the city of London presented him with a handsome piece of plate.

The early part of the year 1794 is chiefly memorable in our naval annals for Nelson's brilliant achievements in Corsica. After Lord Hood left Toulon he sailed for Corsica, whither he had previously despatched Commodore Linzee, of the *Alcide*, 74, with a squadron of three line-of-battle ships and two frigates, to co-operate with the Corsican general Paoli in expelling or blockading the French troops in that island. The chief strongholds in the island of Corsica were the fortified towns of San Fiorenzo, Bastia the capital, and Calvi. The commodore had not been able to achieve anything with his force; so, leaving Nelson to

cruise off the north-western coast of the island, the commander-in-chief sailed for San Fiorenzo, where he arrived on the 24th January with some of his seventy-fours, and 1,400 soldiers under Major-General Dundas. The fort of Mortella was captured early in February, after a stout resistance; and then the redoubt of Forneilli, which Linzee had selected as the first point of attack before operating against the town itself, was besieged with great ardour by the British seamen, who were landed for the purpose. "It was fortified," says a writer, "in a most formidable manner, and was so strongly constructed as to bid defiance to any ordinary attack; but at a small distance from it, was a rock rising 700 feet above the level of the sea, which entirely commanded it, and which had been left unfortified and unguarded, from a belief that it was inaccessible. In fact, in many places it was almost perpendicular, and though there was a path leading to the summit, it was in very few places wide enough to allow more than one person to stand. For the most part, above this path were overhanging rocks, below it was a sheer precipice." The reader will, of course, be prepared to learn that the inaccessibility of this rock did not render it impregnable to British sailors, though it might be so to all else "of woman born." Along the path, so narrow that "it was in few places wide enough to allow more than one person to stand," and with a sheer precipice below and beetling crags above,—along this dizzy track, 700 feet above the sea-level, did our seamen drag a battery of 18-pounder guns, and planted them so as to sweep the inside of the redoubt. From the guns so posted, our sailors, to the amazement of the natives, opened fire on the 16th February, and on the following day, having silenced the redoubt, which mounted 21 guns, it was carried by storm. In the harbour of San Fiorenzo were lying *La Minerve*, 42, and *La Fortunée*, 40, two of the consorts of the *Melpomene* in the engagement with the *Agamemnon* in October. The latter frigate was burnt by the French before they evacuated the town, but the *Minerve* was captured, and was added to the navy under the name of *San Fiorenzo*.

Meanwhile Nelson had been sent round the island in the latter part of January to prevent supplies from getting into Bastia. On his way he summoned the town of

Maginaggio; but receiving from the governor a defiant message instead of submission, landed with a party of his men, put the garrison to flight, and hauled down the Republican colours with his own hand. After destroying some shipping he found in the harbour, with a great quantity of provisions prepared for Bastia, he proceeded on his way the same afternoon. Nelson, having reconnoitred the capital, returned to San Fiorenzo, and informed the admiral that it would be easily captured with a few ships and a land force of 1,000 men. Lord Hood agreed with his proposals; but Major-General Dundas, a most irresolute and incompetent officer, refused to permit his soldiers to embark on such an enterprise, which he pronounced impracticable. When on account of his differences with the admiral he resigned, a few days later, his successor, Major-General D'Aubant, proved equally pusillanimous, and though he had under his orders 1,600 infantry and 80 artillerymen, declined to take part in the reduction of Bastia.

Accordingly Nelson proceeded with a few ships, and on the 19th February commenced operations by taking a fortified town, called Morino, a little to the north of Bastia; four days later his ship, the *Agamemnon*, supported by the *Romulus* and *Tartar*, frigates, opened fire upon the batteries; which, in return, poured shot and shell upon the British squadron. After a hot action of one hour and three-quarters, one of the batteries of six guns was destroyed, and the others were silenced. Had he had only a small body of troops, Bastia would have been occupied that very day, as the citizens were eager to surrender. The French commander restored and strengthened his batteries, which Nelson was unable to prevent, owing to a dead calm, which lasted two days, and the indefatigable British officer was constrained to renounce all active operations, and rely upon reducing the place by blockade. On the 4th April, Lord Hood arrived with some more ships, and at once landed all the soldiers who had been embarked in his fleet to act as marines, and some battering guns, mortars, and ammunition, which he had been actually compelled to beg for from Naples, as the British military commander refused to give any assistance in men or materials. To Nelson was committed the conduct of operations on shore, and that gallant

officer set to work with characteristic energy in constructing batteries. Again the sailors repeated their feat of San Fiorenzo; guns and mortars were dragged up heights which would have seemed impracticable to all but themselves; roads were made and trees cut down to form abattis. Nelson superintended everything, and appeared ubiquitous; though, in justice to two gallant officers, we should mention that he had the able professional assistance of Lieutenants De Butts, of the engineers, and Duncan, of the artillery, both of whom had come with the admiral.

On the 11th the three shore batteries, armed with 16 heavy guns and mortars, and an old frigate which had been fitted up as a floating battery, opened upon the works of the enemy. But Bastia held out bravely, and the French general, St. Michel, appeared determined to abide by his answer to the first summons to surrender, that "he had shot for our ships, and bayonets for our troops; when two-thirds of his men were killed, he would trust to the generosity of the English." The ships kept up a most effectual blockade; the besiegers erected new batteries, the guns of which, according to Nelson, could never have been placed in position "by any other but British seamen." These fresh batteries were opened on the 1st May, and on the afternoon of the 21st a boat came off to the *Victory* with proposals for a capitulation. An hour afterwards General D'Aubant, who more than once had actually come over from San Fiorenzo with all his staff to see how the siege was progressing, having received reinforcements from Gibraltar, made his appearance on the hills which overlook the town, but arrived too late to rob Nelson's gallant band of the credit of having effected this important task unaided, and with the loss of only 14 killed and 34 wounded. On the 22nd the French colours were hauled down; and on the following day the enemy, between 4,000 and 5,000 strong, laid down their arms to 1,200 British soldiers and sailors. The only remaining town that now held out against the British and Paoli was Calvi, on the western side, a little to the south of San Fiorenzo.

In company with General Charles Suart, who had superseded D'Aubant, to whom he offered a marked contrast in all the qualities that mark the soldier, Nelson examined

the neighbouring coast, and, on the 19th June, disembarked the troops and a body of seamen at a narrow inlet called Porte Agro, distant about three and a half miles from the town. He at once pitched a tent on the beach, and began with his gallant "Agamemnons" to drag the guns up the hills to form a battery.

Calvi was a strongly-fortified town, and was further defended by three forts and a powerful battery. The siege progressed favourably, and its general features were identical with the operations at Bastia. At the end of June, Lord Hood, who had been watching the French fleet with 14 sail of the line, proceeded to Calvi, and sent Nelson some of his heavy guns from the *Victory*, but left in his hands the conduct of the siege, so far as the navy was concerned. While directing the fire of the batteries, Nelson received a serious injury from a shot which, striking the ground close to him, drove some stones into his right eye, permanently depriving him of its sight; this painful wound, however, only kept him away from his duty for one day, and so energetically did he prosecute the construction of new batteries, that, at length, on the 1st August, the garrison capitulated, being granted all the honours of war; the frigates *Melpomene* and *Mignonne*, the remainder of the squadron encountered by the *Agamemnon*, were also surrendered. This great achievement, by which the whole of the island of Corsica was reduced, was mainly due to the gallantry of the seamen under their illustrious leader, and this fact General Stuart was always foremost in acknowledging.

Lord Hood now returned to England, leaving the chief command in the Mediterranean to Admiral Hotham, who blockaded the French fleet in Gourjean Bay, until at the beginning of November he was blown off the coast by a gale, when the French admiral managed to effect his escape into Toulon. Nelson was despatched to reconnoitre the enemy's fleet, and returned with the intelligence that they numbered about 22 sail.

During the spring of the year 1794, Captain Sir Edward Pellew, when in command of the *Arethusa*, 38—a ship whose achievements have been transmitted to the "jolly tars" of the fleet in a spirited song,—in company with four other frigates, one of which was commanded by Commodore Sir

J. B. Warren, Bart., and another by Sir Richard Strachan, fell in with four French frigates off the island of Guernsey. An engagement ensued, in which the enemy fought with great spirit, but the result was most disastrous, as the captain of the *Saucy Arethusa*, and his comrades, succeeded in capturing three ships of the hostile squadron. The year 1794, however, is chiefly memorable in nautical annals for Lord Howe's great victory over the French, known in naval history as the "glorious 1st of June."

In July of the previous year, the gallant admiral had put to sea with a powerful fleet with the object of encountering the French squadrons that had been fitted out at Brest and Rochefort, under command of Admiral Morard de Galles; but though he sighted them off Belleisle, he was unable to bring them to action; again, in November, the rival fleets nearly met. The English public most unfairly vented their spleen at the British admiral, for his want of success in engaging an enemy who hugged the French coast so closely that it was out of his power to lure them to fight in the open sea, and ridiculed the veteran commander by squibs and lampoons, while the more sanguinary-minded members of the Committee of Public Safety superseded M. Morard de Galles, guillotined some of his captains and officers, "*pour encourager les autres*," as Voltaire would have said. They appointed a post-captain, M. Villaret Joyeuse, commander-in-chief of the fleet assembled in Brest, and the latter, to prove that the confidence reposed in him was not misplaced, weighed anchor on the 16th May, 1794, at the head of a fine fleet of 25 sail of the line and 15 frigates and corvettes. On his part, the only anxiety felt by Lord Howe was to bring the enemy to action at as early a date as was practicable; and on the 2nd of the same month he had proceeded to sea from St. Helen's with a fleet of 34 ships of the line and 15 frigates and corvettes, and the Newfoundland and West India convoy of 148 sail. On the 4th, when off the Lizard, the convoys were ordered to part company, and Rear-Admiral Montague, with six seventy-fours and two frigates, was ordered to see them safe as far as the latitude of Cape Finisterre, while one 74, one 64, and five frigates, were directed to accompany them to their destination.

The following was the fleet Lord Howe had now under his

orders, and as they were the same that took part in his memorable victory, we will give them as they appear in Sir John Barrow's "Life of Howe;" the total being 26 sail of the line, seven frigates, and six smaller vessels.

Guns.		
100	*Queen Charlotte* ...	Admiral Earl Howe (Union). Captain Sir Roger Curtis. ,, Sir Andrew S. Douglas.
	Royal George	Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Hood, K.B. (Red). Captain W. Domett.
	Royal Sovereign ...	Vice-Admiral Thomas Graves (Red). Captain Henry Nichols.
98	*Barfleur*	Rear-Admiral George Bowyer (White). Captain Cuthbert Collingwood.
	Impregnable	Rear-Admiral B. Caldwell (White). Captain George Blagdon Westcott.
	Queen	Rear-Admiral Alan Gardner (White). Captain John Hutt.
	Glory	,, John Elphinstone.
80	*Gibraltar*	,, Thomas Mackenzie.
	Cæsar	,, Anthony J. P. Molloy.
	Bellerophon	Rear-Admiral Thomas Pasley (White). Captain William Hope.
74	*Montague*	,, James Montagu.
	Tremendous	,, James Pigott.
	Valiant	,, Thomas Pringle.
	Ramillies	,, Henry Harvey.
	Audacious	,, William Parker.
	Brunswick	,, John Harvey.
	Alfred	,, John Bazeley.
	Defence	,, James Gambier.
	Leviathan	,, Lord Hugh Seymour.
	Majestic	,, Charles Cotton.
	Invincible	,, Hon. Thomas Pakenham.
	Orion	,, John Thomas Duckworth.
	Russell	,, John Willett Payne.
	Marlborough	,, Hon. C. Cranfield Berkeley.
	Thunderer	,, Albemarle Bertie.
	Culloden	,, Isaac Schomberg.

FRIGATES, &C.

38	*Phaeton*	Captain William Bentinck.
	Latona	,, Edward Thornborough.
32	*Niger*	,, Hon. A. Kaye Legge.
	Southampton	,, Hon. Robert Forbes.
	Venus	,, William Brown.
	Aquilon	,, Hon. Robert Stopford.
28	*Pegasus*	,, Robert Barlow.

Besides six smaller vessels and fireships. Among the captains commanding these ships were some who subsequently earned great renown. Chief of them appears the honoured name of Collingwood, Nelson's friend, and second in command at Trafalgar; also Duckworth, Gambier, and Stopford, who commanded at Acre in 1840. Standing over towards Ushant, Lord Howe, on the 9th May, sent the *Orion* with the *Phaeton* and *Latona* frigates, to reconnoitre the French fleet at Brest. After cruising about on the track the French West Indian convoy would take on their return home, Howe returned to Ushant on the 19th, when he found that M. de Villaret Joyeuse had cleared out with the whole of his fleet. The French admiral sailed, as we have said, on the 16th May, and on the following day was actually so close to the British fleet, that the sound of their fog-signals, of drums and bells, was distinctly audible, but the next morning, when the fog cleared away, not a sail was to be seen. On the 19th, the French fleet was joined by the *Patriote*, 74, one of Admiral de Nielly's squadron, and on the following day the Lisbon convoy of 53 sail, mostly Dutch, fell into their hands.

M. de Villaret Joyeuse had now under his orders a fleet of equal numerical strength with the British; but though the superiority in the number of guns on the French side was trifling, yet the calibre of their guns was so much greater than ours that an entire broadside of their fleet outweighed a British broadside by upwards of 5,000 lb.; their tonnage was also larger in the same proportion, and their crews outnumbered ours by nearly 3,000 men; the relative numbers being approximately 20,000 and 17,000.

On the 28th May, with a fresh breeze from the south, and a heavy sea, the British look-out frigates reported a strange fleet in sight to windward. The *Bellerophon*, 74, and three other ships of the line were ordered to reconnoitre, and at 9 a.m., the enemy's fleet having wore, was observed running down under top-gallant sails towards the British. The French fleet was then counted, and found to muster 26 line-of-battle ships and five frigates. Having approached within nine miles, the French admiral hauled to the wind, and hove-to, when a three-decker passed along the line as if to speak each ship, after which they formed in line ahead. At 10·30

Lord Howe signalled his fleet to wear in succession, in order to close with the enemy. The French fleet now filled and tacked, upon which the British admiral, seeing that his antagonist declined an engagement, threw out the signal for a general chase, and to engage the enemy as each ship came up.

At 2·30 p.m., the *Russell*, being the headmost ship, fired at the rearmost ship of the enemy, and towards evening the *Bellerophon*, having got up to the lee-beam of the *Révolutionnaire*, 110, opened fire upon her: for more than a hour she gallantly maintained the unequal contest, until, losing her mainmast, she was forced to rejoin her fleet. The *Russell* and *Marlborough* now closed with the great three-decker and shot away her mizen-mast, and otherwise so crippled her that she bore up out of the line, when she was intercepted by the *Leviathan*, and closely engaged by the *Russell* and *Audacious*, which, having taken up a position on her lee-quarter, poured a destructive fire into her. The *Russell* being recalled, the *Audacious*, single-handed, tackled her huge antagonist, and being much damaged aloft, could with difficulty keep clear of her. At 10 p.m., the *Révolutionnaire*, having lost her mizen-mast and main and main-topsail yards, fell athwart hawse the British seventy-four, but the latter having extricated herself, the French ship fell off before the wind. At this time the crew of the *Audacious*, believing that she had struck, cheered lustily, but the French commander directed his course to leeward under his fore-topsail, which alone remained to him. Lord Howe, being also under the impression that the *Révolutionnaire* had surrendered, signalled the *Thunderer* to take possession of her; but the signal was not seen or understood, and when morning broke, the *Révolutionnaire* was seen completely dismasted. She was then taken in tow by a seventy-four, and reached Rochefort in safety; her loss amounted, according to French accounts, to nearly 400 men. The *Audacious* had only lost six men killed and 16 wounded; but she was so greatly crippled that she had to return to Plymouth for repairs.

Both fleets carried a press of sail during the night, every British ship showing a light; and as they steered a parallel course, at daylight on the 29th the enemy were about six

miles on the weather bow. At 7 a.m., with a fresh wind and heavy head sea, the British fleet being on the larboard tack, the signal was made to pass through the enemy's line. As our ships neared the French rear on the opposite tack, the latter commenced firing. The *Cæsar* and *Queen* were the first to reply, but at eight the French van wore in succession, and ran down to leeward of their line to support their rear, and after passing the last of their ships, also hauled their wind on the larboard tack. Both fleets were now on the same tack, the French being some distance to windward. At 10 the enemy's van, having previously edged away a few points, opened fire upon the British, and soon after noon Lord Howe signalled the fleet to tack in succession. The *Cæsar*, the leading ship, instead of obeying the signal, made the signal of inability, wore, and ran down before the wind past the *Majestic*, the eighth ship in the line, before she hauled to the wind on the starboard tack. The next ship, the *Queen*, now in the van, also wore, and passing under the counter of her second astern, luffed up and opened a distant fire on the third ship of the enemy's van. She then stood along their line, receiving a heavy fire, until she had passed their rear ship.

Lord Howe, observing that the *Queen* was suffering severely, she having also hoisted the signal of inability, and that the French ships would soon be too far ahead for him to carry out his intention of passing through their line, resolved to set the example. Accordingly, at 1·30 the *Queen Charlotte*, the commander-in-chief's own ship, tacked, and bracing her yards sharp up, passed under the lee of the *Orion*, still on the larboard tack and astern, and to windward of the *Cæsar*. Receiving the fire of the French, the gallant admiral, as soon as he arrived abreast of the sixth ship from their rear, the *Eole*, 74, luffed close round her stern, and poured a broadside into her. The *Bellerophon* and *Leviathan* tacked, and followed the chief, the former steering ahead of the *Terrible*, 110, and the *Leviathan* under the stern of the same ship.

Having passed through the enemy's line, the *Queen Charlotte* tacked, and hoisted the signal for a general chase, leaving the two sternmost of the French ships, which had been considerably damaged, to the attentions of the *Crim*

and *Barfleur*, who would in all probability have captured them, but that the French admiral, "wearing ship" led his fleet, with the wind on the starboard quarter, to their rescue. Lord Howe, being only seconded by the *Leviathan* and *Bellerophon*, which alone had obeyed his signal to tack in succession and pass through the enemy's line, was unable to prevent his skilful opponent from carrying out his manœuvre. Accordingly he wore the *Queen Charlotte*, and the French admiral appearing to have a design upon the *Queen* and *Royal George*, the sternmost of our line, Lord Howe about 4 o'clock was compelled to gather his ships around him, and bear down to the assistance of his threatened consorts. Both vans were again engaged, and the *Glory*, passing within pistol-shot of three ships in succession, knocked away a topmast from two of them. An hour later the firing on both sides ceased, and the fleets formed in line on the larboard tack, the British being to windward. Our ships, including the *Queen*, repaired the damages they had received during the desultory operations of the day, and were soon again ready for any service required of them. The following were the losses sustained by the ships engaged: the *Cæsar* had three killed and 19 wounded; the *Queen*, 21 killed, including the master, and 25 wounded, among whom was the captain, who lost a leg; *Royal George*, 15 killed and 23 wounded, including two officers; *Invincible*, 11 killed, including a midshipman, and 20 wounded; *Orion* and *Ramillies* each three killed; *Defence*, one killed and three wounded; *Majestic*, one killed and 13 wounded; and *Queen Charlotte* lost her sixth lieutenant: the total loss being 67 killed and 128 wounded.

No fighting took place on the 30th, owing to a dense fog; at 10 a.m. when it was not so thick, Lord Howe formed his ships in two columns, intending to attack, but the fog coming on denser, he gave up his intention. The weather cleared up on the following day, and his lordship at 5 p.m. gave the signal to the van and centre to engage; but afterwards, considering it advisable to defer the battle until the next day, when he would have more time completely to dispose of the enemy, hauled his wind again. At length the "glorious 1st of June" dawned, and found both fleets eager to engage in what was felt must be the decisive action.

An anecdote is told of a distinguished British officer, Captain Troubridge, who was a prisoner on board the *Sans pareil*, his ship the *Castor*, 32, while convoying a small flotilla of merchantmen from Newfoundland, having been captured by Admiral de Nielly's squadron of line-of-battle ships. The French, it appears, mistook Lord Howe's avoidance of an engagement on the 31st May for timidity, an opinion in which they were strengthened when, at daybreak on the 1st June, the British fleet was seen about six miles to windward moving in a parallel line, but not offering to take the offensive. Captain Troubridge was anxiously regarding Lord Howe's line, when the officers of the *Sanspareil* pointed out to him the course his countrymen were taking, taunting him with it, as a proof that they had no desire to engage in an encounter with so superior an enemy. Troubridge knew better, and replied, "Don't flatter yourselves; John Bull does not like fighting on an empty stomach, but see if he does not pay you a visit after breakfast." The result showed that the gallant officer was not wrong.

Since the last encounter, on the 29th May, the French admiral had been joined by four fresh line-of-battle ships under Rear-Admiral de Nielly, and had sent into port an equal number of his most damaged vessels, so that his fleet thus reinforced consisted of the following 26 ships of the line, all in perfect condition :—

Guns.	
120	*Montagne*, flag of Admiral de Villaret Joyeuse.
110	*Républicain*, flag of Rear-Admiral Bouvet.
	Terrible.
80	*Sanspareil.*
	Scipion.
	Jacobin.
	Juste.
74	*Eole.*
	Trajan.
	America.
	Téméraire.
	Impétueux.
	Mucius.
	Tourville.
	Gasparin.
	Convention.
	Trente-un-Mai.
	Tyrannicide.
74	*Achille.*
	Vengeur.
	Patriote.
	Northumberland.
	Entreprenant.
	Jemappes.
	Neptune.
	Pelletier.

At daylight on the 1st June the French fleet was seen about six miles on the lee bow, formed in line of battle, on

the starboard tack. At 5 a.m., on a signal being made, our ships bore up together, steering north-west, and afterwards north, until about seven, when they hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, and the hands were piped to breakfast, the last meal many of the gallant fellows were to taste.

Precisely at 7·16, when the fleets were hove-to, about four miles apart from each other, Lord Howe signalled his intention to attack the enemy's centre, and engage to leeward. A few minutes past eight, the British fleet filled their sails and bore up, the commander-in-chief throwing out the signal for each ship to steer for and engage that opposed to her in the enemy's line, and at the same time some changes were made in the positions of our ships, so that they, as far as possible, might engage vessels carrying an equal armament of guns. These changes completed, the British fleet bore down in nearly line abreast; both fleets at this time were under single-reefed topsails, the French "backing and filling," in order to preserve their station in their line, which extended about east and west. At nine the enemy's van opened their fire upon the *Defence*, which ship was rather in advance of our line, then steering about two points to the westward of north, with the wind fresh at south-by-west, and going about five knots an hour through the water. Half an hour before the first shot was received by the *Defence*, the commander-in-chief had hauled down the "preparative" signal, and kept flying the signal to engage, remarking, as he shut the Admiralty code of signals, that it was impossible for any captain to misunderstand his duty. Yet the *Cæsar*, the *Russell*, and one or two others, either backed their maintopsails, or did not show the alacrity in engaging that might have been expected. This was not owing to the example set them by the veteran admiral, for he ordered the *Queen Charlotte* to be steered straight for the *Montagne*, the flagship of M. Villaret Joyeuse. The *Vengeur*, the third ship in the enemy's line, opened her guns upon him, but, reserving his fire, he ordered the topgallant-sails and foresail to be set, which soon carried the *Queen Charlotte* abreast of the *Achille*. After receiving this ship's broadside, which the admiral returned with his quarter-deck guns, Lord Howe directed his course for the larboard quarter of the huge three-decker The enemy's line was so compact,

that it was no easy task to force a passage through it; but the flagship stood on. Now she neared the *Montagne;* ordering the helm to be put hard-a-port, the *Queen Charlotte* passed so close under the Frenchman's stern, that the tricolour brushed the lower rigging of the British ship. It was the supreme moment, and as she swept past her adversary, at the word of command a tremendous broadside was poured into the *Montagne's* stern from the batteries on the larboard side. Just at this time the *Jacobin*, the *Montagne's* next astern, not wishing to receive the starboard broadside of the British three-decker, was seen stretching ahead, to occupy the position a-beam of the French admiral's ship, which Lord Howe had proposed for himself. While his lordship was expressing his regret to Mr. Bowen, the master, that officer, observing by the movement of the *Jacobin's* rudder, that she was in the act of bearing up, instantly put the *Queen Charlotte's* helm hard a starboard: by this manœuvre the flagship shaved the *Jacobin's* weather-quarter so closely, that her jib-boom grazed the larboard mizen-shrouds of the French ship. Another moment, and as the *Jacobin* bore up she received the British three-decker's starboard broadside into her port quarter; but returning the fire with such guns as would bear, she shot away the *Queen Charlotte's* fore-topmast. Lord Howe then endeavoured to lay himself alongside of the *Montagne*, but being unable to do so, kept up a cannonade upon her starboard quarter, of so destructive a character that nearly 300 men were killed and wounded.

After having sustained this fire without returning a shot, the French admiral "flattened" his jib-sheet, and crossing the *Queen Charlotte's* bows, quitted the line. In this the *Montagne* was followed by the *Jacobin* and several other ships; upon seeing which, Lord Howe made the signal for a general chase. At this time the *Jacobin* was on the starboard quarter of the British flagship, the *Juste* lying on her larboard bow; this ship being also distantly engaged by the *Invincible*, had her foremast, and soon afterwards her main and mizen-masts, shot away. Now the *Queen Charlotte's* main-topmast went over the side, upon which the *Juste*, which had drifted abreast and to windward of the flagship, and still displayed French colours on her bowsprit

cap, set her spritsail,* and wearing round, gallantly passed under the stern of the *Queen Charlotte*, into which she poured a raking fire. The *Républicain*, which was lying on the flagship's weather quarter, engaged by the *Gibraltar*, very shortly afterwards lost her main and mizen-masts, which went by the board, when she bore up and passed astern of the *Queen Charlotte* without firing a shot.

Meanwhile, the *Montagne* and *Jacobin*, having quitted the line, set their top-gallant sails. On reaching the van the French admiral wore, and, followed by eleven ships, directed his course towards the *Queen*, then lying in a disabled state not far from the *Queen Charlotte*. Upon perceiving this intention, Lord Howe signalled the nearest ships to close and form in line for her protection, and wearing his own ship round on the starboard tack, which he had some difficulty in doing, owing to the damages she had sustained aloft, his lordship, followed by several ships, stood towards the *Queen*. Finding himself foiled, and not caring to risk a second encounter, M. Villaret Joyeuse continued his course to the eastward, where five of his most disabled ships lay.

We must now detail the part individually taken by those of the ships which bore the chief part in the hard and close fighting, and for which I am much indebted to a valuable work on the battles of the British navy, by Joseph Allen, of Greenwich Hospital. Taking them as they lay in the line of battle, we commence with the *Cæsar*, which hove-to at about 500 yards to windward of the French line. On being signalled by Rear-Admiral Pasley, she endeavoured to bear up, but her tiller being disabled by a shot, she was not engaged with any effect. The *Cæsar* nevertheless, received a good many shots in her hull, and lost 14 men killed and 23 wounded.

The *Bellerophon*, the flagship of this division, owing to the conduct of Captain Molloy of the *Cæsar*, had to sustain the fire of the three headmost ships of the enemy. She did not reply until within musket-shot of the *Eole*, but her guns were served with such good effect, that at 11·45 the French seventy-four, and the leading ship, setting topgallant-sails, wore round, and after firing their starboard broadsides

* A sail under the bowsprit, but now abolished.

at the *Bellerophon*, stood away. Admiral Pasley, early in the action, had lost his leg, and Captain Hope, upon whom the command devolved, attempted to wear, but in doing so, his fore and main-topmasts went over the side, upon which he called the *Latona* to his assistance; that frigate complied, receiving and replying to the fire of the two French seventy-fours. Though much cut up aloft, the loss of the *Bellerophon* was only four killed and 27 wounded, including Rear-Admiral Pasley.

The *Leviathan* engaged the *America*, and in less than an hour shot away her foremast, when the *Eole* and *Trajan* as they passed to leeward of the French line, hove-to, and opened a galling fire on the starboard quarter of the British seventy-four. The *Leviathan* and the *America* then wore round, when the latter, becoming the weathermost ship, endeavoured to make off, but her main and mizen-masts going over the side, she lay an unmanageable hulk, with one-third of her crew killed and wounded. The *Leviathan*, however, was unable to effect her capture, as the admiral had signalled her to close, but left her plucky antagonist with her flag still defiantly displayed on the stump of the mizen-mast. Besides having her fore-topsail-yard shot away and all her masts wounded, the *Leviathan* sustained a loss of 10 killed and 33 wounded. The *Russell* engaged the *Téméraire* to windward, and within an hour and a half had her fore-topmast shot away. An hour later the *Téméraire* made sail to leeward, followed through the line by the *Russell*, but the French ship hauling up to starboard, the British seventy-four was unable to pursue her, and brought-to on the lee of three French van ships. Receiving the fire of the *Eole* and *Trajan*, the *Russell*, after firing into the stern of the *America*, joined the line forming astern of the *Queen Charlotte*, and at 2·30, in obedience to the signal to stay by prizes, took possession of the *America*, the capture of which, however, must be placed to the credit of the *Leviathan*. The *Russell* had eight men killed and 26 wounded.

The *Royal Sovereign* engaged the *Terrible*, also a three-decker, and within an hour and a quarter of the time she opened fire, shot away the main and mizen-masts of her opponent, when the latter, from the loss of after-sail, fell off

before the wind. In this position she was raked several times by the *Royal Sovereign*. The *Montagne* and *Jacobin* coming to the assistance of the *Terrible*, the *Royal Sovereign* engaged the flagship of M. Villaret Joyeuse, but the latter in about half an hour bore away, when the British three-decker, after following her a short distance, hauled up in obedience to the signal to stay by prizes. The *Royal Sovereign* lost a midshipman and 13 men killed, and 44 men and officers wounded, among the latter being Vice-Admiral Graves, who, within three-quarters of an hour of the commencement of the engagement, was badly wounded, and had to be carried below, when the ship was fought by Captain Nichols.

The *Marlborough*, having passed under the stern of the *Impétueux*, hauled up to leeward of that ship, and closely engaged her. The French line-of-battle ship fell on board the *Marlborough*, hooking her larboard mizen rigging, and in this position, with the muzzles of their guns almost touching, the ships furiously engaged each other. After an hour of this hot work, the *Mucius*, the next ship astern, made sail away from her antagonist, the *Defence*, and also fell on board the *Marlborough*. The latter ship had already lost her mizen-mast, and just after the *Mucius* fell foul of her, the fore and mainmasts went over the side. Nothing daunted by the well-nigh desperate state, the crew worked their guns with such spirit and success, that they soon reduced both opponents to a condition as helpless as that of their own ship. To add to the already heavy odds against them, the *Montagne* now ranged up and poured a broadside into the *Marlborough's* stern, which occasioned much loss, and wounded Captain Berkeley, who was obliged to quit the deck. The command then devolved upon Lieutenant Monckton, who continued to fight the ship until, being in almost a defenceless state, the *Aquilon* frigate went to her assistance, and towed her out of the line of battle. Her prize the *Impétueux*, was taken possession of by the *Russell*, when her loss was ascertained to be 100 killed and 75 severely wounded. The *Mucius*, although reduced to a wreck, effected her escape. As might be expected, the *Marlborough* sustained heavy loss. One midshipman and 28 men were killed; her captain, two lieu-

tenants, one master's mate, four midshipmen, and 68 men were wounded.

An anecdote is related by Sir John Barrow in his Life of Lord Howe, which, were it not well authenticated by the testimony of several of the *Marlborough's* crew, might be regarded as a sailor's "tough yarn." When the fore and mainmasts of the *Marlborough* were shot away in the heat of the action, a cock, which some of the numerous shot flying about had released from its coop, perched upon the stump of the mainmast, and flapping his wings, crowed defiantly. The bird was on the arrival of the ship at Plymouth presented to Lord George Lennox, and lived to a good old age.

The leading ship of the fleet, the *Defence*, was the first to cut through the enemy's line, passing between the *Mucius* and *Tourville*. She was soon in the thickest of the fight, and lost her main and mizen-masts, when the ships that had attacked her passed ahead to the aid of their own ships. But fresh enemies crowded upon the *Defence*, and soon the foremast, the last one remaining to her, went over the side. Upon his ship being rendered unserviceable, Captain Gambier signalled for assistance, when the *Phaeton* frigate towed her out of the line of battle. She had two officers and 15 men killed and two officers and 34 men wounded. The *Phaeton*, in approaching to render assistance to the *Defence*, was, contrary to the usage of war, fired upon by the *Impétueux*, upon which the gallant captain of the frigate hauled up and engaged the seventy-four for ten minutes losing three men killed and five wounded.

The next six ships,—the *Impregnable*, *Tremendous*, *Barfleur*, *Invincible*, *Culloden*, and *Gibraltar*, having brought to at some distance to windward, though much damaged in sails and rigging, did not take a prominent part in the battle, with the exception of the *Barfleur*. The *Invincible* lost four killed and 10 wounded; the *Impregnable* lost seven killed, including her master, and 24 wounded, including two officers, and had her three top-gallant masts and fore-topsail yard shot away; the *Tremendous* lost her first lieutenant and two men, and had eight men wounded; the *Barfleur* nine killed, and Rear-Admiral Bowyer, one lieutenant, two midshipmen, and 21 men wounded;

the *Culloden* had two killed, and a lieutenant and four men wounded; and the *Gibraltar* two killed and 12 wounded.

The *Brunswick*, the next ship astern of the *Queen Charlotte*, had her cockpit filled with wounded before she returned a shot. When the *Jacobin* shot ahead, as mentioned in the account of the part taken in the action by the flag-ship, and the *Achille* advanced to fill her place, the *Brunswick* bore up for the opening astern of the *Achille*, and attempted to pass between her and the *Vengeur*. But in this endeavour she encountered a foeman worthy of her, and the most desperate fight in this famous battle resulted. The *Vengeur* having forged ahead and closed the interval between herself and the *Achille*, the gallant commander of the *Brunswick*, Captain Harvey, ran the French ship on board to windward, hooking with his anchor the larboard fore shroud and channels of the enemy. On being asked by the master if they should endeavour to cut her clear, Captain Harvey replied, "No; we have got her, and we will keep her." The ships now swung alongside of each other, with the muzzles of their guns touching; and, both falling off before the wind, dropped out of the line, engaging furiously. It was a desperate encounter, and so close were the ships locked, that the seamen of the *Brunswick*, being unable to open their aftermost lower-deck ports, in their impatience blew them out.

At 11 a.m. the *Achille* bore down on the larboard quarter of the British seventy-four, and having her rigging and gangways crowded with men, as if with the intention of boarding the *Brunswick*. However, some well-aimed shots from the lower-deck guns of the latter completed the work commenced by the *Queen Charlotte's* terrific broadsides, and down came the *Achille's* remaining mast. The wreck of this spar falling on the starboard side, rendered her incapable of further resistance, and she struck her colours; though, as no ship took possession of her, she subsequently rehoisted them.

The fight still waged fast and furious between the *Vengeur* and *Brunswick*. At length Captain Harvey, who had been already wounded by a splinter which knocked him down, received a mortal wound, which obliged him to go below;



ADMIRAL HOWE.

"The glorious first of June."—p. 188

As he was descending the ladder, the gallant officer called to those of the crew near him, and directed them "bravely to fight the ship for the honour of their king and country," adding, "Remember my last words—the colours of the *Brunswick* shall never be struck!"

Lieutenant Edward Cracroft assumed the command, and the two ships, after remaining three hours locked in their deadly embrace, separated, the *Brunswick's* sheet and bower anchors being torn away. The *Ramillies* then coming up, took a position under the *Vengeur's* stern, and commenced a well-directed fire upon her, until the gallant captain of the Frenchman, seeing his ship in a sinking state, at 1 p.m. ceased firing. She is stated to have hoisted a union-jack as a token of surrender, but the *Brunswick* had no boat to send to take possession, and the *Ramillies* made sail after the *Achille*, of which she made a prize. Shortly after the *Brunswick* quitted the French seventy-four, the latter's fore and mainmasts went over the side, and with her mizen-mast only left standing, she lay in the trough of the sea, rolling under the water her lower-deck ports, many of which having been torn off, or shot away in her desperate conflict with the *Brunswick*, she soon began to fill with water. But although fast settling, the colours of the *Vengeur*, which had been rehoisted, were still kept proudly flying. Fortunately for her when she lay in this forlorn condition, every moment appearing as if about to be her last, at 6·15 p.m. the *Alfred*, *Culloden*, and *Rattler* (cutter) approached her, and observing her state, humanely sent their boats alongside, and by great exertions saved about 400 men, including her commander, Captain Renaudin, whose name ought to be held in respect, not only by his countrymen, but among the foe whom he vainly essayed to conquer. Sad to relate, the *Vengeur* sank before all her crew, who by their heroism merited a happier fate, could be rescued, and nearly 200 men went down in the ill-fated ship. Among the survivors was the son of Captain Renaudin, a boy of twelve years of age. The father and son were saved by boats belonging to two different ships, and each mourned the hapless fate of the other. The reader may imagine the joy of the gallant father and the noble boy, when, on arriving at Portsmouth, they were restored to each other.

The *Brunswick* lost her mizen-mast, and her other masts were so badly wounded that she was unable to haul up for the fleet, and consequently steered to the northward with the object of making the first British port. In her obstinately-contested engagement with the *Vengeur*, besides having been set on fire three times, and having 23 guns disabled, she had her starboard quarter-galley knocked away, as also her best bower anchor with the starboard cathead, which were both towing under her bottom. Her loss amounted to three officers and 41 men killed, and Captain Harvey (mortally), three officers, and 120 men wounded.

The *Valiant* hove-to to windward of her proper opponent, the *Patriote*, but soon passing through the line, engaged the *Achille* when the *Queen Charlotte* quitted her. When the main and mizen-masts of the French seventy-four were shot away, the *Valiant* pushed on, and brought-to a little to windward of the *Royal Sovereign*. She had two men killed and nine wounded, and lost her main-topsail and cross-jack-yards.

The *Orion* engaged the *Northumberland* for a short time, when both ships bore up. She lost her main-topmast, which carried with it the maintop and the topsail yard, and after parting company with her opponent hauled up in support of the *Queen Charlotte*. Her loss was two killed and 24 wounded.

The *Queen* suffered much from the enemy's fire while running down into action, and in endeavouring to get alongside of the *Northumberland*, though her gunners' practice against the latter was so effective, that the masts of the French seventy-four were so much injured that they eventually fell over the side. Being unable to close with the *Northumberland*, which had made sail ahead, the *Queen* steered for the *Jemappes*, which ship also sought to avoid a conflict. But Admiral Gardner followed the *Jemappes*, keeping close upon her starboard quarter, and shot away her mizen-mast. Soon afterwards the mainmast of the *Queen* went over the side, in its fall springing the mizen-mast, and crushing the fore part of the poop and larboard bulwarks of the quarter-deck. The British admiral quickly had his revenge, however, for the fore and mainmasts of the *Jemappes* fell over the side, and her crew, having been driven from their guns by the destructive fire of the

Queen's seamen, came up on deck, waving their hats in token of submission. The British ship now repaired her damages, and while so employed, the *Montagne* and eleven other ships sought, as we have seen, to cut her off from the rest of the fleet, a design which was frustrated by the promptitude of Lord Howe. Ten of these ships opened fire upon the *Queen* in passing, as did also two frigates, which, however, soon bore away again, taking the dismasted *Jemappes* with them. The *Queen* had 14 men killed, and three officers and 37 men wounded.

There is nothing particular to narrate of the proceedings of the next seven ships in the British line. The *Ramillies*, previous to her attack on the *Vengeur*, and taking possession of the *Achille*, engaged the *Pelletier*. The *Royal George*, passing through the line between the *Sanspareil* and *Républicain*, engaged both ships with great gallantry, knocking away the fore and mizen-mast of the former. She lost a midshipman and four men killed, and 49 wounded, including a lieutenant, the master, and two midshipmen.

The *Glory*, passing under the stern of the *Scipion*, hauled up and closely engaged her to leeward. In a little time she shot away all the *Scipion's* masts, herself losing her fore-topmast and main and mizen top-gallant masts; then shooting ahead, the *Glory* determined to make up for lost time, for being a slow sailer she had come late into the action,—engaged the *Sanspareil*, and then, together with the *Royal George*, raked the *Républicain*, compelling her to retreat with her main and mizen-masts so badly injured that shortly afterwards they fell over the side. The *Glory*, besides suffering severely in her masts and rigging, had her master, a midshipman, and 11 men killed, and 39 wounded. The loss of the *Sanspareil*, from the fire of the *Royal George* and *Glory*, amounted to 300 *hors de combat;* but although she surrendered, neither of the British ships was in a condition to take possession of her.

It should be mentioned that the *Queen Charlotte*, whose proceedings have already been detailed, had her fore and main-topmasts and topsail-yard shot away, and lost two officers and 11 men killed, and Captain Sir Andrew Douglas, a midshipman, and 27 men wounded. The total killed in the British fleet did not amount to 300, nor our wounded

to 900, while the French are believed to have lost six times as many men.

The battle, which had commenced at 8·30, was over at 2·30, when the smoke having somewhat cleared off, Lord Howe made the signal to take possession of the prizes. Though all the French ships still kept their colours flying, seven of them were seen to be in so shattered and helpless a condition that they were boarded, one after the other without their being able to offer any further resistance. These ships were, in addition to the *Vengeur*, which, as we have seen, was so riddled with shot that she went down, *l'Achille*, *l'Amérique*, *l'Impétueux*, *le Juste*, *Northumberland*, and *Sansspareil*. Most of these were subsequently added to the navy, and did good service under their new masters. Besides the seven thus captured, five others, the *Jemappes*, *Mucius*, *Républicain*, *Scipion*, and *Tourville*, were in so disabled a state that a single broadside from an English ship would have compelled them to strike; consequently great discontent was expressed in the fleet that no attempt was made to overtake them as they were seen slowly making off, three under spritsails and two towed by frigates.

M. de Villaret Joyeuse reached Brest in safety with his 19 ships of the line, on the way chasing a squadron of eight ships under Admiral Montague.

Though the battle of the 1st June was as glorious as almost any in our annals, there can be no doubt that the admiral, who had displayed such brilliant courage and tactical skill in the action, did not follow up his victory as he might have done. Sir Roger Curtis, the captain of the fleet, in his report to the first lord of the Admiralty, described 14 of our ships as "not much damaged," and only nine of the French as "capable of making an effort to protect their dismasted ships." We must impute this want of energy on the part of Lord Howe to his advanced age, for the fine old sailor was in his 69th year. Few Englishmen have done more for the honour and renown of their country, and it would be an ungrateful act on the part of any of his countrymen to detract from his great services by reflections of a depreciatory character.

To do the people of England justice, the victorious admiral was received with general enthusiasm on his arrival at

Spithead on the 13th June, while the king, who always entertained a strong personal regard for Lord Howe, travelled down to Portsmouth, and, accompanied by a splendid retinue, including some of the ministers of state, went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and on her quarter-deck presented his lordship with a sword set with diamonds, and valued at 3,000 guineas, and also with a gold chain to be worn round the neck. Lord Howe was also offered a marquisate; Sir Alexander Hood was created Viscount Bridport; Vice-Admiral Graves was raised to the peerage as Lord Graves; Rear-Admirals Gardner, Bowyer, and Pasley were created baronets; the two latter having a pension of £1,000 per annum granted to them for their wounds. The senior lieutenants were made commanders; Mr. Bowen, the skilful master of the flagship, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and subsequently became a post-captain. The king also gave a large present of money to the crews of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Aquilon*, frigate, and the Houses of Parliament passed a unanimous vote of thanks to the officers and men of the fleet. Medals, in those days, were not given to all the participants in an action, and, consequently, great dissatisfaction was caused by the selection made by the commander-in-chief, certain names,—among the number being that of Captain Collingwood, of the *Barfleur*,—being omitted, though a few years later the omission was remedied. On the other hand, Captain Molloy, of the *Cæsar*, was brought to a court-martial, and dismissed from the command of his ship, though his misconduct was not attributed by the court to a want of courage.

Lord Howe proceeded to sea again, but the French fleet was much too cowed to venture out of Brest to encounter him; and at the end of November he returned to Spithead for the winter, and his health being much broken, the gallant veteran retired from active service, and rested on his well-earned laurels.

CHAPTER XI.

1794-1797.

Services of the Navy in the West Indies—Vice-Admiral Hotham's Actions with the French Fleet in March and July, 1795—Admiral Hon. W. Cornwallis beats off the French Fleet, 16th June, 1795—Lord Bridport's Action with M. Villaret Joyeuse, 23rd June. 1795—Reduction of the Cape of Good Hope; also of Trincomalee, Malacca, and other Dutch Settlements in Asia—The Action between the *Blanche* and *Piquc*—Nelson's Services in the Mediterranean—Frigate Actions fought during the year 1796.

WITH the exception of the battle of the 1st June, the only naval action of importance fought during the year 1794 was that on the 6th November, when, off the Scilly Isles, Admiral de Nielly, with a squadron of five 74-gun ships, fell in with the British seventy-fours, *Alexander*, Captain Bligh, and *Canada*, Captain Hamilton. In their endeavours to escape, the two British ships were separated, when three of the enemy's ships surrounded and fell upon the *Alexander*. After gallantly sustaining their united attack for three hours, during which the officers and ship's company of the *Alexander* displayed the utmost heroism, Captain Bligh was obliged to strike his colours, having only lost 36 men killed and wounded, that of the enemy amounting to 450.

However, this loss was more than counterbalanced by the recapture of the *Castor;* by the capture, after a severe action, of the *Sybille*, 40, by the *Romney*, 50, Captain Hon. Wm. Paget, the French ship losing 158 men *hors de combat;* also by the capture of the *Volontaire*, 36, by the squadron of Commodore Sir J. B. Warren; and of the *Révolutionnaire*, 40, which struck to the *Artois*, 38, Captain Nagle, who received the honour of knighthood, his first lieutenant being made Commander.

During the previous year an attempt by a British force to take the town of St. Pierre, in the island of Martinique, was defeated, but early in 1794 a combined military and naval

force, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir George Grey (one of whose brigade commanders was Prince Edward, father of Queen Victoria), and Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, was sent against the island, and met with better success. Our sailors again served on shore as a naval brigade, and having erected and worked a battery of 24-pounders and mortars against Fort Bourbon, one of the strongest positions in Martinique, effected its capture. Still more conspicuous was the gallantry they displayed in the attack of Fort Royal, which was taken and called Fort Edward. The entire loss of the navy was Captain Milne, and 13 men killed, and four officers and 24 men wounded. From thence the combined forces proceeded to Santa Lucia, which was taken in three days; and then the squadron sailed against Guadaloupe, which also fell to our arms after some brilliant operations, in which Lord Garlies, of the *Winchelsea*, 32, and Captain Faulknor, with a party of sailors, particularly distinguished themselves. Subsequently, however, Guadaloupe was recaptured by a strong French military and naval force.

During the year 1795, three naval actions on a large scale were fought. M. Villaret Joyeuse put to sea in the last week of the previous year, but was twice driven back to Brest by violent gales, in which he lost five line-of-battle ships; while lying in port his fleet was reconnoitred by Sir Sydney Smith, who, disguising his ship, the *Diamond*, actually had the hardihood to hail a line-of-battle ship in French as she lay at anchor under jurymasts, and asked if she wanted any assistance.

France having reduced Holland to submission, had now at her disposal 120 ships of different classes, and was stronger than she had been since the commencement of the war.

Intelligence having reached Toulon that the British Mediterranean fleet had quitted Corsica and retired to Leghorn, the French Government on the 3rd March despatched to sea Rear-Admiral Martin with 15 sail-of-the-line and six frigates, together with 5,000 men, to effect its reconquest. Four days after leaving Leghorn they encountered the *Berwick*, 74, which had lost her masts in a gale of wind. Admiral Hotham, hearing that the French fleet

had been standing to the southward, proceeded to sea on the 7th March with the following ships :—

Guns.		
100	*Britannia*	Vice-Admiral William Hotham (Red). Captain Holloway.
98	*Princess Royal*	Vice-Admiral S. C. Goodall (White). Captain Purvis.
	St. George	Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker (Blue). Captain Thomas Foley.
	Windsor Castle	Rear-Admiral Linzee (Red). Captain J. Gore.
74	*Captain*	Captain Samuel Reeve.
	Fortitude	,, William Young.
	Illustrious	,, Thomas Lenox Frederick.
	Terrible	,, George Campbell.
	Courageux	,, Augustus Montgomery.
	Bedford	,, Davidge Gould.
64	*Agamemnon*	,, Horatio Nelson.
	Diadem	,, Charles Tyler.

Also the frigates *Inconstant*, *Lowestoft*, *Meleager*, and *Romulus*, besides two ships and a cutter. There were in addition the *Neapolitan* ship of the line, *Il Tancredi*, 74, commanded by Prince Carraccioli (an officer whose subsequent tragic fate at Naples is well known), and two Neapolitan frigates. On the 7th March, Hotham put to sea to encounter the French fleet, directing his course to San Fiorenzo, in the hope of intercepting them before they reached Corsica. On the 10th the enemy were sighted working back to Toulon. The following were the ships under the command of Admiral Martin :—

Guns.	
120	*Sans Culotte.*
80	*Ça Ira.*
	Tonnant.
	Victoire.
74	*Duquesne.*
	Généreux.
	Guerrier.
	Heureux.

Guns.	
74	*Alcide.*
	Barras.
	Censeur.
	Conquérant.
	Mercure.
	Peuple Souverain.
	Timoléon.

After a three days' chase the British admiral, finding that the French had no intention of fighting, again made the signal for a general chase. The wind was still fresh, the enemy being about three or four leagues distant, when at 8 a.m. the

Ca Ira ran foul of the *Victoire*, and lost her fore and main topmasts. The *Inconstant*, 36, Captain Freemantle, being in advance of the other British ships, gallantly ranged up on the larboard side of the disabled ship and engaged her, but had at length to sheer off with severe loss. At 10·50 the *Agamemnon*, which had the reputation of being the fastest of the line-of-battle ships, bore down upon the *Ca Ira*, receiving the fire of some of her stern guns. Nelson double-shotted his guns, and when about 100 yards off, ordered the helm to be put a-starboard, and his spanker to be brailed up, and, as the *Agamemnon* fell off, poured his whole broadside into the 80-gun ship. He then ported his helm, and, bracing up his after-yards, came up to the wind, until he was ready to repeat the manœuvre. Thus pouring in broadsides into the stern of the *Ca Ira*, he handled his ship with such skill that the enemy could only bring a few of her stern guns to bear upon him, while he reduced her to a perfect wreck, killing and wounding 110 of her crew. At length the *Sans Culotte* and some other ships bore down to the assistance of their consort, when Hotham signalled the intrepid commander of the *Agamemnon* to rejoin the fleet. During the day the *Sans Culotte* herself had been so severely handled by one or two of our ships,—conspicuous among them was the *Illustrious*,—that she was forced to quit the fleet, and retreated to Genoa.

At daybreak on the 14th, Genoa being then distant about seven leagues, the *Ca Ira* was observed a long distance astern and to leeward of her fleet in tow of the *Censeur*. The *Captain* and *Bedford* being ordered by signal, bore up, and at 7 a.m. engaged the two French ships, while the remainder of the fleet stood on, in close order of battle, for the body of the enemy's fleet. The *Captain*, in approaching the *Ca Ira*, received so much injury that the admiral hailed Nelson to go to her assistance. The order was, of course, promptly obeyed. But the French admiral saw the danger in which his crippled ships were placed, and causing his fleet to wear in succession with the intention of passing between them and the British line, closed the British fleet on the opposite tack. In order to frustrate the design of the French admiral, Hotham edged away a little, and the French fleet was obliged to go to windward of the British. Both sides now opened fire,

the *Illustrious* and *Courageux* losing their main and mizen masts respectively, and sustaining a heavy loss in men; but M. Martin, after clearing the British fleet on the larboard tack, went about and stood away to the westward, leaving the *Ca Ira* and *Censeur* to their fate. These two ships had to be towed out of the action, but they were at length forced to strike, having sustained a loss of 400 men. Nelson sent a boat to take possession, and the officer having hoisted British colours, brought their captains on board the *Agamemnon* as prisoners.

The total loss of the British fleet in killed was 74, and in wounded 284.

Nelson in vain sought to induce Hotham to pursue the enemy. The admiral replied to the fiery captain of the *Agamemnon*, "We must be contented, we have done very well;" an answer upon which Nelson observed in a letter to his wife: "Now had he taken 10 sail, and allowed the 11th to escape when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done." Before many years, the great sea-captain had opportunities of putting in practice his views of the duty of a British admiral, of which he never failed to avail himself.

Taking in tow the dismasted ships and prizes, the fleet bore away for Spezzia. The *Illustrious*, the most injured of our ships, having anchored in Valence Bay, went ashore and was lost. Four months later, Hotham displayed even greater remissness in not bringing the enemy to action, when a little more energy would have inflicted upon them severe loss. On the 7th July, the *Agamemnon* nearly fell into the enemy's hands, and it was only by the display of the most brilliant seamanship that Commodore Nelson succeeded in working back to San Fiorenzo, where he had left the admiral. On receiving intelligence of the proximity of the French fleet, Hotham weighed at 9 p.m. of the same day with 23 ships of the line, and making all sail to the westward after the enemy, discovered 17 sail off the Hyeres Islands, standing to the northward. The admiral delayed unaccountably in chasing the enemy, and when at 8 a.m. he made the signal, the French fleet was a long way ahead. Soon after noon, the *Victory*, gallantly supported by the *Cumberland* and *Culloden*, opened fire on the *Alcide*, 74, which was cap-

tured at 2 p.m., and just as the *Cumberland*, *Captain*, and other ships were closing with the French rear ships, the admiral recalled them, and the enemy, unmolested, proceeded on to Fréjus Bay. The *Victory*, *Culloden*, and *Cumberland* were the only ships disabled, but the total loss was only 11 killed, including two midshipmen, and twenty-seven wounded, including five officers, one of them being also a midshipman, a class of officers that seemed always to suffer more than any other, a circumstance probably due to their being more numerous. The *Alcide*, subsequently to her capture, caught fire, and was destroyed.

Admiral Hotham displayed want of energy in not continuing the chase and inflicting greater loss on the enemy; and this remissness was again manifested in September, when he delayed 13 days in sending a squadron to intercept a reinforcement of six ships of the line and three frigates despatched from Toulon to Brest, to the fleet of M. Villaret Joyeuse, by which neglect Rear-Admiral Richery, who fell in with a convoy of 30 merchantmen under the protection of the prize, *Censeur*, the *Bedford*, and *Fortitude*, seventy-fours, and one frigate, captured the *Censeur* after an obstinate engagement, and also the whole of the convoy. In the autumn, Admiral Hotham returned to England, and was succeeded at the end of the year by Sir John Jervis, Sir Hyde Parker holding temporary command.

Meanwhile, Nelson was sent to Genoa with a small and wholly inadequate squadron to assist General de Vins, and performed good service in cutting out French vessels, furthering the despatch of supplies to the Austrian army, and in various other ways. Not less important were the events that took place in the Channel and neighbouring waters this year.

On the 30th May, the following ships sailed from Spithead for a cruize off Ushant:—

Guns.		
100	*Royal Sovereign*	Vice-Admiral Hon. W. Cornwallis (Blue). Captain John Whitby.
74	*Mars*	„ Sir Charles Cotton.
	Triumph	„ Sir Erasmus Gower.
	Brunswick	„ Lord Charles Fitzgerald.
	Bellerophon	„ Lord Cranstoun.
38	*Phaeton*	„ Hon. Robert Stopford.
32	*Pallas*	„ Hon. Henry Curzon.

and the gun-brig *Kingfisher*. On the 8th June, Admiral Cornwallis fell in with a squadron of six sail, under Rear-Admiral Vence, with a convoy bound to Brest. The enemy was chased into Belleisle, and the British squadron secured eight small vessels. M. Villaret Joyeuse, who was still at Brest, hearing that Admiral Vence was blockaded at Belleisle, sailed at once with nine sail of the line, and, on the 15th June, effected a junction with the French squadron off Groix, when the combined fleet put to sea in search of the admiral, and came in sight of the British squadron; but Cornwallis did not feel himself justified, with his five ships of the line and two frigates, in accepting battle with a powerful fleet consisting of one ship of 120 guns, 11 of 74 guns, and 11 frigates. At 2 in the afternoon, the French fleet separated, one division continuing on the same tack, the starboard, as the British, while the other stood to the northward on the larboard tack. A few hours later, a shift of wind enabled the latter division to weather the British on the starboard tack, and the other to lie up for them also on the same tack. During the night they gained on Admiral Cornwallis, and on the morning of the 17th were discovered in three divisions, the weather division being nearly abreast and to windward of the British squadron, the centre on the weather quarter, and the lee division right astern. At 7, our ships were ordered to clear for action; and at 9, the van ship of the French weather division commenced firing on the *Mars*, assisted by the frigate *Virginie*. Presently others of our ships also came under fire, which they returned from their stern and quarter guns with such vigour that the *Zélé* was so much damaged that she had to drop astern, and discontinue the action. Meanwhile the *Mars* was much cut up, and observing that she was falling to leeward, and must inevitably be captured, Admiral Cornwallis, with conspicuous gallantry, at 3·30 o'clock, wore out of the line to her support. The crew of the British 74 cheered the *Royal Sovereign* as she approached to their assistance, while the leading French ships, though in great force, not caring to encounter the powerful three-decker, actually wore and left the *Mars* unmolested. The only other ship injured was the *Triumph*, but she sustained no loss of life, while the *Mars* had only 12 men wounded. The conduct of Admiral Corn-

wallis was most noble, and the devotion which, rather than permit one English ship to be captured, risked the lives of himself and his crew, was above all praise.

The French fleet thus beaten off by Admiral Cornwallis, being unable to reach Brest, anchored off Belleisle, and having again proceeded to sea, came in sight of the Channel fleet on the 22nd June, which had sailed from Spithead the same day that M. Villaret Joyeuse had quitted Brest. The Channel fleet was commanded by Lord Bridport, better known to our readers as Sir Alexander Hood, the third in command in Howe's great victory of the 1st June, and brother to Sir Samuel Hood, raised to the peerage as Lord Hood, a gallant officer who was Rodney's second in command in his victory over Count de Grasse in 1782.

The following were the ships in Lord Bridport's fleet :—

Guns.		
100	*Royal George*	Admiral Lord Bridport (White).
	Queen Charlotte	Captain William Domett.
		„ Sir Andrew S. Douglas.
98	*Queen*	Vice-Admiral Sir Alan Gardner (Blue).
		Captain William Bedford.
	London	Vice-Admiral John Colpoys (Blue).
		Captain Edward Griffith.
	Prince of Wales	Rear-Admiral Henry Harvey.
		Captain John Bazeley.
	Prince	„ Powell Hamilton.
	Barfleur	„ James R. Dacres.
	Prince George	„ William Edge.
80	*Sans Pareil*	Rear-Admiral Lord H. Seymour (Red).
		Captain William Browell.
74	*Valiant*	„ Christopher Parker.
	*Robust**	„ Edward Thornborough.
	Orion	„ Sir James Saumarez.
	*Thunderer**	„ Albemarle Bertie.
	Irresistible	„ Richard Grindall.
	Russel	„ Thomas Larcom.
	Colossus	„ John Monkton.
64	*Standard*	„ Joseph Ellison.

Five frigates, and some smaller vessels.

* The ships marked with an asterisk were part of Sir John Warren's squadron, which had been sent to aid an expeditionary force of French emigrants sent to Quiberon Bay; but being too far to leeward, were unable to obey Lord Bridport's orders to rejoin, and thus did not participate in the action.

The French fleet, as in the preceding week, consisted of only 12 sail of the line and 11 frigates. Changes of wind kept the two fleets apart for two days after they first sighted each other on the 19th; at 6·45 on the morning of the 22nd June, Lord Bridport, finding that the French admiral had no intention of accepting battle, made the signal for a general chase, but little ground was gained, and at night it fell calm. At daybreak on the following day, the French fleet was seen in a cluster ahead about three miles, and a light breeze springing up, the British fleet drew nearer, and at 6 a.m. the *Irresistible* engaged *L'Alexandre* (late the British *Alexander*). The *Orion* and *Queen Charlotte* passed the *Irresistible*, the *Queen Charlotte* closely engaging the *Formidable*, Captain Charles Linois. After a gallant resistance, in which the French ship caught fire, and lost her mizen-mast, Captain Linois struck his colours. The *Queen Charlotte* was by this time almost as much disabled as her prize, and having dropped astern, fired a broadside into the *Alexandre*, compelling her also to surrender. The *Tigre* was pursued and brought to action by the *Sans Pareil*, and the *London* and *Queen* ranging up and opening fire on her, she was obliged to submit to superior force, and struck her colours. Thus, before 8 in the morning, three of the enemy's ships had been captured. The *Royal George* passed the *Queen Charlotte*, as she lay repairing damages, and after receiving the fire of the *Peuple*, a huge three-decker, bore up, and fired a broadside into her. By this time, however, the fleet had got so close in with the land that Lord Bridport considered it prudent to discontinue the chase. The French admiral kept his wind, and anchored within the Isle of Groix in safety. The *Queen Charlotte*, *Sans Pareil*, and *Irresistible* were the only ships which suffered materially aloft. The total loss of the fleet was only 31 killed and 113 wounded, distributed as follows:—*Irresistible*, three men killed and 11 wounded, including the captain and master; *Queen Charlotte*, four killed and 32 wounded; *Sans Pareil*, eight men and three officers killed, and two midshipmen wounded; *Colossus*, five killed and 30 wounded; *Russel*, three killed and 10 wounded; *Orion*, six killed and 18 wounded; *London*, three wounded; and *Royal George*, seven wounded. The French loss was considerable; on

board the three ships captured, the *Tigre* had 130 men killed and wounded; the *Alexandre*, 200; and the *Formidable* more than 300.

Attempts were made to cast discredit on Lord Bridport's conduct in not following up his victory, and the opinion of a French admiral to the effect that he had it in his power to destroy every ship in the hostile fleet, was adduced as a proof of this negligence; but the character of the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet stood too high in professional and general esteem to suffer from the censures of his detractors, and Parliament showed its sense of his meritorious conduct by awarding their thanks to him and the other admirals. The three captured ships were received into the navy, the name of the *Formidable* being changed to *Belleisle*.

As for the expeditionary force of 2,500 *émigrés* landed by Sir J. Warren, it having suffered defeat at the hands of Hoche—the youthful general of the Republic, who during his short career displayed military genius of the highest order—the British officer re-embarked the remnant that fled to the shore.

In order to strike a blow against Holland, the British Government despatched a squadron of three 74-gun ships, two 64s, and two sloops of 16 guns, to the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K.B., having also on board a small military force of 500 men under Major-General Craig. The expedition arrived at the Cape in August, and took possession of Simon's Town, but the Dutch militia occupied the heights behind, and showed a bold front. The admiral landed 350 marines and 1,000 sailors to co-operate with the handful of troops, and, arming the launches of the fleet with boat guns, sent them on shore. The two 64s, and the sloops also stood in as near to the land as the depth of water would allow, and so heavy was the fire they kept up, that the Dutch force was driven away before the arrival of the general. Further successful fighting took place, in which the sailors had the chief part, and by their conduct elicited from General Craig the warmest praise, and an opinion that they manœuvred with the steadiness and precision of veteran soldiers. The enemy were, however,

superior in numbers, until a re-inforcement of troops arrived from India under General Alured Clarke, when the brave Dutch Governor-General, Shuyshen, seeing that it was vain to protract the struggle, capitulated, with 1,000 regular soldiers, the militia having previously dispersed. With the exception of a short interval, the settlement has remained in British occupation ever since.

The reduction of Ceylon being resolved upon, Rear-Admiral Rainier sailed from Madras in the *Suffolk*, 74, with the *Centurion*, 50, *Diomede*, 44, and several transports carrying a small body of troops, under Colonel James Stuart. The strong town of Trincomalee, which was protected by a fort mounting 100 guns, surrendered after a brief resistance; and the other strongholds following the example of this important naval station, the eastern side of the island of Ceylon fell to the British arms, with the loss of only 16 killed and 60 wounded, and of the *Diomede*, which struck on a rock and went down. In the following month Malacca capitulated to a force under command of Captain Newcome, of the *Orpheus* frigate, and before the end of the year, Chinsurah, Cochin, and other Dutch settlements in Asia, surrendered almost without resistance.

We were less successful in the West Indies, for though the French were defeated at Dominica, and were only partially successful at Grenada and St. Vincent, they compelled our troops entirely to abandon Sainte Lucie. But on the other hand, in actions between single ships, the British navy more than maintained its renown. A striking instance of this dashing gallantry was the action between the *Blanche*, commanded by Captain Faulknor, and the *Pique*, fought on the 5th January, off Pointe à Pitre, Guadaloupe. About midnight of the 4th Captain Faulknor, having succeeded in inducing the commander of the *Pique* to accept his challenge, and proceed out to sea for a fair fight, was near enough to open fire upon his antagonist. At 1 a.m., when within musket-shot of the *Blanche's* starboard quarter, the *Pique* wore to cross her opponent's bow. To defeat this manœuvre, Captain Faulknor bore up, and both frigates became closely engaged, running before the wind. The action that ensued was one of the most hardly contested on record. The British frigate carried 32 guns, with an additional arma-

ment of six heavy carronades, and the *Pique* had exactly the same number of guns, but they were of heavier calibre, while she had the further advantage of a larger crew.

The two frigates continued the action thus running side by side, until at 2·30, the *Blanche*, having shot ahead, luffed across the *Pique's* bows in order to rake her, but her main and mizen masts going over the side as she came to the wind, the *Pique* ran foul of her on the starboard quarter, and made several attempts to board. The enemy were, however, repulsed by the gallant Faulknor, who, at the head of his men, sword in hand, drove them back with heavy loss, while such of his guns as could bear, swept with a heavy fire the decks of the French ship. At about 3 a.m., Captain Faulknor met his death; for as, assisted by his second lieutenant, Milne, and some of his men, he was lashing the *Pique's* bowsprit to the capstan of his ship with the intention of boarding in turn, a musket-ball pierced his heart, and he died instantly. The lashings of the bowsprit having parted, the two ships soon separated, but the *Blanche*, not having any after sail, paid her head off, and again fell on board the *Pique*. The bowsprit of the latter was now lashed to the stump of the *Blanche's* mainmast, and in this manner the two ships, running before the wind, kept up the desperate conflict. The musketry fire on both sides was very heavy, particularly that from the Frenchman's tops. The *Blanche's* crew could only bring the two quarter-deck six-pounders to bear upon the enemy, as the ship had no stern-ports on the main deck. After vainly endeavouring to cut ports, the two aftermost guns were fired through the stern frame, and from the openings thus made, so destructive a fire was opened from two 12-pounders, that the *Pique's* mainmast fell over the side, her fore and mizen-mast having already been shot away. At length, at a quarter-past five, the guns of the French frigate being silenced, or unable to return a shot, some of her crew ran out to the end of her bowsprit and called out for quarter.

The *Blanche* commenced the action with 198 men, and lost, besides her captain, one midshipman and six men killed, and one midshipman and 18 men wounded. The loss sustained by the *Pique* was almost unexampled for its severity. Out of a crew of 275 men, all told, she lost,

besides her captain, 75 men killed and 105 wounded. The death of Captain Faulknor marred this brilliant victory, for he was as promising an officer as the navy possessed, and during his short career, he had exhibited courage and professional talent of the highest order. First-Lieutenant Watkins, his successor, and Second-Lieutenant Milne, both received promotion, and the *Pique* was added to the British navy.

Scarcely less glorious was the capture of the *Gloire*, 36, by the *Astræa*, 32, Captain Lord Henry Paulet, after an engagement that lasted 58 minutes. On the 24th June, a brilliant action was fought off Minorca, between two British frigates, the *Dido*, 28, Captain Towry, and *Lowestoft*, 32, Captain Middleton, and the French frigates, *Minerve*, 40, and *Artémise*, 36. The *Minerve*, after firing a broadside, put her helm aweather, and squared her yards, with the intention of sinking the little *Dido*. The shock of the collision was so great that it threw the British frigate athwart the *Minerve's* hawse, the bowsprit carrying away her mizenmast. When the British colours went overboard, one of the *Dido's* quartermasters nailed the Union Jack to the stump of the mizen-mast, and soon, the *Lowestoft* ranging up to her assistance, the *Minerve* surrendered. The *Dido* lost one officer and five men killed, and 15 men wounded, and the French frigate is said to have had only 20 men *hors de combat*, though the loss of her bowsprit and mizen-mast rendered her almost unmanageable.

The year 1796 is not remarkable for any great naval battle. The Dutch settlement at Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, was captured by a squadron under command of Captain Alan Gardner, with troops under Colonel Stuart, and Amboyna and Banda also surrendered to an expedition under Rear-Admiral Sir Peter Rainier. Still greater was the success achieved by Sir George Elphinstone, the admiral commanding on the Cape of Good Hope station, who on the 17th August captured, in Saldanha Bay, a Dutch squadron of nine sail.

A powerful fleet, under command of Keppel's old antagonist, M. Morard de Galles, consisting of 17 ships-of-the-line, with 13 frigates and transports, having 17,500 troops commanded by the famous republican general Hoche, having with him Humbert and Grouchy, was despatched to Ireland

to assist in wresting the country from British rule; but the expedition only sailed in December, and then encountered such heavy weather that though the greater portion of it reached Bantry Bay, before any attempts could be made to disembark the troops the fleet was driven out to sea, and ultimately returned to Brest, without having accomplished anything.

In the Mediterranean, Rear-Admiral Brueys now had command of the Toulon fleet, consisting of 15 sail-of-the-line, but he feared to venture out to measure his strength with Sir John Jervis, the British commander-in-chief. The little that was done in the Mediterranean during 1796, was effected by Nelson, in whom Jervis, like his predecessors, Hood and Hotham, reposed unlimited confidence. On the coast of the republic of Genoa he performed good service in assisting General Beaulieu, who commanded the combined Austrian and Sardinian forces, then feebly attempting to oppose the triumphant advance of General Buonaparte, who in this year carried all before him in that wonderful Italian campaign, which is, perhaps, the most conspicuous instance of his genius for war. After the evacuation of Leghorn, Nelson took possession of Elba, and the small island of Caprera, since rendered famous as the favourite abode of Garibaldi.

In August, Spain joined the coalition against us, and as our Government had always resolved in such an eventuality to abandon Corsica, the difficult and delicate task was entrusted to Nelson, who effected the removal of all the troops and stores. The day after he sailed, Admiral Langara arrived with 26 sail-of-the-line and ten frigates, with which he proceeded to Toulon, and effected a junction with Admiral Brueys.

Commodore Nelson, having shifted his broad pennant to the *Minerve*, 38, Captain Cockburn (the frigate recently captured by the *Dido*), was approaching Carthagena, in company with the *Blanche*, 32, Captain Preston, when he fell in with the Spanish frigates *Sabina* and *Ceres*. Nelson attacked the former, and after a severe action, which lasted two hours and fifty minutes, captured his antagonist, which he discovered to be commanded by Don Jacopo Stuart, a descendant of that Duke of Berwick, natural son of James II., who inflicted on Lord Galway and a British army the

defeat of Almanza. With characteristic magnanimity, Nelson restored to the Spanish captain his sword and liberty. The *Sabina* had her mizen-mast shot away, and lost 10 men killed and 45 wounded; the *Minerve* had one midshipman and six men killed, and two officers and 32 wounded. The *Blanche* also forced the *Ceres* to haul her colours down, but was unable to take possession, owing to the arrival upon the scene of two Spanish frigates; one of these, the *Matilda*, was engaged by Nelson, who having put a prize crew of 40 men on board the *Sabina*, cast her off. The commodore would have captured the *Matilda* also, but that a three-decker and two frigates hove in sight, and compelled him to seek safety in flight. The prize-crew of the *Sabina* made a gallant fight, but, on the fall of her only remaining mast, struck her colours.

In America we recovered the West India Islands of Sainte Lucie, Grenada, and St. Vincent, and reduced the Dutch settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. During the year our frigates were no less successful than the previous year in their duels with the enemy's ships. In March, Sir Sydney Smith, with the *Diamond*, 38, a 14-gun brig, and a lugger, cut out from under some batteries a 16-gun corvette, and eight smaller vessels, which lay in the port of Herqui, on the northern coast of France; but the gallant officer was not so successful in a subsequent affair in which he and a midshipman were captured and thrown into the Temple prison in Paris. Here Sir Sydney was kept a close prisoner for two years, at times being threatened even with death, but at last he effected his escape, and lived to foil, at Acre, the conqueror of Arcola. The capture of the *Tamise*, 36 (late the British 32-gun frigate *Thames*), by the *Santa Margarita*, 36, Captain Byam Martin, and of the *Tribune*, 36, by the *Unicorn*, 32, Captain T. Williams, were not effected without considerable loss, and were hard-fought actions, as were also the engagements between the *Terpsichore*, 32, Captain R. Bowen, a most gallant officer, and the Spanish frigate, *Mahonesa*, 34 (which lost 60 men); the same British frigate subsequently capturing, after a spirited action, the *Vestale*, 36, which lost her captain, two officers, and 27 men killed and 37 wounded; between the *Dryad*, 36, Captain Lord Amelius Beauclerk, and a ship

of the same force, the *Proserpine*, which lost 30 killed and 45 wounded; and between the *Glatton*, 50, Captain H. Trollope, who had the audacity to engage four French frigates and two corvettes, and beat them off, an achievement for which Captain Trollope was knighted. An action also occurred in the East Indies on the 9th September, between two British seventy-fours and six French frigates, in which our loss was one midshipman and 23 men killed, and two officers and 82 men wounded; the frigates, which made off, losing 42 killed and 104 wounded.

CHAPTER XII.

1797.

The loss of the *Droits de l'Homme*—The Victory gained by Sir John Jervis over the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent, on the 14th February, 1797—The Mutinies at Spithead, the Nore, and elsewhere—The Bombardment of Cadiz, 3rd to 5th July—Nelson's brilliant courage in a boat action—The attack on Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, 25th July.

THE year 1797 is rendered memorable by one of the most glorious victories ever achieved by our fleets. In this year the British Navy contended successfully against the combined sea forces of France, Holland, and Spain; and yet, as we detail the history of the events of 1797, we shall find that the very seamen whose achievements added so greatly to England's glory were before the close of the year the means of bringing the country to the very verge of ruin. Before narrating the stirring incidents of the two great battles of St. Vincent, we should, in strict chronological sequence, refer to the disaster which befel a French 74-gun ship, one of the squadron despatched in the previous year, for the invasion of Ireland. This was the *Droits de l'Homme*, Commodore La Crosse, which, after being buffeted about in the heavy weather that scattered the fleet, arrived off Ushant on the 9th January, when she sighted the *Indefatigable*, 44, Captain Sir Edward Pellew, and *Amazon*, 36, Captain Reynolds.

The *Indefatigable* first closed with the 74, and endeavoured to shoot ahead and rake her, a manœuvre which the French ship succeeded in frustrating, by luffing up and attempting to board. At 6.45 the *Amazon*, having arrived up, took part in the action. Passing ahead, the frigates placed themselves one on each bow of the *Droits de l'Homme*, raking her with great effect, which the 74, having already lost her fore and main topmasts, and being unable owing to

the seaway to work her lower-deck guns, could only feebly return. At 10.30 the mizenmast of the French ship went over the side, on which the frigates, whose crews fought their guns with the water up to their knees on the main deck, taking positions on either quarter of their opponent, continued the action until 4.30, when breakers being sighted on the lee bow, the *Indefatigable* wore to the southward. The unfortunate *Droits de l'Homme* was unmanageable and went ashore, while the *Indefatigable*, having succeeded with the utmost difficulty, and by display of seamanlike qualities of the highest order on the part of her captain, Sir Edward Pellew, in weathering the Penmarks, was unable to render her any assistance. Out of 1,300 men she lost 100 killed and 150 wounded in action, and the remainder of her crew, except about 200, miserably perished in endeavouring to reach the land. The *Amazon* also went ashore, but the crew were landed and made prisoners. The loss of the two frigates was only 3 killed and 34 wounded.

Sir John Jervis sailed from the Tagus in command of the Mediterranean fleet on the 18th January, and having been reinforced on the 6th February by Admiral Parker with five ships of the Channel fleet, was proceeding under easy sail down the Portuguese coast, when on the 13th February, the *Minerve*, Captain George Cockburn, flying the broad pennant of Commodore Nelson, and having on board the ex-governor of Corsica, Sir Gilbert Elliott, joined the fleet with the intelligence that two days before the *Minerve* had been chased by the Spanish fleet. At this time Sir John Jervis had under his command the following ships :—

Guns.		
100	*Victory*	Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B. (Blue). Captain Robert Calder. „ George Gregg.
	Britannia	Vice-Admiral Charles Thompson (Blue). Captain Thomas Foley.
98	*Barfleur*	Vice-Admiral Hon. W. Waldegrave (Blue). Captain J. Richard Dacres.
	Prince George	Rear-Admiral William Parker (Red). Captain John Irwin.
	Blenheim	„ Thomas L. Frederick.
	Namur	„ James H. Whitshed.

Guns.		
74	*Captain*	Commodore Horatio Nelson*. / Captain Ralph N. Miller.
	Goliath	,, Sir C. H. Knowles, Bart.
	Excellent	,, Cuthbert Collingwood.
	Orion	,, Sir James Saumarez.
	Colossus	,, George Murray.
	Egmont	,, John Sutton.
	Culloden	,, Thomas Troubridge.
	Irresistible	,, George Martin.
64	*Diadem*	,, George H. Towry.

FRIGATES.

32	*Lively*	Captain Lord Garlies.
	Niger	,, Edward J. Foote.
	Southampton	,, James Macnamara.

Also two 18-gun sloops and a cutter.

The exact strength of the Spanish fleet was not ascertained, but it was known to exceed 20 sail-of-the-line, while of Jervis's 15 line-of-battle ships, two, the *Colossus* and *Culloden*, had come into collision and sustained considerable damage; indeed, few officers except the gallant captain of the *Culloden* would have refrained from going into port to repair damages. More than once during the night of the 13th, the signal guns of the Spanish fleet were clearly audible, and at 2.30 a Portuguese frigate, commanded by a Captain Campbell, reported them about five leagues to windward. Four hours later the following fleet, under the orders of Admiral Don Josef de Cordova, hove in sight.

Guns.		Guns.	
130	*Santissima Trinidad* (Flag).		*Glorioso.*
112	*Conception.*		*Oriente.*
	Conde de Regla.		*Relayo.*
	Mexicano.		*San Antonio.*
	Principe de Asturias.		*San Domingo.*
	Salvador del Mundo.		*San Francisco de Paula.*
	San Josef.	74	*San Genaro.*
80	*Neptuno.*		*San Ildefenso.*
	San Nicolas.		*San Juan Nepomuceno.*
74	*Atalante.*		*San Pablo.*
	Bahama.		*San Ysidro.*
	Conquistador.		*Soberano.*
	Firme.		*Terrible.*

Also twelve frigates and one brig.

* Nelson shifted his flag from the *Minerve* to the *Captain*, in order that he might fight in the line of battle.

It was indeed a formidable enemy that the British fleet was advancing to attack, but there was no hesitation, or doubt as to the result, among the hearts of oak that manned our ships; they could not be otherwise than confident with such captains among them as Nelson, Troubridge, Saumarez, Towry, Calder, and Collingwood.

Much, very much, of the success of the British Navy during the Revolutionary War, was due to the vigilance and professional ability of Sir John Jervis. The officers had been trained under his own eye, and the crews were in a remarkably efficient condition, for the brave old sailor loved discipline, order, cleanliness, and, above all, good gunnery. On this point, Nelson says, "I have never seen any fleet that could compare with those ships that served in the Mediterranean. In comparison with the officers brought up in *that* school, all others betray a want of resources that surprises me." Sir John Jervis was the greatest naval reformer of his day, and it should never be forgotten that it was under his supervision that were trained the officers and men whom Nelson led to victory. On the paramount importance of good gunnery, a falling off in which, more than anything else, led to our disasters in the war with the United States in 1812, he would say to his captains, "It is of the greatest importance that our crews should be perfect in the use of their guns; I therefore wish that every day, whether in harbour or at sea, a general or partial exercise should take place on board every ship in the squadron."

Jervis, whose impatience had been extreme lest the enemy should escape him, rose at daybreak. He then summoned his officers on board the *Victory* to receive his final instructions, when he said to them, "I wish we were at this moment well up with the Spaniards. A victory is all important to England, and we could never be better prepared to meet the enemy than now."

At early dawn, as the strength of the Spanish fleet became gradually apparent, Captain Calder successively reported their numbers. "Ten sail-of-the-line, Sir John." "Very well, sir." "15 sail-of-the-line, Sir John." "Very well, sir." "20 sail-of-the-line, Sir John." "Very well, sir." "27 sail-of-the-line, Sir John; against such a force is it advisable to——?"

"Enough, sir, enough," broke in the stern old admiral, "were there 50 sail-of-the-line, sir, I'd go through them all."

There breathed the true spirit that has made old England invincible on the sea; and so thought Captain Hallowell, a passenger on board the *Victory*, who, forgetting the requirements of naval etiquette, in his delight actually clapped the redoubtable admiral and rigid disciplinarian on the shoulder, exclaiming, "That's right, Sir John! and, by Heavens, we'll give them a thorough good licking."

The morning was hazy with a light breeze, but just before 11 the fog clearing away, discovered to the British admiral the Spanish fleet in two divisions, the weather one endeavouring to effect a junction with the six ships to leeward on the larboard tack. Jervis determined, if possible, to cut off these six ships, and formed his line close-hauled on the starboard tack. The Spanish admiral, finding that if he persevered in his intention of joining his lee division, he must attack the British fleet, which was approaching in a well-formed and compact line, abandoned the design, and wore round on the larboard tack, with the wind one point abaft the beam, only two of his 3-deckers and one 74-gun ship having joined the lee division.

Half an hour before noon the British fleet hoisted their colours, and the signal to engage having been made, the *Culloden*, the leading ship, commenced the battle by opening fire upon the weather division, as did also the next in succession, the *Blenheim*, receiving in return the fire of the Spanish ships. A little after noon, the *Culloden*, having passed the rearmost ship, tacked, as did in succession the ships following in her wake. The Spanish lee division having by this time neared the British line, opened fire upon it, and caused such damage to the *Colossus*, that she was unable to tack, like her predecessors in the line, and had to wear; being thus thrown to leeward of her line, she was attacked by the leading Spanish 3-decker, and would have fared badly had not the *Orion* backed her main topsail, and come to her assistance, when she was taken in tow by the *Minerve*.

Troubridge led in his usual dashing and seamanlike style, and it is related of the admiral that as he watched the skill with which he manœuvred, he cried, "Look, look at Trou-

bridge! Does he not manœuvre as if all England was looking at him? Would to God all England were present to appreciate as I do the gallant captain of the *Culloden!*"

At about 12·30, the leading ship of the lee division, supposed to be the *Principe de Asturias* bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Moreno, attempted to cut the British line ahead of the *Victory*, which was nearly the centre ship; Sir John Jervis, however, divined his intention, and poured so tremendous a fire into the Spanish ship that she tacked and gave up the attempt. The commander-in-chief's flagship then backed her mizen-topsail, and opened a raking fire upon the remaining ships of this division, which proved so destructive, that, with the exception of one ship, which succeeded in joining the weather division, the entire squadron wore round and bore up. At a quarter to one the *Victory* tacked, in order to follow up the main body of the Spanish fleet, and a few minutes later Admiral de Cordova bore up to join the ships to leeward. At this moment Commodore Nelson, whose ship was in the rear of the line, and had not yet fired a shot, divined, with the intuition of genius, the full scope of the Spanish admiral's design, and disregarding the order still flying on the flagship, that the ships were to tack in succession, suddenly ordered Captain Miller to wear ship: this was done, and the *Captain*, passing between the *Diadem* and *Excellent*, the two rearmost ships, threw herself in the path of the huge Spanish 4-decker. The *Santissima Trinidad* thus thwarted, again hauled up on the larboard tack, but the *Captain* overtook, and gallantly engaged her until, being relieved by Troubridge in the *Culloden*, he pushed on into the middle of the enemy in search of a fresh antagonist. Soon the *Blenheim* and other ships arrived to take part in the battle, and the action became general. Two of the Spanish ships, the *San Ysidro*, 74, and the *Salvador del Mundo*, 112, being in a disabled state, dropped astern, when Collingwood in the *Excellent* poured so tremendous a fire into them that the *San Ysidro* surrendered, and the *Salvador*, which he left to be dealt with by the ships coming up, also soon after struck to the *Orion:* these two ships were then towed out of the action by the *Diadem* and *Lively*.

Meantime Collingwood passed on to the support of Nelson, who, according to his wont, had plunged into the

thickest of the fight. Indeed, the *Captain* was in great need of help, for the ship was little better than a wreck. "She had lost," wrote Nelson, "her foretopmast; she had not a sail, shroud, or rope left her which was not shot away; and she was incapable of further service in the line or in chase." The *Captain* was still hotly engaged with the *San Nicolas*, 80, when the *Excellent*, passing between the British 74 and her opponent, allowed the harassed crew time to replenish the shot-lockers, and as she forged slowly ahead to within pistol-shot range, gave the enemy the benefit of a full broadside; then leaving her to be dealt with by the *Captain*, Collingwood made sail ahead in search of a fresh candidate for his favours. As for the fiery commodore of the *Captain*, besides having been the first to attack the *Santissima Trinidad*, he had, as we have seen, been closely engaged with the *San Nicolas;* this ship, in luffing up to avoid the *Excellent's* fire, ran foul of the *San Josef*, which had lost her mizenmast in her engagement with the *Prince George*. No sooner had the *Excellent* passed, than the *Captain* recommenced firing, but her foretopmast having gone over the side, and the ship being otherwise in a crippled state, it soon became evident that she must drop out of the action.

But Nelson determined to have something to show as a trophy of the prowess of his seamen, and accordingly resolved to board the *San Nicolas*, his nearest opponent. Putting the *Captain's* helm a-starboard, she ran foul of the great 80-gun ship, with her port cathead striking the starboard quarter, and her spritsail-yard hooking the mizen rigging.

We cannot describe the incidents of the boarding of the *San Nicolas* and of the *San Josef*, which lay with her main yard locked in the fore rigging of the former, with a tithe of the graphic force with which Nelson depicted the scene in the accompanying extract from a letter:—"The soldiers of the 69th (doing duty as marines), with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pearson, of the same regiment, were almost the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen chains was Captain Berry, late my first lieutenant (Captain Miller was in the very act of going also, but I directed him to remain); he was supported from our spritsail-yard, which hooked in

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

Most of my readers, doubtless, are familiar with the painting, which has been extensively engraved, of the illustrious Nelson, standing on the quarter-deck of the *San Josef*, surrounded by a small group of his officers and men.

in the act of receiving the sword of the vanquished Spanish captain, while honest William Fearney, bedecked with the pigtail of the period, stands by with a bundle of officers' swords tucked under his arm. Few more audacious achievements are chronicled in history than this, by which an 80-gun ship was carried by boarding by a handful of men out of a 74, who then, without a moment's hesitation, proceeded to board and actually carried a first-rate, having 112 guns, and a suitable complement of men.

Collingwood, after quitting the *San Nicolas*, placed his ship alongside the *Santissima Trinidad*, already engaged by the *Orion* and *Irresistible*. The enormous four-decker must also have been captured, as her fore and mizen masts were gone and her guns silenced (indeed, it was stated that she actually did strike to the *Orion* and hoisted English colours), when, fortunately for her, the Spanish lee division coming up, as also four other ships, she was rescued from her perilous position.

At 3.50 p.m. Sir John Jervis made the signal to bring-to in order to cover the prizes and disabled ships, and to form a line in the *Victory's* wake, and at 5, after some desultory firing, the action came to an end.

Admiral de Cordova, notwithstanding the severe mauling he had sustained in the *Santissima Trinidad*, appeared desirous of renewing the action. Early on the following day he bore down in line of battle with his 21 ships, but no sooner had the British admiral made a disposition to receive him than he hauled up again. On the 16th, Jervis anchored with his four prizes in Lagos Bay. The ships of the British fleet that sustained the chief damage were the *Captain*, *Blenheim*, and *Culloden*, and these three seventy-fours, together with the *Excellent*, had the heaviest lists of killed and wounded, thus clearly indicating by whom the brunt of the action had been borne.

The total British loss at the battle of St. Vincent, fought on Valentine's day, was only 74 killed and 227 wounded; of these the *Captain* lost 25 in the first category, and 56 in the latter, the *Culloden* 10, and 47 respectively, the *Blenheim* 12 and 49, and the *Excellent* 11 and 12. Among the wounded was Nelson, who received a contusion in the groin from the effects of which he never fully recovered.

The enemy suffered severely. Of the prizes, the *Salvador* had 160 men killed and wounded; the *San Ysidro*, 93; the *San Josef*, 140; the *San Nicolas*, 200. The *Santissima Trinidad* also is reported to have sustained a loss of 200 killed and wounded. On the 1st March she was nearly captured by the *Terpsichore*, 32, which fell in with her off Cadiz in a dismasted state, when Captain Bowen engaged her for some hours.

"The most striking feature in this highly important victory," says the naval historian, Mr. James, "is the boldness that prompted the attack. Another commander might have paused ere, with 15 sail of the line, he ran into the midst of 27; and then the separated ships would have closed, and the enemy's line been too compact to be attempted with any hope of success. But Sir John Jervis, relying upon the firmness of his band, and viewing with the eye of a practised seaman the loose and disordered state of the foe, resolved at once to profit by it; he rushed on and conquered. That, as usually asserted, he broke the enemy's line, cannot be said, for there was no line to be broken—an acknowledgment which the gallant admiral himself was more ready to make than any of his commentators; for in one of his letters relative to some charge made against a Spanish rear-admiral engaged in the fleet, Sir John says, 'I am ignorant in what part of the Spanish line, if it can be called one, Morales served.' Sir John, in fact, chose the proper moment for advancing: he had a leader who knew not what it was to flinch or hang back; and he had all about him emulous to follow the example set them by Captain Troubridge.

"On the other hand, the very front put on by the British was enough to sink the hearts of the Spaniards; for it is one of the characteristics of true valour to daunt by its intrepidity, and to begin to subdue, ere it begins to combat. If the Spaniards were in confusion at the commencement, they were still more so during the progress of the action. Their ships were so huddled together, that if a shot did not strike one it was almost certain to strike another, and many of the ships were unable to fire at all without firing, which they generally did, into their comrades. All this disorder infused additional confidence into the British, and

they rattled through the business more as if it were a game of harmless sport than one in which the hazard thrown was for life or death."

The greatest exultation prevailed at home on receipt of the news of the victory. Sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage as Baron Jervis of Meaford and Earl St. Vincent, after the promontory off which he achieved his victory, with a pension of £3,000 a year; Vice-Admiral Thompson and Rear-Admiral Parker were created baronets, and Vice-Admiral Hon. W. Waldegrave, who already ranked above a baronet, received a lucrative appointment abroad. Nelson was offered a baronetcy, but preferred the ribbon of the Bath, a distinction more coveted, because more rare in those days. In his public letter, Sir John Jervis had not mentioned any officer with especial praise, because he said if all had not been equally prominent, all were equally desirous of being foremost in the honourable rivalry of battle; but in a private letter to the Admiralty he did justice to the heroism of Nelson, and paid the tribute of praise to the exertions of some of his captains. He had previously, in person, made his acknowledgements to Nelson, for his important share in the victory. It is related that when the latter presented himself on board the flag-ship, Sir John embraced him, and refused to accept the sword of the Spanish vice-admiral. "Keep it," he said, "it justly belongs to you who took it from your prisoner." Upon Captain Calder directing his attention to Nelson's evolution as a disobedience of orders, the veteran admiral sarcastically replied, "I saw it, and if ever you commit such a breach of orders, depend upon it you shall be forgiven."

This officer, who held the post of captain of the fleet, also received the distinction of K.B., and all the first lieutenants were promoted. The brave but unfortunate Spanish admiral, on the other hand, was degraded by his Government from his rank in the navy, for his want of success; his second in command, Count Morales, was cashiered as were most of the captains; but Admiral Winthuyson, more fortunate, died of the wounds he had received on board the *San Josef*. On the 22nd February, as the French 40-gun frigate, *Resistance*, and 22-gun corvette, *Constance*, were returning to Brest from Fisgard Bay, on the Welsh coast,

where they had landed 1,200 men, they were attacked and captured by the British 36-gun frigates, *San Fiorenzo*, Captain Sir Harry B. Neale, and *Nymphe*, Captain John Cooke; not more fortunate were the soldiers of this ill-starred expedition, for they were made prisoners by a body of local militia under Lord Cawdor, without firing a shot.

On the morning of the 15th April, the country awoke to find itself placed in the most eminent peril it had yet encountered. Lord Bridport, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, then lying at Spithead, on that day made the signal to weigh anchor, upon which the crews of all the ships simultaneously manned the rigging, and gave three cheers. It was the preconcerted signal, and the British fleet was in full mutiny. This unfortunate condition of affairs was due to the refusal of the Admiralty to redress the grievances of the sailors, which, as imposed upon a body of men who shed their blood freely for the country, and whose deeds formed her chief glory, denoted a denial of justice hard to be borne. A simple statement of them will create a feeling of incredulity as to their existence on the mind of any man possessed of a particle of the sense of fair play, putting aside the question of fair remuneration for work done.

The pay of the sailor had not been raised since the time that the Duke of York, afterwards James II., was Lord High Admiral; neither were their pensions increased from the amount at which they stood at that date, while those to which soldiers became entitled were so increased. More extraordinary than all was the rule by which provisions were served out to them. According to this enactment, the sailor's pound was fixed at 14 ounces, the ordinary pound consisting then as now of 16 ounces! There were numerous minor complaints regarding leave on shore while in harbour, the severity of the discipline, and other points. The seamen petitioned at the end of the previous February, but no notice being taken of their prayers for redress, they mutinied on the 15th April. The Government had no option but to accede to the just and moderate demands of the men, and a full and free pardon was granted to the fleet in general, including the ringleaders. But the sailors did not understand the delays necessary in passing the votes for

increased pay and pensions through Parliament, and on the 7th May the red flag was again hoisted. Admiral Colpoys, one of the officers in command at Portsmouth, lost his temper, and one of the lieutenants of the *London*, exasperated at the bearing of a seaman, drew his pistol and shot him, upon which the sailors rose in a body and disarmed all the officers. On the Government being apprized of the state of affairs, they despatched the veteran Lord Howe in hot haste down to Portsmouth with full powers to ratify all the concessions that had been promised. The gallant old officer went out to the fleet at Spithead, and, as a preliminary to negotiation, insisted upon the men expressing their contrition for the breach of discipline of which they had been guilty. The veteran was beloved and esteemed by the men of the fleet, many of whom had served under him on the "glorious 1st June," and they gladly conformed to his demands. The rest was all plain sailing; he gave them every assurance that their grievances would be redressed, and even promised that 100 of the most unpopular officers who had been guilty of acts of tyranny should be removed, upon which the mutineers returned to their duty. The same week that witnessed these occurrences, the fleet at the Nore, instigated by a man of the name of Parker, also rose against their officers. This Parker was what sailors call a "sea-lawyer." He was preeminently a bad character, and having had the advantage of a superior education, misused it by inciting his messmates to mutiny. Parker had been discharged from several ships with disgrace, on account of his misconduct, and had only in the month of March this year, been sent from Perth as a quota-man* to join the *Sandwich*, the flagship of Admiral Bucknor, the commander-in-chief at the Nore. Parker had plenty of money, with which it was supposed he was supplied by the revolutionary societies in London, and managed to secure his election of leader of the disaffected seamen. On the 13th May he began the mutiny by causing the *Inflexible* to fire on the *St. Fiorenzo*, on board which a court-martial was sitting; and a little later so far departed from the moderation of the Spithead malcontents

* Quota-men were so called from each district of the county being required to furnish a certain number or quota to the navy, according to the population, in like manner as was required for the militia.

as to flog and half drown some of the officers. At the end of the month the outbreak assumed the most alarming proportions; 11 ships of the line belonging to the North Sea fleet, with which Admiral Duncan was about to sail from Yarmouth to blockade the Texel, turned back to the mouth of the Thames, and joined Parker. Notwithstanding this defection, the gallant admiral proceeded to his destination with his own ship, the *Venerable*, 74, the *Adamant*, 50, Captain Hotham, and the *Active* cutter, Captain Hamilton, and by adopting the device of causing the *Adamant* to make signals in the offing, induced the enemy to believe he lay off the coast in force. The greatest alarm now seized upon the inhabitants of the capital, as Parker, elated at his success, threatened to put to sea with the whole fleet, and even to force his way up the Thames towards London. The Government on their part acted with vigour: the buoys were taken up, and the forts manned and armed to open fire on the fleet, should it advance up the river. But nothing could stay the panic, and the Funds fell to an unheard-of price.

Parker treated with insolence the Lords of the Admiralty sent down to confer with the delegates of the mutineers; and, at length, the Government, driven to desperation, took courage of despair, and brought in Bills to Parliament (which were passed in two days), authorising the infliction of the utmost penalties of the law on the mutineers, and all who should give them aid and comfort.

This severity had the desired effect. Early in June the fleets at Portsmouth and Plymouth disowned all complicity with Parker or his acts, and notwithstanding that he hanged Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in effigy at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich*, on the 10th of the same month, two of the ships, the *Leopard* and *Repulse*, hauled down the red flag of mutiny, and retreated into the Thames. Parker fired upon these ships, but the contagion of their good example spread, and ship after ship deserted, until on the 14th, the crew of the *Sandwich* brought her also under the guns of the fort at Sheerness, and gave up Parker as a prisoner to the authorities. This notorious ringleader was tried, convicted, and hanged on the 29th, on board the ship that had been the scene of his misdeeds. One or two other executions also took place. The mutiny was not, however, con-

fined to the ships in the home stations; some of the crew of the *Venerable* had caught the contagion of disaffection, but Duncan nipped the attempt in the bud.

In the Mediterranean fleet, then off Portugal, Lord St. Vincent had more trouble, but he acted with great promptitude. Seizing the ringleaders on board the *St. George*, he brought them to instant trial, and the sentence of death being pronounced against them, he caused them to be hanged at the yard-arm on board that ship on the following morning; the sentence was carried out at 8 o'clock on Sunday, the 9th July, and the executioners were the messmates of the culprits. This example had a wholesome deterrent effect, and though once or twice the evil spirit again manifested itself, the hangman's rope applied in each instance checked the insubordination of the malcontents. A like attempt on the Cape of Good Hope station, by the men of the *Tremendous*, the flagship of Admiral Pringle, was suppressed by a similar display of timely severity, and the execution of the worst of the ringleaders brought matters back to their normal condition of discipline and obedience to orders.

Notwithstanding the mutinous spirit that was abroad in the fleet at this time, it is singular to note the affection and respect in which the seamen held the immortal hero of Trafalgar. Nelson, who had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral in March, had shifted his flag from the *Captain* to the *Theseus*, taking with him Captain Miller, and he had not been long in her, when one night a paper signed "Ship's Company," and couched in the following terms, was dropped on the quarter-deck:—"Success attend Admiral Nelson! God bless Captain Miller! We thank them for the officers they have placed over us: we are happy and comfortable, and will shed every drop of blood in our veins to support them, and the name of the *Theseus* shall be immortalized as high as the *Captain's*." All through the month of June Lord St. Vincent, whose fleet had been raised to 21 sail of the line, watched the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, having under his immediate command the main portion of the fleet, while his Rear-Admiral, Sir Horatio Nelson, remained with the inshore squadron close to the port. As, however, Massaredo, the Spanish admiral, refused to venture out, the rear-admiral proposed to bombard the town and fleet where it lay,

On the 3rd July, Nelson proceeded to carry out the bombardment with the *Thunderer* bomb-vessel, one gun-boat, and all the barges and launches of the fleet, armed with carronades and fully manned. The *Thunderer* threw her shells with great precision, until, her 13-inch mortar being injured, she was towed out of the fire. On perceiving this, the Spanish commodore, Don Miguel Tyrasin, issued out with his boats, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in which as usual Nelson took a prominent part. He was in his barge, manned with only 10 oarsmen, his coxswain John Sykes, "an old Agamemnon," and Captain Fremantle, when the Spanish commodore, having a crew of 26 men in his boat, singled out the British admiral. Steering alongside the barge, he tried to carry it by boarding; a conflict, the most desperate, according to Nelson's account, in which he had ever been engaged, now ensued. Twice did the heroic admiral, who fought with all the ardour and success of a practised swordsman, escape death by a miracle; on one occasion his devoted coxswain actually interposed his head to receive the sabre-cut that must have fallen on his beloved leader.* At length, when 18 out of the 26 Spaniards had been killed, and all the remainder wounded, the Spanish commodore surrendered his sword to his illustrious conqueror. In all, two or three barges and 100 prisoners were taken, and the rest were driven back under the walls of Cadiz.

A second attack took place on the night of the 5th July, when, in addition to all the boats, two more bomb-vessels, the *Terror* and *Stromboli*, supported the *Thunderer*, whose mortar had been repaired; considerable damage was done to the town and fleet, our total loss in both attacks being only four killed and 40 wounded.

Soon after this, Lord St. Vincent projected an expedition against the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, and although Nelson was alive to the difficulties attending an attempt on a landlocked town, yet a desire to rival the famous feat of Blake, induced him joyfully to undertake the execution of the project. General O'Hara, governor of

* John Sykes, who was promoted to the rank of gunner, was mortally wounded, on the 1st May, 1798, by the bursting of a gun.

Gibraltar, declined to allow his soldiers to participate in the affair, which he considered desperate, and accordingly Nelson undertook it with the following force, which was wholly insufficient to attack a town bristling with strong fortifications and having a garrison of 8,000 men :—

Guns.		
74	*Theseus*	Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B.
		Captain Ralph W. Miller.
	Culloden	,, Thomas Troubridge.
	Zealous	,, Samuel Hood.
38	*Sea-horse*.....	,, Thomas F. Fremantle.
36	*Emerald*	,, John Waller.
32	*Terpsichore*.....	,, Richard Bowen.

And a cutter and mortar-boat.

On the 20th July, the squadron arrived off the island of Teneriffe, one of the Canary group, and on the 24th was reinforced by the *Leander*, 50, Captain Thomas B. Thompson. After an unsuccessful attempt on the 22nd to land the men, owing to the strong currents, at 11 p.m. on the night of the 24th July, 700 seamen and marines were embarked in the boats of the squadron, 180 in the cutter *Fox*, and 75 in a captured boat, to which was added a detachment of Royal Artillery. The whole force, amounting to nearly 1,100 men, under the command of Nelson in person, quitted the ships at 1·30 a.m. and pulled in for the town, the admiral's barge, in which were also Captains Fremantle and Bowen, leading the way.

When the flotilla had reached within half gun-shot of the molehead the alarm-bells were rung, and 40 pieces of cannon simultaneously opened fire from the town. In spite of the storm of shot, the boats pushed on; the *Fox* cutter was struck by a shot, and instantly went down, when 97 men perished with her. Undismayed by this disaster, Nelson in his barge reached the shore, and was in the act of drawing his sword, when a piece of grape-shot struck his right arm above the elbow, shattering the limb; he fell back senseless, and was immediately removed to his ship by his stepson and a few men who had remained with him. Notwithstanding all opposition, the landing was effected by the crews of four or five boats, and the molehead was carried by storm by this handful of men.

though defended by 400 soldiers and six 24-pounders. Having spiked the guns, the order was given to advance, but the fire of musketry and grape from the citadel and houses was so close and deadly, that after more than half of our men had fallen, among whom were the brave Captain Bowen and his first lieutenant, George Thorpe, killed, and Captain Fremantle wounded, the remnant held their ground and awaited the advance of their comrades; these, under Captains Troubridge, Hood, Miller, and Waller, or rather a portion of them, for the heavy surf caused some to return, had made good their landing to the southward of the citadel, and had forced their way as directed into the great square. Arrived there, Captain Troubridge summoned the citadel to surrender, but was unable to enforce a compliance with his demands, as the scaling-ladders had been lost in the surf, and the powder had been soaked in the men's ammunition-pouches during the landing. Troubridge now learnt of Nelson's wound, and of the inability of his men to advance beyond the mole; and at daybreak, finding every street commanded by Spanish artillery, and a force of 8,000 men advancing, he proposed to the governor that the British should re-embark with their arms, coupled with a demand that, as his own boats were destroyed, he should be furnished with others. As the alternative offered by Captain Hood on the part of Captain Troubridge and his small band of warriors was an attack on the garrison at the point of the bayonet, and the destruction of the town by fire, the governor yielded, and not only sent his invaders back to their ships, but, with the truly chivalrous feeling of a Spanish hidalgo, placed his hospitals and markets at the disposal of Nelson, who on his part wrote him a warm letter of thanks, and presented him with a cask of English beer and a cheese.

The loss we sustained in this disastrous affair amounted to 44 killed, including six officers and the brave and enterprising Captain Bowen, one of the best officers in the service, 97 drowned and five missing, and 105 wounded, among whom, in addition to Nelson, were Captains Fremantle and Thompson; thus the total loss was 141 killed and drowned, five missing, and 105 wounded.

"Of the survivors," says a writer, "no one was more

severely wounded than Nelson himself. His arm was frightfully shattered, and the loss of blood which the wound occasioned might have proved fatal, had it not been for the presence of mind of his stepson, Lieutenant Nisbet, who was in the boat with him, and who bound up the wound with handkerchiefs, and, collecting four or five seamen, launched a boat and conveyed him back to the ship. Yet suffering and weak as Nelson was, he stopped the boat on her way, to aid the drowning crew of the *Fox*, and with his remaining hand himself saved many who were still struggling in the water, greatly increasing the pain and danger of his wound by these exertions. On reaching the *Theseus* his arm was amputated, but he did not allow the loss of the limb to interrupt his exertions for a single day. In a few days he even spoke of himself as quite recovered; but the hurry in which the operation had been performed had caused some mismanagement in taking up the arteries, which subsequently caused him very severe suffering. Nelson rejoined Lord St. Vincent at Cadiz on the 16th August, and shortly afterwards proceeded to England for the recovery of his health, but the year expired before he was able again to report himself fit for service."

CHAPTER XIII.

1797–1798.

Victory gained at Camperdown by Admiral Duncan over the Dutch, 11th October, 1797—Frigate Actions during the Year 1797—Gallant Exploit of Captain Hamilton—The Action between the *Mars* and *L'Hercule*, 21st April; between the *Lion* and four Spanish Frigates, 15th July, 1798.

THE year 1797 is memorable for a victory not less brilliant than that gained over the Spaniards at St. Vincent by Sir John Jervis, though in this instance the vanquished were our ancient maritime foes, the Dutch. All through the summer, Admiral Duncan blockaded the Dutch fleet off the Texel; till, at the beginning of October, the violence of the equinoctial gales and the want of provisions drove him to Yarmouth Roads. De Winter, the Dutch admiral, took instant advantage of his absence, and, on the 7th October, set sail with his whole fleet. Two days later the *Active*, lugger, which Duncan had left with two other vessels to watch the enemy, was sighted off Yarmouth Roads, with the signal flying that the Dutch had put to sea. The moment this was seen, Duncan made the signal for a general chase, and before the lugger could get alongside, the whole fleet had weighed, and was standing towards the Texel, with a fair wind. With Captain Hamilton, the commander of the little *Active*, for a guide, the British fleet, having been joined on the way by a squadron under Captain Trollope, which had been chased away by De Winter, sighted the Texel at daybreak of the 11th October. At 7 a.m. the foremost ships reported the enemy in sight bearing south-west, and an hour and a half later the Dutch fleet was seen about nine miles from the shore between the villages of Egmont and Camperdown. The following was the consti-

tution of the rival fleets at the memorable action of the 11th October, 1797 :—

Guns.		
	Venerable	Admiral Adam Duncan (Blue).
		Captain William George Fairfax.
	Monarch	Vice-Admiral Richard Onslow (Red).
		Captain Edward O'Brien.
74	*Russel*	,, Henry Trollope.
	Montagu	,, John Knight.
	Bedford	,, Sir Thomas Byard.
	Powerful	,, William Drury.
	Triumph	,, William Essington.
	Belliqueux	,, John Inglis.
	Agincourt	,, John Williamson.
	Lancaster	,, John Wells.
64	*Ardent*	,, Richard R. Burgess.
	Veteran	,, George Gregory.
	Director	,, William Bligh.
	Monmouth	,, James Walker.
50	*Isis*	,, William Mitchell.
	Adamant	,, William Hotham.

Two frigates and an 18-gun brig.

The following is the list of the Dutch fleet, from which it will be seen that they had a slight superiority in guns,—about 80, while our ships had nearly 1,100 more men ; altogether the rival fleets were singularly well matched.

Guns.	
74	*Vryheid*, flag of Vice-Admiral De Winter.
	Jupiter, flag of Vice-Admiral Reyntjes.
	Brutus, flag of Rear-Admiral Bloys.
	States-General, flag of Rear-Admiral Storey.
68	*Cerberus.*
	Admiral de Vries.

Guns.	
68	*Gelykheid.*
	Haerlem.
	Leyden.
64	*Hercules.*
	Wassenaer.
58	*Beschermer.*
56	*Alkmaar.*
	Delft.
50	*Batavier.*

With two large frigates, one of which, the *Mars*, 44, carried heavy guns, and fought in the line of battle ; two smaller frigates and two corvettes, and four brigs.

The Dutch admiral was desirous above all things to avoid an action, as his instructions enjoined him to form a junction with the Brest fleet for the purpose of undertaking a joint invasion of Ireland.

At 11·30, Duncan made the signal to bear up and engage the enemy's fleet, which was formed in line and hove to on the larboard tack, about four leagues from the land; and a few minutes before noon, the British admiral ordered his captains to pass through the hostile line and engage to leeward. Owing to the hazy weather, many ships were unable to distinguish the signal, which was shortly afterwards replaced by the most pleasing of all to British seamen, that for close action; the flags indicating this order were kept flying on the *Venerable's* signal halliards until they were shot away. About half an hour after noon, the *Monarch*, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Onslow, leading the lee division in the most gallant style, passed through the Dutch line between the *Jupiter* and *Haerlem*, and luffing up, brought the former to close action, being at the same time engaged to leeward by the *Monnikendam*, frigate, and *Atalanta*, brig. The *Powerful*, the next astern of the Vice-Admiral, engaged the *Haerlem*, and some other ships of this division arrived up and took part in the action.

Soon after Admiral Onslow had passed through the enemy's line, the commander-in-chief, who was bent on engaging De Winter's flagship, the sixth in the line, having been thwarted in this endeavour by the *States-General*, was compelled to change his course and pass astern of that ship, and as he did so, poured so destructive a broadside into her that Admiral Storey bore up and quitted the action. The *Venerable* now brought the *Vryheid* to action to leeward, the *Ardent* also engaging her to windward.

The battle that ensued was one of the hardest fought on record. While the *Venerable* was engaged with De Winter's flagship, the *Brutus* and *Leyden* closed around her, and the *Mars*, fighting in the line of battle, raked the 74 with terrible effect. "The crew of the *Venerable*," says Yonge, in his valuable History of the British Navy, "had been eager for battle as far back as June, when she was watching the Texel almost by herself, and the Dutch were seen with their topsails bent as if prepared to come out: they had offered to advance into the narrow channel which leads out of the Texel, through which ships can hardly pass in single line, and in that position to stop the way against the whole fleet, or at least to fight their vessel till she sank. And now

they proved that their proposal was no empty boast; more than once every flag the *Venerable* hoisted was shot away, and at last one of her men, a native of Sunderland, named James Crawfurd, nailed the admiral's colours to the stump of the main topgallant-mast, where during the remainder of the day, it braved the battle and the breeze unhurt and triumphant."

Not less gallantly did the crew of the *Vryheid* sustain the Dutch reputation of bull-dog courage. Besides the rapid and well-directed cannonade of the *Venerable*, she had to sustain the fire of the *Ardent* on the other side, while the *Triumph* and *Dictator* took up their stations across her bows, and raked her with deadly effect. One after another her masts went over the side, but not until every man of the quarter-deck guns crews had been swept away, and he alone remained on the upper deck, conspicuous by his commanding personal appearance and towering height, did the gallant De Winter, a worthy successor of Tromp and De Ruyter, with his own hand haul down the colours and yield to an adverse fortune, against which all his skill and gallantry were rendered unavailing. The Dutch admiral found in his conquerors, and indeed in every seaman in the British fleet, adversaries who could appreciate such devotion.

Elsewhere the battle raged with great fury. Admiral Storey had his ship, the *States-General*, almost disabled by the issue of his attempt to stop the *Venerable* when striving to break the Dutch line, as already related. Notwithstanding the severe handling he had met, the gallant admiral maintained a vigorous conflict for some time with a succession of antagonists, but was at length driven out of the line of battle, and compelled to surrender. Regarding the loss sustained by the *States-General*, Admiral Storey, when he became Lord Duncan's prisoner in 1801, stated that it exceeded 300 killed and wounded.

The *Triumph* before engaging the *Vryheid* brought the *Wassenaer* to action, and the *Bedford* having cut the line astern of the *De Vries*, rounded to and engaged that ship. The Dutch ships, *Brutus*, *Leyden*, and *Mars*, as we have seen, closed round their admiral, and their fire was very destructive to the *Venerable* and *Ardent*. The *Hercules*,

having caught fire, bore out of the line, and, drifting to leeward, passed near Admiral Duncan's flagship. By great exertions her crew succeeded in extinguishing the flames; but having thrown overboard all their powder, she was forced to surrender.

Though the greater part of both fleets were engaged, some of our ships did not arrive in time to take any effective part in the battle; on the other hand, a few of the Dutch ships disregarded De Winter's signals for close and general action, so that the contending sides were not ill-matched as regards numbers. With the surrender of the Dutch admiral, at about 3 p.m., the action ceased.

The prizes taken possession of by the victors consisted of the *Vryheid*, *Jupiter*, *De Vries*, *Gelykheid*, *Haerlem*, *Hercules*, *Wassenaer*, and *Delft*, and the frigates *Ambuscade* and *Monnikendam*. The *States-General*, after surrendering, gradually dropped astern until she cleared the scene of the conflict, when, finding that no one took possession of her, she re-hoisted her colours, and stood in towards the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about five miles distant. The ships which had kept aloof, and the *Beschermer*, which, early in the battle, had wore out of the line, also made sail, and as a gale was coming on and the water on the coast was very shallow, Duncan was unable to detach any ships in pursuit of them. Thus six ships of the line, the *Mars*, and one of the smaller frigates, reached the Texel in safety.

The battle had been hardly contested, and though certainly one of the most glorious in our annals, and an action that reflected undying lustre upon the name of Duncan, it was little less honourable to the vanquished. Every one of the captured ships was either wholly dismasted or crippled to such an extent, that their masts fell before reaching England; their hulls also were so riddled that they could never be made fit for service again,—indeed, they were scarce worth carrying into port, save as honourable mementoes of the gallantry and skill of the officers and seamen who had gained them as trophies. Until the glories of the Nile and Trafalgar eclipsed all previous victories, the decisive character of the battle of Camperdown formed one of its most distinctive features.

As soon as the action ceased, Admiral Duncan made

every exertion to secure the prizes before the day closed in. The British ships, unlike the captured vessels, had suffered aloft, but their hulls also bore evidence of the skill as gunners of the Dutch seamen; in some of the ships the pumps had to be kept constantly going, until the security of our harbours was gained. Chief among the sufferers was the *Ardent*, which had received 98 shots in her hull; the *Venerable*, *Belliqueux*, *Bedford*, and *Monarch* were also more or less riddled. Our loss was almost entirely confined to the following ships, which had been most hotly engaged:—

Monarch, 36 killed and 100 wounded; *Powerful*, 10 killed and 78 wounded; *Monmouth*, 5 killed and 22 wounded; *Veteran*, 4 killed and 21 wounded; *Venerable*, 15 killed and 62 wounded; *Triumph*, 29 killed and 55 wounded; *Ardent*, 41 killed and 107 wounded; *Bedford*, 30 killed and 41 wounded; *Belliqueux*, 25 killed and 78 wounded; *Isis*, 2 killed and 21 wounded; *Lancaster*, 3 killed and 18 wounded. The total loss was, as officially stated, 203 killed, including, of officers, Captain Burgess, of the *Ardent*, 2 lieutenants, 1 master, and 3 midshipmen, and 622 wounded, among whom were Captain Essington of the *Triumph*, 20 lieutenants and marine officers, 2 masters, and 15 midshipmen.

The total loss of the Dutch amounted to 540 killed, including 2 captains, and 620 wounded, including the Dutch commander-in-chief and both rear-admirals.

The day after the battle of Camperdown, a gale came on, and three of the captured ships, the *Delft*, and *Monnikendam*, and *Ambuscade* frigates, were lost. Steel's Navy List for March, 1803, contains the following account of the loss of the *Delft*:—"When Lieutenant Charles Bullen,* first lieutenant of the *Monmouth*, came on board to take possession of the ship, he found her much damaged, having lost her mizen-mast and main-yard, and all her masts and rigging being much cut. She had lost 2 officers and 41 men killed, and 1 officer and 75 men wounded. Lieutenant Bullen sent the captain and two officers on board his own ship, and requested the first lieutenant, Mr. Heilburg, who was not wounded, to assist him with the remaining crew to keep the ship from sinking. Their united exertions were successful

* Afterwards Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Bullen.

until the 14th, when the gale rendered the salvation of the *Delft* very dangerous. The water in her hold increased to 10 feet, and all hope of saving her was soon given up. Lieutenant Bullen represented this to Mr. Heilburg, and stated it to be his intention to abandon the ship with his crew, requesting him also to accompany him in his attempt to escape from almost certain death. Lieutenant Heilburg, however, refused to embrace the offer and to leave his wounded countrymen; and his gallant answer so wrought upon Lieutenant Bullen that he gave up his previous intention, and determined on making another effort to preserve the lives of the whole. Lieutenant Bullen, having ordered his own men to quit the sinking ship, remained to assist the Dutch crews, and the *Russel*, having sent her boats to their relief, a great many were saved; but before the whole could be taken out, the ship went down. Lieutenant Bullen was compelled, in order to save his life, to jump overboard, and was taken up by one of the *Monmouth's* boats; but the brave Heilburg perished, a victim to his courage and humanity."

On the 17th October, the *Venerable*, having weathered the gale, arrived at the Nore with her prizes.

The king, in order to express his sense of the great service rendered to his country by the gallant Duncan and his fleet, came down with the intention of honouring the admiral with a visit on board the flagship, as three years before he had visited Lord Howe at Spithead, but the boisterous state of the weather prevented his Majesty from venturing out to the Nore in his yacht; however, honours were showered without stint upon the victors. The admiral was created Baron Duncan of Lundie, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown; Vice-Admiral Onslow was made a baronet, and Captains Trollope and Fairfax knights, while all the first lieutenants were promoted to the rank of commander. Gold medals were conferred on the captains, and the thanks of Parliament were voted to the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet. The city of London likewise testified the gratitude of the mercantile community by presenting Lord Duncan with a sword valued at 200 guineas, and Sir Richard Onslow one of the value of 100 guineas.

There were some notable frigate actions during the year 1797. The *Andromache*, 32, Captain Mansfield, engaged an Algerine of about the same force, and after 40 minutes' close action captured her, she having lost 66 men killed and 50 wounded. On the 29th May, before Nelson's attempt on the Canary Islands, the boats of the *Minerve* and *Lively*, frigates, gallantly boarded and cut out the French national 14-gun brig *Mutine*, lying in the roads of Santa Cruz, Teneriffe. The 16-gun brig *Penguin*, Captain Pulling, while cruising near Ushant, engaged two French brigs, one carrying 18 guns and the other 14, and after a severe action, in the course of which the British crew, while working their guns, were often knee-deep in water, compelled them both to surrender. A spirited action also took place near the island of St. Domingo, between the 18-gun brig *Pelican*, Lieutenant White, and the French 12-gun privateer *Trompeur*, which the brave commander fought until she partially blew up, and then foundered.

Captain Sir Edward Pellew was also successful in capturing the *Hyæna*, late a British ship; and on the 20th December, the 36-gun frigate *Phœbe*, Captain Barlow, encountered the *Néréide*, of equal force, and, after a long and desperate action, compelled her to strike her flag, with a loss of 20 killed and 55 wounded.

But the most brilliant feat of arms was the cutting out of the *Hermione*, 32, lately a British ship, but which her crew had carried into the harbour of La Guayra, on the Venezuelan coast, and surrendered to the Spaniards, after murdering the captain (a brutal tyrant) and all her officers, who unhappily shared the fate of their superior.

For two years the *Hermione* baffled all attempts at capture by British cruisers, until at length on the night of the 24th October, Captain Edward Hamilton, of the *Surprise*, 32, cut her out from under the batteries of Puerto Caballo, mounting 200 guns. Of the entire number of 106 officers and men employed in this desperate enterprise and embarked in six boats, only one half were enabled to board the *Hermione*, the remaining three boats being engaged with two Spanish gunboats, which discovered and attacked them. Nevertheless, this handful of men displayed such heroism that they carried the ship after a severe hand-to-hand con-

flict, cut the cables, loosed the sails, and cleared the harbour. Wonderful to relate, of the *Surprise's* crew, not one man was killed, and of the 12 wounded, Captain Hamilton was the most severely injured. He received one stunning blow on the head, by which the butt of one musket was shattered, a deep thrust from a pike in one thigh, a heavy sabre-cut in the other, and a wound from a grape-shot. The Spanish crew of the *Hermione* lost no less than 119 killed and 97 wounded; from which some estimate may be formed of the desperate nature of the conflict.

Captain Hamilton was rewarded by the order of the Bath, and never was the ribbon more worthily conferred. A painting of this almost unrivalled feat of arms now hangs in the Painted Gallery at Greenwich Hospital. Even the mighty Napoleon, then First Consul of France, was so struck with the exploit, that when the Jamaica packet, in which Captain Hamilton was returning to Europe for the restoration of his health, was captured by a privateer, and the gallant officer was conveyed to Paris, Buonaparte treated him with marked distinction, and allowed him to regain his liberty by an exchange.

The year 1798 opened with many single actions, which generally resulted in the capture of the enemy's ship, and that though almost in every instance she was superior in size, weight of metal, or complement of men. Most conspicuous among the unsuccessful actions was the distinguished gallantry with which a small British tender, carrying six 4-pounders and 40 men, resisted for more than 40 minutes the attempts to board of two Spanish privateers, one of 12 guns and 109 men, and the other a schooner of six guns and 68 men. The little *George* did not surrender until she had lost eight killed and 17 wounded out of her small crew.

On the 21st April, the British 74, *Mars*, commanded by Captain Alexander Hood, nephew of Lords Bridport and Hood, being in company with the *Ramillies*, 74, and *Jason* frigate, chased and having out-sailed, brought to action before her consorts came up, the French 74, *L'Hercule*, Captain L'Heritier, who had commanded the *America* in the battle of 1st June. The *Hercule* being unable to enter Brest owing to the strong current, anchored and furled

sails, upon which, about 9 p.m., after exchanging broadsides with the Frenchman, Captain Hood also decided upon bringing to. The *Mars*, therefore, having shot ahead, dropped her best bower anchor across the *Hercule's* fore-foot, but before it could bring her up, her small bower hooking the anchor on the starboard bow of the enemy, the two ships ranged alongside each other. A most desperate conflict ensued, and so closely locked were the ships in their deadly embrace that neither was able to run out the lower-deck guns, which were fired from on board, so that the ships' sides were much burnt and quite blackened. Twice the crew of the *Hercule* attempted to board, but were each time driven back with great slaughter. The gallant Hood was mortally wounded by a musket-ball about a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action, but he lived just long enough to hear the cheers of his victorious seamen, and to learn that he had not in vain died for his country; at 10·30 the *Hercule*, being very much shattered, surrendered, when it was found that she had experienced a loss of 250 men killed and wounded. The casualties of the *Mars* were also very heavy. In addition to the captain, a captain of marines, one midshipman, and 28 men were killed and missing, and two lieutenants, one midshipman, and 57 men were wounded. The *Hercule* was carried into Plymouth and added to the navy under the same name; and Lieutenant Butterfield, first of the *Mars*, was promoted to the rank of commander.

Spirited and successful actions were also fought by the *Seahorse*, 38, Captain Foote, which captured the French frigate *Sensible*, 36, whose loss was 55 killed and wounded; by the frigates *Jason* and *Pique*, assisted at the close of the action by the *Mermaid* frigate, which captured the French 40-gun frigate *Seine*, the latter, out of her crew of 610 sailors and soldiers, losing no less than 170 killed and 100 wounded; and by the *Brilliant*, 28, Captain Blackwood, which engaged and managed to escape from two French frigates of superior force.

Very glorious to British arms was an action fought on the 15th July, between the *Lion*, 64, Captain Manley Dixon, and a Spanish squadron of four 34-gun frigates. Having passed along the Spanish line, Captain Dixon

wore and endeavoured to close one of the frigates, the *Santa Dorotea*, which, having lost her fore-topmast, was rather to leeward of her companions. The Spanish commodore with his three remaining ships passed to windward of the *Lion* within musket-shot, each frigate bestowing in succession a broadside, which, though returned by Captain Dixon, did not deter him from the pursuit of the *Santa Dorotea*. Again the Spanish ships, having tacked, renewed the attempt to succour their comrades, but the *Lion*, having succeeded in getting alongside the Spaniard, engaged her yard-arm to yard-arm until she struck, having lost 20 killed and 32 wounded. The prize was added to our navy as a 36-gun frigate.

But these soul-inspiring examples of the marvellous courage, the skilful seamanship, and unequalled gunnery of British seamen, "pale their ineffectual fires" before the glories of the Nile, that perhaps most brilliant, from a professional point of view, of the naval victories that this or any country has gained.

CHAPTER XIV.

1798.

The Battle of the Nile, 1st August.

DURING the winter of 1797, Lord St. Vincent, who still commanded the Mediterranean fleet, had remained in the Tagus, keeping a small look-out squadron off Cadiz. On the 29th April in the following year, Nelson having recovered from his wound, joined the fleet in the *Vanguard*, 74, commanded by his old first lieutenant and friend, Captain Berry. It was known that the French were equipping a powerful fleet at Toulon, and Lord St. Vincent, desirous of gaining information regarding their state of preparedness, and above all wishful to prevent their forming a junction with the Spanish force known to be lying at Carthagena, selected Nelson to command a squadron, consisting of the *Orion*, 74, Captain Sir James Saumarez; the *Alexander*, 74, Captain A. J. Ball; the 32-gun frigates *Emerald* and *Terpsichore;* and the *Bonne Citoyenne* sloop. So incensed were the two admirals of Lord St. Vincent's fleet, Sir W. Parker and Sir John Orde, both Nelson's seniors, at his selection for this duty, that they addressed a formal remonstrance to Lord Spencer, the first Lord of the Admiralty, and Sir John Orde even forgot himself so far as to send the commander-in-chief a challenge, which his lordship of course disregarded.

Nelson sailed from Gibraltar on the 9th May, and on his arrival off Toulon on the 17th, learnt that there were 19 sail of the line in the harbour, 15 of which were ready for sea, and that General Buonaparte was in the town hastening the embarkation of an army, whose destination, however, was unknown. Nelson sent the *Bonne Citoyenne* back to the fleet off Cadiz with this intelligence, and but three days after his arrival off Toulon, his ship, the *Vanguard*, was

nearly lost in a heavy gale. She carried away her foremast and main and mizen-masts, and would have been driven on the hostile coast of Corsica, but for the display of a combination of seamanship and courage such as our naval records afford so many striking instances; at length she was taken in tow by the *Alexander*, and found a safe anchorage in the harbour of the little island of San Pietro. In four days the *Vanguard* was again at sea under jury rig, and, on the 5th June, Nelson was joined by the *Mutine* brig, Captain Hardy, who reported the approach of a powerful squadron, which joined him two days afterwards.

Lord St. Vincent had been reinforced off Cadiz on the 19th May by eight sail of the line, under Sir Roger Curtis, who also brought despatches from Lord Spencer, written on the very day Nelson quitted the commander-in-chief, desiring him on receipt of that reinforcement to detail a squadron of not less than 12 line-of-battle ships with some frigates, to the Mediterranean; and in a private letter, the First Lord of the Admiralty suggested Nelson as the most suitable officer to command the squadron. Lord St. Vincent had been equally desirous of strengthening Nelson, and the moment that Curtis appeared in sight, he despatched 10 sail of the line under the orders of Nelson, who, on finding himself for the first time in his life with a suitable force, and unrestricted responsibility to employ it as he deemed best, pronounced himself a match for any French fleet afloat. The following were the ships now under his orders :—

Guns.		
	Vanguard	Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B. (Blue). Captain Edward Berry.
	Orion	,, Sir James Saumarez.
	Culloden	,, Thomas Troubridge.
	Bellerophon	,, Henry Darby.
	Minotaur	,, Thomas Louis.
74	*Defence*	,, John Peyton.
	Alexander	,, Alexander John Ball.
	Zealous	,, Samuel Hood.
	Audacious	,, Davidge Gould.
	Goliath	,, Thomas Foley.
	Majestic	,, George B. Westcott.
	Swiftsure	,, Benjamin Hallowell.
	Theseus	,, Ralph Willett Miller.
50	*Leander*	,, Thomas Boulden Thompson.
16	*Mutine*	Commander Thomas Masterman Hardy

What glorious memories are not conjured up by the names of these ships, and of their noble commanders! Surely the world will not soon again see such a galaxy of renowned naval captains as those who gave a willing obedience to the hero who alone was worthy to command them, or capable indeed of leading them to such a victory as was achieved by their valour.

On the 19th May, the French fleet, under Admiral Brueys, quitted Toulon, in company with about 300 transports, carrying 20,000 men, commanded by General Buonaparte, who was himself a passenger on board *L'Orient*, 120, the flagship of Brueys. Escaping the gale of the following day, which so nearly caused the loss of the *Vanguard*, the fleet, on the 9th June, reached Malta, which was pusillanimously surrendered by the knights of St. John, to whom it belonged. On the 19th, Brueys proceeded on his way, and on the 22nd June, the two fleets actually crossed each other's track without either becoming aware of the fact; on the 1st July the French fleet anchored off Alexandria, and Buonaparte and his army were disembarked. As, however, the heaviest ship could not enter the harbour, Brueys, after a careful survey of the coast, decided on anchoring in Aboukir Bay.

Owing to a want of frigates, who act as the eyes of a fleet, Nelson was unable, after the arrival of the squadron sent to strengthen him, to obtain accurate information of the whereabouts of the enemy. He steered for Corsica on the 12th June, and after calling at various places, reached the Bay of Naples on the 17th; from thence he proceeded to Messina, where he learnt that Buonaparte and Brueys had captured Malta and Goza. On the 21st June, Nelson set sail for Alexandria, rightly conjecturing that the conquest of Egypt was the object Buonaparte had in view. On the night of the following day, the weather was foggy, and, as we have said, the two fleets were close together, though both commanders were unaware of the fact. One cannot avoid dwelling upon the thought, how vastly the whole future current of the world's history would have been changed had Nelson then destroyed or captured, as he subsequently did, the French fleet, with the future conqueror of Austerlitz and vanquished of Waterloo on board.

Admiral Brueys steered for Candia, while Nelson stood along the African coast, and reached Alexandria two days before the French. Disappointed at finding the harbour empty, Nelson on the day after his arrival, the 29th, steered away to the north-east, while the enemy he was in search of arrived in sight of Pharos tower on the evening of the same that the British had disappeared. On the 4th July, Nelson made for the coast of Natoli, continuing to beat to windward till the 18th, and, on the following day, entered the port of Syracuse for water.

Grievously disappointed as the admiral was, he did not allow the time thus passed to be wasted. The men of his fleet were constantly exercised at the great guns, and thus attained a rare degree of perfection in the art of gunnery; evening after evening, says Sir Edward Berry in his "Narrative of the Battle of the Nile," he assembled his captains on board the *Vanguard*, and explained to them the different plans he had formed for attacking the enemy, varying with the different positions in which it was conceivable that he might encounter them: nothing was left to chance, nothing was omitted.

Such a proficient in the art of naval warfare did more than deserve success,—he commanded it. A pleasing phase of the great sailor's character is given by a writer, who says:—"He took even more care of his youngest officers, looking on himself in an especial degree as their instructor and guardian, while afloat under his command. One or two of his midshipmen always breakfasted with him, and while entertaining them at his own table, he put off the great commander, and entered into all their boyish jokes, and in manner and feeling seemed as gay-hearted and youthful as any of his party." No less anxious was he to promote the amusement of the men, and after their professional efficiency as skilful seamen and unerring gunners had been attained, he fostered such healthful exercise as single-stick play, dancing, and other amusements.

During the whole of this cruise, Nelson could gain no information concerning the enemy, and complained bitterly of the want of frigates, which he said, were he to die, would be found stamped upon his heart. But his resolution and confidence never failed him, and he assured Lord St. Vincent

that were the enemy "above water, he would find them out and bring them to battle."

Leaving Syracuse on the 25th July, Nelson bent his course for the Morea, and the *Culloden* having been detached to Coron, Captain Troubridge rejoined him on the following day, with the intelligence that nearly four weeks before, the French fleet had been seen beyond Candia steering towards the south-east. Once more Nelson sailed for Alexandria, and, on arriving in sight of that town on the morning of the 1st August, to the inexpressible joy of the gallant admiral and every British seaman, the French tricolour was plainly discerned waving on the walls of the city. The fleet stood along the shore, and at 1 p.m. the *Zealous* made the signal for 17 ships, and that 13 were of the line. Since he had left the Morea, Nelson's anxiety had been so great that he had scarcely quitted the deck of the *Vanguard*, but he now hoisted the signal to prepare for battle, and ordered his dinner.

Aboukir Bay, in which Admiral Brueys had taken up his station, is about 20 miles beyond Alexandria, with its eastern extremity touching the western mouth of the Nile, where it falls into the sea at Rosetta. The roadstead, which extends in a deep curve, is traversed about three miles from the shore by a long sand-bank, on which there is only 24 feet of water, which therefore is insufficient to float large ships of war. About two miles from Aboukir Castle on the mainland, is a small island (then called Aboukir Island, but since named after Nelson), also surrounded by shoals, which extend from it nearly a mile seawards. A battery was erected on this island, and some bomb-vessels and gunboats were also placed to annoy an enemy entering the bay.

The headmost of the French ships, which were moored in single line, was distant about two miles from Aboukir Island, with a distance of rather more than two ships' lengths, or about 160 yards, between each. The edge of the shoal in shore was concave, while the French line was convex, the centre, which was occupied by the admiral's flagship, being consequently further distant from the shore than the extremities. Each ship was moored and provided with a stream cable to enable her to "spring her" broadside, or bring it to bear on the enemy.

With the intuition of genius, the thought struck Nelson that, as the French men-of-war were moored at two ships' lengths from each other, where there was room for a French ship to swing there was room for one of ours to anchor; he therefore determined to adopt a suggestion, attributed to Captain Foley of the *Goliath*, to pass, if practicable, between the French and the shore, and engage the enemy on their landward broadsides.

The following is a list of French ships in the order in which they appeared as they were moored in line-ahead, on the eventful 1st August, 1798.

Guns.	
74	*Guerrier.*
	Conquérant.
	Spartiate.
	Aquilon.
	Peuple Souverain.
80	*Franklin.*
120	*Orient*,* flag of Admiral Brueys, and having on board Rear-Admiral Ganteaume and Commodore Casa Bianca.
80	*Tonnant.*
74	*Heureux.*
	Mercure.
80	*Guillaume Tell*, flag of Rear-Admiral Villeneuve.
74	*Généreux.*
	Timoléon.

Frigates: *Diane* and *Justice*, 40 guns; *Artémise* and *Sérieuse*, 36 guns. Two brigs, 3 bomb-vessels, and several gunboats.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Nelson made the signal to anchor, followed an hour later by one to anchor by the stern, for which preparation had already been made by each ship passing a cable out of one of her gunroom ports, and bending it to an anchor. The next signal was to attack the enemy's centre, and at 5·30, the ships were directed to form in line ahead and astern of the admiral, Captain Hood in the *Zealous* being ordered to lead. The following was the order in which the fleet now advanced:—*Zealous*, *Goliath*, *Orion*, *Audacious*, *Theseus*, *Vanguard*, *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Leander*; the *Culloden* some distance to the northward, and the *Alexandria* and *Swiftsure*, a still greater distance to the westward, but coming up

* The *L'Orient* was formerly known as the *Sans Culotte*, but was re-named in honour of this expedition.

under a press of sail. Captain Hood had no chart to guide him, but by keeping the lead constantly and carefully going, he conducted the ships towards the enemy; rounding the shoal off Aboukir Island, as closely as the depth of water permitted, he bore away with a favourable breeze from the north-north-west on his starboard beam.

At 6, the British ships hoisted their colours, displaying also union-jacks in various parts of the rigging; 20 minutes later the enemy hoisted the tricolour, the *Guerrier* and *Conquérant* at the same time opening their fire on the *Goliath*, which now headed the line, and *Zealous*, which ships were some distance in advance of the remainder of the fleet, while shells were also thrown at them from the island and bomb-vessels.

Our ships now engaged the enemy in the following order, each captain selecting an antagonist, Nelson himself taking up a position in the centre of the line as it bore down on the enemy. The *Goliath*, crossing the head of the French line, raked the *Guerrier*, and then steered for the larboard or inner bow of that ship; but, having run out too great a scope of cable, the anchor did not bring her up alongside the *Guerrier*, and she reached the larboard quarter of the *Conquérant*, with which ship she became hotly engaged, occasionally also receiving the fire of the *Sérieuse*, 36-gun frigate, stationed still closer to the shore than the line-of-battle ships.

Captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, dropped his anchor in five fathoms of water on the larboard bow, and inside of the *Guerrier*. The sun was just sinking below the horizon in all the glory and colour of an Eastern sunset, as the British 74 shot away the foremast of the *Guerrier*, an auspicious commencement of the memorable action, which was greeted with loud cheers from the whole British fleet.

The *Audacious*, says Allen, to whose account of the battle we are greatly indebted, steered for the stern of the *Guerrier*, but brought up head to wind, within fifty yards of the *Conquérant's* larboard bow, which ship she continued to engage.

The *Theseus*, following the track of the *Zealous* and *Goliath*, passed between those ships and their opponents, and anchored by the stern about three hundred yards on the insure side of the *Spartiate*.

The *Orion*, having passed under the stern of the *Zealous*, was running down to take up her station, when the *Sérieuse* frigate had the temerity to open fire upon her. Taking a wider sweep, Sir James Saumarez ran down the frigate, dismasting her and driving her on to a shoal, when she filled with water and became a wreck. The *Orion* then brought up head to wind, a little abaft the beam of the *Peuple Souverain*.

Now came Nelson in the *Vanguard*. Instead of following the last ship and bringing-to inside the French line, he edged away for the enemy's centre; leading his remaining ships outside the hostile line, he thus placed the enemy between two fires, and insured the destruction that so swiftly overtook them. The *Vanguard*, having in passing down sustained a heavy raking fire from the starboard broadsides of the enemy's van, at 6·40 brought up about eighty yards on the outside beam of the *Spartiate*, already engaged with the *Theseus*.

The *Minotaur* anchored abreast of the *Aquilon*, and twenty minutes later, the *Defence* also brought up alongside the *Peuple Souverain*, engaged on the inner side by the *Orion*. A little after seven, the *Bellerophon* gallantly took up her station alongside the three-decker *L'Orient*, flying the flag of the French commander-in-chief. She was closely followed by the *Majestic*, which also brought up by the stern within musket-shot of the *Tonnant*.

The next ship, the *Culloden*, to the indescribable grief of her commander, Captain Troubridge, and her crew, was unable to get into action at all, owing to her having grounded upon a reef off the island of Aboukir, where she remained until two in the following morning, notwithstanding every exertion of her gallant officers and men to get her off.

The *Swiftsure* did not get into action till eight o'clock, by which time the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by her huge antagonist, had been dismasted. After losing one-third of his men, Captain Darby was forced to retire. In doing so, the *Bellerophon* nearly came to signal grief. When it began to get dark, Nelson had signalled the fleet to hoist four lights horizontally in order that they might be distinguished from the French; but the *Bellerophon*, having lost all her masts, was of course in no condition to obey the order. Thus

it happened that on coming into action, the *Swiftsure* almost ran aboard her, and the crew of the latter, not seeing the four lights, were just about to pour a broadside into her, when Captain Hallowell checked them till he could hail her; the answering hail stayed the iron rain of shot, and the *Bellerophon* was spared the awful fate which so nearly overtook her. The *Swiftsure* now clewed up her sails, and dropping her stern anchor, took up her station about a hundred yards on the starboard bow of the *Orient*, not far from the berth just vacated by the *Bellerophon*.

The frigate *Leander* had been detained by endeavouring to assist the *Culloden*, but she now arrived on the scene of strife, and her gallant captain, having previously obtained permission of Nelson to take a place in the line of battle, anchored athwart the hawse of the *Franklin*, a position in which he was enabled to do great execution not only to his immediate antagonist, but also to the ship astern of the *Franklin*.

The last ship to arrive, the *Alexandra*, brought up soon after eight, on the larboard, or inshore quarter of the *Orient*.

Thus the whole of the British fleet, with the exception of the *Culloden*, was engaged, while the French ships, *Heureux*, *Mercure*, *Timoléon*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *Généreux*, were unable to take part in the action, which was an exemplification of the great Napoleonic theory, put in practice by the "Napoleon of the sea," of attacking and overwhelming the enemy in detail. We will now proceed to narrate the incidents of the battle.

The *Guerrier*, having been raked by three ships in succession, and closely engaged by the *Zealous*, lost her three masts, and, her guns being silenced, was compelled to surrender at nine o'clock. Besides losing all her masts, her bowsprit and figure-head were shot away, her hull was shattered, and 400 of her ship's company were killed and wounded; on the other hand, the *Zealous*, owing to the admirable position she had taken up, only had seven men wounded.

The *Conquérant*, the first ship to strike, after receiving the fire of passing ships, was engaged by the *Goliath* and *Audacious*, and quickly reduced to a wreck; she lost

her fore and mizen-masts, and having her mainmast in a tottering state, and a vast number of her crew killed and wounded (among the former being her captain), was compelled to surrender in about twelve minutes. The gunnery that reduced a ship of the line to so desperate a condition in so short a time must have been rapid and effective, to a degree almost incredible. In the conflict her opponents suffered not inconsiderably; the *Goliath* lost 21 killed and 40 wounded, the *Audacious* one killed and 35 wounded.

The *Spartiate* was exposed to the fire of the *Theseus* on one side, and the *Vanguard* on the other, and was gallantly fought until, her masts having fallen, she surrendered, at about 9 p.m. The British flagship had taken up a position which exposed her to a raking fire from the *Aquilon*, as well as to the broadsides of the *Spartiate*, and experienced the heavy loss of 30 killed and 76 wounded. Among the latter was the hero whose death would have spared the foe the crushing humiliation of Trafalgar.

The battle had lasted about two hours, and Nelson was on his quarter-deck scanning a rough sketch of the Bay of Aboukir, which had been found in a prize recently taken by the *Swiftsure*, when a piece of langridge shot struck him on the forehead, inflicting a deep wound, and injuring the bone. As the torn flesh fell over his remaining eye, the sudden darkness and intense pain of the wound induced the belief that the injury was mortal; and as he fell into the arms of Captain Berry, who happened to be standing by, he exclaimed, "I am killed! Remember me to my wife!" He was carried down into the cockpit, and the surgeon at once left the wounded man whom he had under his hand at the time of the arrival of the illustrious patient. But even in this moment of mortal peril (as he thought), the admiral, with that unselfish nobleness which endeared him to his men, signed the surgeon away, exclaiming, "No, I will take my turn with my brave fellows." When his turn came, a brief examination of the wound satisfied the surgeon that, however painful, it was not dangerous. Thereupon Nelson had his head bound up, and proceeded at once on deck.

Meantime the *Spartiate* had struck to the *Vanguard*, and in less than half an hour the *Aquilon*, which, though engaged with the *Minotaur* on the starboard, and for some time

by the *Theseus* on the larboard side, maintained a fire upon the flagship, surrendered to the former 74, though not until she had been dismasted, and had lost her captain, M. Thévenard, killed.

The *Peuple Souverain* was engaged with the *Defence*, and was also exposed to the raking broadsides of the *Orion*, which had anchored on the French ship's larboard quarter. At length, having lost her fore and mainmasts, and her cable having been cut by a shot, she dropped out of the line, but anchored again about 400 yards from the *Orient*. She experienced severe losses in killed and wounded, among the former being the captain, M. Raccord.

The *Franklin*, which had sustained the raking fire of the *Leander*, was engaged by the *Defence* after the *Peuple Souverain* had quitted the line.

The scene must have been superlatively grand, as each flash of the 2,000 guns, so incessantly worked, illumined the darkness of night; but the tongues of flame darting out of the muzzles of so many cannon offered a feeble and uncertain light in comparison with the brilliant glare that was soon to make all clear as noonday.

We have in these pages detailed more than one instance of a ship blowing up in battle; it must be a sufficiently awful spectacle in the sunlight, but how grand during the dark hours of night! This catastrophe now befel the *Orient*, a name arousing painful associations such as are linked with many noble ships in our service, which have sustained a like calamity in battle. Within the first hour of the action, Admiral Brueys received two wounds, and at 8 o'clock, as he was descending from the poop to the quarter-deck, a round shot nearly cut him in two. Though suffering from the agony of this mortal wound, the gallant admiral refused to be carried below, and with his last breath desired to be suffered to die on the deck. Here he lingered a quarter of an hour, and his heroic spirit passed away, not long before death in another form would have seized him had he lived. Commodore Casa Bianca was badly wounded, just as the admiral breathed his last, and met the fate that awaited the greater part of the crew. At 9 o'clock the three-decker was perceived to be on fire in the mizen-chains, and the flames were soon observed to spread with great rapidity.

The fire is said to have been caused by the wadding of the guns of the British ships setting fire to some empty oil-cans and paint-buckets, which had been left on the poop by the men who had been painting the ship's side on the morning of the action. The general supposition in the British fleet was, that the catastrophe owed its origin to the ignition of some of the unextinguishable combustible materials employed by the French, some of which were thrown on board several ships, and were also found in the prizes. Whatever the cause, the flames spread with great rapidity, and ascending the rigging, quickly enveloped the ship. The fiery mass illumined the sky, presenting a spectacle of indescribable grandeur, and lighting up every object as in broad daylight.

On the intelligence reaching Nelson, who was still under the surgeon's hands, he at once hastened on deck, and ordered the boats to be despatched to succour the crew from the horrible fate impending over them. Little, however, could be done to rescue the unfortunate seamen; the flames burst with too fierce a glow to allow our boats to approach the huge floating castle. About 70 of her men and officers, including Rear-Admiral Ganteaume, were all that were saved, most of them being picked up by our boats, the rear-admiral escaping in a boat belonging to the *Salamine* brig. The ship continued to burn until about 10 o'clock, when the fire having caught the magazine, the *Orient* blew up, producing an effect to which nothing similar is recorded in the history of naval war. So tremendous was the explosion that the seams of the surrounding ships were opened and they sustained other considerable injuries; the sea heaved violently, the waves rose high upon the shores, and the batteries and castles around shook with the mighty concussion.

For several minutes after this catastrophe there was a dead silence; both victors and vanquished, awe-stricken, stayed their hands in the dread work of destruction! The boldest heart in the fleet manned by England's bravest sons, paid this involuntary homage to the gallant spirits who, in that instant, had been sent to their last account. But presently the deathlike stillness was broken by the sound of falling spars and burning *débris*, which showered on all the

surrounding ships, carrying danger and death with them in their fall.

The *Tonnant*, *Heureux*, and *Mercure* had cut their cables before the explosion took place, but the *Franklin's* deck was covered by the burning fragments, and she was set on fire in several places. Our ships, the *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Orion*, which were nearest the *Orient*, escaped without much injury, owing in a measure to their proximity, and also to their captains having taken such precautions that the blazing particles that fell on their decks were speedily extinguished.

The silence was first broken by the *Franklin* firing into the *Defence* and *Swiftsure*, then on her starboard bow and quarter; but the fire of these ships, coupled with that of the *Orion* on the other side, soon reduced her to an unmanageable state. She continued the unequal fight until two in the morning with signal gallantry, but at length her main and mizen-masts having gone over the side, and more than half her crew having fallen, she struck her colours.

The *Tonnant*, which was committing great havoc on board the *Swiftsure*, which was unable to make an effective reply owing to the position of the *Alexander* on the other side of the *Tonnant*, was chiefly engaged with the *Majestic*, and she continued the action until three in the morning, when the British seventy-four lost her main and mizen-masts. Shortly afterwards, the *Tonnant's* three masts went over the side, disabling most of her guns; but she veered her cable, and quitting her antagonist, took up a position ahead of the *Guillaume Teli* and other ships. The *Tonnant's* gallant captain, M. du Petit Thouars, had both his arms and one leg shot away, but with the gallantry that distinguished all the commanders of the French ships, his last dying words were an order on no account to surrender, a command which was religiously observed as long as any hope of successful resistance remained. At four a.m., when daylight began to break, the firing was resumed by the *Tonnant* and by the three ships which, from their position in the rear of the French line had not been yet engaged, the *Guillaume Tell*, *Généreux*, and *Timoléon*; the British seventy-fours, *Alexander* and *Majestic*, supported by the *Theseus* and *Goliath*, bore down to engage them, upon which the four French ships,

accompanied by the two frigates, *Justice* and *Diane*, got under weigh. At this time the frigate *Artémise*, having struck her colours to the *Theseus*, which fired into her, was perceived to be on fire, and soon afterwards blew up.

The four French line-of-battle ships dropped to leeward out of the bay, and were soon beyond gunshot; but at six a.m., observing that they meditated an attack upon the dismasted *Bellerophon*, the *Zealous*, *Goliath*, and *Theseus* were ordered to proceed to her assistance. The *Alexander* and the two latter, together with the *Leander* frigate, stood towards the *Mercure* and *Heureux*, which had both grounded to the southward of the bay, and soon compelled them to surrender. A little later, the *Timoléon* ran on shore, losing her foremast by the shock; she was afterwards set on fire, and destroyed by her crew, who then escaped to shore.

At about 11 a.m. the *Guillaume Tell*, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Villeneuve, who was destined once more to meet Nelson on an occasion of even greater historic importance than this battle of Aboukir Bay, and the *Généreux*, with the two frigates, *Diane* and *Justice*, made all sail to the north-east. The *Zealous*, which had continued to pursue them single-handed, hauled close up, and passing within musket-shot received the fire of the four retreating ships; Hood would have followed them up, but Nelson, not having any ships in a condition to chase, owing to the damages aloft sustained by them, recalled him by signal.

The *Tonnant*, which was still flying her colours on the stump of her mizen-mast, was compelled to surrender on the 3rd August to the *Theseus* and *Leander*, and thus the destruction and dispersion of the French fleet was completed. Of the 13 sail comprising that fleet, nine line-of-battle ships had been captured and two destroyed; and of the frigates two had been sunk. The batteries on the island of Aboukir were also taken on the 6th August, and their guns were removed to our ships.

The following were the losses sustained by the British fleet, which, making a total of less than 900, were smaller than the number who perished on board the *Orient* alone.

Goliath, one mate, one midshipman, and 19 men killed; one lieutenant, two midshipmen, and 37 men wounded.

Zealous, one seaman killed and seven wounded.

Orion, 13 killed; Captain Sir James Saumarez, the boatswain, three midshipmen, and 11 men wounded.

Audacious, one killed; one lieutenant, the gunner, and 33 wounded.

Theseus, five killed; one lieutenant and 29 wounded.

Vanguard, the captain of marines, two midshipmen, and 27 men killed; Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, two lieutenants, the admiral's secretary, the boatswain, two midshipmen, and 68 men wounded.

Minotaur, one lieutenant, one mate, and 21 men killed; one lieutenant, one lieutenant of marines, one second master, one midshipman, and 60 men wounded.

Defence, four killed and 11 wounded.

Bellerophon, three lieutenants, one master's mate, and 45 men killed; Captain Darby, the master, the captain of marines, the boatswain, one midshipman, and 143 men wounded.

Majestic, Captain Richard B. Westcott, the boatswain, one midshipman, and 47 men killed; two midshipmen, a clerk, and 140 men wounded.

Alexander, one lieutenant and 13 men killed; the captain of marines, the master, two midshipmen, and 53 men wounded.

Swiftsure, seven men killed; one midshipman, and 21 men wounded.

Leander, 14 men wounded.

Our ships sustained no very considerable damage considering the severity of the struggle.

The *Bellerophon* was dismasted and dreadfully shattered in every part.

The *Majestic* had lost her main and mizen-masts; the *Defence* her fore-topmast; the *Alexander* her mizen-topmast, and fore and main topgallant-masts, and two days after the battle, her main-topmast, as also that of the *Goliath*, went over the side in consequence of the injuries received in the action.

The Nile deservedly ranks as perhaps the greatest victory ever achieved by the British navy. This is not so much attributable to the superiority in ships and weight of metal of the French fleet, as to the strength of the position they occupied. Admiral Brueys regarded it as nearly impregnable, even were an attack directed against it by day, while he considered an offensive movement conducted by

night as wholly impracticable. It would be impossible indeed to over-praise Nelson's conduct, or that of his fleet on this memorable occasion; every captain knew his duty and performed it, and Nelson appreciated their worth at its proper value, and with the generosity that distinguished him, lost no opportunity of expressing his sense of their services. In a letter to Lord Howe he speaks of them enthusiastically. "The band of brothers, each as I may have occasion to mention them, must call forth my gratitude and admiration." And again, "My band of friends was irresistible."

Allen, in his encomiums on the professional ability displayed by the great admiral, says:—"Without one exception, the victory in Aboukir Bay is the grandest on record. Whether we take into consideration the determination, the ability, or the vigour displayed, or the result, the battle stands unrivalled, and will probably ever remain so. Not a blemish or the slightest insinuation to the prejudice of one ship is or has ever been mooted; and this was probably caused by the clearness of the admiral's plans. Each captain knew perfectly well beforehand the wish of the admiral, and gallantly strove to further it. Success, brilliant and unprecedented, attended such a union, and such will ever be the effect of unanimity and skill. The gallant crews of the British by constant exercising, had attained to such a degree of excellence in point of gunnery, as will perhaps never be surpassed."

Nelson ordered a public thanksgiving to Almighty God for the victory with which He had blessed his Majesty's arms; he himself held divine service on board the *Vanguard* at two o'clock that day, and recommended the fleet to follow his example.

On the following morning, he forwarded duplicate despatches to England announcing the victory. One, for Earl St. Vincent at Cadiz, was entrusted to Captain Berry, who was directed to proceed on board the *Leander*, and the other was given to his signal lieutenant, the Hon. Thomas Bladen Capel, who was promoted to the command of the *Mutine*, and ordered to proceed direct to the Admiralty in England. Commander Hardy, of the *Mutine*, was also "posted" to the *Vanguard*, *vice* Captain Berry.

On the 14th August the *Orion*, *Bellerophon*, *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Audacious*, *Theseus*, and *Majestic*, escorting the prizes, *Franklin*, *Tonnant*, *Aquilon*, *Conquérant*, *Peuple Souverain*, and *Spartiate*, which had been jury-rigged and refitted with the utmost despatch, the whole under command of Sir James Saumarez in the *Orion*, weighed and proceeded to England. The three remaining captured ships, *Heureux*, *Guerrier*, and *Mercure* being found wholly unseaworthy, were burnt. Nelson intended remaining some little time off Alexandria, but a despatch from Lord St. Vincent called him westward, and he sailed on the 19th August for Naples with the *Vanguard*, *Alexander*, and *Culloden*, which Captain Troubridge had by great exertions been enabled to get off the rocks, leaving Captain Hood with the *Zealous*, *Goliath*, and *Swiftsure*, and some frigates, to cruise off Alexandria, with the object of intercepting supplies for Buonaparte's army.

An amusing anecdote is related of Nelson, who received on board the *Vanguard* Rear-Admiral Blanquet and the seven surviving captains of the captured French ships, and entertained them with characteristic hospitality. A few days after they had embarked on board the admiral's ship, these officers, who were all wounded, were as usual dining with him, when Nelson, half-blind from the injury to his eye, not thinking what he was about, offered to one captain, who had lost most of his teeth by a musket-ball, a case of tooth-picks; on discovering his error, the gallant admiral became excessively confused, and in his trepidation, handed his snuff-box to the captain on his right, *who had lost his nose.*

Great exultation was displayed at home on receipt of the news of the victory of the Nile. Pitt was desirous of creating Nelson a viscount, but, as he said in a letter to Lord Hood, "it was objected to in a certain quarter, because he was not commander-in-chief," a pretext which Lord Hood denounced, as well he might, as "a flimsy reason;" "for," said the gallant admiral in a letter to Nelson, "your lordship stood in the situation of commander-in-chief at the mouth of the Nile. You could not possibly receive advice or assistance at the distance of near 1,000 leagues from Earl St. Vincent." Nelson was

accordingly created Baron Nelson of the Nile and of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk, with a pension for himself and his two next heirs male, of £2,000 per annum. This acknowledgment was inadequate as compared with the hereditary rewards bestowed on Sir John Jervis and Admiral Duncan, who moreover received a pension of £1,000 year from the Irish Parliament, which in this instance contented itself with passing Nelson a unanimous vote of thanks. The East-India Company showed their appreciation of the great services he had rendered in thwarting Napoleon's designs on their Indian possessions, by a grant of £10,000; foreign sovereigns, as the Sultan, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of Russia, conferred valuable gifts upon him, while the King of Naples subsequently created him Duke of Bronte, in Sicily, with the domains of that name worth £3,000 a year. Gold medals were presented to his lordship and to each of his captains, and the first lieutenants were promoted to the rank of commander. The amount paid for the purchase of the prizes into the navy, including the three ships burnt at Aboukir, was, according to custom, distributed among the seamen of the fleet, a further sum of 2,000 sequins being given by the Sultan to the wounded of Nelson's own ship, the *Vanguard*.

On the arrival of Sir James Saumarez at Gibraltar, the *Peuple Souverain* was found unfit to proceed to England, and being renamed the *Guerrier*, was converted into a guard-ship. The five other prizes arrived safely at Plymouth, and were received into the navy, the *Franklin* being renamed the *Canopus*.

CHAPTER XV.

1798–1799.

Action between the *Leander*, 50, and *Le Généreux*, 74, on the 18th August, 1798—The Capture and Dispersion of Commodore Bompart's squadron—Duels between Ships, and movements of the Mediterranean and Channel Fleets during the year 1798—Operations at Naples and on the coast of Italy, 1799—The Defence of Acre by Sir Sydney Smith.

THE *Leander*, 50, which, though a frigate, had fought such a good fight in the line of battle at the Nile, was not destined to reach Cadiz with the despatches intrusted by Nelson to Captain Berry for the commander-in-chief.

On the 18th August, when becalmed off the west end of the island of Candia, a large ship was discovered at daybreak, standing towards her. The stranger, which brought a fine breeze up with her, was soon identified as the *Généreux*, 74, one of the two ships of the line which had escaped after the battle of the Nile. Notwithstanding the great disparity of force, which would have excused his surrendering, Captain Thompson, on the *Généreux* arriving within half-gunshot of his ship, returned her fire.

The action began at ten o'clock, and, after a cannonade of half an hour's duration, the *Généreux*, being abreast of the *Leander*, put her helm up and ran her aboard on the larboard bow; then, dropping alongside, the French commander made several attempts to board. These, however, were gallantly foiled by the *Leander's* small-arm men on the quarter-deck, and the marines, and the French boarders were every time driven back with great loss. A light air now separated the ships, and the 74 driving ahead of the frigate, wore round on the starboard tack across her bows. The latter had by this time lost her mizen-mast, which had fallen over the starboard bow, her fore-topmast over the larboard bow, and her fore and main yards, which lay across the booms. Notwithstanding the almost helpless condition

to which she had been thus reduced, her gallant tars kept up a spirited fire, and she now succeeded, under the spritsail alone, in crossing the stern of her huge antagonist, and poured a raking fire into her with great effect. It soon again fell calm, and Captain Thompson continued the unequal conflict until 3·30, when a breeze springing up, the *Généreux* was enabled to take up a position, on the frigate's larboard bow, which placed her absolutely at her mercy. A continuance of the conflict being now impossible, Captains Thompson and Berry both agreed that there was no option but to surrender. The colours were accordingly hauled down, and the boats of both ships being shattered with shot, the boatswain and a midshipman swam from the French ship, and took possession of the frigate. The *Leander*, besides having only the remains of her fore and mainmasts and bowsprit left standing, had lost heavily in killed and wounded. Among the former were three midshipmen and 32 men, while the wounded included her gallant captain (hit in three places), Captain Edward Berry, two lieutenants, the master, boatswain, one master's mate, one midshipman, and 50 men. She had at the time of the action one lieutenant, one midshipman, and 50 men absent in one of the prizes captured at Aboukir; so that she lost one-third of her gallant crew of 282 men and boys. Let us contrast these casualties with the losses sustained by the *Généreux*, as also the weight of metal and complement of men of the respective ships, and we shall not be far wrong in expressing an opinion that a more gallant feat of arms has never been performed by the warriors of any nation.

The French 74 had, it appears, received on board a part of the crew of the *Timoléon*, and consequently her crew amounted to 936 men, of which number she lost no less than 100 killed and 180 wounded,—equal to the entire complement of the frigate. The broadside of the latter, moreover, weighed 432 lb., that of the *Généreux*, 1,024 lb.

Commodore Lejoille, the French captain, behaved with great brutality to his prisoners, stripping the sailors and officers of their money and clothing. He even refused to permit the *Leander's* surgeon to extract the ball from Captain Thompson's arm, and it was done by stealth after the *Généreux's* arrival at Corfu. The crew of the British frigate,

though prisoners of war, were compelled to work, and were half-starved; but when the commodore sought to induce some of them to assist in fighting the *Généreux* through a Turco-Russian squadron blockading the port, an honest main-topman indignantly replied, "No, you —— French rascal; give us back our little ship, and we'll fight you again till we sink!"

On the arrival in England of Captain Thompson and the greater part of his crew, a court-martial for their trial was assembled at Sheerness on the 19th December; but of course the only result was that they were acquitted, and the Court came to the unanimous conclusion that their gallant conduct reflected the highest honour on them and their country Sir Edward Berry, who, as Nelson's flag captain and the bearer of the despatches, had been knighted on the 10th, also received the thanks of the Court. Captain Thompson, on his return to the shore, was cheered from all the ships in the harbour, and the Government expressed their sense of his heroism by knighting him.

The chief naval event of this year, after the battle of the Nile, was the utter defeat of a French squadron which took part in the abortive attempt to assist the Irish rebels, who rose against the British Government in 1798, and deluged that island with blood. In August a squadron of four ships, under Commodore Savary, succeeded in landing in Killala Bay a small French force, commanded by General Humbert, who, however, was soon compelled to surrender to General Lake. On the 16th September, Commodore Bompart was despatched from Brest with the following ships, having on board 3,000 soldiers destined for a descent on the Irish coast.

Guns.		Guns.	
74	*Hoche.*	36	*Coquille.*
46	*Immortalité.*		*Embuscade.*
	Romaine.		*Résolue.*
	Loire.		*Sémillante.*
36	*Bellone.*	Schooner,	*Biche.*

On the day after leaving Brest, this squadron was sighted by the British 38-gun frigates *Boadicea*, Captain Keats, and *Ethalion*, Captain Countess, and while the former made sail in search of Lord Bridport, the latter closely watched the

movements of the enemy. The *Ethalion* was soon joined by the *Amelia*, 38, Captain Herbert, and *Anson*, 44, Captain Durham, and, on the 11th October, sighted a British squadron, composed of the following ships, which were cruising off the Donegal coast.

Guns.		
74	*Canada*.....	Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart.
	Robust	Captain Edward Thornborough.
80	*Foudroyant*	,, Sir Thomas Byard.
44	*Magnanime*	,, Hon. Michael de Courcy.
36	*Melampus*.....	,, Graham Moore.

The British frigates, in consequence of the bad weather had lost sight of the French squadron, but discovered them off Tory Island the same day they were joined by Sir J. B. Warren. As night came on, the wind freshened into a gale, carrying away the mizen-mast and main and maintopsail-yards of the *Anson*, and the main-topmast and fore and mizen top-gallant-masts of the French flag-ship *Hoche*. On the morning of the 12th, both squadrons were greatly scattered; but about seven, the British formed in line astern of the *Robust*, the French being hemmed in with the land about Donegal Bay. Commodore Bompart then formed his ships in line ahead in the following order: *Sémillante*, *Romaine*, *Bellone*, *Immortalité*, *Loire*, *Hoche*, *Résolue*, *Coquille*, and *Embuscade*. At a quarter to eight, the *Robust*, being on the enemy's weather quarter, passed under the stern of the *Embuscade*, and ranging up to leeward, opened fire upon the French flag-ship. The *Magnanime* quickly followed, and passing the *Robust* to leeward, was soon engaged with the *Loire*, *Immortalité*, and *Bellone*. A few broadsides put them to flight, when she placed herself athwart the bows of the *Hoche*. At 10·50, the 74 having lost a great part of her crew and 25 guns dismounted, hauled down her colours, after a most gallant and protracted resistance. The *Embuscade* also surrendered, but the *Coquille* made sail after the other three frigates. They were pursued, and the *Bellone*, after engaging the *Melampus*, whose masts she disabled, and keeping up a running fight of nearly two hours with the *Ethalion*, struck her colours to the latter, having sustained a loss of 20 killed and 45 wounded. The *Coquille* was engaged by the *Melampus*, and compelled to strike. The *Anson*, which, in consequence of

her crippled condition, had only now arrived up, received the fire of the remaining French ships, as they made sail away, to which she replied with spirit. The total loss of the British squadron was only 13 killed and 75 wounded; that of the French amounted to 462.

Two days later, the *Immortalité* and *Résolue* were chased by the *Melampus*, and the latter surrendered, after a short action. The *Loire* was also captured on the 18th October by the *Anson*, assisted by the *Kangaroo*, 18-gun brig. She had been engaged three days before with the *Mermaid*, 32, and the *Kangaroo*, but had managed to escape, notwithstanding the gallant manner in which the *Mermaid*, a small 12-pounder frigate with only 200 men, engaged her singly after the *Kangaroo* had dropped astern. On the occasion of her capture, the *Loire* lost, out of her crew of 624 men, 48 killed and 70 wounded.

On the 20th October, the *Immortalité* was engaged by the 38-gun frigate *Fisgard*, Captain Thomas Byam Martin, and, after a hotly-contested action of four hours, during which the French frigate made vain attempts to escape by directing her efforts to crippling her adversary aloft, was compelled to strike: it was a glorious victory, and most creditable to Captain Martin and his crew. The *Immortalité* lost her mizen-mast, and was otherwise greatly damaged in hull and masts, while she had her captain and first lieutenant, two officers, and 54 men killed, and 61 wounded. The *Fisgard*, when the action terminated, had five feet of water in the hold, and had lost 10 killed and one officer and 25 wounded. Thus only two ships out of the entire squadron of Commodore Bompart, namely the *Romaine*, 40, and *Sémillante*, 36, got safely back to port.

Small expeditions were sent, during the course of 1798, to various points of the enemy's coasts and colonial possessions, and the efforts thus made were generally crowned with success.

The military portion of a force employed, under Captain Home Popham and Major-General Eyre Coote, to effect a descent on the coast of the Netherlands, met with failure, and was compelled to surrender; but this was more than counterbalanced by the defeat of an attempt of the French to recover the isles of Marcouf, off the coast of Normandy.

Though attacking in greatly superior force, the enemy were driven off with the loss of 1,200 men.

Hostilities were also carried on in the West Indies; but they were of no great importance. The large and fertile island of St. Domingo was abandoned to the able native chieftain Toussaint l'Ouverture, with whom General Maitland concluded an agreement ceding the island; but the step was taken from political considerations, and the French, whom we had ousted in 1793–94, were not concerned in it. An attempt on the part of the Spaniards to possess themselves of our settlements in the Bay of Honduras, met with a signal defeat at the hands of Captain Moss and a small force of sailors and soldiers.

Nelson was the only officer who achieved any striking success in the Mediterranean in 1798. Hood performed good and gallant service off Alexandria with his squadron, capturing some vessels and blockading a French squadron superior to his own. In the latter part of the year he was superseded by Sir Sydney Smith, who having been made a prisoner under circumstances already detailed, had escaped from Paris in May, after a long captivity in the Temple. The island of Minorca was reduced by General C. Stuart, with a small force, Commodore Duckworth co-operating with a squadron of three ships of the line, three frigates, and some smaller vessels.

Of actions between single ships, the following were the most remarkable:—The capture of the *Chéri* privateer, of 26 guns and 230 men, by the *Pomone*, Captain Reynolds, when the former lost 15 killed and 19 wounded, and sank shortly after her capture; the capture of the *Betsy* privateer, of 16 guns, by the *Kingfisher*, 18, Captain Pierrepoint, after an action of two hours' duration. A very gallant affair was the capture of the French six-gun schooner *Désirée*, by the pinnace of the *Babet*, having only 12 men, commanded by Lieutenant Pym, who, out of his small crew, had two killed and six wounded, including himself and the midshipman of the boat. Early in the year the *Melampus*, 36, Captain Moore, captured the *Volage*, 22, after a short action. The 14-gun brig *Speedy* engaged and caused to retreat the French privateer *Papillon*, of equal force; and the 12-gun cutter *Marquis of Cobourg*, Lieutenant Webb, after two hours'

action, forced the *Revanche*, 16-gun lugger, to surrender to her. Equally meritorious was the capture of another 10-gun schooner called the *Revanche*, by the *Recovery*, 10-gun cutter, and of a sloop of six guns by the *Victorieuse*, 14-gun brig, which engaged her and a 12-gun schooner, the latter managing to escape.

In August the boats of the *Melpomene* and *Childers*, under Lieutenant Shortland, performed a most dashing service in cutting out the French national 14-gun brig *Aventurier*, anchored in the Isle of Bas; and a few days later, the *Espoir*, brig, of 14-guns, Commander Loftus Bland, fought a very gallant action near Gibraltar with the *Liguria*, a Genoese pirate, mounting 26 guns, and having a crew of 120 desperadoes of all nations. Both Lieutenant Shortland and Commander Bland deservedly received a step in rank for these exploits. On the 19th August, the British corvette *Hazard*, 18-guns, Captain Butterfield (late first lieutenant of the *Mars*), brought to action and captured the French ship *Neptune*, having 10 guns and a crew of 53 seamen and 273 soldiers, of whom she lost 50 killed and wounded. In October, the *Sirius*, 36, Captain Richard King, when cruising off the Texel, fell in with the Dutch frigate *Furie*, 36, and *Waakzaamheid*, 24, and very cleverly succeeded in capturing them both in succession, after a short resistance.

The only instance of an English ship surrendering to even an approximately equal force was that of the *Ambuscade*, 32, Captain Jenkins, having a crew of 190 men, to the *Baionnaise*, of the same force, but with a crew of 220 men and 30 soldiers. The French ship had been fairly beaten, and sought safety in flight, when the *Ambuscade* followed her and renewed the action; as a last desperate resource, the *Baionnaise* ran the corvette on board, the crew boarded and owing to their superior numbers, carried the British frigate. In this sanguinary affair, the *Ambuscade* lost 10 killed, including her first lieutenant and master, and her captain, two lieutenants and 33 men wounded, the purser being in command at the time of her surrender.

The English public and the fleet were unaccustomed to disaster, and great indignation was expressed at this untoward affair; but unchequered success was scarcely to be expected even from the British navy.

A bold exploit was performed in the Eastern seas at Manilla, into which the *Sybille*, 38, Captain Cooke, and *Fox*, 32, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, hoisting French colours, coolly proceeded, and, thus disguised, succeeded in bringing off seven Spanish gunboats lying at the mouth of the river.

During the years 1799 and 1800 no naval engagement on a large scale took place; but our ships were uniformly successful in their encounters with the enemy, which were of frequent occurrence.

Lord Bridport, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, watched Brest with one fleet, while in the Mediterranean the fleet of Lord St. Vincent held undisputed sway; the assistance we received from our allies, Portugal, Turkey, and Russia, being merely nominal, as their ships and crews were not of a very effective character.

The Mediterranean fleet had most arduous duties to perform. Lord Keith, the second in command, was blockading the Spaniards in Cadiz; Hood and his successor, Sir Sydney Smith, were off Alexandria; Ball off Malta; Duckworth off Minorca; while Nelson, who, after the battle of the Nile, arrived in the *Vanguard* at Naples on the 22nd September, was engaged in multifarious naval and political duties. He had despatched Captain Ball, with three sail of the line, to blockade Malta, and on joining him at the end of October, the small island of Gozo surrendered with its garrison. But Nelson was recalled to Naples, as, in consequence of the successes of the French general Championnet, who captured Rome and advanced on Naples, the safety of the King of the Two Sicilies became seriously compromised. King Ferdinand, unwilling to trust to his own officers, accepted Nelson's offer, and was conveyed in the *Vanguard* from Naples to his Sicilian capital, while the British admiral watched for an opportunity to reinstate the Neapolitan monarch.

In April, 1799, Lord Bridport took the command of the Channel fleet of 16 sail of the line, watching Brest, but was unable to prevent Admiral Bruix, the French Minister of Marine, from proceeding to sea with a powerful fleet of 25 line-of-battle ships, with 10 frigates and smaller vessels. Lord Bridport was under the impression that Admiral Bruix intended to operate in Ireland, and urged the British ministry

to send him reinforcements off Cape Clear. This was accordingly done; so that he soon found himself at the head of 26 sail of the line. The destination of the French fleet was, however, Cadiz, whither they arrived on the 4th May, 1799. Lord Keith, who was blockading the port with 15 sail of the line, sent information of their approach to Lord St. Vincent, then at Gibraltar; the latter summoned his second in command, Lord Keith, to join him, and picking up Commodore Duckworth's squadron off Minorca, followed in pursuit towards Toulon, with a fleet numbering 20 sail of the line and a few frigates.

Learning that the Spanish fleet of 17 sail of the line had quitted Cadiz, and were at Carthagena, the commander-in-chief sailed back towards the Spanish coast, being desirous, above all things, to prevent a junction of the two fleets. Subsequently, when the French admiral proceeded to the eastward, Lord St. Vincent sent Duckworth and his squadron to reinforce Nelson. Soon afterwards illness compelled his lordship to strike his flag, and resign the command to Lord Keith.

Admiral Bruix proceeded no further to the eastward than Spezzia, and having landed some stores, hastened back to Carthagena. Having effected a junction with the Spaniards, the combined fleets amounted to 40 ships of the line, with 19 frigates and smaller vessels. Even with this vast armada, the enemy feared to assume the offensive; but passing the Straits, sought shelter in Brest, where they arrived on the 12th July. Lord Keith being reinforced by 12 ships, detached to his assistance by Lord Bridport, followed up Admiral Bruix; but on his arrival off Brest, seeing that he had no intention of accepting battle, returned to Gibraltar.

It is not our province in this work to detail the circumstances connected with the execution of the Neapolitan admiral, Prince Caraccioli, who, thinking Ferdinand's cause desperate, had joined the revolutionary party, and taken command of the flotilla of gunboats acting against the king's troops at Naples. Sir Harris Nicolas * has effectually disposed of the assertions of Nelson's biographer Southey, and

* Nelson's Despatches, vol. iii., Appendix C, pp. 477–523.

other writers, that the great admiral committed a judicial murder in executing Prince Caraccioli. Nelson was commander-in-chief of the Neapolitan, as well as of the Portuguese fleet, and in this capacity he confirmed the sentence of the court-martial held at Naples on the 29th June, on board his flag-ship, the *Foudroyant*, and presided over by Count Thurn, the commander, under his orders, of the Sicilian squadron. The charges preferred against Prince Caraccioli, of rebellion and of carrying on war against his lawful sovereign King Ferdinand, being proved and confirmed, at five o'clock the same evening the unhappy officer was hanged at the fore yard-arm of the Sicilian frigate *La Minerva*. The king, who returned from Sicily to Naples a few days afterwards, and the Admiralty authorities at home, expressed the warmest approval of every part of Nelson's conduct in these difficult and deplorable circumstances; but some idea may be formed of the spirit of detraction which animated some of Nelson's foreign calumniators, when one of them imputed jealousy of Caraccioli's professional qualities as the prime motive that led Nelson to confirm the sentence of the court-martial!

After the capitulation of the forts Castel a Mare and Revigliano, in the Bay of Naples, there still remained the castle of St. Elmo, the reduction of which Nelson intrusted to Troubridge. This the gallant officer succeeded in effecting with his blue-jackets, in spite of the disaffection or cowardice of the Neapolitan troops; and thus the recovery of Naples was completed.

Without loss of time, Nelson despatched Captains Troubridge, and Hallowell of the *Swiftsure*, with a naval brigade of 1,000 seamen and marines, to Capua. The day they arrived in front of this inland town, rendered famous in Roman history as the grave of the discipline of the Carthaginian army, the gallant captain of the *Culloden* threw a pontoon bridge over the Volturno, and began to construct batteries. Within three days the bombardment of the town commenced, and on the fourth day the garrison of 3,000 Frenchmen actually capitulated to a third of their strength of British blue-jackets. The town was found to be supplied with upwards of 100 serviceable guns, and an abundance of warlike stores and provisions. Soon after, Gaeta,

the fortifications and maritime position of which rendered it even stronger than Capua, surrendered without firing a single shot; and thus by the end of July, when King Ferdinand returned from Palermo to Naples, the whole kingdom was freed from its French invaders.

On the surrender of St. Elmo, Captain Hood had been placed as commander of a garrison of British seamen, in Castel Nuovo, in order to secure the peace of the capital, though the king, suspicious of the loyalty of his subjects, remained some days on board the *Foudroyant*, at the main mast-head of which he hoisted his royal standard. In accordance with orders from Lord Keith, Nelson despatched Duckworth, with three sail of the line, to Minorca, and after the capture of Capua and Gaeta, sent him a further reinforcement. Captain Martin was also detached in the *Northumberland* to the coast of Genoa, to co-operate with the Russian general Suwarrow, who was expelling the French from that district; and Nelson despatched his "right-hand man," the energetic Troubridge, with three sail of the line, to drive the French from Civita Vecchia, at the mouth of the Tiber.

The army had been almost uniformly unsuccessful, until the genius of Wellington chained Fortune to his chariot-wheels. Nelson, from his experience of General Dundas in 1794, had no high opinion of "army officers," and when, on his now applying to Sir James Erskine, the general commanding at Minorca, for 1,200 troops to assist in the reduction of Civita Vecchia, that officer refused, on the ground that its capture by such a force as Nelson could dispose of was impracticable, as it was a regular fortress, his lordship's contempt for the sister service was only increased. He therefore resolved to act alone, and sent Troubridge with three ships.

This officer, on his arrival, at once summoned the garrison to surrender; but the commander began to expostulate, and the Austrian general Frölich, who was co-operating with the British squadron, tried to interfere; and at one time the sailor was not sure that he would not have to fight his ally also. But he laid the wooden sides of the *Culloden* alongside the stone walls of Civita Vecchia, and speedily the argument was found irresistible, and the fort-

ress capitulated. Troubridge then sent Captain Louis, of the *Minotaur*, in his barge up the Tiber to the Eternal City, and, on the 30th September, that officer hoisted the Union Jack on the Capitol, which had been occupied in the previous December by the French general Championnet, who had driven out of the city General Mack, an Austrian officer intrusted with the command of the Italian army.

All these successes were fruits of the great victory of Aboukir Bay; and King Ferdinand did not hesitate to applaud, and was not backward in rewarding, the victor of the Nile, whose health he drank at a banquet given in his honour at Naples, while the ships and batteries thundered out a royal salute as a token of the monarch's gratitude.

Not less glorious were the successes achieved on the coast of Syria by Sir Sydney Smith, who also held a semi-diplomatic mission, being associated in a commission with his brother, Mr. Spencer Smith, our minister at Constantinople. On the 3rd March this officer arrived off Alexandria in the *Tigre*, 74, and superseded Captain Hood in the command of the blockading squadron. An attempt of the two officers to bombard the vessels in the harbour of Alexandria met with a failure similar to that which had attended a like operation previously undertaken by Hood. Meantime Sir Sydney despatched Lieutenant Wright, who had been the companion of his escape from the Temple prison, to Ahmed Djezzar, the Pasha of Syria, to concert a scheme of operations, and from him he learnt that Buonaparte had invaded Syria, had taken Jaffa by storm, and was hastening by forced marches to the attack of St. Jean d'Acre. Hood now quitted Alexandria to rejoin Nelson at Palermo, and on 8th March, Sir Sydney Smith despatched to Acre the *Theseus*, Captain Miller, having on board a friend of the commodore's, Colonel Philipeaux, a French Royalist engineer officer. On the 13th, the *Theseus* arrived at Acre, and two days later Sir Sydney cast anchor in the same port with the *Tigre*, the *Alliance* frigate, and a cutter. The following day he, Miller, and Philipeaux examined the defences of the town, and finding that the Turks were willing to stand a siege, used every exertion to strengthen the works.

On the 17th March, the *Theseus* was detached to the southward, while, taking the boats of the *Tigre*, he himself

proceeded to the anchorage of Caiffa, about eight miles south-west of the town, near the promontory of Mount Carmel. Early the following morning the advanced guard of the French army was seen, mounted on asses and dromedaries, passing close to the beach; upon which Lieutenant Bushby, in command of the launch carrying a 12-pounder carronade, opened so heavy and well-directed a fire upon them, that they were compelled to change their route, taking the Nazareth road, where they were exposed to the attack of the Arabs. The guns of the British ships having prevented the French from making an attack along the north coast, they invested Acre on the north-east side, where the defences were more formidable.

Convinced, from their not returning the fire of the flotilla of boats, that the enemy had no artillery, and surmising that they were expecting to receive it by sea from Alexandria, Sir Sydney made arrangements to intercept it. Early on the morning of the 18th March, a corvette and nine gunboats were seen from the *Tigre*, and, after a chase, the whole flotilla, with the exception of the corvette, was captured. The prizes carried 32 guns and 208 men, and were laden with battering guns and every kind of ammunition and stores necessary to prosecute a siege, all of which they had brought from Damietta. The guns were now employed in the defence, and the vessels in harassing the enemy.

On the same day an unsuccessful attack was made on four transports, laden with supplies, lying in the port of Caiffa, by the boats of the *Tigre*, and *Theseus*, when the British lost four midshipmen and eight men killed, one midshipman and 26 men wounded, and 12 taken prisoners.

A heavy gale of wind drove the squadron off the coast, and the French, taking advantage of their absence, pushed their approaches to the counterscarp, and began the construction of a mine near the breach already made by their field-pieces. Sir Sydney returned to the anchorage off Acre on the 6th April, and at once concerted measures with the Turkish Pasha to check their progress. A sortie was made by the seamen and marines in concert with the Turks, and would have been more successful, but that the noise made by our allies rendered abortive the attempt to surprise the enemy. Nevertheless, Lieutenant Wright, of the

Tigre, although wounded by two musket-balls, destroyed the mine, while the *Theseus*, having taken up an excellent position, covered the retreat of the detachment. In this affair Major Oldfield of the marines, and two men were killed, and two lieutenants, two midshipmen, and 19 men wounded.

Several sorties were made by the garrison, under cover of the boats of the squadron, until the 1st May, when Buonaparte,—who had succeeded in breaching the walls by a heavy cannonade of several hours' duration, from 23 pieces of artillery, including nine 18- and 24-pounders, which had been landed at Jaffa by Rear-Admiral Perrée, and brought thence by land,—made a desperate attempt to storm the town In the face of a heavy fire from the walls, as also from the line-of-battle ships, the gunboats, and launches which flanked the enemy's trenches, the French troops mounted to the assault with characteristic bravery, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The British lost one midshipman and four seamen killed, besides Captain Wilmot of the *Alliance*, who met his death from a rifle-bullet while endeavouring to mount a howitzer on the walls; one lieutenant and eight men were wounded, and Sir Sydney Smith had also to lament the loss of his friend Colonel Philipeaux, an energetic and skilful engineer officer, who died on the 2nd May from fever induced by excessive fatigue.

After this failure Buonaparte continued his fire against the town with redoubled energy, and on the 7th May, when a reinforcement of Turkish troops from Rhodes appeared in sight in the offing, he determined to deliver an assault before they could disembark. All that day a terrific fire was delivered from the French batteries, to which a response was vigorously given from the walls, and from some heavy ship-guns mounted in suitable places and manned by British seamen. The besiegers, having battered down the upper part of the north-east tower, at daylight of the 8th May mounted the breach, and planted their standard on the outer angle of the work. It was a critical time, for Hassan Bey had not yet landed with his reinforcements, and the French were sheltered by two traverses they had erected during the night, composed of sandbags and dead bodies. Sir Sydney, therefore, landed at the mole, and in person led

on his seamen, armed with pikes, to the breach, where were a few Turks who had maintained the struggle with great gallantry. Djezzar Pasha was sitting in his palace, rewarding such as brought in to him the heads of the enemy; but hearing that the commodore had repaired to the breach, he hastened thither and pulled him back, saying "that if harm befel his English friends, all would be lost."

Sir Sydney had some difficulty in inducing the Pasha to admit any troops, except his Albanians, who had been reduced from 1,000 to 200, into the sacred precincts of the seraglio gardens; but at length obtaining his permission, he led in 1,000 Turks to defend a breach made in the walls by the French artillery. Buonaparte was distinctly seen on an elevated piece of ground, called Cœur-de-Lion's Mount (after Richard I.), addressing his generals, and making preparations for a renewed assault. To meet this Sir Sydney made a fresh disposition of his ships and gunboats. Just before sunset, a massive column advanced to the breach effected to the southward of the tower; but after a desperate struggle, in which the Turks opposed the scimitar and dagger to the bayonet, the French were driven back with heavy loss, leaving General Rambeaud among the killed, while General Lannes, who led the assault with his accustomed dash, being wounded by a musket-ball, was with difficulty carried off by his men. In this hotly-contested affair, which lasted twenty-four hours, our loss was only one man killed and seven wounded, and a midshipman and three men drowned.

Buonaparte, furious at his efforts being thus foiled by an English post-captain, sent for General Kleber's division, which had been guarding the fords of the Jordan: this officer, however, also failed in his attack, and a flag of truce was sent in, in order to bury the dead. While this message was under consideration, the French once more advanced to the attack, under a storm of shot and shell from their batteries; but they were well met by the garrison, and once more repulsed with slaughter. According to Turkish custom, Ahmed Djezzar Pasha stimulated the courage of his soldiery by an offer of fifty piastres for each head brought in to him; and with a business-like punctuality he took up his station, with a bag of money and a secretary by his side,

and paid for each gory trophy, until the heads were piled up before him, as an English sailor appositely put it, "like so many cabbages at Covent Garden."

On the night following this last repulse (20th May), Buonaparte raised the siege and made a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him all his battering guns. On the 24th the French army reached Jaffa, and, after halting three days, reached Gaza on the 30th, and on the 14th of June marched into Cairo. At the latter end of August, 1799, Buonaparte left his army in Egypt under the command of General Kleber, and returned to France. Napoleon confessed to a loss of 3,000 men before Acre, and always spoke with bitterness of the defeat inflicted on him by the English naval captain, who, he said, 'had made him miss his destiny," which he professed to believe included the subjugation of India.

It is related of the officer who foiled the victor of Austerlitz and Marengo, that during the siege of Acre he challenged his great antagonist to a duel; but that the latter sent him a contemptuous refusal, declaring he could only fight an equal, such as Marlborough.

The chief loss sustained by the British during the operations before Acre was occasioned by an accident on board the *Theseus*, which deprived the country of the services of a valuable officer. On the 14th May, as she was about to chase the squadron of Admiral Perrée off Cesarea, an explosion took place of 20 36-pounder and 50 18-pounder shells on the poop of the seventy-four. Captain Miller was killed by a splinter, which struck him on the breast; the schoolmaster, two midshipmen, and 27 men were killed; nine, having jumped overboard, were drowned; and 47 were wounded, including two lieutenants, the master, the surgeon, the chaplain, and the carpenter, and a midshipman (mortally); the total thus being 87 killed and wounded. The whole of the poop and the after-part of the quarter-deck were blown to pieces, and the booms shattered; eight of the main-deck beams were broken; all the ward-room bulk-heads and windows destroyed, and the ship was set on fire. The flames were, however, extinguished by the great exertions of Lieutenants England and Summers and the crew; and it was fortunate indeed that the squadron of three frigates

and one brig did not attack her in the defenceless state to which she was reduced.

In the memorable defence of Acre the total British loss was as follows: *Tigre*, 17 killed, four drowned, 48 wounded, and 77 prisoners; *Theseus*, four killed, 15 wounded, and five prisoners; *Alliance*, one killed and three wounded. Total: 22 killed, four drowned, 66 wounded, and 82 prisoners.

Sir Sydney Smith, after rendering the Turks such further assistance as they required, sailed from Acre on the 12th June, and having repaired his squadron at Cyprus, proceeded to Constantinople. At the end of October the gallant commodore returned to Alexandria, and co-operated with the Turkish forces in harassing General Kleber's army.

CHAPTER XVI.

1799–1801.

The Surrender of the Dutch Fleet—The engagement between the *Sybille* and *Forte*—Other frigate and boat actions of the year 1799—The capture of *Le Généreux* and *Guillaume Tell*—The Capitulation of Malta and Genoa—Single-ship actions of the year 1800—The capture of the *Désirée*—Gallant boat action by the men of the *Viper* under Lieutenant Coghlan—Capture of the *Vengeance*—Action between the *Milbrook* and *Bellone*—The Achievements of Lord Cochrane in the *Speedy*—Capture of the *Gamo*.

In the course of the autumn of the year 1799, Lord Duncan, who still commanded the North Sea fleet, obtained a bloodless triumph over his old enemies the Dutch, a large portion of their fleet, amounting in all to twenty sail, falling into his hands without firing a shot. This was brought about by the attitude of the Dutch seamen, the greater portion of whom, being anxious for the return of the Stadtholder, who had been expelled by their French invaders, refused to fight against Vice-Admiral Mitchell's squadron, but hauled down the colours and yielded up their ships, to the great disgust of their commander, Rear-Admiral Storey. Another powerful Dutch squadron had previously surrendered, on the occupation of the fort of the Helder by a British army.

Some remarkable frigate actions took place during the year 1799. Conspicuous among these was the engagement between the *Sybille*, 38,* Captain Edward Cooke, and the *Forte*, 44, Captain Beaulieu le Long, a ship of greatly superior size and force. The French frigate had become the terror of the Indian seas, and Captain Cooke, having sailed from Madras in search of her, on the evening of the 28th February descried her off the South Sand-Heads, in company with two prizes, country ships from China, which she had just captured. The *Sybille* stood on, with her lights

* This was nominally the number of guns she carried; the actual armament was greater, as will be seen further on.

extinguished, until able to fetch to windward of the strangers. At ten, having obtained her object, she tacked, shortened sail to topsails, jib, and spanker, and stood for the centre ship. The captain of the *Forte*, imagining the *Sybille* to be another prospective prize, suffered her to approach his ship, and at midnight went about, and crossing the bows of the British frigate, fired a broadside into her. Captain Cooke reserved his fire, and, when the enemy was abaft his weather beam, tacked, bringing himself on the *Forte's* weather or larboard quarter. When close to the Frenchman, Captain Cooke suddenly bore up, and, passing within a few feet of her stern, poured into her a most murderous raking broadside from the guns, which had been treble-shotted for the occasion; then, hauling up close under the enemy's lee, he engaged her within half-pistol-shot.

At 1.30 the gallant captain of the *Sybille* received a mortal wound, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant Lucius Hardyman. The action continued with great spirit on both sides till 2 a.m., when the *Forte*, having ceased firing, was hailed to know if she surrendered. No answer was returned, and the *Sybille* continued to engage her. A second time the French frigate was silenced, but obtaining no answer to the summons if she had struck, a broadside was poured in, which brought down the foremast. This was soon followed by the fall of her main and mizen-masts and bowsprit, at which the jolly tars of the *Sybille* cheered, and at 2.28 ceased firing, the enemy being now a helpless wreck. Lieutenant Hardyman now let go his anchor in seventeen fathoms of water, and set all hands to work repairing damages aloft, in expectation of an attack from the consorts of the *Forte*.

Presently an English prisoner hailed from the enemy, requesting that a boat might be sent on board, as they had none that would swim. This was at once done, and the *Forte* was taken possession of by the third lieutenant. The *Sybille* was much cut up aloft, and had lost five men killed, including Captain Davies, aide-de-camp to the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, who was cut in two by a round shot, and 17 wounded, including her gallant commander (mortally). The *Forte*, besides being totally dismasted, was much shattered about the hull, in which she had received more than

250 shot. Her loss consisted of her captain and 65 officers and men killed, and her first lieutenant and 80 men wounded; from which it may be gathered that she did not surrender before further resistance was absolutely hopeless.

The *Forte* was considered the finest frigate in the world, and her lines were justly celebrated for their beauty. She measured 1,400 tons, and mounted a powerful battery of 30 long 24-pounders on her main-deck, 14 long 18-pounders, and four brass 36-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and forecastle. The *Sybille*, on the other hand, carried 28 long 18-pounders on her main-deck, 14 32-pounder carronades and six long 9-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle. Both ships had on board at the time of the action 370 men, the *Forte* having sent away a portion of her crew to man her prizes.

The victory was a glorious one for British arms; but it was dimmed by the death of Captain Cooke, one of the most distinguished officers the navy boasted, even in those days of brave and skilful sailors. He lingered in great agony from his wound, and died at Calcutta on the 25th May. The directors of the East-India Company erected a handsome monument to his memory in that city.

The *Forte* was commissioned by Captain Hardyman, who was advanced to post rank for his gallantry; but she was shortly afterwards wrecked at Jeddah, in the Red Sea.

A desperate affair took place in the Channel off Boulogne, where Captain Lewis Mortlock, commanding the *Wolverine*, carrying 13 guns so fitted that they could be all worked on a broadside, with a crew of 70 men, engaged two large luggers, one mounting eight guns, with a complement of 70 hands, the other 14, with 80 men. The luggers, taking the *Wolverine* for a merchant-ship—as she hoisted Danish colours in order to deceive them,—attempted to board, but were repelled after some severe fighting, in which the gallant Captain Mortlock received four wounds, the last being mortal. The enemy lost three officers and seven men killed, and upwards of 20 wounded, of whom the commander of one of the luggers and 10 men received mortal injuries.

A gallant capture was made off Cape Natal by the *Dædalus*, 32, Captain Lidgbird, of the French frigate *Prudente*, carrying 30 guns, after an action of an hour's

duration, during which the Frenchman lost 27 men killed and 22 wounded.

Off Malaga a spirited action was also fought, with a like result, between the British 14-gun brig *Espoir*, Captain James Saunders, and a Spanish xebec mounting 14 guns; the latter was carried by boarding, having lost nine killed and 28 wounded, out of a crew of 113 men.

On the 9th April, the 38-gun frigate *San Fiorenzo*, Captain Sir Harry Neale, stood in towards Belleisle in company with the *Amelia*, 38, Captain Hon. Charles Herbert, when the latter frigate, having carried away in a squall her maintop-mast, and fore and mizen topgallant masts, a French squadron, consisting of the 40-gun frigates *Cornélie* and *Vengeance*, *Semillante*, 36, and a cutter, weighed anchor and, forming a line, stood towards the British ships. Sir Harry Neale accepted the wager of battle, and engaged the French frigates; but as often as he attempted to close with them they bore away, until at length they made sail for the Loire. The total loss of the enemy exceeded 100 killed and wounded, including the captain of the *Vengeance* in the former, and the French commodore in the latter, category. The *San Fiorenzo* had only one man killed and 18 wounded, and the *Amelia*, a midshipman and one seaman killed and 17 wounded.

A gallant affair also was the cutting out, from under the protection of a battery in the harbour of La Selva, of a Spanish polacre of 10 guns and 113 men, by the boats of the *Success*, 32, with a loss of four killed and eight wounded.

On the 20th August, the *Clyde*, 38, Captain Cunningham, when cruising off Rochefort, sighted and gave chase to two French ships. Having overtaken one of them, the *Vestale*, 36, she captured her after a close engagement of one hour and 50 minutes. The *Clyde* lost only five men killed and wounded; the *Vestale*, besides having her rigging and sails cut to pieces, had 10 killed and 22 wounded, out of a complement of 250 all told.

Off Surinam, the French 28-gun frigate *Republican* had likewise, after a gallant resistance, to strike her colours to a superior force, represented in this instance by the *Tamar*, 18, Captain Western.

A very brilliant affair was the defence made by the store-

ship *Camel*, mounting 24 guns, and having only 101 men, and the 16-gun sloop *Rattlesnake* against the attack of the *Preneuse*, 36, Captain L'Hermite. The two British ships were lying at anchor in Algoa Bay, with their captains and a portion of their crews serving on shore with the army of General Dundas, when the French frigate suddenly attacked them; she was, however, beaten off, after an action of three hours' duration. Captain L'Hermite was one of the best officers in the French navy, as he proved when, three weeks later, he escaped from the 50-gun ship *Jupiter*, Captain Granger, after a spirited engagement, though, in justice to the gallant officers and crew of the *Jupiter*, it should be stated that, in consequence of the heavy sea, they were unable to open her lower deck ports, so that the British frigate could only bring to bear upon her opponent a broadside of 11 12-pounders and three 6-pounders. The *Preneuse* did not, however, ultimately escape; for, on the 11th December, she was chased and driven on shore near Port Louis, Mauritius, by the *Tremendous*, 74, and *Adamant*, 50. Her crew having deserted her, she was boarded, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the shore batteries, and destroyed where she lay, her captain and the few remaining men being first removed.

On the 16th October a lucky capture (what sailors call a "haul") was made off Cape Finisterre by the 38-gun frigates *Naiad*, Captain Pierrepoint, and *Ethalion*, Captain Young, and the 32-gun frigates *Triton*, Captain Gore, and *Alcmene*, Captain Digby. The *Ethalion* brought to action and captured the Spanish frigate *Thetis*, 34, and on the following day, after a long chase, during which the *Triton* struck heavily on the rocks off that iron-bound coast, she and the *Alcmene* forced her companion ship the *Santa Brigida* to haul down her colours. On overhauling the prizes, it was discovered that they were laden with gold and silver, and so vast was the treasure that, on reaching Plymouth, it required 63 artillery-waggons to convey it to the citadel. The following were the shares of the fortunate participants:—

		£.	s.	d.
Captains	(each)	40,730	18	0
Lieutenants	,,	5,091	7	3
Warrant officers	,,	2,468	10	9
Petty officers	,,	791	17	0
Seamen and marines	,,	182	4	9

We have not space to detail the many other deeds of gallantry performed by the British navy during the year 1799, but will just name some of the more remarkable. Conspicuous among them was the daring exhibited by Captain Macnamara, who, in the *Cerberus*, 32, harassed a Spanish convoy of 80 sail, and partially engaged the squadron of one 40-gun frigate, four 34-gun frigates, and two brigs, protecting the merchantmen. Also worthy of chronicle is the capture by the *Solebay*, 32, Captain Poyntz, while cruising off San Domingo, of an entire French squadron, consisting of the *Egyptienne*, 20; *Eole*, 18; *Levrier*, 12; *Vengeur*, 8; having an aggregate of 481 men.

Lieutenant Searle, while commanding the 12-gun cutter *Courier*, engaged for 50 minutes, and forced to surrender, the *Guerrier*, carrying 14 long 4-pounders and 44 men. Lieutenant Bainbridge, of the *Queen Charlotte*, distinguished himself greatly by the gallantry with which, at the head of a barge's crew of 16 men, he boarded and recaptured the *Lady Nelson*, 10-gun cutter, making prisoners her prize crew of seven French officers and 27 men. The boats of the *Trent* frigate stormed a battery of five guns in a bay in the island of Porto Rico, and brought out a Spanish ship and a schooner lying under its protection. The *Viper*, 14 guns and 48 men, captured, after a running fight, a French lugger privateer of equal force, but having nine more men.

On 5th October, the schooner *Ferret*, Acting Lieutenant Fitton, mounting six 3-pounders, with a crew of 45 men and boys (a tender of the *Abergavenny* flagship at Jamaica), brought to close action a Spanish schooner, afterwards ascertained as having 14 long 6-pounders and 100 men. Notwithstanding the great disparity of force, the Spaniards bore up and made all sail for St. Jago de Cuba, glad to escape with the loss of 11 killed and 20 wounded. Our chronicle for 1799 worthily closes with this exploit, one of those gallant deeds performed in an obscure part of the globe, the heroes of which are not of exalted rank.

In the year 1800 Lord St. Vincent succeeded Lord Bridport in command of the Channel fleet, and Lord Keith continued, except for a few months in the winter of the previous year, commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

During this time the siege of Malta was prosecuted with

great energy by a combined military and naval force under Brigadier-General Graham, subsequently the victor of Barossa, and the indefatigable and gallant Captain Ball, who served on shore with a naval brigade of 500 seamen, while Troubridge, as senior officer of the blockading squadron, closely invested Valetta by sea. Still the siege progressed but slowly, for the investing force was actually numerically inferior to the besieged; and had it not been for the pressure of famine, the city might have held out for an indefinite term. This want extended also to the British troops and the Maltese, until Nelson, at his own risk, directed Troubridge, in a letter dated 8th January, to seize some vessels lying at Messina laden with corn, which the Neapolitan Government refused to sell, and he actually mortgaged his own domain of Bronté to find funds to keep the squadron before Malta.

Lords Keith and Nelson were cruising off Malta, when intelligence arrived that a French squadron, laden with troops and provisions, was on its way from Toulon to relieve the garrison. On the 18th February, Nelson, in the *Foudroyant*, while in company with Captain Ball's ship, the *Alexander* (in command of the first lieutenant, Mr. Harrington), and the *Success* frigate, fell in with these ships, consisting of a line-of-battle ship, a frigate, two corvettes, and some transports. In the short engagement that took place the first-named was captured, and proved to be *Le Généreux*, 74, flag of Rear-Admiral Perrée, who was killed by a round shot which shattered his thigh. It will be remembered that this was one of the two ships that had escaped after the battle of the Nile, and which captured the *Leander*. The officer who commanded her, and gained so unenviable a notoriety on that occasion, Commodore Lejoille, had been killed on the 3rd March in the previous year, by a shot from the Castle of Brindisi, near which his ship had grounded. The capture of the *Généreux*, which had on board 2,000 soldiers and a vast quantity of provisions and stores, was followed by the dispersion and return to France of the remaining vessels; and thus the fate of Malta was in effect sealed.

Lord Keith went to Genoa at the end of February to co-operate with the Austrians, and in the middle of March Nelson returned to Palermo, leaving Troubridge in com-

mand, having under his orders his own ship, the *Culloden*, 74; *Lion*, 64, Captain Dixon; *Foudroyant*, 80, Captain Sir Edward Berry (late Nelson's flag-ship); *Alexander*, 74, Lieutenant Harrington (acting); and the *Penelope*, 36, Captain Hon. Henry Blackwood; together with some smaller vessels. A few days after the admiral's withdrawal, General Vaubois, the French governor of Malta, resolved to make a last attempt to get succour from France, and ordered Admiral Decres to break through the blockading squadron in his flag-ship, the *Guillaume Tell*, 80, the last of the ill-fated fleet that had succumbed to Nelson at the Nile, and, at all hazard, announce to the French government that, unless relieved, he must capitulate before June.

The *Guillaume Tell* got under weigh at eleven on the night of the 30th March, but was discovered by the *Penelope*, which had the temerity to follow her closely and engage her, with the object of attracting the attention of Captain Troubridge by the sound of her guns. Crossing her stern, the frigate twice raked the great line-of-battle ship, which could only reply with her stern chasers; and so effectually did she harass the *Guillaume* that she shot away her main and mizen topmasts, and the sling of her mainyard. This damage delayed her long enough to enable the *Lion* to take part in the conflict. Ranging up close alongside to leeward of the French ship, the little sixty-four poured a broadside into her, and then luffing up across her bows, carried away her opponent's jib-boom, which had passed between the *Lion's* main and mizen-masts. Aided by the *Penelope*, Captain Dixon continued to engage his powerful adversary, until, being much cut up in her rigging, the *Lion* dropped astern.

But the hard-pressed *Guillaume Tell* was not to escape, in spite of her gallant exertions in striving to break through the toils of her foes. At 6 a.m. the *Foudroyant* arrived upon the scene under a press of sail, when, hailing to know if she surrendered, but receiving no reply, Sir Edward Berry poured in a broadside. The gallant Decres replied with a like compliment, and with so much effect that, at the second broadside, he shot away the *Foudroyant's* foretopmast, maintopsail-yard, jib-boom, and spritsail-yard, and cut her canvas to shreds. Thus crippled, the seventy-four

dropped astern, leaving the *Lion* on the *Guillaume Tell's* larboard beam, and the *Penelope* on her quarter. Soon the French ship's main and mizen-masts were shot away, and Sir Edward Berry, having cleared away his wreck, resumed his position on her starboard quarter. At 8 o'clock, the Frenchman's foremast went over the side, and at length Admiral Decres, seeing the futility of further resistance, hauled down his flag, and was taken possession of by Captain Blackwood.

Never was a ship more gallantly defended, and even Buonaparte, rarely magnanimous to his officers when unsuccessful, applauded the resolution of the French admiral—a worthy successor of Suffrein and De Tourville.

The *Guillaume Tell* had lost 200 killed and wounded, and was a perfect wreck. The *Foudroyant's* mizen-mast fell shortly after the action, and out of a complement of 718 men and boys, she had had eight killed and 64 wounded, including the captain, one lieutenant, three midshipmen, and the boatswain. The *Lion*, a small sixty-four, carrying only 300 men, had one midshipman and seven men killed, and one midshipman and 37 men wounded. She, and also the *Penelope*, were much cut up in their masts and rigging: the frigate had only one killed and three wounded. Much credit was due to Captain Blackwood for his persevering gallantry in engaging the huge line-of-battle-ship single-handed. The latter was added to the navy, and re-named the *Malta*, and was, with the *Tonnant*, the largest two-decker in the service. Of all the ships engaged at the Nile, there only now remained to be accounted for the frigates *Diane* and the *Justice*. The former was taken by the *Success*, and on the capitulation of the French army in Egypt, the *Justice* was surrendered and added to the Turkish navy. On the 4th September, Malta was delivered up to Major-General Pigott and Captain Martin, of the *Northumberland*, the senior naval officer on the station, Nelson having returned to England; and thus the gallant General Vaubois, and the famine-stricken garrison of 5,000 men, surrendered to a force numerically inferior to them.

Prior to this, a British squadron, under the personal command of Lord Keith, took part in the reduction of Genoa, which, under the able direction of Massena, held out until the 4th June, when it, also, was forced to

succumb to the exigencies of famine. Genoa had been besieged by an Austrian army, and was bombarded by the British fleet. On one occasion Captain Beaver, of the *Aurora*, 28, greatly distinguished himself by the gallant manner in which, with 10 boats carrying 100 men, he boarded, in the dead of night, and captured, after a desperate conflict, a long galley, carrying a crew of 257 men, which was moored under the protection of some batteries. Unhappily, within ten days of its surrender, the city of Genoa, as well as Savona, which had shortly before capitulated to Captain Donovan, of the *Santa Dorotea*, 34, and an Austrian force, again fell into the hands of Buonaparte, as the decisive victory of Marengo placed all Northern Italy at the feet of the conqueror.

A terrible calamity befell Lord Keith's flag-ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, just before the blockade of Genoa by his lordship. On the 17th March, she was discerned to be on fire, and in spite of the greatest exertions of Captain Todd and the crew, this officer, the first lieutenant, Bainbridge, and the greater portion of her men, perished in the flames.

An expedition was undertaken by a combined British military and naval force against Ferrol, but it was not productive of much fruit. The commodore, Sir John Warren, silenced a battery on shore, but General Sir James Pulteney considered the defences of the town too strong to attempt with his small force of 4,000 men, which was accordingly re-embarked.

The commodore's flag-lieutenant, Mr. Burke, however, managed to gain great honour by the brilliant gallantry he displayed when, on the 29th August, he, with 20 boats, cut out from under the protection of the batteries in Vigo Bay, a Spanish 18-gun privateer, having a crew of 165 men. The privateer, which lost 65 men, was carried, after a desperate conflict, in which Lieutenant Burke and 23 officers and seamen were killed and wounded. This officer, who received a commander's commission for his gallantry, had already gained himself a name as one of the most daring officers in the service. On the 1st July the commodore had despatched him with the boats of the *Fisgard* and of his flag-ship, the *Renown*, having under his orders 192 officers, seamen, and marines, for the purpose of effecting

the capture of a large convoy lying at anchor under the island of Noirmontier. Though exposed to a heavy fire of guns and musketry, he succeeded in capturing, notwithstanding a very obstinate resistance, the 20-gun corvette *Thérèse*, protecting the convoy, three other armed vessels, and 15 sail of merchantmen. Having destroyed these, he was returning, when the boats grounded on a sandbank, and after being exposed to an incessant fire from the forts and from 400 soldiers, 92 men, including Mr. Burke and two other lieutenants, who were wounded, were obliged to surrender, the remaining 100 managing to reach their ships.

The following are some of the most notable frigate actions of the year 1800.

The French 38-gun frigate *Pallas* surrendered to the 16-gun corvette *Fairy*, Captain Horton, and 18-gun brig *Harpy*, Captain Bazeley, having also sustained the fire of three other British ships which took part in the chase. The *Peterel*, 16-gun sloop, Captain Austen, captured the *Ligurienne*, of equal force, after a running fight of an hour and a half, during which she sustained but slight loss. On the 7th April, the *Leviathan*, 74, Captain Carpenter, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Duckworth, captured, after a stout resistance, the Spanish 34-gun frigates *Carmen* and *Florentina*. A week later the cutter of the *Calypso*, commanded by Mr. Buckley, the master, boarded and carried, in the face of a heavy fire, the French privateer schooner *Diligente*, mounting six guns, and having a crew of 39 men.

Even more dashing was the service performed by Captain Campbell, who, in the 30-gun corvette *Dart*, and having with him two gunboats, four fire-ships, and some cutters, attacked some French frigates moored in the harbour of Dunkirk. Fearlessly sailing in, Captain Campbell continued his course until abreast of the third frigate, which fired a broadside at the *Dart*. This salute she returned with double-shotted guns, and passing on, ran the *Désirée*, 40, on board, her jib-boom passing under the frigate's forestay. The first lieutenant at once boarded with 50 gallant fellows, and engaged the French crew of 200 or 300 men, until a second division of boarders coming to his assistance, the ship was captured. In fifteen minutes the *Désirée*, which had lost 100 killed and wounded, had changed hands, her cables

were cut, and she was under weigh for the mouth of the harbour. Commander Campbell, who achieved this success with the loss of only 12 men, was deservedly posted, and appointed to the *Ariadne*.

An equally daring affair was the cutting out of the French brig *Cerbère*, carrying three long 24-pounders and four 6-pounders, with a crew of 87 men, and moored within pistol-shot of three batteries and a mile of a French seventy-four, by Acting Lieutenant Coghlan, commanding the 10-gun cutter *Viper*, attached to the squadron of Sir Edward Pellew. Obtaining leave of the commodore to undertake this desperate enterprise, Lieutenant Coghlan, with one boat, having on board 20 men and officers all told, actually carried the brig after a severe hand-to-hand fight. Twice the gallant young officer was repulsed, but the third time the perseverance and pluck of his band of heroes was rewarded with success. Lieutenant Coghlan and Mr. Midshipman Paddon were both severely wounded, the former in two, and the latter in six places; and one seaman was killed and eight wounded. We cannot be far wrong in saying that this was a feat that no seamen in the world but British tars would have dreamt of undertaking, or, having undertaken, would not have relinquished after the first repulse, when the commander was himself severely wounded in the thigh.

One of the hardest-fought of the frigate actions of the year was that between the *Seine*, 38, Captain Milne, and the *Vengeance*, of the same force. The action commenced a little before midnight on the 20th August, off the island of St. Domingo: the *Seine*, being much crippled aloft, fell astern, but renewed the engagement at eight on the following morning. The engagement was fought at close quarters until 10.30, when the French frigate, having lost her fore and mizen-masts and main-topmast, was forced to surrender. She had suffered severely in men, having 30 killed and 70 wounded out of a crew of 326 hands. The *Seine* did not gain a bloodless triumph; for her loss consisted of Lieutenant Milne and 12 men killed, and three officers and 23 men wounded.

The capture of the Spanish 22-gun corvettes *Esmeralda* and *Paz*, while at anchor in Barcelona Roads, was a parti-

cularly gallant affair. It was effected by Captain Hillyar, of the frigate *Niger*, who, with eight boats of his ship and of the *Minotaur*, cut them out, notwithstanding that he encountered a heavy fire from their guns, and from those of four batteries and 10 gunboats lying in the roadstead. The British loss in this creditable affair amounted to only three killed and five wounded, while the Spaniards had 25 men *hors-de-combat*.

On the 8th October, a French sloop of four guns, and having on board 98 men, principally soldiers, surrendered off Guadaloupe to the schooner *Gipsy*, Lieutenant Roger, after an engagement of an hour and a half; and on the 27th of the same month the boats of the 38-gun frigate *Phaeton*, under the orders of Lieutenant Beaufort (the late Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, hydrographer to the Admiralty), boarded and carried, after a most desperate resistance, the Spanish polacre *San Josef*, mounting 14 guns, with a crew of 34 seamen and 22 soldiers, which was lying under the protection of a battery near Malaga. Lieutenant Beaufort, who was severely wounded, performed this dashing feat with only three boats, the fourth—the launch—not coming up in time to participate in the contest.

A very gallant action took place off Oporto on the 13th November, between the 16-gun schooner *Milbrook*, Lieutenant Smith, and the *Bellone*, French privateer, of 30 guns. The engagement was fought within musket-shot, and so rapid and effective was the fire of the little schooner, that her adversary surrendered after a two hours' resistance. Unhappily, the *Milbrook* was unable to take possession, not having a boat left that could swim, and the *Bellone* consequently escaped. The British schooner had 12 men wounded out of her small complement of 47; while the privateer, which carried 250 men, lost 20 killed and 45 wounded, including her captain. Lieutenant Smith was promoted to the rank of commander, and the merchants of Oporto presented him with a piece of plate of the value of fifty guineas.

The boats of the *Captain*, 74, and *Magicienne*, 32, under the command of Lieutenant Hennah, cut out, with great gallantry, the French 20-gun corvette *Reolaise*, which had sought shelter in Porto Navalo.

One of the most extraordinary episodes of this memorable war with France was the career of the *Speedy* under the command of the famous Lord Cochrane, afterwards Earl Dundonald. The *Speedy* was a brig of 158 tons, carrying 14 4-pounders, and having a crew of 84 men and six officers, including the commander and one lieutenant. Her cabin was so low that it was not possible to stand upright in it, and Lord Cochrane, who was a tall man, says, in his interesting "Autobiography," he had to put his head through the open skylight whenever he wanted to shave himself. In the previous year (1799), when under the command of Captain Jahleel Brenton, who rose to great distinction in the service, she had, while in company with a small privateer, captured, after a sharp conflict, three Spanish gunboats; two months later, her gallant captain rescued a convoy of our traders from a flotilla of Spanish armed vessels, of which he destroyed two. In the following November, Captain Brenton repelled, off Europa Point, in sight of the garrison of Gibraltar, a squadron of 12 gunboats, which had issued out of Algesiras to capture his little craft. For this gallant service he was promoted, and was succeeded by Lord Cochrane, under whose command the crew of the little vessel achieved even greater wonders, and wrought such havoc among the Spanish mercantile marine, that several of their ships of war scoured the Spanish coast and the Mediterranean between it and Minorca, in search of the diminutive brig.

Lord Cochrane was a lieutenant in the *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Keith's flag-ship, when he was ordered to take charge of the *Généreux* after her capture by Lord Nelson's squadron, and with a crew, made up of invalids from different ships of the fleet, he proceeded to Port Mahon. On his arrival here, he received command of the *Speedy*, though, as he tells us, he had expected the *Bonne Citoyenne*, a fine sloop of 18 guns. However, he was just the sort of man to earn distinction under the most untoward circumstances, and his performances in convoying our merchant ships, and capturing those of the Spaniards, quickly made the name of the *Speedy*, and of her noble commander, a terror to the enemies of his country.

On the 14th June, 1800, the *Speedy*, which had rejoined

Lord Keith off Genoa, was again detached to cruise off the coast of Spain, and between that date and the 31st July, his lordship captured six prizes, including two vessels of war. Early in August he was again with the commander-in-chief in Leghorn Roads, whence he returned, on the 16th, to reoccupy his old cruising-ground. During the remainder of the year Lord Cochrane picked up several more prizes, returning to Port Mahon occasionally to refit. It was marvellous how he managed to elude the three or four heavy Spanish ships of war specially detached to capture his tiny craft, but his good fortune never deserted him, although, had it not been linked with great courage and a singular fertility of resource, he would most certainly have soon found himself in a Spanish dungeon.

These characteristics were remarkably manifested on one occasion, when, mistaking for a merchantman a large Spanish frigate, which had been disguised in order to insure his capture, he chased her, and only discovered his error when she opened her ports and showed her teeth. The *Speedy* had been previously disguised to represent the Danish brig *Clomer;* but her suspicious conduct would have ensured her capture, for the frigate lowered a boat to board, had not Lord Cochrane promptly hoisted the yellow quarantine flag, and, standing boldly towards the stranger, disarmed all suspicion by causing a petty officer he had placed in the gangway in Danish uniform to hail the boat with the intimation that the brig was two days from Algiers, where it was well known that the plague was violently raging. This was enough to stay the officer in his intended search; the boat returned to the frigate, which filled, and stood on her course.

Between the 21st December, the date of the above occurrence, and the 6th May, 1801, the *Speedy* cruised up and down the Spanish coast, in and out of Port Mahon and Malta, capturing prizes and generally conducting herself as if the Spanish and French navies had no existence; at length the crew, who had actually made a complaint to Lord Cochrane that they had not been allowed to attack the Spanish frigate on the 21st December, were placed in a position to satisfy their unappeasable appetite for fighting. Captain, officers, and men had come to an understanding that

they would fight any Spanish frigate afloat, if they came athwart-hawse one, and on the 6th May their wish was gratified.

Two days before, the *Speedy*, when off Barcelona, had captured a 4-gun tartan and a privateer of seven guns, and beat off a swarm of gunboats which had been sent out to decoy the little brig within reach of a large Spanish xebec frigate of 32 guns. On the 5th May, Lord Cochrane stood off shore repairing damages, and at daylight on the following morning, the frigate was seen bearing down in chase. Prize crews had reduced the strength of the *Speedy* to 54 men and boys, but his lordship was determined that this time there should be no complaint of not having a fair fight, so he mustered the crew to their quarters, and cleared for action.

At 9·30 the frigate fired a gun and hoisted Spanish colours, to which the *Speedy* replied by running up the American ensign. As soon as he got his little ship on the other tack, Lord Cochrane hoisted the British ensign, which was immediately saluted with a broadside from the Spaniard. Treble-shotting his guns, Lord Cochrane ran close under the lee of his huge antagonist, and locking his yards in her rigging, replied by a discharge from his four-pounders delivered with such deadly effect, that the Spanish captain, Don Francisco de Torres, was killed. Ably seconded by Lieutenant Parker, Lord Cochrane worked his guns to such purpose that every shot told in the frigate's crowded decks, while the missiles of the latter rattled harmlessly through the rigging of the *Speedy*. The British sailors elevated their guns, and by their discharges threatened to blow up the frigate's deck; the Spaniards, on the other hand, could not sufficiently depress the muzzles of their cannon to sweep the decks of their tiny adversary. At length, the Spanish commander, seeing that his only chance lay in boarding, made a determined attempt to carry the little craft; but it was vain, and twice he and his men were ignominiously driven back by the handful of British tars opposed to them, who poured in a hot fire of musketry. But numbers began to tell, and it soon became evident that the unequal conflict could not be continued much longer. Two men had been killed and four wounded, so that but 48

were left, including the surgeon. There remained only the desperate alternative of boarding, and this Lord Cochrane resolved to adopt.

The men having been directed to smear their faces with grease and gunpowder in order to give themselves a more terrific appearance, Lieutenant Parker boarded at the bows with the first division, and was quickly reinforced by Lord Cochrane, who boarded at the waist with the remainder of his men. The only individual remaining on board was Mr. Guthrie, the surgeon, who took the wheel, and cleverly steered the *Speedy* alongside the Spanisl frigate. In a few minutes every man of the brig was on the *Gamo's* deck, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict took place. Forty-eight men against 300 were heavy odds, even when the minority were British seamen, who were accustomed in those days to regard themselves as singly a match for any three foreigners. However, gallantry and unheard-of audacity won the day.

For some minutes the conflict continued with doubtful results, when Lord Cochrane ordered one of his men to haul down the Spanish colours. This stroke of genius had the desired effect; the Spaniards, either concluding that the act was directed by one of their officers, or because they had had enough fighting, ceased to resist, and the *Gamo* was the prize of the *Speedy*.

The Spanish frigate carried 22 long 12-pounders, eight long 8-pounders, and two 24-pounder carronades, throwing a broadside of 190 lb. against the *Speedy's* broadside of 28 lb., which Lord Cochrane used to say he could carry about in his coat-pockets without any discomfort. Out of her crew of 319 men, besides the captain, the boatswain and 13 men had been killed, and 41 were wounded, leaving no less than 263 unwounded prisoners, who were to be guarded by 44 British sailors, for three men had been killed and seven wounded, including Lieutenant Parker (severely).

To prevent a successful attempt at recovery, Lord Cochrane drove his prisoners into the hold, and pointed some of the main-deck guns down the hatchway, giving the Spaniards to understand that the first sign of mutiny would bring down on their heads a discharge of canister.

A midshipman, his relative, the Hon. Archibald Cochrane, was placed in charge of the guns with a prize-crew of 30 men, and the *Speedy* keeping company for fear of accident, the two vessels made the best of their way to Port Mahon, where the prisoners were landed.

Lord Cochrane for this act of extreme gallantry received post rank, and Lieutenant Parker was promoted to be commander.

Only a month after this, on the 9th June, his lordship, while still in command of the *Speedy*, attacked, in company with the 18-gun brig *Kangaroo*, Captain Pulling, a Spanish convoy anchored under the protection of a 20-gun xebec, three gunboats, and a tower apparently mounting 12 guns. The two brigs brought to within half gunshot of the battery, and although the Spaniards were reinforced by two other gunboats and a 12-gun felucca, their fire was so effective that the xebec and three of the gunboats were sunk, and the battery silenced. At night the boats proceeded on shore to capture the felucca, and remaining gunboats, but they had been either scuttled or driven on shore. This smart affair was achieved with the loss of one officer killed and two lieutenants, and seven men wounded.

CHAPTER XVII.

1801.

The Battle of Copenhagen, 2nd April.

THE year 1801 is chiefly remarkable, from our naval standpoint, for Nelson's great victory at Copenhagen. In December of the previous year, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, exasperated at our claim of a right to search vessels of neutral powers for goods belonging to enemies, entered into a confederacy having for its object such a limitation of the above right as would in fact render it inoperative. Spain and Portugal also entered into an alliance in February; and when to these is added the mightiest of continental powers, France, whose well-nigh unlimited resources were wielded by a Napoleon, we may be said at this conjuncture to have stood singly against the world; yet, thanks to our invincible navy with a Nelson at the helm—the true pilot who weathered the storm—old England bore herself triumphantly through the crisis. Pitt at once treated the formation of the northern confederacy as a declaration of war, laid an embargo on all vessels of the nations parties to it, and fitted out a fleet. This promptitude was praiseworthy in the extreme; which can hardly be said for the policy which placed in chief command of the squadron Sir Hyde Parker, when such an officer as Nelson was in England, and was designated by a unanimous concurrence of public and professional opinion as the most suitable to fill the post. Fortunately, however, Nelson was appointed second in command, and Sir Hyde, a brave officer and experienced seaman, knew how to profit by the presence of his illustrious colleague, who in fact did everything.

The fleet, having on board the 49th regiment, some riflemen and gunners under Colonel Stewart, sailed from Yarmouth Roads on 12th March, and on the 21st anchored at

the entrance to the Sound. When the fleet arrived off the Skaw, the northern extremity of Jutland, Mr. Vansittart, afterwards Lord Bexley, who was on board the flagship as Plenipotentiary, proceeded to Copenhagen with a flag of truce; but he soon returned, accompanied by Mr. Drummond, our minister at the Danish court, with the report that the government and people were bitterly hostile, and that preparations on a grand scale had been made to repel the British fleet.

Nelson, in a long conference with the commander-in-chief and minister advocated instant action, and embodied his views in a masterly letter, but, nevertheless, Sir Hyde Parker,—who was distracted by considerations as to whether he should advance by the Sound, as the shortest route, or by another channel, which, being less guarded, was reckoned the safest, called the Belt, and whether he should detach one squadron as Nelson advised, to attack the Russians at Revel—suffered two days to elapse before he moved by the Sound. Another day was wasted in sending a messenger to the governor o. Cronenborg, a castle near Elsinore, to inquire whether he would fire on the fleet. As an answer was returned in the affirmative, and it was desirable that there should be no delay in bringing the Danes to terms, the fleet kept in close to the city of Helsinburg on the Swedish mainland, and thus avoided any damage.

By noon on the 30th March, the whole fleet was anchored above the island of Huen, and 15 miles below Copenhagen. Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, and Admiral Graves, with Captain Domett and Colonel Stewart, then proceeded to reconnoitre the defences, and in the evening a council of war was held on board the *London*, Sir Hyde's flagship, at which Nelson offered to conduct the attack with ten sail of the line. The commander-in-chief gladly accepted the offer, and gave him two more than he asked. The following were the ships detached for the service :—

Guns.		
74	*Elephant**	Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, K.B. (Blue). Captain Thomas Foley. „ Thomas Masterman Hardy.

* The *St. George*, 98, commanded by Captain Hardy, was Nelson's proper flagship, but he shifted his flag to the *Elephant*, as she was smaller and lighter, and Captain Hardy accompanied him as a volunteer.

Guns.		
74	*Defiance*	Rear-Admiral Thos. Graves (White). Captain R. R Retalick.
	Edgar	„ G. Murray.
	Monarch	„ James R. Mosse.
	Bellona	„ Sir Thomas B. Thompson.
	Ganges	„ Thomas F. Freemantle.
	Russell	„ William Cuming.
64	*Agamemnon*	„ Robert D. Fancourt.
	Ardent	„ Thomas Bertie.
	Polyphemus	„ John Lawford.
50	*Glatton*	„ William Bligh.
	Isis	„ James Walker.

FRIGATES.

38	*Amazon*	Captain Henry Riou.
36	*Désirée*	„ Henry Inman.
	Blanche	„ Graham E. Hammond.
32	*Alcmene*	„ Samuel Sutton.
30	*Dart*	„ John Devonshire.
24	*Jamaica*	„ Jonas Rose.

There were also one sloop, seven bomb-vessels, two fire-ships, some gun-brigs, cutters, and four launches from the *London*, with anchors and cables to assist any of the ships which might get ashore.

The Danes, in order to make the navigation more difficult, had removed the buoys, but during the nights of the 30th and 31st March the boats of the fleet sounded a large portion of the Channel, and laid down fresh buoys; and so unsparing of himself was Nelson that, though suffering from ill-health, he personally superintended the duty, and passed the whole of the second night in a boat. On the morning of the 1st April the British fleet proceeded to within six miles of the capital, and anchored off the north-western extremity of a shoal known as the Middle Ground, which extends along the whole sea-face of the city, with the King's Channel inside, where was moored the Danish fleet. In the forenoon Lord Nelson embarked on board the *Amazon*, and reconnoitred the defences, and soon after his return at 1 p.m. the signal for his squadron to weigh was hoisted on board the *Elephant*. The order was received with cheers by the seamen of the fleet, and in a short time the attacking squadron, numbering 36 sail, was under weigh, formed

in two divisions, leaving Sir Hyde Parker at anchor with the remaining ships, consisting of—

Guns.		
98	*London*	Admiral Sir Hyde Parker (Blue).
	St. George	Captain William Domett.
		„ Thomas Masterman Hardy.*
74	*Warrior*	„ Charles Tyler.
	Defence	„ Lord Henry Paulet.
	Saturn	„ Robert Lambert.
	Ramillies	„ James Dixon.
64	*Raisonable*	„ John Dilkes.
	Veteran	„ A. Collingwood Dickson.

The British squadron passed along the edge of the Middle Ground and anchored, about 8 p.m., at its southern extremity, the headmost ship of the line being then about two miles from the southernmost Danish ship. During the night Captain Hardy was employed in sounding the channel, and passed completely round one of the enemy's floating batteries unperceived, making his soundings with a pole, lest the noise of heaving the lead should attract attention.

Nelson had assembled his captains at supper, and early dismissed them with the parting toast: "A fair wind and success to-morrow." He himself, however, took no rest, but employed the night in drawing up minute instructions for each ship in his squadron, until he became so exhausted that he was forced to yield to the solicitations of his chief assistants, Captains Foley and Riou, and take a little rest on his cot laid on the deck of his cabin. Before six, he was up and dressed, and, having summoned the captains of the several ships on board the *Elephant*, he delivered to them their final instructions.

The intention was that all the ships of the line should take up stations abreast of the enemy's ships, anchoring by the stern, while the frigates were to attack the vessels off the harbour's mouth and to rake the southern extremity of the Danish line. It was also intended that the 49th regiment, under Colonel Stewart, and 500 seamen under Captain Freemantle, should storm the largest of the Crown batteries, but some of these plans were frustrated by the course of events.

* Serving as a volunteer on board the *Elephant*.

The following were the Danish ships, which, though mostly block-ships, were all well armed and manned; and when to them are added the land batteries, it will be seen that Nelson had undertaken a task that would have daunted most men, no matter how brave; but like Blake he had taught British seamen to contemn both foreign ships and batteries:—

Provesteen	56 guns	515 men.
Wagner	48 „	361 „
Rensburg	20 „	216 „
Nyburg	20 „	209 „
Jutland	48 „	396 „
Suersishen	20 „	117 „
Cronburg	22 „	196 „
Hojen	20 „	155 „
Dannebrog	62 „	336 „
Elwen	6 „	80 „
Grenier's float	24 „	120 „
Aggerstans	20 „	213 „
Zealand	74 „	529 „
Charl Amelia	26 „	225 „
Sohesten	18 „	126 „
Holstein	60 „	400 „
Indosforethen	64 „	390 „
Hielpern	20 „	265 „
Total ...	628 guns	4,849 men.

At the northern extremity of this line, which extended above a mile and a half, were two batteries constructed on piles, and fitted with furnaces for heating shot, named the Trekroner, or Crown batteries; one mounted 30 long 24-pounders, and the other 38 long 36-pounders. Both these batteries were commanded by two-decked block-ships not included in the preceding list, named the *Mars* and *Elephenten*. A chain was thrown across the entrance to the inner harbour, which was also protected by the Trekroner batteries, and in addition by the 74-gun ships, *Trekroner* and *Dannemark*, a 40-gun frigate, two brigs, and some armed boats. On the island of Amak, to the south-westward, were several gun-boats and mortar batteries. The whole of the Danish naval force was under the command of Commodore Olfert Fischer, who flew his broad pennant on board the *Dannebrog*.

After Nelson had dismissed the captains to their respective ships, the pilots assembled on board the *Elephant*, and their

hesitation and ignorance sorely tried the gallant admiral, who was eager to commence the action. At length, however, at 9·30, with a south-easterly wind, the *Elephant* made the signal to weigh in succession.

The *Edgar* led, with the *Agamemnon* following, but the latter was unable to round the southern end of the Middle Ground shoal, and was compelled to anchor. The *Polyphemus* and *Isis* now came up, and then the *Bellona*, which, owing to the ignorance of her pilot, got ashore on the Middle Ground, after she had rounded the point, about 450 yards from the rear of the Danish line, where she was within reach of the enemy's shot; but could render no effectual assistance. The *Russell* following her very closely, also grounded, with her jibboom almost over the *Bellona's* taff-rail. This was a very unfortunate beginning, and Nelson, who followed in the *Elephant*, in opposition to the directions of the pilots, ordered the ship's helm to be put a-starboard, when she avoided the fate of her consorts, and passed to the westward, or on their larboard hand. The remaining ships following the same course, all took up their appointed stations, thus forming a compact line, with about 100 yards between each ship.

At 10 a.m. the firing commenced, but it was not until 11·30 that all the ships had reached their stations. The strong tide prevented the *Jamaica* and the gunboats from getting into action. Nor did the bomb-vessels do much service. Owing to the absence of three of the line-of-battle ships, some of our vessels had more than one opponent, while the line did not extend far enough to engage the formidable Crown batteries. Perceiving this, the gallant Captain Riou sailed up his frigates, and with a force so wholly inadequate, attacked these works, which, in fact, formed the strongest point in the Danish line. Scarcely less remarkable was the daring and skill with which Captain Inman, of the *Désirée*, placed his ship, so as to rake a heavy Dutch ship of 58 guns: as Nelson said, "She lost not a man, but cut the *Provesteen*, a ship carrying 36 and 24-pounders, to pieces." Thus for three hours the engagement was continued; but notwithstanding the deadly precision and celerity of our fire, no impression appeared to have been made on the Danes, who fought with true Scandinavian stubbornness.

In the mean time Sir Hyde weighed with his squadron, and took up a new position nearer to the city, and detached the *Veteran*, *Ramillies*, and *Defence* to Nelson's assistance. But these ships made such slow progress, owing to the light wind, that fearing Nelson was overpowered, and knowing his indomitable resolution, he ordered the signal for discontinuing the action to be hoisted.

The *Elephant* was at this time hotly engaged with the Danish flagship, the *Dannebrog*, and as the splinters flew around him, Nelson, as was his wont in the hour of battle, was pacing the deck full of animation, and in the highest spirits. Presently the signal-lieutenant reported to his lordship that No. 39 (the signal for discontinuing action) was flying on board the admiral's ship, and asked if he should repeat it? "No," said Nelson; "but answer it." The answering pennant was accordingly hoisted. Immediately afterwards his lordship asked if the signal for close action was still flying on board his own ship, and on receiving a reply in the affirmative, added: "Mind you keep it so."

Southey, in his admirable life of our great national hero—a biography unsurpassed by any in the language for literary excellence and entrancing interest—details the following scene, which has become historic. "Lord Nelson now paced the deck, moving the stump of his right arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion. 'Do you know,' said he to Mr. Fergusson, 'what is shown on board the commander-in-chief?' 'No. 39.' 'What does that mean?' 'To leave off action.' Shrugging up his shoulders, he repeated the words, 'Leave off action! Now, d—— me if I do. You know, Foley,' turning to the captain, 'I have only one eye, and I have a right to be blind sometimes;' and putting his glass to his blind eye, in that mood which sports with bitterness, he exclaimed, 'I really do not see the signal!' Presently he exclaimed, 'Keep my signal for close action flying! That is the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast.'"* Nelson was worthily seconded in his noble resolve by Rear-Admiral Graves, who kept No.

* It has been stated that, in making this signal of recal, Sir Hyde had no intention of defeating Lord Nelson's measures; but, on the contrary, that the signal was only intended to justify the vice-admiral should he see cause for discontinuing the action.

16 (for close action) flying at the maintopgallant-mast head, while he repeated the commander-in-chief's signal for recall at the lee maintopsail-yardarm, where, of course, it was hardly visible.

None of the ships slackened their fire, but at length Captain Riou was forced to withdraw his frigates from the unequal conflict with the Trekroner batteries, whose heavy guns had terribly shattered their plucky antagonists. With bitterness, but bowing to the necessity that knows no law, he hauled off his ships. "What," said he, "will Nelson think of us?" He never lived to know how Nelson appreciated the signal courage and constancy of one of whom he spoke in his official despatches as "the gallant and good Captain Riou." He had already been wounded in the head, and as his ship, the *Amazon*, exposed her stern in the act of retreating, a round shot struck him in the loins, literally cutting him in two.

Nelson's superior judgment and resolution were soon manifested. At 1·30 the Danish fire slackened, and before 2 p.m. it had ceased in all the ships astern of the *Zealand*. Contrary, however, to the rules of war, none of them would allow the British to take possession, and, as the boats approached, they were fired at by the Danish crews, which were continually reinforced from the shore. Irritated at this unusual conduct, Nelson almost resolved to send in his fireships, but he first determined to try the effect of negotiation. With this object he retired to the stern gallery, and addressed the following letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark:

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

It is characteristically related of his lordship, that on being offered a wafer to seal the letter with, he said, "No, this is not the time to appear hurried or informal," and sent to his cabin for some wax. The messenger was killed on

his way, when a second man was sent on the same errand. The letter being sealed with wax, was committed to the charge of Sir Frederick Thesiger—a young commander acting as one of Nelson's aides-de-camp—who was despatched on shore with a flag of truce, and delivered the letter into the hands of the Crown Prince.

In the mean time the *Defiance*, *Monarch*, and *Ganges* had silenced the *Indosforethen*, *Holstein*, and the ships next to them in the Danish line, and the approach of the *Defence*, *Ramillies*, and *Veteran* rendered the case of the enemy hopeless. At this time the *Dannebrog* was seen in flames, and a scene similar to what took place at the destruction of *L'Orient* ensued. The seamen threw themselves overboard, the ship parted her cables, and in about an hour blew up, with the greater portion of her crew.

The great Crown batteries, which had been reinforced by 1,500 men, still continued firing when the Danish adjutant-general, M. Lindholm, came off to the *Elephant*, with a message from the Crown Prince, inquiring the object of Nelson's note. To this his lordship replied in a second letter, explaining that his object was humanity; that he consented to stay hostilities; that the wounded Danes should be taken on shore; that he would take his prisoners out of the prizes, which he would burn or carry off as he thought fit, and concluded by expressing a hope that the victory he had gained would lead to a reconciliation between the countries. While Thesiger returned to the Crown Prince with this note, M. Lindholm, at Nelson's suggestion, proceeded to the *London* to confer with the commander-in-chief. As a proof of his sincerity, Nelson commenced to withdraw his ships from their positions, which he was desirous of effecting while the wind continued fair. In doing this the flag-ships, *Defiance* and *Elephant*, both grounded about a mile from the Trekroner batteries.

Nelson now quitted his ship, and proceeded in his gig to the *London*, to take part in the conference with the Danish adjutant-general.

It was agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities, and that all the prizes should be surrendered, and this condition was ultimately fulfilled.

On the second day after the battle, Nelson was despatched

on shore to conclude the negotiations, and having landed, accompanied by Captains Freemantle and Hardy, was escorted by a strong guard through the crowded streets to the palace, where he was received by the Crown Prince. After a cordial greeting, Nelson, without diplomatic reserve, avowed the proposals he had come to make, which were to detach Denmark from Russia, and conclude an armistice of sixteen weeks, so as to enable him to proceed up the Baltic to act against that great power. After one or two more conferences and a grand state dinner, a treaty was signed on the 9th April, by which the armistice was fixed at fourteen weeks, with a further period of fourteen days to give notice of the renewal of hostilities, the fleet to be allowed to supply itself with provisions.

The following were the losses sustained by the ships of the British squadron according to the official statement:—*Bellona*, 11 killed and 72 wounded, including Captain Sir James Thompson (who lost a leg), two lieutenants, a captain of the army, a mate, and four midshipmen. The *Polyphemus*, six killed, including one midshipman, and 25 wounded, including the boatswain. *Isis*, 33 killed; the master, one lieutenant of marines, two midshipmen, and 88 wounded, among whom were a lieutenant and three midshipmen. The *Edgar*, 31 killed, including the first lieutenant and a lieutenant of marines, and 111 wounded, including two lieutenants and five midshipmen. The *Ardent*, 30 killed, including a midshipman, and 64 wounded. The *Glatton*, 18 killed and 37 wounded, among whom were one lieutenant, one mate, and one midshipman. The *Elephant*, 10 killed, including a mate, and 13 wounded, including two midshipmen.

The *Ganges* had seven killed, including the master, and one wounded. The *Monarch*, 56 killed, including Captain Mosse, and 164 wounded, among whom were one lieutenant, a lieutenant of marines, five midshipmen, and the boatswain. The *Defiance*, 24 killed, including one lieutenant, and 51 wounded, including one midshipman. The *Amazon* lost her much-lamented captain, two midshipmen, and 11 men killed, and 23 wounded, including two mates. The *Blanche* had seven killed, and nine wounded. The *Alcmene*, five killed and 19 wounded, including one lieutenant, one mate, and

the boatswain. The *Dart* had her first lieutenant and two men killed, and one man wounded. The *Désirée* had four wounded, including a lieutenant, and the *Russell* six wounded. The total loss was 255 killed, and 688 wounded; though if we take Mr. James' estimate, and include all the casualties, the numbers would stand thus: 350 killed and mortally wounded; recoverably and slightly wounded, 850; making a total loss of 1,200 in this sanguinary conflict. According to the lowest estimate, the Danish loss amounted to between 1,600 and 1,800 men killed and wounded.

The *Monarch* and *Isis*, which had both experienced heavy losses, with the *Holstein* prize, were sent to England; and Sir Hyde Parker, leaving Nelson at Copenhagen in the *St. George*, proceeded up the Baltic.

On the evening of the 19th April, Nelson received a letter from Sir Hyde from off Bornholm, about 24 miles from Copenhagen, informing him that a Swedish squadron of nine sail was at sea. The wind was foul, and Nelson could not, therefore, go to sea in the *St. George;* but the moment he received the letter, he resolved to proceed in a six-oared cutter to join the commander-in-chief, and this though he was suffering from illness. An officer who accompanied him says:—"Without even waiting for a boat-cloak (although you may suppose the weather pretty sharp here at this season of the year, and having to run about 24 miles with the wind and current against him), he jumped into the boat, and ordered me to go with him. All I had ever seen or heard of him could not half so clearly prove to me the singular and unbounded zeal of this truly great man. His anxiety in the boat for nearly six hours, lest the fleet should have sailed before he could get on board one of them, and lest we should not catch the Swedish squadron, is beyond conception. I will quote some of his expressions in his own words. It was extremely cold, and I wished him to put on a great coat of mine, which was in the boat. 'No, I am not cold; my anxiety for my country will keep me warm. Do you think the fleet has sailed?' 'I should suppose not, my Lord.' 'If they have, we will follow them in the boat.' The distance to Carlscrona was about 50 leagues. At midnight, however, Lord Nelson reached the *Elephant*, on board which ship he re-hoisted his flag."

The next morning the Swedish squadron appeared in sight, but it dreaded an encounter with a superior force, and returned to Carlscrona, whither Sir Hyde followed it. Negotiations with the Swedish admiral had a satisfactory result, and the commander-in-chief was about to advance up the Gulf of Finland when he received a despatch from Count Pahlen, the governor of St. Petersburg, announcing the murder of the Czar Paul, and the accession of Alexander, who was animated with friendly feelings towards Britain.

Sir Hyde now resolved to return to Copenhagen, notwithstanding Nelson's urgent representation that he should proceed to Revel to put a gentle pressure upon the Czar's ministers. However, Sir Hyde Parker's recal, and Nelson's appointment in his place enabled him to return immediately to Bornholm with the whole fleet. Leaving a squadron off that island to watch the Swedes, the new commander-in-chief arrived at Revel on the 10th May with 10 sail of the line and two frigates. The Russian fleet, consisting of 12 sail, having meanwhile proceeded to Cronstadt, Nelson exchanged salutes and visits with the governor, and addressed letters to the Czar and Count Pahlen. Negotiations were opened with a Russian admiral, sent by Alexander to treat with his lordship, who once more proved himself the best of diplomatists. The British ships which Paul had seized were given up, and peace was cemented between the two empires. Nelson now proceeded down the Baltic, receiving everywhere marks of extraordinary respect; and soon after his arrival at Copenhagen, he was relieved, at his request, by Sir Charles Pole, and returned to England in the middle of June to recruit his health.

Thus was broken up the great Northern Confederacy, upon the formation of which the Dictator of Europe had so greatly prided himself.

The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the fleet; but the only rewards bestowed were the ribbon of the Bath on Admiral Graves, the posting of Commanders Brisbane, Devonshire, and Birchall, and the promotion to the rank of commander of all the first lieutenants of the ships engaged.

The glorious engagement of the 2nd April at Copenhagen has been immortalized in verse by Thomas Campbell, whose noble and spirit-stirring lyric, "The Battle of the Baltic," will recur to the mind of the reader on perusing this account of one of the greatest achievements of the British navy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1801.

The Expedition to Egypt—The Battle of Algesiras, 7th July—Renewed Action of the 13th July—The Capture of the *Africaine* by the *Phœbe*, 19th February—The cutting out of the *Chevrette*, 22nd July—Frigate and Boat Actions during the Year—Naval losses and gains during the War to the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens.

After Lord Keith and General Sir Ralph Abercromby, who commanded a land force of 15,000 men, had retired from Cadiz in the autumn of 1800, they proceeded to Minorca, and sailing from thence, after a short stay at Malta, cast anchor in the Bay of Marmorice on the coast of Karamania. On the 23rd February, the fleet left Marmorice, and anchored in Aboukir Bay on the 2nd March. The disembarkation of the troops was delayed for some days, owing to stormy weather, but, on the 8th March, all the boats of the fleet, 320 in number, were employed in landing 5,500 men, commanded by Major-General John Moore. The disembarkation was effected under a heavy fire from 15 guns and the musketry of a strong brigade of French troops. A severe action was fought on the 13th, and on the 21st March the British army covered itself with glory, by its conduct in the memorable and sanguinary battle of Alexandria, which took place within a few miles of that city. Our entire army numbered 11,000 men, including a small corps of 300 cavalry, with 35 guns; while the French force, though equal in numbers, included a well-mounted body of 1,400 cavalry, together with 46 guns.

The chief glories of the battle of Alexandria, in which fell the gallant Abercromby, were reaped by the army; but not the least effective portion of the force that gained that victory, was a naval brigade of 1,000 seamen, under the command of Sir Sydney Smith. General Hutchinson, who

succeeded Abercromby, at once began his march up the banks of the Nile, and in his operations, was in no slight degree assisted by a division of gunboats, commanded by Captain Stevenson, which proceeded 170 miles up the river and successfully attacked the French forts at Rahmameh. The occupation of these forts cut off Alexandria from the interior of the country, and contributed to the surrender at Cairo, in the following May, of General Belliard and his entire army.

During the disembarkation of the British army at Aboukir, and the action fought on the same day, in which a brigade of seamen took part, the navy lost 22 men, three lieutenants, and a master's mate killed, and three midshipmen and 63 men wounded. In the battle of Alexandria they lost two marine officers, one midshipman and 27 seamen and marines killed, and four marine officers and 31 men wounded.

A flotilla of boats and small vessels under Captains Sir S. Smith and Stevenson, co-operated in the attack upon Alexandria in August. While General Hutchinson opened a heavy fire on the French camp, Sir Sydney prepared to bombard the city from the sea. On the 2nd September, the French general, Menou, capitulated with his entire army, which was allowed to return to France, his ships being divided between us and our Turkish allies.

In his official despatches, Lord Keith commends the extreme gallantry of the seamen of the fleet, and General Hutchinson speaks in the warmest terms of the assistance he received from the navy during these lengthened operations. Their labours, he said, "had not been for one day, or for one week, but for months together;" without them, he added, it would have been "impossible for him to have succeeded."

This fortunate result had not been obtained without the most unceasing and strenuous exertions on the part of Buonaparte, at that time First Consul, to relieve the army he had left in Egypt in the autumn of 1799. Early in January of 1801 Admiral Ganteaume sailed from Brest with seven sail of the line and some frigates, having on board 5,000 soldiers, and stores of all kinds; but the squadron had been driven back by a division of our Channel fleet, under Sir H. Harvey. On the 23rd, Ganteaume

again sailed for Egypt, but, after capturing the *Success* frigate on the way, was compelled to put in to Toulon, as he learnt that Sir J. B. Warren stood in his path. A third time the French admiral ventured out, but falling in with Warren's squadron, which only included an equal force of ships of the line, he sought shelter once more in Toulon. In April, after the battle of Alexandria had decided the fate of his army, Buonaparte sent peremptory orders to Ganteaume to proceed to sea; on the 27th, accordingly, the admiral sailed, but just as he was about to disembark the troops on the 9th June, Lord Keith came in sight, and once more he made the best of his way back to Toulon. On the 24th, Ganteaume had the good fortune to fall in with the *Swiftsure*, 74; and, though Captain Hallowell made every effort to escape, and, when brought to bay, engaged two line-of-battle ships for one hour and a half, he was at length compelled to strike his flag, and the French admiral had the almost unprecedented satisfaction of carrying a British ship of the line as a prize into Toulon.

In the course of the summer, a combined French military and naval force attempted to capture the town and citadel of Porto Ferrajo, held by a small British and Tuscan garrison; but the army of 6,000 men was unsuccessful, and during the months of August and September, of the three frigates, two (including the *Success*, a former British ship) were taken, and the third was destroyed by a squadron of three British frigates. Not so fortunate was a naval brigade of 690 seamen and marines, commanded by Captain Long, who on the 14th September were landed, with 1,000 Tuscans from the 74-gun ships, *Généreux* and *Dragon*, and attacked some French batteries near Porto Ferrajo; though at first successful, the allied force was ultimately forced to retire upon that town, the British loss being 15 killed, including the gallant Captain Long, 33 wounded, and 77 missing. On the 13th June, Rear-Admiral Linois sailed from Toulon towards Cadiz, with the 80-gun ships, *Indomptable* and *Formidable*, the *Desaix*, 74, and the 38-gun frigate *Murion*, in order to form a junction with a squadron of six Spanish ships, manned by French crews, commanded by Rear-Admiral Dumanoir. Gibraltar was sighted on the 1st July, and two days later the *Speedy*, still commanded by Lord

Cochrane, was fallen in with and captured, after a long and skilfully-conducted retreat. Learning that Cadiz was blockaded by a superior force, Linois bore up for Algesiras, and at 5 p.m., on the 4th July, anchored before the town. The British squadron off Cadiz at this time consisted of the following ships:—

Guns.		
80	*Cæsar*	Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez (Blue). Captain Jahleel Brenton.
74	*Pompée*	„ Charles Stirling.
	Spencer	„ Henry Darby.
	Venerable	„ Samuel Hood.
	Superb	„ Richard Keats.
	Hannibal	„ Solomon Ferris.
	Audacious	„ Shuldham Peard.
32	*Thames*	„ A. P. Holles.
	Brig, *Pasley*.	

Captain Dundas, of the *Calpé*, having despatched an officer from Gibraltar to apprize Sir James Saumarez of the arrival at Algesiras of the French squadron, the admiral immediately detached the brig *Pasley* to recal the *Superb*, which was blockading the Guadalquiver river. Early on the morning of the 7th July, the *Venerable*, having rounded Cabrita Point, signalled the enemy's squadron, upon which Sir James made the signal for the ships to engage the enemy as they arrived up. Rear-Admiral Linois had moored his squadron in line ahead in the following order:—*Formidable* abreast the battery of St. Jago, mounting five long 18-pounders; the *Desaix*, 500 yards astern, and the *Indomptable* about the same distance from the latter ship. The *Murion* was a little within the isle of Verda, and 14 gunboats were otherwise disposed. The *Pompée* was the first ship to receive the enemy's fire; but as the wind fell very light and baffling, the other ships were unable for a considerable time to take part in the action. Captain Stirling anchored a little before nine close on the *Formidable's* starboard bow; but the latter, soon slipping her cable, warped closer to the shore. Soon afterwards, the *Audacious* dropped her anchor abreast of, but some distance from, Linois's flagship, and the *Venerable* at a still greater distance on the *Formidable's* quarter. The *Cæsar* and the two remaining ships were still some distance astern; but the action was maintained with

great energy by the three British ships against the French squadron, assisted by the gunboats and batteries. A little later, the *Cæsar* anchored ahead of the *Audacious*, and opened fire upon the *Desaix*, and the *Hannibal* took up a station on the admiral's starboard bow. In an ill-advised attempt to proceed on shore for the purpose of raking the *Formidable*, Captain Ferris unfortunately grounded athwart the hawse of that ship. The exertions of the *Hannibal's* crew, and of the boats of the squadron, were fruitless in getting her off, and she suffered terribly from the battery on the island of St. Jago. A light breeze now springing up the French cut their cables and ran ashore; but Sir James Saumarez continued to closely engage the enemy. All this time the *Venerable* and *Spencer* were prevented by the light and variable winds from firing a shot, while the *Pompée*, which had canted with her bow towards the broadside of the *Formidable*, had suffered greatly without being able to make an adequate return.

At 1·30, Sir James Saumarez was forced to relinquish the action, and the *Cæsar*, *Audacious*, *Venerable*, and *Spencer* made sail out of the bay, leaving the *Hannibal* to her fate. Half-an-hour later, this ship had to strike her colours, further resistance being useless.

Our loss in this disastrous action was as follows:—*Cæsar*, the master and eight men killed; a mate and seven men missing, probably drowned; the boatswain and 24 men wounded. *Pompée*, her master, one midshipman, and 13 men killed; three lieutenants, two mates, one midshipman, and 63 men wounded. *Spencer*, one volunteer and five men killed; a midshipman and 26 men wounded. The *Venerable*, one midshipman and seven men killed; two midshipmen and 23 men wounded. *Hannibal*, two officers and 73 men killed; six men, who probably fell overboard when the masts were shot away, missing; and the master, two lieutenants, two midshipmen, and 58 men wounded. *Audacious*, 8 killed; one officer of marines and 31 men wounded. Total: 121 killed, 240 wounded, and 14 missing. The French loss amounted to 306 killed, including the captains of the two 80-gun ships, and about the same number wounded. Every man on board the British squadron, from the admiral downwards, burned to avenge their ill success, and on the ships returning

to Gibraltar, the crews worked night and day to repair the damages sustained aloft, which, in the case of the *Cæsar* and *Pompée*, were very heavy. The latter was found in too bad a state to be ready for immediate service, and the admiral had resolved to shift his flag from the *Cæsar* to the *Audacious;* but changed his intention at the earnest entreaties of the crew. By working all hands during the day, and watch and watch all night, the *Cæsar* got in her lower masts by the 9th, and by the night of the 11th was "all a-taunto."

In the meantime Rear-Admiral Linois, having got his ships afloat, sent to Admirals Dumanoir and Massaredo at Cadiz, requesting assistance. On the 9th July, the Spanish commander-in-chief despatched Vice-Admiral Al Moreno, with six sail of the line and some frigates, to Algesiras; but they were preceded by Captain Keats, who with the *Superb*, *Thames*, and *Pasley* had been watching the port. During the afternoon the Spanish squadron anchored in Algesiras Bay, and Captain Keats brought-to off Gibraltar.

On Sunday, 12th July, at daybreak, the enemy loosed sails and prepared to proceed to sea. By the almost unexampled smartness of the *Cæsar's* crew, that ship had been so rapidly refitted that she was at this time receiving powder, shot, and stores at the Mole. At noon, the enemy began to move, with the wind from the eastward, and an hour later they were all under way. Eye-witnesses have described the scene that now ensued at the historic "Rock," as the powerful combined French and Spanish squadrons were seen to be under sail, and the *Cæsar* and her crew were working against time to prepare their ships for sea. Soldiers, sailors, and civilians, were filled with an anxious solicitude to retrieve the disaster of the 7th, and none doubted of the result even with such heavy odds against them. "The day was clear," says the gallant Captain Brenton of the flagship, "the whole population of the rock seemed to be in motion; the line wall, mole-head, and batteries were crowded; and the *Cæsar* warped out while her band was playing, 'Come, cheer up, my lads, 'tis to glory we steer;' the music of the garrison answering with, 'Britons, strike home.' The scene was animating beyond description, and the enthusiasm was so great among the seamen that even the wounded men

desired to be taken on board their ships to share in the honours of the approaching conflict."

As the *Essex* passed under the stern of the *Audacious*, the admiral hoisted his flag, and flung out to the winds the signal for the squadron to weigh and prepare for battle. Having cleared the rock, the squadron, consisting of the *Cæsar* leading, followed by the *Venerable*, *Superb*, *Spencer*, and *Audacious*, with the frigate *Thames*, sloop *Calpé*, brig *Louisa*, and a Portuguese frigate, stood in chase. The following were the ships of the enemy's squadron :—

Guns.	FRENCH.
80	*Formidable.*
	Indomptable.
74	*Saint Antoine.*
	Desaix.
Frigates *Libre* and *Murion*, and a lugger.	

Guns.	SPANISH.
112	*San Carlos.*
	Hermenegildo.
96	*San Fernando.*
80	*Argonauta.*
74	*San Augustin.*
Frigate *Sabina.*	

Admiral Morenos's flag was flying on board the *Sabina*, to which Linois also repaired.

The *Superb* being an exceedingly fast-sailing ship, was permitted by Sir James Saumarez to crowd all sail in chase, and a little before midnight, Captain Keats observed three of the enemy's ships within gunshot. He immediately shortened sail, and luffing up, ranged close alongside the *San Carlos*, into which he commenced firing his larboard guns. At the third broadside, Captain Keats, having shot away the three-decker's foretopmast, and observing that she was on fire, ordered his men to cease firing, as her destruction appeared inevitable. The *Superb* now proceeded in chase of the *Saint Antoine*, which surrendered after a spirited action of half-an-hour's duration.

At a little before midnight, the *Hermenegildo* also bore up, and taking the *San Carlos* for an enemy, notwithstanding that she was in flames fore and aft, fired into her. Presently the two ships got foul of each other, when the *Hermenegildo* also took fire. The huge three-deckers burned fiercely, until in a short time the horrors of the Nile were repeated on even a greater scale; both ships blew up, and out of nearly 2,000 souls, but two officers and 36 men were saved in a boat picked up by the *Superb*, and a few others by some of the Spanish ships.

The *Superb* remained to secure the *Saint Antoine*, while the *Cæsar*, *Spencer*, *Venerable*, and *Thames* made sail ahead; and at five on the morning of the 13th, the two latter overhauled the *Formidable*, which, being jury-rigged, could not sail very fast. The *Venerable* and the French line-of-battle ships engaged within musket-shot, the *Thames* meanwhile raking her; but the broadside of a French 80-gun ship was infinitely heavier than that of a British 74, and the masts of the latter being shot away one after the other, she dropped astern. A little before eight, the *Venerable* struck on a reef about 12 miles from Cadiz; but just as Captain Hood was about to destroy his ship rather than permit her to fall into the hands of the enemy, who appeared meditating an attack, the appearance of the *Audacious* and *Superb* induced them to abandon the design, and enter into Cadiz harbour.

The losses of the *Venerable*, which, besides the *Superb* and *Thames*, was the only ship engaged, were heavy. She had her master and 17 men killed, and one lieutenant, the boatswain, two midshipmen, and 83 hands wounded. The *Superb* had only one officer and 14 men wounded. A little later on the same day, the *Venerable* was hove off the rocks, and brought in safety into Gibraltar, where she was again equipped and ready for sea in a few days.

The thanks of Parliament were voted to the captain and officers and crews of the squadron; Sir James Saumarez received the Ribbon of the Bath and a pension of £1,200 a year, and the first lieutenants of the *Cæsar*, *Superb*, and *Venerable* were promoted to the rank of commander. It is, however, unsatisfactory to reflect that the real hero of the day—Captain Keats—received neither reward, nor even an adequate acknowledgment in the official despatch of his fortunate superior.

Buonaparte, having concluded a peace with Germany in the spring of 1801, directed all his energies to organizing an invasion of England. As the best means of thwarting him, the ministry requested Nelson to assume command of the squadron of ships and gunboats detailed to watch his movements. This, notwithstanding his bad state of health—for he had but just resigned the Baltic command—the great admiral, from a sense of public duty, could not bring him-

self to decline; and, in the last week of July, his lordship hoisted his flag at Sheerness, on board the *Medusa*, 32, Captain Gore. The scheme for the defence of our coasts, which he drew up about this time, at the request of the Government, is an able and comprehensive document.

On the 2nd August, Nelson stood over to Boulogne, and threw some shells into the town; and on the night of the 15th, he conducted an attack on the flotilla at that port by the boats of the squadron. The operation was undertaken at the instance of Lord St. Vincent, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who ordered it in response to popular demand; but as the means placed at Nelson's disposal were wholly inadequate, it failed. The boats, which were formed into four divisions, attacked with the utmost gallantry; but the only hope of success lay in a simultaneous assault, and the divisions got separated, owing to the currents and the darkness of the night; they were met by superior numbers, and even those of the enemy's vessels that were carried by boarding, could not be removed, owing to their being secured to the shore by chains, and had to be abandoned. Our total loss amounted to 44 killed, among whom were one mate and three midshipmen, and 126 wounded, including the gallant Captain Parker (mortally), six lieutenants, one marine officer, two masters, one mate, and two midshipmen.

Of the single actions fought during this year, the following were the most remarkable:—The capture of the 18-gun brig *Senegal* by the boats of the *Melpomene*, in which the British lost two lieutenants, one midshipman and eight men killed, and 18 wounded, including three officers. The capture of the *Dédaigneuse*, 36, by three British frigates; of the *Curieux*, 18, by the *Bordelais*, 24, Captain Manby, when the French brig was fought with such gallantry by her crew—who only surrendered after losing 50 men, including the captain mortally wounded,—that she foundered the same night with two British officers and five seamen, and a great portion of the wounded.

Very brilliant was the victory gained on 19th February by the *Phœbe*, 36, Captain Barlow, over the French 40-gun frigate *Africaine*, Commodore Saulmer, from Rochefort, bound to Egypt, and having on board 400 troops. Find-

ing escape impossible, M. Saulmer shortened sail, and hauled up on the larboard tack. The *Phœbe* also hauled up to windward, and the two ships, being abreast of each other, engaged with great spirit. After an action of nearly two hours' duration, the *Africaine*, having suffered in masts and rigging, and her decks being like a shambles, struck her colours. On taking possession, it was discovered that out of the 715 soldiers and sailors with which she had commenced the action, she had lost no less than 200 killed, including the commodore, a brigadier-general, three surgeons (killed in the cockpit while attending to the wounded), and 10 officers; the wounded amounted to 143, among whom were one general of division, two generals of brigade, the first lieutenant, and 13 officers. The *Phœbe*, on the other hand, out of 239 men, had only one man killed, and her first lieutenant, master, and 10 men wounded. Captain Barlow was knighted, and the first lieutenant promoted to a commander; while the prize was brought into the navy, and re-named the *Amelia*.

The boats of the *Andromache* and *Cleopatra* performed a dashing service in cutting out a Spanish galley, though it was with the loss of the officer commanding, Lieutenant Taylor, a master, mate, and midshipman, and six seamen killed and 12 wounded.

The whole history, even of the British navy, cannot produce a more gallant deed than the cutting out of the *Chevrette*, a French 20-gun corvette, having a crew of 339 men, including some soldiers purposely embarked so as to insure her safety against the possibility of capture. But although the corvette was moored close under the guns of some heavy batteries, though temporary redoubts were thrown up, and a guard-boat, mounting two 36-pounders, was stationed in advance to give notice of the approach of an enemy, the boats of the frigates *Doris*, *Beaulieu*, and *Euranie*, and of the *Robust*, 74, 15 in number, and carrying 280 men, proceeded on the desperate service. Six of these boats were diverted from taking part in the attack on the night of the 21st July, but the remaining nine, having on board 180 officers and men, under command of Lieutenant Keith Maxwell of the *Beaulieu*, after a pull of six miles, neared the *Chevrette*. Lieutenant Maxwell detailed the officers and

men to their several duties—some to fight their way aloft and loose the sails, others to cut the cable, a quarter-master to take the helm, thus providing for every exigency that could arise.

One hour after midnight on the 22nd July, the boats arrived in sight of the *Chevrette*, whose crew being quite prepared for their reception, and having in bravado hoisted a large French tricolour over the English ensign, opened a heavy fire of grape and musketry on the advancing flotilla. The *Beaulieu's* boats, under Lieutenant Maxwell and other officers, boarded the starboard bow and quarter; the *Euranie's*, one from the *Robust*, and one from the *Doris* on the larboard bow. Cutlass in hand, the British tars clambered up the sides of the corvette, and were met on the deck by the Frenchmen, who, armed with muskets, pistols, sabres, tomahawks, and pikes, sought to drive them back, and even in their turn boarded the boats. At length a strong party of our seamen gained the decks, when immediately the topmen detailed for the duty fought their way aloft; though several were killed and wounded in the attempt, others of the daring fellows carried their point, and, laying out on the yards of the corvette (notwithstanding that the footropes were either cut or stopped up), in less than three minutes after the ship was boarded her topsails and courses were let fall. In the meantime, the cables had been cut, and Henry Wallis*—his name should be preserved—who had cut his way through numberless foes, seized the helm, and, though bleeding from many and severe wounds, steered the *Chevrette* until she was beyond reach o the batteries. Many of the enemy, on perceiving the corvette under sail, ran below, while others jumped overboard; and in about five minutes the British had gained entire possession of the upper deck. Our loss was slight, considering the terrible odds, and the desperate nature of the conflict,—one lieutenant of marines, a midshipman who commanded one of the boats of the *Beaulieu*, and nine men

* Quarter-master of the *Beaulieu*, in which ship he had served. A true specimen of a British sailor was he, for ever foremost in battle. The "Naval Chronicle" recounts how, during the time he belonged to the frigate, he had saved nearly a dozen lives by plunging overboard in all weathers, and at the imminent risk of his own.

were killed; one man was drowned, and two lieutenants (one mortally), a master's mate, three midshipmen, and 49 men were wounded. The *Chevrette* lost her captain, six officers, and 85 soldiers and seamen killed, and five officers and 57 men wounded. A writer well says: "To designate the cutting-out of the *Chevrette* a gallant or a dashing exploit is not sufficient; it was one of those deeds of chivalry which might be said to have bordered on rashness." Certainly it appeared to afford convincing proof that no degree of security could be relied on as affording protection against the heroic valour of British seamen. Lieutenant Maxwell was deservedly promoted to the rank of commander.

A further proof of the contempt for odds that inspired the navy was afforded by the crew of the 18-gun brig *Sylph*, Captain Dashwood, who twice engaged and drove off a 40-gun French frigate, supposed to be the *Artemise*.

A great success was obtained on the 15th August in Mahé Roads, in the Seychelles, a group of islands in the Indian Seas, by the *Sybille*, 38, the same frigate that had captured the *Forte*. Captain Adam stood into the roads and attacked the 36-gun frigate *Chiffonne*, lying under the protection of a battery, and after a spirited action of only seventeen minutes, first compelled her to surrender, and then landing a boat's crew, captured the battery, which was well constructed, and furnished with a furnace for heating shot. In this action the *Sybille* only lost two men killed and one midshipman wounded, the *Chiffonne* having 23 killed and 30 wounded. In the same spot, on the following 2nd September, the *Victor*, 18-gun brig, Captain Collier, after a two days' chase, during which she had once brought the *Flèche*, 18, to close action, attacked and sunk that ship.

Lieutenant Pipon, with the boats of the frigates *Fisgard*, *Diamond*, and *Boadicea*, in the most gallant style cut out of Corunna, under a heavy musketry fire from the shore, the 20-gun ship *Neptune*, a gunboat and a merchant vessel. Lieutenant Pipon was promoted to the rank of commander, as also was Lieutenant Wooldridge, who, when in command of the hired armed 14-gun brig *Pasley*, engaged on 28th October and captured, after a protracted conflict, a large Spanish

polacre ship, *Vergin del Rosario*, pierced for 20 guns, but having only 10 mounted, and with a crew of 94 men. The brig having suffered aloft considerably, ran the polacre athwart hawse, lashing her bowsprit to the capstan. The British crew then jumped on board, and carried the polacre after a sharp struggle, in which two seamen and the gunner were killed, Lieutenant Wooldridge, the master (mortally), mate, and five seamen wounded. The *Rosario* had her captain, six officers, and 15 men killed, and 13 wounded.

Military and naval operations between this country and France ceased before the close of the year. On the 12th October a cessation of hostilities was ordered, prior to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace, which was signed at Amiens on the 25th March, 1802. By this treaty, which was in reality little more than an armed truce, we promised to cede Malta and Gozo to their former possessors, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and to France we restored what had been taken from her in Africa and the East and West Indies. Holland lost Trincomalee and other possessions in Ceylon, also the Cape of Good Hope and Dutch Guiana, but regained her other West Indian possessions; also Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate. To Sweden and Denmark were restored what they had lost; England retained Trinidad, but yielded up Porto Ferrajo in Elba; and the French evacuated Naples and the Roman territory.

According to the naval historian James, we had lost during the war five ships of the line captured, nine wrecked, and six burnt; and 37 frigates and smaller vessels captured, nine destroyed, 73 wrecked, 22 foundered, and four burnt, making a total of 20 ships of the line, and 145 frigates and smaller vessels.

On the other hand, the losses sustained by the Powers with which we had been at war, between 1793 and the 12th October, 1801, were as follows:—

French: 34 ships of the line captured, 11 destroyed, nine wrecked, and one burnt; total, 55. Frigates, 82 captured, 14 destroyed, and six wrecked; total 102.

Dutch: 18 ships of the line, and 33 frigates captured; total 51.

Spanish: five ships of the line captured, and five destroyed; 11 frigates captured, and four destroyed; total 25.

Danish: two ships of the line captured.

Grand total: 185 ships of the line and frigates captured from the enemy, 34 destroyed, 15 wrecked, and one burnt; though the list of foreign ships wrecked or burnt is necessarily incomplete.

This was a grand result, for our loss, as enumerated above, only amounted to 42 ships captured and nine destroyed by the enemy; while the total loss experienced by them was 235 ships, of which number 144 were added to the British navy.

CHAPTER XIX.

1803–1805.

Declaration of War, 16th May—Nelson in the Mediterranean—Commodore Dance's Action with Admiral Linois, 14th February, 1804—Engagement with the Boulogne flotilla—Boat and Frigate Actions: the cutting out of the *Atalante*; the Loss of the *Lily*; Capture of the Spanish treasure-ships, 5th October, 1804—Declaration of War by Spain—Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet through the Mediterranean, and to the West Indies—Sir Robert Calder's Action, 22nd July, 1805—Nelson takes command of the Fleet—The eve of Trafalgar.

DURING the short and delusive peace of Amiens, Captain Flinders of the navy did good service to geographical science by his discoveries in Australia, which island he was the first to circumnavigate. Our theme is, however, of a more warlike character. "*Arma virumque cano*," we may sing with Virgil, and hence we must proceed to detail the events of the war, which raged without cessation until the occupation of Paris and the abdication of Napoleon in 1814.

On the 17th May, 1803, the very day after our ministry —incensed by Napoleon's intriguing conduct in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont, and by his animosity against this country, publicly expressed to our ambassador, Lord Whitworth,—had issued their declaration of war, Admiral Cornwallis repaired, with 10 sail of the line, to Ushant, in order to watch the port of Brest, in which 25 sail of the line, besides frigates, were either building or fitting out to proceed to sea.

On the 1st of June, this country had 60 ships of the line n commission, while so actively had the French pushed forward their preparations for war, that their fleet also numbered upwards of 60 sail.

No engagement of importance signalized the first year of the resumption of hostilities. Some gallant contested actions

between single ships, and some cutting-out affairs, took place, with the usual result, but nothing that requires detailed notice. In July, the French seventy-four *Duquesne* was captured off St. Domingo by the *Vanguard* and *Bellerophon*, without any loss on either side, and in December the frigates *Clorinde* and *Surveillante* were surrendered at Cape François, in the same island, to Captain Loring, of the *Bellerophon*, commanding the squadron, under the terms of a capitulation signed by General Rochambeau.

Nelson was despatched to the Mediterranean with a small and badly-found fleet of nine sail of the line and three frigates, with instructions to take under his protection the seaboard of the different states of Italy, the Morea, and the islands of Sicily and Malta, which fortunately we had not delivered up to its former possessors, the Knights of St. John, as being too weak to hold it against Napoleon, who, above all things, coveted the stronghold of Valetta. Nelson took up his station either off Cape San Sebastian or to the westward of Toulon, off Cape Sicie, and during the whole winter watched unremittingly, as he said, "as a cat does a mouse," the French port, only running into the Maddelana Isles, off the north point of Sardinia, when driven off his post by stress of weather or a deficiency of his supplies, his frigates meanwhile remaining off the harbour of Toulon.

One of the most singular exploits of the war was the successful action fought by Commodore Dance, of the East-India Company's maritime service, with a French squadron under Admiral Linois. Dance was homeward bound from China to Europe, with 16 large ships, mounting between 30 and 36 guns, and having European crews averaging 100 men each, and 11 country ships, when, on the 14th February, 1804, being off Pulo Auro, he sighted four strange sail to leeward. These were soon made out to be the French ships *Marengo*, 80, *Belle Poule*, 40, *Semillante*, 36, *Berceau*, 22, and the 16-gun brig *Aventurier*, which had sailed from Batavia purposely to intercept the China fleet. Commodore Dance, nothing loth to accept the challenge, made the signal for a line of battle in close order, and disposing his fleet in the best possible order for defence, and placing the country ships on the lee-bow of the armed Indiamen, he hove to for the night.

On the following morning, Commodore Dance, observing

that the French admiral was so puzzled at this bold attitude on the part of trading ships that he made no attempt to attack, gave orders to fill and make sail on the larboard tack, hoisting his colours as his own ship did so. Admiral Linois now edged off the wind, and stood towards the British.

At 1 p.m., observing that his rear was threatened, Dance made the signal for his fleet to tack in succession, to edge off the wind to windward of his rear, and engage the enemy on arriving up. This skilful manœuvre was performed, says a naval writer, with the correctness of a well-disciplined fleet. With a light breeze and topgallant sails set, the *Royal George*, commanded by Captain Timmins, approached the enemy, followed in close order by the *Ganges*, Captain Moffatt; *Earl Camden*, commodore's flagship; *Warley*, Captain Wilson; *Alfred*, Captain Farquaharson, and the other ships. The *Marengo* now opened fire upon the *Royal George* and *Ganges*, which returned the compliment with great spirit. After an action of forty-three minutes' duration, of which the *Royal George* bore the brunt, the French admiral and his consorts, frightened by the unexpected resistance, ceased firing, hauled to the wind, and made sail away. Commodore Dance signalled for a general chase, which, however, was soon discontinued. The *Royal George* only lost one man killed and one wounded; but her sails and rigging were much cut. No other ship suffered materially.

On his arrival in England, the gallant Dance was knighted by the King, and received, as did all his officers and men, handsome pecuniary acknowledgments from their immediate masters, the East-India Company.

In the month of September of the same year, Admiral Linois's want of resolution was still further testified. When cruising with his flagship and two frigates off Vizagapatam, he discovered the 50-gun frigate *Centurion* lying at anchor in the roads. For several hours the British frigate engaged, and ultimately beat off, the entire French squadron.

In the West Indies, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, again fell into our hands, and in March, Goree in Africa was also recaptured (it having been taken by the enemy in the month of January), by a small force under Captain Dickson, of the *Inconstant*, 36. On the 5th

May the island of Surinam was surrendered to a British squadron commanded by Commodore Samuel Hood, and 2,000 troops under Major-General Sir Charles Green. The loss to the navy was one lieutenant, one midshipman, one boatswain, and two men killed, and three lieutenants and five men wounded.

All through the winter of 1803, and spring of the ensuing year, the newly-crowned Emperor Napoleon made extraordinary exertions to carry out his darling project of the invasion of England, until, in the summer of 1805, the number of gunboats and heavily-armed vessels in Boulogne, forming the invasion flotilla, amounted to 578, with 526 transports. At the ports of Ambleteuse, Calais, Dunkirk, and Ostend, there were collected 1,339 armed, and 954 unarmed vessels, making a total of 2,293, destined to carry 163,645 men, including 16,783 sailors, and 9,059 horses.

We, on our part, responded by enrolling volunteers in hundreds of thousands, constructing martello towers, gun boats, and floating batteries, the command-in-chief of which was conferred on Lord Keith, who was stationed in the Downs.

Many actions were fought in the Channel during the years 1803–5, between the flotilla and our ships; among the most remarkable being one in which the 18-gun brig *Vincejo*, Captain Wright, engaged a large flotilla, consisting of six brigs, each mounting two heavy guns and carrying 70 men, and 11 luggers, the whole squadron mounting 35 guns, and having on board 700 men. For two hours the British brig, which lay becalmed off the coast of Bretagne, engaged her numerous antagonists, until, having three guns dismounted, two men killed, and 12 wounded, including her captain, out of a complement of 51, she was forced to surrender. The French commander, on receiving Captain Wright's sword, paid him a well-merited compliment on his courage; but it is related that, after the British officer was removed to the Temple prison in Paris, he mysteriously disappeared, and was never heard of more.

On the 19th of July of the same year (1804), the squadron off Boulogne, under the command of Captain Owen, of the *Immortalité*, 38, attacked a division of gunboats, and drove on shore three brigs and a lugger, and on the 26th of the

following month the same officer engaged, under the eyes of Napoleon, who embarked with his staff on board a barge, a flotilla consisting of 60 brigs and upwards of 30 luggers; and though the British squadron only consisted of one frigate, two brigs, and a cutter, Captain Owen drove many of the hostile vessels on shore, and convinced Napoleon of the futility of his plans for invading this country by means of a flotilla, while she retained such a first line of defence as her invincible navy.

During the whole of the year 1804, Admiral Cornwallis lay off Brest, with between 13 and 17 sail of the line; but Admiral Ganteaume, though his fleet exceeded ours, remained quiescent. Napoleon had concerted a vast scheme for the invasion of England, which turned upon the decoying away from the Channel and neighbouring waters, of the British fleet; this being effected even for a short time, the squadrons of Ganteaume, and Villeneuve at Rochefort, were to escort the flotilla and an army of at least 80,000 men, which he was to command in person, and which was to be landed on the Kentish coast.

Nelson, with an inferior fleet, continued to blockade Admiral La Touche Treville in Toulon, and that officer had not the courage to do more than show himself at the harbour's mouth, only to retreat when the *Victory* appeared in sight, though he had the effrontery to send a flaming dispatch to the Minister of Marine at Paris, detailing how he had chased the whole British fleet, even including the ship of the redoubtable hero of the Nile. This lying despatch appeared in the *Gazette*, of which Nelson kept a copy, vowing that if he captured the gasconader, he would force him to swallow it. However, the French admiral died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by M. Dumanoir, who again, at the beginning of November, 1804, was superseded by Villeneuve.

While off Fort Royal, Martinique, four boats of the *Centaur*, containing 72 men, under command of Lieutenant Reynolds, boarded and captured the French 16-gun brig *Curieux*, after a desperate conflict, in which the enemy lost 40 killed and wounded, while our loss was only three officers and six men wounded, though, unhappily, the gallant Reynolds expired of the injuries he had received. Not less

brave was the attempt of two boats of the *Blenheim*, containing 50 men, under Lieutenant Furber, to cut out the schooner *Curieuse*, which was moored under a battery at the town of St. Pierre. Our loss on that occasion, which would also have been crowned with success but that the *Curieuse* was moored to the shore by a chain under her bottom, was three killed, three missing, and five officers and 14 men wounded.

On the 23rd March, the British 18-gun corvette *Osprey*, Captain Younghusband, engaged for one hour and twenty minutes the 36-gun privateer *Egyptienne;* but the latter managed to effect her escape, having lost 27 men killed and wounded. Two days later the same privateer was captured by the *Hippomenes*, 14, Captain Shipley, after a chase of 54 hours and a running action of three hours and twenty minutes.

Very gallant was the fight maintained by the *Wolverine*, 13 guns and 70 men, Captain Gordon, against the *Blonde*, 30, having 240 men. The *Wolverine* had 15 men killed and wounded, among the former a midshipman, and went down directly after the action; thus affording a convincing proof that she had been defended to the last extremity.

Five months later the *Blonde* was herself captured, after a short action, by the 38-gun frigate *Loire*, Captain Maitland. More successful than the defence of the *Wolverine* was the cutting out of the Dutch national brig *Atalante*, 16 guns, with a crew of 76 men, by the five boats of the *Scorpion*, 18, Captain Hardinge, and *Beaver*, 14, Captain Peliy. Sixty men embarked in the boats, headed by the two commanders, and though the crew of the *Atalante* were fully prepared for defence, having the boarding-nettings triced up, our gallant fellows, headed by Captain Hardinge, who was the first man on the enemy's deck, notwithstanding a desperate resistance, carried all before them with but slight loss. Captain Hardinge, in a private letter, which appeared in the 20th volume of the "Naval Chronicle," speaks with admiration of the heroism of the Dutch captain:—"The decks were slippery in consequence of rain, so that, grappling with my first opponent, a mate of the watch, I fell; but, recovering my position, fought him upon equal terms, and killed him. I then engaged the captain, as brave a man as any service ever boasted: he had almost killed one of my sea-

men. To my shame be it spoken, he disarmed me, and was on the point of killing me, when a seaman of mine [as Captain Hardinge thought at the time, but it was Mr. Williams, the master] came up and rescued me, and enabled me to recover my sword. At this time all the men from the boats had boarded, and were in possession of the deck. Two men were going to fall upon the captain at once. I ran up, held them back, and then adjured him to accept quarter. With inflexible heroism he disdained the gift, kept us at bay, and compelled us to kill him. He fell covered with honourable wounds." Like a chivalrous antagonist, Captain Hardinge buried Captain Carp with all the honours of war, firing volleys over his ocean grave, and hoisting, for the last time, at the masthead of the prize, the flag for which he had fought with such devotion. The commander of the *Scorpion* was made a post-captain, and Lieutenant Bluett, of his ship, who (with the master and a midshipman) was wounded in the affray, was promoted to commander.

On the 16th May following, a partial engagement took place off Flushing, between a division of gunboats mounting 100 guns, and having on board 5,000 men bound to Ostend, and a squadron under Sir Sydney Smith, during which the vessel bearing the Dutch rear-admiral's flag was driven ashore, together with four schooners. Our total loss in this affair was two officers and eight men killed, and four officers and 17 men wounded.

The *Lily*, having 16 guns and 70 men, was not equally fortunate in a desperate action she fought with the French privateer *Dame Ambert*, off Cape Roman in North America. For upwards of two hours the crew of the *Lily* defended their ship, until at length, when a great number of them, together with the captain (Compton), the first lieutenant, and several officers, had been killed, they were obliged to succumb to the ninth attempt to board on the part of the Frenchman. But the *Lily* was the cause of a further loss of valuable lives, for a month later four boats of the *Galatea*, 32, containing about 90 men, under the command of Lieutenant Hayman, made a gallant, but, considering the force employed, a somewhat rash attempt to cut her out from under the protection of some batteries and an armed

schooner. Lieutenant Hayman fell covered with wounds, the master and a midshipman, besides many men, were killed, others were taken prisoners, and the total loss in killed, wounded, and missing was 65.

In the latter part of 1804, war was declared by Spain against us. For some time the attitude of hostility assumed by the Government of the Peninsula had been so flimsily disguised, that a pretext was not long wanting for a rupture. When the Spanish court furnished the French exchequer with an annual subsidy of three millions sterling, and not only equipped a powerful squadron at Ferrol, but received French troops there and at other stations, it manifestly became the duty of the British Government to anticipate her formal declaration of war.

Pitt, who had lately resumed the reins of office, superseding the feeble Mr. Addington, directed Admiral Cornwallis to detach some frigates to intercept and detain, until further orders, a Spanish squadron expected at Cadiz from Monte Video, laden with treasure, which it was desirable should not be remitted to France to supply the sinews of war against this country.

On the 5th October, as the *Indefatigable*, 44, Captain Moore, and *Lively*, 38, Captain Hammond, which had been detached by Admiral Cornwallis, together with the *Medusa*, 40, Captain Gore, and *Amphion*, 40, Captain Sutton, were cruising together off Cape Santa Maria, a headland about 60 miles east of Cape St. Vincent, they descried and gave chase to four sail, which proved to be the treasure-ships *Medea*, 40, Rear-Admiral Bustamente, and 34-gun frigates *Fama*, *Clara*, and *Mercedes*.

The *Indefatigable*, having fired a shot across the *Medea*, hove to, and Captain Moore sent a boat, explaining to the admiral the nature of his orders, and expressing a hope that they might be acceded to without bloodshed. The Spanish admiral could not in honour yield submission to an equal force, and there was, therefore, no alternative but to fight. The *Indefatigable* fired ahead of the *Medea*, and ran down upon her weather bow; upon this the *Mercedes* fired into the *Amphion*, and the Spanish admiral made the signal for close action. So superior was the gunnery of the British crews, that in about ten minutes the battle resulted

in the capture or destruction of the entire Spanish squadron.

The *Mercedes* took fire and blew up alongside the *Amphion*, with all her crew and passengers, only the second captain and 40 men being saved. The *Medea* and *Clara* surrendered, as did also the *Fama* to the *Medusa*, though she re-hoisted her colours and endeavoured to escape, but being chased by the *Lively* and *Medusa*, was forced to surrender, after receiving a few shot from the *Lively*. Our loss in this action was only two killed and seven wounded; that of the Spanish squadron, in addition to the hundreds of lives sacrificed in the *Mercedes*, being 20 killed and 80 wounded.

On the 12th December, the Spanish Government replied to this disaster by a declaration of war, and at once we found arrayed against us a fleet of no less than 37 large sail of the line.

Our position all through the year 1805, and until the genius of Nelson at the glorious victory of Trafalgar gave the death-blow to all Napoleon's aspirations for naval supremacy, was most critical; but the country reposed implicit confidence in the ability of its fleet to ward off invasion, and our sailors did not belie that trust. The Emperor Napoleon, who personally exercised the vast army of nearly 150,000 men in the operations of embarking with celerity on board the flotilla of 2,300 vessels he had collected, declared that "he needed to be master of the sea for only six hours to terminate the very existence of England;" but with a Nelson to head the fleets of this country, the possibility of even so temporary a supremacy in the Channel was out of the question.

All through 1804, Brest was watched by a British squadron commanded successively by Admirals Cornwallis, Sir Charles Cotton, and Lord Gardner; and M. Ganteaume was locked up in its harbour in forced inaction till the middle of December. The Rochefort squadron, under Admiral Missiessy, taking advantage of a gale, managed to elude the British fleet, and reached the West Indies, where it committed certain depredations. The combined French and Spanish fleet at Ferrol was watched by Admiral Cochrane, and when he went in pursuit of Missiessy, by a

larger squadron under Sir Robert Calder; another separate command was held off Cadiz by Sir John Orde, who, on his return to England in the following spring, was succeeded by Vice-Admiral Collingwood.

Lord Nelson, with 11 sail of the line, was still blockading the Toulon fleet of 12 sail under Villeneuve; but while watering his fleet at his favourite anchorage, Agincourt Sound in the Maddelena Islands, on the 17th January, 1805, Velleneuve proceeded to sea, though, his ships being damaged in a gale, he was forced to return to Toulon. Lord Nelson went in pursuit of him, and after searching Alexandria, the Gulf of Palma, and Malta in vain, learnt of his return to Toulon. Having allowed a short rest to his crews, Nelson showed himself off Barcelona and the Balearic Islands, and then fell back towards Sardinia, and waited in Palma Bay with feverish anxiety for news of the movements of the enemy.

Again, Villeneuve, on 30th March, proceeded to sea, and, effecting a junction with Admiral Gravina, commanding six Spanish sail of the line at Carthagena, sailed for the West Indies. Lord Nelson, after beating about in the Mediterranean in the teeth of a foul wind, passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 5th May, and started in pursuit with only 10 sail of the line. The West India Islands were scoured by the enterprising and indefatigable admiral in search of the combined fleet of 18 sail, but in vain; and ultimately, on learning that they had set sail for Europe, Nelson also returned thither, and on the 19th July anchored off Gibraltar, where he went on shore, as he records in his diary, the first time for above two years. Prodigious were the exertions made by Nelson during the last six months to overtake the French fleet, and bring them to action; and though unsuccessful in his endeavours, his triumph was only delayed in order that it might be the more signal and crushing. On the 15th August, he joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and leaving the main body of his fleet to reinforce him, proceeded to England with the *Superb* and *Victory*, to recruit his health, which was much shattered. On the 19th July, Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, Sir John Jarvis's flag-captain at the battle of St. Vincent, who, after Admiral Cochrane's de-

parture for the West Indies, had been reinforced by Rear-Admiral Stirling, from Rochefort, with five sail, was cruising off Cape Finisterre, in the hope of intercepting the Franco-Spanish fleet, when he received a despatch from Nelson, advising him of their departure from the West Indies.

On the 22nd, the combined fleets, under Villeneuve, appeared in sight, when Sir Robert, forming the order of sailing into two columns, made the signal to prepare for action. The following is a list of the ships he had under his orders :—

Guns.		
98	*Prince of Wales*	Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder (Blue). Captain William Cuming.
	Glory	Rear-Admiral Charles Stirling. Captain Samuel Warren.
	Barfleur	,, George Martin.
	Windsor Castle	,, Charles Boyles.
80	*Malta*	,, Edward Bullen.
74	*Thunderer*	,, William Lechmere.
	Hero	,, Hon. Alan Gardner.
	Repulse	,, Hon. Arthur Legge
	Defiance	,, Philip Durham.
	Ajax	,, William Brown.
	Warrior	,, Samuel Linzee.
	Dragon	,, Edward Griffiths.
	Triumph	,, Henry Inman.
64	*Agamemnon*	,, John Harvey.
	Raisonable	,, Josias Rowley.

FRIGATES.

Egyptienne	Captain Hon. Charles Fleeming.
Sirius	,, William Prowse.

One lugger and a cutter.

The enemy's fleet consisted of 20 sail of the line, of which six carried 80 guns, and were equal to our first-rates, and seven frigates.

A little after three, Sir Robert Calder made the signal to engage; but, owing to the light airs that prevailed, and a thick fog, which occasionally entirely veiled the hostile fleet, some time elapsed before the action commenced. An attempt of the *Sirius* frigate to board the *Sirene* galleon, caused the Spanish ships, soon after five, to open fire; the

Argonauta engaged the *Hero*, which was the leading British ship, and the *Espana* fired a broadside into the *Sirius*. While the *Hero* replied, the ships astern of her tacked in succession, and by six the action became pretty general, though the fire was distant and not very effective, for the fog was so thick, it was impossible to distinguish any object more than a ship's length ahead.

About eight, the *Firme*, 78, having lost her main and mizen masts, struck, and a few minutes later, the *San Rafael*, 80, having her maintop-mast shot away, also surrendered. The *Espana*, 64, suffered severely, and but for the assistance gallantly rendered by the *Pluton*, the *Firme's* second astern, supported by the *Mont Blanc* and *Atlas*, would most certainly have been captured. The French seventy-four, *Atlas*, likewise nearly fell into our hands; but was rescued by the *Neptune*.

The British ships being much scattered, Sir Robert made the signal, at 8.25, to discontinue the action; but it was not until an hour later that all firing ceased. The loss sustained by his fleet amounted to 41 killed and 162 wounded; the *Windsor Castle*, *Ajax*, *Prince of Wales*, *Malta*, and *Thunderer* were the chief sufferers. The total casualties of the enemy were ascertained to be 149 killed and 327 wounded.

Light variable airs prevailed throughout the 23rd and 24th August, but neither side seemed inclined to force on a battle; on the first day, as the French admiral was to windward, it lay in his power to do so, and on the 24th, a shift of wind equally placed Calder in a position to take the initiative. The British admiral had, however, every reason to avoid a second encounter, unless, of course, it was forced on him; as in addition to having a fleet superior in numbers in front of him, there lay at Ferrol and Rochefort, within a few hours' sail of his present position, a second fleet of 20 sail of the line; indeed it afterwards appeared that Admiral Allemand had left Rochefort harbour after Admiral Stirling had raised the blockade, and on the afternoon of the 23rd, passed over the very spot on which, but eight hours before, the two fleets had been engaged. On Calder's return to England in October, public opinion, which at first regarded with favour his victory of the 22nd July, for such in reality it was, as he had captured two ships, turned against him for not

renewing the battle on the 24th, as it lay in his power to do so. The admiral accordingly demanded a court-martial on his conduct, and the verdict of the naval court, which held its first sitting on the 23rd December, adjudged him to be severely reprimanded. Napoleon, with more reason, was greatly incensed at Villeneuve, whom he accused of excessive pusillanimity.

The French admiral proceeded to Ferrol, and having effected a junction with the squadron lying there, his force was raised to 29 sail of the line. Sir Robert Calder, who had already sent back Admiral Stirling to resume the blockade of Rochefort, having now only nine ships, withdrew from before Ferrol, and joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant. Villeneuve now proceeded to sea to join Allemand, with the intention, it may be supposed, of forcing his way with his overpowering fleet into Brest, in order to unite his force with that in this northern port. A clever ruse of Captain Griffiths, of the *Dragon*, 74, induced him to believe that Cornwallis had 25 sail of the line under his orders before Brest, and he accordingly proceeded to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 21st August. At this time Vice-Admiral Collingwood was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, with three sail of the line, and as soon as he saw Villeneuve safely anchored in Cadiz, he despatched Captain Blackwood, of the *Euryalus*, with the important news to England. The following day Collingwood was reinforced by Sir Richard Bickerton, with four ships, and before the end of the month by Sir Robert Calder, whom Admiral Cornwallis had detached to his aid.

Blackwood reached England on the evening of the 1st September, and posting up to the Admiralty with his news, called on his way at Merton, where Nelson had bought a small estate. It was 4 o'clock in the morning, but the admiral was already up and dressed. On seeing his friend, he exclaimed, "I am sure you bring news of the French and Spanish fleets. I shall yet have to beat them." His lordship followed the captain of the *Euryalus* to town, and proposed to the Government to return at once to Cadiz. Both Mr. Pitt and Lord Barham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, eagerly closed with his proposal; the former asking him to state what amount of force he required to insure victory, while the later, handing

him the *Navy List*, desired him to choose his own ships and his own officers. In reply to Pitt, Nelson explained that his object was not limited to defeating the enemy, but, like the Roman orator of old when reiterating that "*Carthago delenda est*," he desired to annihilate the naval power of France and Spain. To Lord Barham the great admiral nobly replied, "Choose yourself, my lord; the same spirit animates the whole profession: you cannot go wrong."

On the night of the 13th September, after little more than three weeks' rest on shore, he quitted his house, and travelling all night, reached Portsmouth the next morning. Though eager to undertake the duty, for his only thought was of his country's weal, Nelson embarked with a presentiment that he was going to his death. A month before, he had told his brother that had he, instead of Calder, met the French, they might have been parted for ever, since he knew that the enemy "had meant to make a dead set at the *Victory*;" and, in his diary, meant for no eye but his own, he expresses his humble and entire "submission, should it be God's good providence to cut short his days upon earth."

The scene that took place at Portsmouth, says Yonge in his "History of the Navy," when at noon of the 14th September, Nelson embarked on board the *Victory*, is easier to appreciate than to describe. The whole population of the town was collected in the streets through which he was expected to pass. Ancient mariners, who had fought under Boscawen and Hawke, under Keppel and Rodney, reverently stood hat in hand as they recognized, in the shattered frame of the hero of the Nile and Copenhagen, a greater warrior than any under whom they had served. Women pressed close to him, that they might gaze their full on one whose proverbial gentleness had won *their* hearts as much as the victories, which had more impressed the sterner sex. All classes, men, women, and children, broke into a deafening cheer as they recognized the slight figure, rendered familiar by the engraver's art, of the man who already secured the safety of their country, and whose name appeared in their eyes synonymous with victory. Many of the spectators were moved to tears; some knelt before him as he passed along the Southsea beach, and invoked blessings and heaven's

protection on his head. It was in vain that a guard of soldiers, with fixed bayonets, strove to keep the crowd from pressing too closely upon him, and Nelson himself could not restrain tears of gratitude, as he marked the personal affection with which he was regarded. Turning to his companion, Captain Hardy, he said, "I had their hurrahs before; I have their hearts now."

The next morning, Sunday, the 15th September, at 8 o'clock, the *Victory* sailed.

As she approached the fleet, Nelson sent ahead the *Euryalus*, with instructions to Collingwood not to salute or hoist the colours, by which the enemy might be apprized of the arrival of a reinforcement; and he wrote also to the Governor of Gibraltar to prevent any notice being given in the *Gazette* of his arrival before Cadiz. On the 28th September he joined Collingwood, and found with him 23 sail-of-the-line and an additional inshore squadron of six ships. He was received by the officers and seamen of the fleet with enthusiasm, and every heart now burned for the hour of battle, confident it would be also the hour of victory.

Nelson, in order to keep the enemy in ignorance of his strength, so that they might be induced to put to sea, withdrew his ship to a distance of 16 or 18 leagues from the land, merely keeping close inshore two frigates to signal to four line-of-battle ships, which, under Captain Duff, of the *Mars*, were distributed inside his line.

On the 1st October the *Euryalus* reconnoitred the port of Cadiz, when a fleet of 18 French and 16 Spanish ships of the line were made out. A few days after his arrival, Nelson detached Rear-Admiral Louis to Gibraltar with five sail, and his strength was still further diminished by the despatch to England of the *Prince of Wales*, bearing Sir Robert Calder's flag, as the admiral's presence was required in England for his trial; but his fleet was brought up to a strength of 27 sail-of-the-line by the arrival, between the 9th and 13th October, of the *Royal Sovereign*, into which Collingwood shifted his flag, *Belleisle*, *Africa*, and *Agamemnon*, under his old friend Sir Edward Berry. Nelson's great desideratum was a want of frigates; but Captain Blackwood did much to supply the deficiency, and was

unremitting in his exertions to bring information of every movement of the enemy in Cadiz. On the 5th October, the captain of the *Euryalus* reported that they had taken on board troops: this and other preparations, as bending topgallant sails, appeared to presage an early departure, which, however, was delayed by a strong westerly wind, which continued to blow from the 10th to the 17th. On the 9th October, Nelson issued to the captains of the fleet copies of a plan of attack he had devised, which for its novelty and simplicity commanded their admiration.

At midnight of the 17th, the wind shifted to the eastward, and on Saturday, the 19th October, the combined fleet weighed with a light breeze from the northward. Only 12 ships got out this day, and these lay becalmed until the afternoon, when a breeze sprang up from the westward, but at daylight of the 20th, the remainder of the fleet, consisting of 21 ships of the line, with five frigates and two corvettes, put to sea. The weather at first was thick, but about 2 p.m. it cleared up. Villeneuve, the French commander-in-chief, stung by Napoleon's reproaches at his uniform want of success and enterprise, and determined to strike a blow before the arrival of the officer named to succeed him—Admiral Rosilly,—had spent his time while in Cadiz in carefully re-organizing and supplying his fleet, and that of his Spanish coadjutor, Admiral Gravina. So confident was he now of victory, that he wrote to Admiral Decres, the French Minister of Marine, that "Napoleon should soon be satisfied, and that he might reckon on the most splendid success."

Villeneuve took the more immediate command of the main division of the fleet, with Vice-Admiral d'Alava and Rear-Admiral Dumanoir under his orders, while the remainder or reserve was divided into two squadrons of six ships each, the first under Gravina, the second commanded by Rear-Admiral Magon. One of the French advanced frigates having made the signal for 18 sail of British ships, the combined fleet, then on the larboard tack, cleared for action, and at 5 p.m. tacked and stood towards the Straits. At 7.30 the *Aigle*, 74, signalled 18 sail to the southward, and shortly afterwards the enemy wore and stood to the north-west. During the night every move-

ment of the hostile fleet was accurately and instantly reported to Nelson by Captain Blackwood, whose invaluable services were fully appreciated by his lordship. Thus in expectation and preparation passed the eve of the memorable 21st October.

CHAPTER XX.

1805.

The Battle of Trafalgar, 21st October—The Death of Nelson.

At length dawned the 21st of October, 1805,—a day big with the fate of this country, and which should be honoured by successive generations of Englishmen as one of mingled pride and sadness. Before the sun went down, England's annals were enriched by the achievement of a deed of arms as great and glorious as are to be found in the records of any country; though, alas! the victory was dimmed by the death of our greatest and most lamented hero. We cannot, indeed, speak of the death of Nelson as untimely, for, more truly than in the case of Alexander, there remained no enemy, after the close of that memorable day, for his unrivalled genius to conquer. The fleets of France and Spain were so shattered by their defeat at Trafalgar, that, during the remainder of our great struggle with Napoleon, all danger of a successful invasion of these shores passed away from the bounds of possibility, and even the emperor himself abandoned the scheme as hopeless.

At daylight of the 21st October, the two fleets were in sight of each other, about twelve miles apart; and at six, the combined fleet, then on the starboard tack, was seen from the decks of the British ships, the *Victory* being at this time distant from Cape Trafalgar about 21 miles. The wind, from two points northward of west, was light, accompanied by a long ground swell. A little before seven, Lord Nelson made the signal to form the order of sailing in two columns and prepare for battle, and a few minutes later signalled to bear up.

At 8.30 a.m., Villeneuve ordered his fleet to wear and form a line in close order on the larboard tack; but, owing to the

light air and great swell, it was not until ten that the manœuvre was accomplished, and even then the line was so irregularly formed that it was nearly in the shape of a crescent, and instead of the ships being in line ahead, some were at a considerable distance to leeward, and others to windward of their proper stations. For the most part the ships were two, and, in some cases, three abreast, and they were generally under topsails and top-gallant-sails, with main-topsails to the mast.

Some interesting details are given by Captain Blackwood of Nelson during the forenoon of this his last day upon earth; and, as a bare recital of the manœuvres of the battle of Trafalgar would form but an incomplete record of that great victory, we will not apologize for introducing them to the notice of the reader.

More than once Nelson asked Blackwood what he should consider a great victory, and when his friend replied that fourteen or fifteen prizes would be a glorious result, he said, "I shall not, Blackwood, be satisfied with less than twenty." It is a pleasing trait of Nelson's character that no man was less vainglorious, or more ready to attribute his successes to a divine power, in dependence upon whose will he relied with a simple piety. After the battle of Trafalgar the following beautiful prayer, breathing the sublimest spirit of patriotism, which he had penned in the retirement of his cabin, was found among his papers.

"May the great God whom I worship grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it. And may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him who made me; and may His blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To Him I resign myself and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend. Amen. Amen. Amen."

On his return to the quarter-deck, Captain Blackwood expressed to Nelson the anxiety of his lordship's friends lest his conspicuous dress, with the orders glittering on his breast, might attract the fire of the enemy's sharpshooters, and prayed him to shift his flag to the *Euryalus*, where, moreover, he would better be able to direct the battle than if

engaged in the thick of it. This, though an old-established French custom, did not suit Nelson, who declined the proposal. When again Blackwood urged him to allow the *Téméraire* to go ahead of the *Victory*, his lordship replied, "Oh, yes; let her go ahead:" but, at the same time, he had no such intention, nor would he permit a yard of canvas to be shortened. The *Victory*, therefore, kept her pride of place, and led the fleet into battle.

The wind was so light that, although the British ships had studding-sails set on both sides, they only made two knots an hour through the water. While the fleet was thus slowly nearing the enemy, Nelson visited the decks of his ship, cautioning the men at their quarters not to fire without being sure of their aim. Apprehensive that the enemy might run for the port of Cadiz, which was at no great distance under their lee, his lordship signalled to Vice-Admiral Collingwood: "I intend to pass through the van of the enemy's line, to prevent him from getting into Cadiz."

Exactly at 11.40, as Nelson was pacing the poop with Blackwood, he asked if he did not think there was still a signal wanting; and almost before the captain of the *Euryalus* had replied that the whole fleet appeared to understand thoroughly what was required of them, the great admiral ordered the signal lieutenant, Mr. Pasco, to hoist the ever-memorable and celebrated signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty." It was the last displayed, and on its purport being communicated to the seamen at the guns of the respective ships, was received with three enthusiastic cheers throughout the fleet.

"Now," said Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

He now sent the captains of the frigates to their ships, and as Blackwood shook him by the hand on leaving, saying, he hoped to come back soon and find him well and in possession of his twenty prizes, Nelson replied, "God bless you, Blackwood: I shall never speak to you again."

The following is a list of the ships in both fleets, in the relative order in which they went into action:—

BRITISH FLEET.—WEATHER DIVISION.

Guns.		
100	*Victory*	Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson (White). Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy.
98	*Téméraire*	„ E. Harvey.
	Neptune	„ Thomas F. Freemantle.
74	*Leviathan*	„ Henry W. Bayntun.
	Conqueror	„ Israel Pellew.
100	*Britannia*	Rear-Admiral Earl of Northesk (White). Captain Charles Bullen.
64	*Agamemnon*	„ Sir Edward Berry.
	Africa	„ Henry Digby.
74	*Ajax*	Lieutenant John Pilfold (acting).
	Orion	Captain Edward Codrington.
	Minotaur	„ Charles Mansfield.
	Spartiate	„ Sir Francis Laforey.

FRIGATES.

38	*Euryalus*	„ Hon. Henry Blackwood.
	Naiad	„ Thomas Dundas.
	Pickle (schooner)	Lieutenant John Lapenotiere.

LEE DIVISION.

Guns.		
100	*Royal Sovereign*	Vice-Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood. Captain Edward Rotherham.
74	*Belleisle*	„ William Hargood.
	Mars	„ George Duff.
80	*Tonnant*	„ Charles Tyler.
74	*Bellerophon*	„ John Cooke.
	Colossus	„ James Morris.
	Achille	„ Richard King.
98	*Dreadnought*	„ John Conn.
64	*Polyphemus*	„ Robert Redmill.
74	*Revenge*	„ Robert Moorsom.
	Swiftsure	„ George Rutherford.
	Defiance	„ Philip Durham.
	Thunderer	Lieutenant John Stockham.
	Defence	Captain George Hope.
	Prince	„ Richard Grindall.

FRIGATES.

	Phœbe	Captain Hon. Thomas Bladen Capel.
	Sirius	„ William Prowse.
	Entreprenante (cutter)	Lieutenant John Purver.

The combined French and Spanish ships were ranged as follows, commencing with the headmost:—

Guns.		
74	*Neptuno**	Commodore Valdes.
	Scipion	Captain Berenger.
	Intrépide	Commodore Infernet.
100	*Rayo**	,, Macdonel.
80	*Formidable*	Rear-Admiral Dumanoir le Polley. Captain Letellier.
74	*Duguay Trouin*	,, Touffet.
	Mont Blanc	Commodore La Villegris.
	*San Francisco de Asis**	Captain De Flores.
	*San Augustin**	,, Cagegal.
	Héros	,, Poulain.
130	*Santissima Trinidad**	Rear-Admiral Cisneros. Captain Yriarte.
80	*Bucentaure*	Vice-Admiral Villeneuve. Captain Magendie.
	Neptune	,, Maistral.
64	*San Leandro**	,, Quevedo.
74	*Redoutable*	,, Lucas.
	*San Justo**	,, Gaston.
80	*Indomptable*	,, Hubart.
112	*Santa Anna**	Vice-Admiral Alava. Captain Gardoqui.
74	*Fougueux*	,, Boudouin.
	*Monarca**	,, Argumosa.
	Pluton	Commodore Cosmao Kerjulien.
	Algesiras	Rear-Admiral Magon. Captain Brouard.
	*Bahama**	,, Galiana.
	Aigle	,, Gourrége.
	Swiftsure	,, Villemadin.
	Argonaute	,, Epron.
	*Montanez**	,, Salzedo.
80	*Argonauta**	Commodore Parejas.
74	*Berwick*	Captain Filiol Camas.
	*San Juan Nepomuceno**	,, Churruca.
	*San Ildefonso**	,, Bargas.
	Achille	,, De Nieuport.
112	*Principe de Asturias**	Admiral Gravina. Rear-Admiral Escaño.

Frigates: *Corneille*, *Hermione*, *Hortense*, *Rhin*, *Thémis*.

The British fleet bore down on the long line of the enemy in two divisions, headed respectively by the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign*, which were two miles apart. About ten minutes before noon the *Fougueux*, the ship next astern of the *Santa Anna*, fired a shot to try the range of her guns, upon

* Spanish ships.

which the British fleet hoisted their colours—the St. George's ensign, together with a union-jack, on the fore-topmast stay. Shortly afterwards the combined fleet followed motions by doing likewise. At the same time the *Santa Anna*, and the ships nearest her, opened a heavy fire upon the *Royal Sovereign*.

At ten minutes past 12, Admiral Collingwood commenced the action, as he passed close under the stern of the *Santa Anna*, by pouring the whole of his larboard broadside into her as his guns were brought to bear; then keeping a "close luff," he took up his station on the starboard bow of his opponent. As he did so, the gallant vice-admiral said to his captain, "What would Nelson give to be here?" Singularly enough, as showing how completely the minds of these two noble admirals were what the French call *en rapport*, Nelson observed at the same moment, "See how nobly Collingwood carries his ship into action."

Following the course adopted by that able professional writer, Allen, in his description of the battle, we will trace the doings of the ships of the lee line, in the order in which they went into action.

The *Royal Sovereign*, while closely engaging the Spanish three-decker, was raked distantly by the *San Leandro* ahead, *Fougueux* on her quarter, and for a short time the *San Justo* and *Indomptable* also fired at her. The *Santa Anna* lost her mizen-topmast a few minutes after she engaged the *Royal Sovereign*, and at 1.20 her three masts fell over the side; 40 minutes later she struck her colours to her opponent, which had also lost her mizen-mast. Soon afterwards the mainmast of the *Royal Sovereign* fell over the starboard side, tearing off two lower-deck ports, and the foremast was so badly wounded as to be in a tottering state.

The next ship, the *Belleisle*, after sustaining for twenty minutes the concentrated fire of the rearmost ships, and losing her mizen-topmast and more than 50 men killed and wounded, ranged close under the *Santa Anna's* stern, and fired her larboard double-shotted guns into that ship. Passing on she returned the fire of the *Fougueux* and *Monarca* with her starboard broadside, then steered for the *Indompt-*

able; but as that ship, after a few broadsides, bore away to the south-east, the *Belleisle* engaged distantly the *San Juan Nepomuceno* on her starboard beam. A little before one the main-topmast of the British seventy-four went over the side, and as the enemy's ships were now pressing forward, her position became very critical. The *Fougueux* ranged up close alongside, striking her in the gangway with her larboard bow, and rolling her foreyard over the *Belleisle's* quarter-deck. After ten minutes' hot action, the latter lost her mizen-mast; and a little later the *Fougueux* dropped astern and hauled to the northward, when the *Achille* took up a station on the larboard quarter of Captain Hargood's ship, and under the protection of the wreck of the mizen-mast, which masked the fire of her opponent's guns, the French seventy-four engaged the *Belleisle* as she lay unmanageable with her head to the eastward. At this time the *Aigle*, having replaced the *San Juan*, was cannonading her on the starboard side, and the *San Justo* and *Leandro*, in crossing her bows to join Admiral Gravina in her rear, also opened their batteries upon her. Soon after two the *Belleisle* lost her mainmast close to the deck, and twenty minutes later an 80-gun ship, supposed to have been the French *Neptune*—which had been engaged with the *Victory*—took up a position on her starboard bow. To complete the hapless plight of the ship, at 2.45 the foremast and bowsprit were shot away, and now she lay like a log on the water, defenceless, for her guns could not be worked, owing to the wreck. Yet proudly defiant as ever, and disdaining to strike, the crew had lashed an ensign to the fallen topsail-yardarm, which projected over the quarter; and that there might be no mistake as to their readiness to receive any amount of shot without flinching, a union-jack was secured to a boarding-pike and lashed to the stump of the mizen-mast. At length, at a quarter-past three, the *Polyphemus* thrust herself between the *Neptune* and her opponent, the *Defence* engaged the *Aigle*, and presently the *Swiftsure** passed under the stern of the *Belleisle*, and took off the fire of the *Achille*. As she did so, her crew manned the rigging,

* The British *Swiftsure*: there was a ship of that name in each fleet. Also there were two called *Achille*, and no less than three *Neptunes* engaged in the battle.

and gave three cheers to the gallant fellows who had so nobly sustained the reputation of British seamen—a compliment which the men of the *Belleisle* heartily returned.

The *Mars*, in coming into action, suffered severely from the raking fire of four of the enemy's ships, and while hauling up, in order to cross the bows of the *San Juan*, was followed and closely engaged by the *Pluton*. As she was coming head to wind, in order to avoid running on board the *Santa Anna*, she was raked by the *Monarca* and *Algesiras*. The *Tonnant* coming to her assistance, the *Mars* engaged the *Fougueux* and *Pluton*, and suffered severely in the unequal conflict. Soon after one o'clock, a round shot carried off the head of the gallant Captain Duff, throwing his body on the gangway, and killed two seamen standing near him. Other ships arriving up to her assistance, the *Fougueux* made off to the northward, and the *Pluton* to join Admiral Gravina.

The *Tonnant* passed close under the stern of the *Monarca*, and, pouring in a raking broadside, hauled up alongside. After a short action, the Spanish ship dropped astern and struck her colours, but afterwards re-hoisted them. The *Algesiras*, which was on the *Monarca's* lee quarter, attempted to cross the stern of the British 80-gun ship; but the latter, putting her helm hard-a-port, bore up and ran the French seventy-four on board. Whilst thus engaged on the starboard side, the *Tonnant* fired her larboard guns across the bows of the *Mars* at the *Pluton* and *San Juan*. Captain Tyler received a severe wound, which obliged him to depute the command to Lieutenant Bedford; and about the same time the *Algesiras* lost her foremast, and the *Tonnant*, whose fore-topmast and mainyard had already been shot away, lost her other two topmasts. The crew of the French seventy-four now made an attempt to board, but were repulsed; and at 2·20 the *Algesiras* struck her colours, and was at once taken possession of by a prize crew of 50 men from the *Tonnant*. A little before three, the *San Juan* hailed to say that she had surrendered, and Lieutenant Clement and two men were sent in the jolly-boat to take possession. When about halfway, the boat was struck by a shot and swamped; and while the lieutenant, who could not swim, was clinging to her, another shot struck her on the quarter, causing the

boat to turn bottom upwards. Mr. Clement continued to hold on until one of the men who had swum to the *Tonnant*, returned with a rope, by which the young officer was hauled on board. Having no boat left that could swim, the *Tonnant* was unable to take possession of the *San Juan*, which, however, was secured by the *Dreadnought*.

The *Bellerophon* got into action five minutes after the *Tonnant*, and in attempting to range alongside the *Monarca*, fouled the *Aigle*, and thus became engaged on both sides. The *Montanez*, *Swiftsure*, and *Bahama* at the same time brought their guns to bear on the British ship, and about one o'clock her main and mizen-topmasts fell over the side, causing the sails to catch fire. Her master was killed, and Captain Cooke fell mortally wounded, Lieutenant Cumby then assuming command. The *Colossus* and other ships soon came to the assistance of the *Bellerophon*, and the *Monarca*, having hauled down her colours, was taken possession of by her.

The *Colossus* passed the French *Swiftsure*, and laying the *Argonaute* alongside, encountered her until the French seventy-four, disengaging her rigging aloft, dropped astern. The *Colossus* also received the fire of the *Swiftsure* on her larboard quarter, and of the *Bahama*, which lay a little ahead of the French ship. About three, when the *Swiftsure* had dropped astern, the *Bahama*, having lost her mainmast, surrendered. The *Swiftsure*, in the mean time, bore up with the intention of passing under the stern of the *Colossus;* but the latter, wearing round, shot away the *Swiftsure's* mizen-mast, and the *Orion* in passing brought down her mainmast. The *Swiftsure* upon this surrendered, and as the *Colossus* was hauling up to secure her prizes, her mizen-mast went over the side. Early in the action, Captain Morris, who commanded her, was struck by a shot a little above the knee; but the gallant captain, applying a tourniquet to the wound, refused to go below. Not until the action had ceased, and the *Agamemnon* had taken his ship in tow, would he leave the deck. The terrible loss she had sustained—200 killed and wounded—proves better than any panegyric how nobly the crew of the *Colossus* had done their duty.

The British *Achille* engaged the *Montanez* to leeward,

and when the latter sheered off, became closely engaged with the Spanish *Argonauta*. After a hot action, the French *Achille* edged down on the quarter of her British namesake, while the *Berwick*, after engaging the *Defence*, ranged up on her starboard side. The French *Achille* soon passed on, when the *Berwick*, after an hour's action, struck her colours, and was taken possession of by Captain King.

The *Dreadnought* engaged the *San Juan Nepomuceno*, and after fifteen minutes' action, ran her on board, when she surrendered. This ship had been previously engaged by the *Bellerophon*, *Defiance*, *Tonnant*, and others, and made a gallant defence. The *Dreadnought* then engaged the *Principe de Asturias* till that ship hauled off.

The *Polyphemus* and *Swiftsure* engaged the *Achille* until the French seventy-four, having lost her mizen-mast and foreyard, and being in flames aloft, ceased firing.

The *Revenge*, having hooked the jib-boom of the *Aigle* into her mizen-topsail, raked that ship with terrible effect. Forging ahead, the *Revenge* was engaged by the *Principe de Asturias*, the *Indomptable* and *San Justo*, until the *Dreadnought* and *Thunderer* took off the fire of the two latter ships.

The *Defence* was first engaged with the *Berwick*, and then with the *San Ildefonso*, which she compelled to surrender after an hour's action. The *Thunderer*, when approaching to the assistance of the *Revenge*, raked the *Principe de Asturias*, and on the French *Neptune* coming up, engaged her, until she, with Admiral Gravina's flagship—which had sustained such injury that her main and mizen-masts fell during the night—and some other ships bore away towards Cadiz.

The *Defiance* closed with the crippled *Aigle*; but a party of seamen having boarded the latter, were driven back to their ship by a destructive musketry-fire from her tops, waist, and forecastle; upon this the lashings which held the two ships were cut adrift, and the *Defiance* sheering off, opened so well-directed a fire upon the enemy, that some one in the *Aigle* hailed to say she surrendered. Captain Durham*

* Captain Durham, though earnestly entreated by Sir Robert Calder to return to England with him to give evidence on his trial, refused to do so; but the captains of the *Ajax* and *Thunderer*, having consented to accompany him, missed the battle.

accordingly sent a boat on board to take possession, as he did also of the *San Juan*, which, however, was the prize of the *Dreadnought*.

We now turn to narrate the deeds of the weather line, led by the *Victory*. Right in front of her lay the *Santissima Trinidad*, and Nelson correctly divining that the French commander-in-chief was at no great distance from her, ordered the *Victory* to be steered for the huge four-decker, his old enemy at the battle of St. Vincent. As the *Victory* bore down slowly under a press of sail, at about twenty minutes past noon, first the *Bucentaure*, Villeneuve's ship, and then seven or eight others, opened a terribly destructive fire upon her; and Mr. Scott, Nelson's secretary, was shot dead while conversing with Captain Hardy. When within 500 or 600 yards of the enemy's line, the *Victory's* mizen-topmast was shot away, and also her wheel, so that she was obliged to be steered with the relieving tackles below. The cannon shot plunged through the ship and swept the decks; one ball killing eight marines on the poop, upon which, at Nelson's request, Captain Adair, the commanding officer, directed his men to lie down until they could be employed. Shortly afterwards a splinter from the fore-brace bits passed between the admiral and Captain Hardy, a portion of it tearing away the buckle from the shoe of the latter. The friends looked anxiously at each, each fearing the other was injured. Lord Nelson smiled and said: "This is too warm work to last long, Hardy."

Still the *Victory* advanced and fired not a shot in return. It must have been trying work for the men at their guns; but there was no help for it, for the cluster of ships that was keeping up this terrible cannonade was ahead of her, and Nelson had the further object of impressing the enemy with the grandeur of thus calmly approaching them. M. Villeneuve subsequently owned to having experienced the moral effect Nelson sought to enforce, and he confessed, as appears from a letter by Captain Blackwood to his wife, which appears in the "Despatches," vol. vii. p. 224, that the conduct of the *Victory*, *Témeraire*, and *Neptune* struck him with unbounded admiration.

Captain Hardy now remarked to Lord Nelson that it was impossible to pass through the cluster of ships ahead without

fouling one of them, to which his lordship quickly replied, "I cannot help it; it does not signify which we run on board of; go on board which you like: take your choice." By this time the *Victory* had lost 50 men killed and wounded, and her sails were hanging in ribbons; but her turn had now come. At 4 minutes past 12, by the *Victory's* log, the helm was put a-port, and as the flagship passed close to the larboard side of the *Bucentaure*, she poured so terrible a broadside into her, that she was observed to heel over two or three streaks on receiving it. Every gun had been double or treble-shotted, and by the subsequent report of the *Bucentaure's* own officers, so murderous had been the effect of that single broadside, that 400 men were struck down, and 20 of her guns dismounted.

The *Victory* then hauled round close under the stern of the French flagship, intending to bring her to action to leeward, but came into collision with the *Redoutable*, the concussion driving the latter off nearly before the wind. With their yardarms locked, these two ships became fiercely engaged, while the *Victory's* larboard guns continued to play upon the *Bucentaure* and *Santissima Trinidad*. The tops of the *Redoutable* were filled with sharpshooters, who continued to pour a biting fire, and to throw hand grenades upon the *Victory's* decks. The battle was soon at its height; an hour and a quarter had passed, and Nelson, with Captain Hardy by his side, continued pacing the quarter-deck,—a space about 25 feet in length, bounded forward by the companion-ladder and abaft by the wheel,—and giving his orders with the utmost composure amid the hail of bullets, when at 1.25 he received his fatal wound. His lordship was just about to walk aft, when Captain Hardy turning, observed him in the act of falling on his knees, with his left hand just touching the deck, almost on the same spot on which his secretary, Mr. Scott, had received his death-wound. Some seamen caught the admiral, and Hardy, running up, expressed an earnest hope that the wound was not severe. But Nelson knew it was mortal. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," he replied. "I hope not," replied the former. "Yes," continued Nelson, "my backbone is shot through." And so it was. A musket-ball fired from the mizen-top of the *Redoutable* had entered the left shoulder



"They have done for me at last, Hardy."—p. 348

through the strap of the epaulette, and passing downwards had lodged in the spine. His lordship was carried below to the cockpit by a sergeant of marines and two seamen. Dr. Beatty, the surgeon of the *Victory*, in his deeply-interesting narrative of the great admiral's last moments, says that as he passed through the decks, he caused his face and star of the Bath to be covered by his handkerchief, in order that he might not be noticed by the crew.

In order to continue our narrative of the battle, we will, for a few minutes, leave the cockpit of the *Victory*, the gloom of which was only relieved by the uncertain flickering light of the battle-lanterns, as they illumined the face of the expiring hero, who taught British seamen how to die as well as to live for their country.

The bullet that struck Nelson was the means of signing the death-warrant of every soul in the mizen-top of the *Redoutable*. Captain Adair, of the marines, and Mr. John Pollard, midshipman, immediately snatched up muskets, and the other seamen and marines continued to fire upon the group, until one by one they were all picked off, the last being shot as he was descending the rigging. To Mr. Pollard* has generally been awarded the merit of having killed the man who shot our greatest admiral.

The loss had been so severe on the quarter-deck of the *Victory*, that Captains Hardy, Adair, and two or three officers were nearly all that remained. Observing the deserted appearance of the deck, the commander of the *Redoutable* ordered his crew to board, but the *Victory's* men came streaming up from their guns below, and the audacious attempt to capture Nelson's own ship was instantly repulsed. In this affair Captain Adair was killed, and Lieutenant Ram mortally, and Mr. Westphal, midshipman, severely wounded; many seamen and marines also fell.

At about the same time the *Téméraire* ran on board the *Redoutable* on the starboard bow, and lashed the French ship's bowsprit to the fore part of her main rigging. The

* This officer never rose above the rank of lieutenant, and recently died in Greenwich Hospital, where he had been suffered to linger out his days in obscurity, while courtiers and others who had scarcely seen a shot fired, and had only entered the service during the forty years' peace, were transformed into carpet knights and admirals.

Redoutable soon ceased firing, in order to extinguish a fire which had broken out on board, and Captain Hardy sent Messrs. Ogilvie and Collingwood, midshipmen, with a party of men to take possession; her masts soon afterwards went by the board, one after the other. The *Téméraire* was, owing to the light wind, some time in getting into action, and, like the *Victory*, sustained considerable damage when bearing down to the attack. At first she engaged the *Neptune*, and then the *Redoutable* as described above. When the *Fougueux* quitted the *Belleisle* and approached the *Téméraire*, with the evident intention of boarding, the latter fired her starboard guns into her with telling effect. As the *Fougueux* fell on board, the crew of the British ship immediately lashed her fore-rigging to the sheet-anchor, while a lieutenant, with a mate, midshipman, and 30 men, boarded her by the main rigging. In ten minutes the French crew were driven below, and the *Fougueux*, whose captain was lying on the deck mortally wounded, became Captain Harvey's prize.

The British *Neptune* was some time also in getting into action, and passing under the *Bucentaure's* stern, shot away her main and mizen-masts; continuing her course she engaged the *Santissima Trinidad*, until the huge four-decker lost her mainmast, her fore and mizen-masts already having gone overboard. The *Neptune* subsequently sustained the fire of Dumanoir's division, when it passed to windward of the British fleet. The *Leviathan* and *Conqueror* closely followed the *Neptune*, and while the latter raked the *Bucentaure*, the former hauled up on her lee quarter; and when the French flagship, having shortly afterwards lost her foremast, surrendered, the *Leviathan* sent a boat on board to take possession. Admiral Villeneuve and his two captains were taken on board the *Mars;* the *Conqueror* having meantime bore away to attack the *Santissima Trinidad*. This ship, which lay a hulk on the water, was eventually taken possession of by the *Prince*, which took her in tow at 5.30.

The small 64-gun ship *Africa*, being far to windward of the rest of the fleet, sustained the fire of the enemy's van ships as she came into action. At length she engaged, with great gallantry, the *Intrépide*, until relieved by the *Orion*.

The *Leviathan*, after encountering the Spanish four-decker,

hauled up to engage the French van, and at about three brought the *San Augustin* to action. The Spanish ship tried to pass ahead of the British seventy-four, but the latter poured a treble-shotted broadside into her at 50 yards' range, with terrible effect. The *San Augustin* then fell on board her opponent, and the *Leviathan's* first lieutenant, at the head of a strong boarding-party, jumped on board and carried the ship without much opposition. It is related of a seaman of the *Leviathan*, who had one of his arms shot off, that he refused to be carried below by his messmates, telling them they would be of more use at the guns, and coolly walked down to the cockpit. Arrived there he would not allow the surgeon to attend to his wound until his turn came; and during the time occupied by the amputation, which was performed close to the shoulder, the gallant fellow sang, in a clear steady voice, "Rule Britannia." Sad to say, he died in hospital at Gibraltar.

The *Orion* wore round under the stern of the *Intrépide* soon after four, and thrusting herself between that ship and the *Africa*, engaged her with such effect, that in less than a quarter of an hour she shot away the *Intrépide's* main and mizen-masts; the *Conqueror* and *Ajax* arriving up, the French commander, a little before five, was forced to surrender his gallantly-fought ship.

Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, with the van squadron, consisting of the *Formidable*, *Duguay Trouin*, *Mont Blanc*, *Scipion*, and *Neptuno*, having succeeded in hauling to the wind on the starboard tack, became engaged, about 3 p.m., with the *Ajax*, *Britannia*, *Agamemnon*, and *Orion*, as those ships were running down to participate in the action. Three of the enemy's fleet, the *Rayo*, *San Francisco de Asis*, and *Héros*, attempted to follow Dumanoir, but being unable to weather the British line, bore up, with the intention of joining Vice-Admiral Gravina in the rear; as they did so they were engaged by the *Britannia*, and other ships near her. Dumanoir's squadron, while passing to the southward, opened fire indiscriminately on the British ships and their prizes; among the latter the *Fougueux* suffered severely, losing her main and mizen-masts, and several men killed and wounded, but our ships sustained little damage or loss. The *Minotaur* and *Spartiate* heaving to, first exchanged several

broadsides with Dumanoir's squadron, and after passing th first four ships, wore and cut off the Spanish *Neptuno*. This ship they engaged, and forced her, after a brilliant defence, to haul down her colours.

Having now briefly traced the fortunes of each sail of the British fleet during this eventful day, let us turn to the central ship, the renowned *Victory*, and to the central figure on board her, the illustrious admiral, to whose foresight and genius this crowning achievement of a glorious life was due.

It was a sad but a sublime spectacle that was presented in the *Victory's* confined cockpit. Callous and unsympathetic indeed must be the Englishman who can, without emotion, read the account of Nelson's last moments, recorded by the surgeon of the *Victory*. On reaching the dusk and gloomy chamber situated in the deepest recesses of the ship, known as the cockpit, the dying hero was laid upon a midshipman's mattress, and stripped of his clothes. The surgeon then proceeded to probe the wound, which he soon ascertained to be mortal—an opinion entertained by Nelson himself from the first. His lordship suffered excruciatingly from pain and thirst, and frequently called for drink and asked to be fanned with paper. Captain Hardy, notwithstanding repeated messages from his dying chief, was unable to leave the deck; but about an hour and ten minutes after the fatal shot, he made his way through the crowded cockpit to Nelson's bedside. "They shook hands," says Dr. Beatty, "very affectionately, and Lord Nelson said, 'Well, Hardy, how goes the battle? How goes the day with us?' 'Very well, my lord,' replied Captain Hardy; 'we have got twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships in our possession, but five of their van have tacked, and show an intention of bearing down upon the *Victory*. I have therefore called two or three of our fresh ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing.' 'I hope,' said his lordship, 'none of our ships have struck, Hardy.' 'No, my lord,' replied Captain Hardy; 'there is no fear of that.' Satisfied on this point of primary importance, the admiral now spoke of himself. 'I am a dead man, Hardy. I am going fast; it will be all over with me soon.' Hardy rung his friend's hand, and, filled with grief, returned to the deck."

It was at this time that Dumanoir's squadron, passing to windward, appeared as if intent on cutting off the *Victory*, an attempt which was thwarted by the approach of the *Orion* and certain of our ships, as before described. The *Victory* also opened fire, the concussion causing great distress to his lordship, who exclaimed, "Oh, *Victory*, *Victory*, how you distract my poor brain!" Nelson's sufferings now became very acute. "He could almost wish," he said, "that he were dead." After an absence of about fifty minutes, Captain Hardy again descended to the cockpit, and shaking his admiral by the hand, congratulated him on the brilliant victory the British fleet had achieved, expressing his belief that fourteen or fifteen sail had surrendered. "That is well," replied Nelson, "but I bargained for twenty;" and then emphatically exclaimed, "Anchor, Hardy, anchor!"

"I suppose, my lord," returned the captain of the *Victory*, "that Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs."

"Not while I live, I hope, Hardy," cried the dying hero; and endeavouring ineffectually to raise himself from the bed, he exclaimed, "No! do you anchor, Hardy!"

Captain Hardy then said, "Shall we make the signal, sir?"

"Yes," answered his lordship, "for if I live I'll anchor."

Captain Hardy again returned to the deck, and a quarter of an hour later it became apparent to all round Nelson's couch that his last moments were near at hand. Duty, the ruling passion strong in death, alone animated him as he lay fainting and dying. Every breath he drew occasioned him insupportable agony, but yet his thoughts were only of how the battle progressed, and of thankfulness that he had done his duty. "I thank God I have done my duty," occasionally broke from his parched lips. They were his last words, and at half-past four his spirit passed away from its shattered tenement. We will not seek—indeed it would be presumption on our part were we to attempt the task—to eulogize the noble and unselfish character, the lofty patriotism, and the consummate genius of the dead hero. The noblest monument to his fame he reared himself. The Nile and Trafalgar are naval victories unequalled in the

world's history, and it is quite certain that they will never be surpassed.

On hearing of Nelson's death, Captain Hardy first despatched a lieutenant to Collingwood to acquaint him that his lordship had been wounded, and soon afterwards, accompanied by Captain Blackwood, he proceeded in person on board the *Royal Sovereign* to break the news of the death of the illustrious admiral. Collingwood, notwithstanding that it was Nelson's dying command, decided not to anchor. Having shifted his flag to the *Euryalus*, it was not until 9 p.m. that he signalled the fleet to prepare to anchor, of which permission the *Defence* and some other ships, including some of the prizes, availed themselves, the remainder of the fleet wearing and drifting out to sea. At the conclusion of the battle, Cape Trafalgar was in sight, about eight miles distant. The following were the enemy's ships actually in possession of the British :—

SPANISH.		FRENCH.	
Guns.		Guns.	
130	*Santissima Trinidad.*	80	*Bucentaure.*
112	*Santa Anna.*	74	*Intrépide.*
80	*Neptuno.*		*Redoutable.*
	Argonauta.		*Fougueux.*
74	*San Augustin.*		*Algesiras.*
	Monarca.		*Aigle.*
	Bahama.		*Swiftsure.*
	San Juan Nepomuceno.		*Berwick.*
	San Ildefonso.		*Achille* (which blew up).

The losses of the British fleet were very heavy. The *Victory* had 57 killed, including Lord Nelson, his secretary, the captain of marines, one lieutenant, two midshipmen, and a captain's clerk; and 102 wounded, including two lieutenants, two marine officers, and three midshipmen. The *Téméraire* lost 47 killed, among whom were two marine officers and a midshipman; also 76 wounded, including one lieutenant, a marine officer, one mate, one midshipman, and the boatswain. The *Neptune's* loss was 10 killed and 34 wounded, including the captain's clerk. The *Leviathan* had four killed and 22 wounded, including a midshipman. The *Britannia* had one lieutenant and nine men killed, and the master, a midshipman, and 40 men wounded. The *Conqueror* had two lieutenants and one man killed, and one

lieutenant, a marine officer, and seven men wounded. The *Africa* lost 18 killed and 44 wounded, including one lieutenant, a captain of marines, two mates, and three midshipmen. The *Agamemnon* had two killed and seven wounded. The *Ajax*, two killed and nine wounded. The *Orion* had only one man killed, and two midshipmen and 21 men wounded. The *Minotaur* lost three killed, and 22 wounded, including a midshipman and the boatswain. The *Spartiate* had three killed, and two midshipmen, the boatswain, and 18 men wounded. The *Royal Sovereign* had 47 killed, among whom were one lieutenant, the master, a lieutenant of marines, and two midshipmen; and 94 wounded, including two lieutenants, an officer of marines, a mate, four midshipmen, and the boatswain. The *Belleisle* had 33 killed, including two lieutenants and one midshipman, and 93 wounded, including one lieutenant, a marine officer, two mates, two midshipmen, and the boatswain. The *Mars* lost her captain, two midshipmen, and 27 men killed; and 69 wounded, including two lieutenants, the master, the captain of marines, and five midshipmen. The *Tonnant* had 26 killed, inclusive of one midshipman; and her captain, a mate, a captain's clerk, the boatswain, and 46 men wounded. The *Bellerophon* lost 27 killed, including her captain, the master, and one midshipman; and 123 wounded, among whom were the captain of marines, one mate, four middies, and the boatswain. The *Colossus* had 40 killed, including the master; and 160 wounded, including the captain, two lieutenants, a marine officer, a mate, eight midshipmen, and the boatswain. The *Achille* lost one midshipman and 12 men killed, two lieutenants, the captain and lieutenant of marines, one mate, three midshipmen, and 51 men wounded. The *Dreadnought* had seven killed and 26 wounded, including a lieutenant and two midshipmen. The *Polyphemus* lost two killed and four wounded. The *Revenge* had two midshipmen and 26 men killed; the captain, one lieutenant, the master, the captain of marines, and 47 men wounded. The *Swiftsure* lost nine killed and eight wounded, including a midshipman. The *Defiance* lost 17 killed, among whom were one lieutenant, one midshipman, and the boatswain, and 53 wounded, including the captain, two mates, and two

midshipmen. The *Thunderer* had four killed, and a mate, a midshipman, and 10 men wounded. The *Defence* lost seven killed and 29 wounded. The total casualties thus were 449 killed and 1,241 wounded.

The damages sustained by the ships of the British fleet were not less considerable, and testified to the extreme obstinacy of this the final struggle for the mastery of the ocean. The *Belleisle* was totally dismasted, the *Royal Sovereign*, *Téméraire*, and *Bellerophon* lost their main and mizen-masts; the *Victory* and *Colossus* their mizen-masts; and nearly all the others lost either topmasts, or lower or topsail-yards, in some instances the lower masts being in a tottering condition.

[Those of our readers desirous of studying the details of the battle of Trafalgar, should gain admittance, by ticket from a member, to the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall Yard, where is an admirable model of the battle, constructed at a cost of some hundreds of pounds. Here, also, are numerous most interesting relics of Nelson, including a lock of hair, a letter, his cocked hat, and pieces of the *Victory* and of her union-jack.

[In the Painted Hall at Greenwich, as is generally known, may be seen the identical coat the hero wore when he met his death, with the blood-stains and the bullet-hole in the shoulder.]

CHAPTER XXI.

1805–1807.

The Fate of the Prizes taken at Trafalgar—The Obsequies of Nelson—Rewards to the Fleet—Sir Richard Strachan's Action, 4th November, 1805—Frigate and Boat Actions during the year 1805—Sir John Duckworth's Victory off St. Domingo, 6th February, 1806—Lord Cochrane's Achievements—Frigate Actions during the year 1806—Sir John Duckworth forces the Dardanelles—Admiral Gambier's Expedition to Copenhagen—Frigate and Boat Actions during the year 1807.

DURING the whole of the 22nd October the wind blew in fresh squalls, and the 13 prizes which remained under way, closed round the *Royal Sovereign;* but now commenced a series of disasters which ended in leaving afloat only those four ships which had conformed with Nelson's dying injunctions to anchor. The *Bucentaure*, which had drifted towards the shore, was wrecked; the crew and the party of British seamen in charge, being rescued by the boats of a French frigate. It came on to blow a heavy gale from the north-west during the night of the 22nd, and the *Redoutable* foundered on the following morning, only 170 men being saved by the noble exertions of the crews of the *Téméraire* and *Swiftsure*, who lost 18 men in their endeavours to succour their late foes. The *Fougueux*, having on board 30 men of the *Téméraire* as a prize crew, drifted on shore, and was totally wrecked, with the loss of all hands except 25 men. The prize crew of the *Algesiras*, having called to their assistance their French prisoners, the latter overpowered their captors, and having rigged jury-masts, carried the ship into Cadiz harbour.

Commodore Cosmao Kerjulien, who had escaped into Cadiz, seeing the distress of the British fleet and its prizes,

put to sea in the teeth of the gale, with five sail of the line and five frigates. Collingwood formed in line with his shattered ships, and offered battle, but could not save the *Santa Anna*, and *Neptuno*, which were retaken by the frigates of the French admiral, who, however, declined to fight. It was not so easy to return to Cadiz. The *Indomptable*, 80, having on board the survivors of the *Bucentaure's* crew, in addition to her own men, in all over 1,000, was wrecked, with the loss of 900 souls; the *Rayo*, 100, rolled away her masts, and fell into the hands of Captain Pulteney Malcolm of the *Donegal*, but was wrecked, with great loss of life, 70 of the prize crew being also drowned; and the *San Francisco d'Asis*, 74, also went on shore, but her crew were happily saved.

In the ensuing night another of the prizes, the *Monarca*, drove on shore, and in the night of the 25th, the *Aigle* was also wrecked. Seeing the impossibility of saving the *Santissima Trinidad*, Collingwood was forced, with regret, to scuttle this, the largest ship in the world. On the 29th of October, the *Intrépide* was burnt by the *Britannia*, the *San Augustin* by the *Leviathan* and *Orion*, and the *Argonauta* was scuttled by the *Ajax*. To complete the tale of disaster, the *Berwick* was wrecked, and 200 of her crew perished with her, the remainder being saved by the gallant exertions of the men of the *Donegal*. Out of the eighteen prizes only four,—the *San Ildefonso*, *Bahama*, *Swiftsure*, and *San Juan Nepomuceno*, ships which, in company with the *Defence*, had ridden out the gale,—reached England in safety, and these were so shattered that they never again left port.

The body of the British fleet anchored a little to the westward of Cape Lucar, on the 28th of October, and Collingwood, finding that the wounded prisoners were far too numerous to receive proper attention, offered to send them on shore, a proposal thankfully accepted by the Spanish governor of Andalusia, who most magnanimously threw open the hospitals of Cadiz to the wounded British seamen.

The news of the victory of Trafalgar was received by the nation without exultation, for all joy at so grand a triumph was damped by the thought of the irreparable loss the country and the navy had sustained in the death of the immortal hero who had achieved it. Lord Malmesbury records

how universal was the grief. "Not one individual," he says, "felt joy at this victory, so well-timed, so complete, but first had an instinctive feeling of sorrow." Speaking of the illuminations in honour of the victory, he continues, "I never saw so little public joy; every common person in the street speaking *first* of their sorrow for *him*, and *then* of the victory." Even the imperturbable Pitt, whom no event in his long career could disturb from his high-souled equanimity, thus records his feelings: "That he had been called up at various hours in his eventful life, by the arrival of news of various hues, but that, whether good or bad, he could always lay his head on his pillow and go to sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced brought with it so much to weep over, as well as to rejoice at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was 3 o'clock in the morning."

A public funeral was accorded to the dead hero. For three days his body lay in state in the Painted Hall at Greenwich; from thence it was removed to the Admiralty, and on the 9th January, 1806, was borne to St. Paul's, beneath the dome of which princely mausoleum it lies side by side with that of the conqueror of Waterloo. The heir to the throne, all the king's sons, the ministers and the nobles of the land stood around the coffin as it was lowered into the grave; but it is recorded that the most interesting portion of the procession were the sailors of the *Victory*, the men who had stood by their admiral on that terrible October day. These gallant but untutored veterans,—who had witnessed undismayed the ravages of death, as shot and shell ploughed through the *Victory's* crowded decks, carrying off comrades and friends, and in many instances sparing their lives only at the cost of a limb,—these simple warriors could not restrain their grief; tears coursed down their weather-beaten cheeks, and sobs echoed through the building, while, as the coffin slowly disappeared for ever from their sight, they tore his flag, the union-jack of the *Victory*, to pieces, each one retaining a fragment as a memorial of his beloved chief.

Monuments have been raised to the memory of Nelson in London, and elsewhere; but the noblest is the old *Victory*, which is still carefully preserved at Portsmouth, and ever

should be as long as two planks hold together. There can be seen, marked with a plate, the spot on which the great admiral fell, the cockpit in which he breathed his last, together with portraits of him, and over the wheel, in letters of gold—the motto should be inscribed in every Englishman's heart, in not less enduring characters—his last memorable signal. On each anniversary of his triumphant death, the ship is dressed with flags, and the mastheads are crowned with garlands. Let us hope with Dr. Beatty, that "his splendid example will operate as an everlasting impulse to the enterprising genius of the British navy."

An earldom was conferred on the hero's heir, his brother. Collingwood was made a peer, with a pension of 2,000*l.* a year. Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk was made a K.B., and Captain Hardy created a baronet. The first lieutenants of the *Victory*, *Bellerophon*, and *Mars*, and the acting-captains of the *Ajax* and *Thunderer*, were promoted to the rank of post-captain; and the second, third, fourth, and flag-lieutenants of the *Victory*, the first and second lieutenants of the *Royal Sovereign*, and the first lieutenants of every ship, were made commanders. Four midshipmen of the *Victory*, three of the *Royal Sovereign*, two of the *Britannia*, and one from every other ship, were promoted to the rank of lieutenant. This was the last great naval battle of the war. Napoleon henceforth gave up all idea of wresting the sovereignty of the seas from this country, and relinquished at the same time his scheme for the invasion of England. Not even could he secure the "six hours'" command of the Channel, which he considered sufficient to ensure the success of his favourite project.

On the 2nd November, as Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, who had escaped from Trafalgar with his own ship, the *Formidable*, 80, and the seventy-fours, *Mont Blanc*, *Scipion*, and *Duguay Trouin*, was bearing up for Rochefort, he fell in with the *Phœnix*, 36, Captain Baker, which he chased. The *Phœnix* made sail to escape, firing guns, which at length attracted the attention of Commodore Sir Richard Strachan, who was cruising in those waters with a squadron. He now in turn pursued Dumanoir, who tried his utmost to escape; but about noon of the 4th, seeing the futility of such an attempt, turned to bay.

The following were the ships of the British squadron :—

Guns.		
80	*Cæsar*	Captain Sir Richard Strachan.
74	*Hero*	„ Hon. Alan Gardner.
	Namur.....	„ Lawrence Halsted.
	Courageux	„ Richard Lee.

FRIGATES.

36	*Santa Margarita*	Captain W. Rathbone.
32	*Æolus*	„ Lord William Fitzroy.
38	*Révolutionnaire* ...	„ Hon. Henry Hotham.

The *Cæsar* commenced the action by opening her larboard guns on the *Formidable*, the *Hero* and *Courageux* engaging the *Scipion* and *Mont Blanc*. A little before one, the *Cæsar* made the signal for close action, and soon afterwards the *Duguay Trouin*, which had had no antagonist, the *Namur* being a long way astern, attempted to rake the British flagship. In this she failed, and passing to leeward of the *Cæsar* and *Hero*, received a destructive fire from those ships. The French admiral now tacked with his ships, and about 1.20 p.m. Sir Richard Strachan wore after the enemy, the *Hero* and *Courageux* tacking at the same time. The *Hero* now led the line, and about two fired into the *Scipion*, which ship, having lost her main-topmast and fallen to leeward, had been engaged by the *Courageux* and the *Phœnix* and *Révolutionnaire* frigates. The *Hero* now fired into the *Formidable*, and the *Namur*, arriving up a little before three, made sail after the *Mont Blanc*. The *Cæsar*, having repaired damages, was in the act of opening fire on the *Formidable*, when the French flagship, being almost a wreck, hauled down her colours, and was taken possession of by the *Namur*. The *Duguay Trouin* and *Mont Blanc* endeavoured to form a line ahead of the *Scipion*, when the latter ship, having lost her main and mizen-masts and fore-topmast, surrendered. The two remaining French ships now tried to escape, but were overtaken by the *Hero* and *Cæsar*, and after a hot action of 20 minutes, during which they were reduced almost to wrecks, struck their colours. The battle ceased at 3.35 p.m.

The British loss was slight. The *Cæsar* had four men killed and 25 wounded. The *Hero*, one marine officer and nine men killed, and three officers and 48 men wounded. The

Courageux, one killed, and four officers and 13 men wounded. The *Namur*, four killed, and three officers and five men wounded. The frigates had five killed and 14 wounded. Total loss, 24 killed and 111 wounded.

The French suffered severely. The *Formidable* had 200 killed and wounded, including among the latter Admiral Dumanoir; the *Scipion* about the same number; *Mont Blanc*, 180; *Duguay Trouin*, 150. The *Formidable* and *Mont Blanc* had only their foremasts left standing. The prizes were taken to Plymouth, and were added to the navy. Sir Richard Strachan was rewarded with the riband of the Bath for the valour and ability displayed by him, the captains received gold medals; the first lieutenants were promoted to commanders, and the officers and men received the thanks of Parliament.

Some brilliant frigate actions were fought during the year 1805. Early in February the 16-gun brig *Curieux*, Captain Bettesworth, captured the privateer *Dame Ernouf*, of the same force, after a sanguinary action, in which the French brig lost 70 killed and wounded out of her crew of 120 men, the *Curieux* losing one officer and six men killed, and Captain Bettesworth and three men wounded, out of only 67 men and boys. Another hard-fought action, and one that reflected the highest honour to the French navy, was the engagement off Vizagapatam, between the British 36-gun frigate *San Fiorenzo*, Captain Lambert, and the *Psyche*, 32. Captain Bergeret, commanding the latter, did not surrender until he had lost out of his small complement three lieutenants and 54 men killed, and 70 officers and men wounded. The British loss also was not inconsiderable: one midshipman and 11 men were killed, and four officers and 32 wounded. Even more creditable to our seamen, because more unequal, was the conflict on the 16th February between the 32-gun frigate *Cleopatra*, Captain Sir Robert Laurie, Bart., and the French frigate *Ville de Milan*, 40, Captain Renaud. Between 2.30 p.m. and 5.15, the two ships, running parallel to each other, maintained a most desperate artillery fire at musket-shot range, until the *Cleopatra's* rudder being rendered useless by a shot, the French frigate ran into her, and after several attempts to board, which were repulsed, at length carried the British frigate by dint of over-

powering numbers. In this fiercely contested action the *Cleopatra*, out of 200 men, lost 22 killed and mortally wounded, and 36 wounded; her fore and mainmasts and her bowsprit were also shot away. The *Ville de Milan* likewise experienced heavy losses, including her captain killed; her main and mizen-masts went over the side during the night. That day week both ships were sighted by the *Leander*, 50; and being jury-rigged, were captured without firing a shot. Sir Robert Laurie was appointed to the command of the French frigate, and the first lieutenant of the *Cleopatra* was promoted to the rank of commander.

Off the island of Cuba, the *Renard*, 18-gun corvette, Captain Coghlan, engaged the French privateer *General Ernouf* (late the British brig *Lily*), and after a close action of thirty-five minutes, the *General Ernouf* blew up with the loss of upwards of 100 men. Very dashing was the service performed by Lieutenant Yeo of the 38-gun frigate *Loire*, Captain Maitland. The lieutenant, with the boats of the frigate manned with 50 men, first cut out two privateers, mounting five guns, and having on board 82 men; and on the following day (4th June), having landed with his men, stormed a 12-gun battery near Finisterre, the Spanish governor, whom he slew in a personal conflict, and 41 men being killed and wounded. The 12 guns were spiked, and part of the fort blown up, the *Loire*, in the mean time, having taken possession of the 24-gun corvette *Confiance* and the brig *Bélier*. Lieutenant Yeo, on his return to England, was promoted and given the command of the *Confiance*.

Captain Mudge of the *Blanche*, 36, made a gallant and protracted resistance against a French squadron of four ships, one a frigate of 40 guns, but was compelled to surrender, having lost 23 men killed and wounded, with six feet of water in the hold, and seven of his guns dismounted; in fact, the *Blanche* was such a total wreck, that her captors set her on fire and destroyed her the same night. Many boat actions took place during the year 1805, one of the most gallant being the capture, on 6th July, of three Spanish privateers, carrying 20 guns and 150 men, by Lieutenant Pigot and a party of officers and men of the *Cambrian*, 40. Our loss was 17 killed and wounded, in-

cluding the lieutenant, who received three musket-balls, while the Spaniards had 25 killed and 22 wounded. Mr. Pigot was very properly promoted to commander.

A strikingly gallant action was fought on the 10th August, between the *Phœnix*, 36, Captain Baker, and the *Didon*, 40, Captain Milius, who, mistaking the British frigate for a 20-gun ship he was in search of, made sure of an easy victory. Captain Baker endeavoured to engage the enemy to leeward, but, being foiled by his adversary, who displayed much skilful seamanship, ranged up to windward within pistol-shot of the *Didon*, both ships being then on the port tack. The *Didon* luffed across her adversary's stern, raking her with great effect; but a second attempt to repeat the manœuvre not succeeding, the two ships fell foul of each other, when the French seamen tried to board, but on each occasion were repulsed with slaughter. The ships having at length cleared one another, the fight proceeded until the *Didon's* foremast was shot away, when Captain Milius hauled down his colours. Out of 245 men and boys, the *Phœnix* lost 12 killed, including two officers, and 28 wounded, among whom were two midshipmen* and a lieutenant of marines. The *Didon* lost, out of a crew of 330, 27 killed and 44 wounded. She was added to the navy under the same name.

Rear-Admiral Troubridge, Nelson's friend, and one of the best officers in the navy, being sent out to the East Indies with the *Blenheim*, 74, in charge of some Indiamen, engaged single-handed and beat off the *Marengo*, 80, Admiral Linois, and *Belle Poule*, 40. Troubridge had been appointed to the command in the East Indies, but by some unaccountable blundering, the Admiralty neglected to recall the admiral in command, Sir Edward Pellew, which caused a disagreement between these two gallant officers.

At length Troubridge was recalled and appointed to the Cape of Good Hope station, and thither he repaired in

* Mr. Midshipman Curling's wound was of a very remarkable description. This young gentleman was sucking an orange with most praiseworthy *sang-froid*, when a musket-ball passed through his mouth; but his jaws being distended (thanks to the orange), the bullet entered one cheek and passed out at the other, without breaking a tooth. Mr. Phillips, another midshipman, saved the captain's life by shooting a Frenchman who was taking deliberate aim at him.

January, 1807, in company with the *Java*, a Dutch-built frigate, and the *Harrier* sloop, commanded by his son. The sloop reached the Cape in the middle of March, but the line-of-battle ship, with the noble admiral, whom Lord St. Vincent pronounced only second to Nelson, and the *Java*, were never heard of more. It is supposed they foundered, during a heavy gale, in the night of the 5th February.

On the 25th July, 1806, before his return to England, Captain Troubridge, in company with the *Greyhound*, 32, Captain Elphinstone, engaged off Macassar, and captured a Dutch 36-gun frigate and two armed ships; the latter struck to the *Harrier*, the frigate being the prize of Captain Elphinstone. Linois ultimately fell into the hands of the British, for on the 13th March, 1806, as he was approaching the Azores, on his way home with the *Marengo* and *Belle Poule*, he was chased by Sir J. B. Warren's squadron, consisting of the *London*, 98, Captain Sir Harry Neale; *Foudroyant*, 80, Captain White, and *Amazon*, 38, Captain Parker. After a smart action, the *Marengo* surrendered to the British flagship, and the *Belle Poule* to the *Amazon*. The loss on board the *London* amounted to one midshipman and nine men killed, and two officers and 20 men wounded. The *Amazon* had her first lieutenant, a marine officer, and two men killed, and five wounded. The *Marengo* lost no less than 63 killed and 82 wounded, including Admiral Linois and Captain Vrignand (both severely), a sufficient proof of the superior gunnery of British seamen; for it should be borne in mind that the broadside of a French 80-gun ship equalled that of one of our first-rates, and in the present instance the *Marengo's* broadside excelled that of the *London* by 120 lb.

Turning to the Mediterranean, we find that Sir John Duckworth joined the British fleet at Cadiz on the 15th November, 1805, and the new commander-in-chief, Lord Collingwood, detached him, on the 26th December, in pursuit of two French squadrons of 11 sail of the line and four frigates, which had sailed from Brest. Sir John Duckworth first chased the squadron of Admiral Villaumez, who had been despatched to the Cape of Good Hope with one 80-gun ship and five seventy-fours, but not overtaking him, he detached the *Powerful*, 74, to warn Sir Edward Pellew of

the approach of the French reinforcement, and then, with the rest of his squadron, proceeded to Barbadoes, which he reached on the 12th January. From Barbadoes, where he was joined by Rear-Admiral Cochrane, he sailed to St. Kitts to water and refit, when on the 3rd February he learned that a French squadron had been seen steering for St. Domingo. Thither he proceeded, and at daybreak on the 6th February, came in sight of the town of St. Domingo, off which the following ships lay at anchor :—

Guns.		
120	*Impérial*	Vice-Admiral C. N. Leisseignes. Captain Julien Bigot.
80	*Alexandre*	,, Garreau.
74	*Brave*.....	Commodore L. Condé.
	Diomède	Captain J. B. Henry.
	Jupiter	,, G. Laignel.

Frigates, *Cornète* and *Félicité*. Corvette, *Diligente*.

The British squadron consisted of the following ships :—

Guns.		
74	*Superb*.....	Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, K.B. (White). Captain Richard G. Keats.
	Northumberland...	Rear-Admiral Hon. Alexander I. Cochrane (White). Captain John Morrison.
80	*Canopus*	Rear-Admiral Thomas Louis (White). Captain Francis W. Austin.
74	*Spencer*	,, Hon. Robert Stopford.
	Donegal	,, Pulteney Malcolm.
	Atlas	,, Samuel Pym.
64	*Agamemnon*	,, Sir Edward Berry.

Frigates: *Acasta*, Captain Dunn, and *Magicienne*, Captain Mackenzie.
Sloops: *Kingfisher* and *Epervier*.

On perceiving the British squadron M. Leisseignes slipped his cables and made sail to escape. At a little after 10 a.m. the *Superb*, being the first to close with the enemy, engaged the *Alexandre*, and a few minutes later, the *Northumberland* gallantly engaged the *Impérial*. She was, without doubt, the largest ship in the world, for she mounted no less than 130 guns of large calibre, and had a crew of 1,200 men, so that she was a match for any two seventy-fours. The *Spencer* soon afterwards engaged the *Diomède*, the hostile squadrons

running before the wind at the rate of some seven knots an hour. After the third broadside, the *Alexandre* suddenly hauled to the wind on the port tack, and luffing across the bows of the *Superb*, left the *Impérial* in close action with her and the *Northumberland*. The French 80-gun ship soon attempted to rejoin her consorts, but the *Spencer*, pouring in a raking fire, the *Alexandre* wore, when the British seventy-four, hauling upon her starboard beam, brought her to close action. About half-past 10, the *Canopus* leading the lee line, crossed the bows of these two ships, and firing a broadside into the *Alexandre*, shot away her already tottering masts. The *Donegal* and *Atlas* also fired into the *Alexandre* in passing, and at 11 the ship, being a wreck, surrendered. The *Spencer*, without waiting to take possession, wore and made sail towards her consorts. The *Donegal* brought the *Brave* to close action, and caused her to strike her colours. The *Atlas* engaged the *Jupiter;* but in obedience to the admiral's signal, made sail after the *Canopus* to attack the *Impérial* and *Diomède*. The *Donegal* accordingly engaged the *Jupiter*, and, after a few broadsides, ran her on board, when she surrendered. The *Atlas*, while trying to rake the *Impérial*, fouled the *Canopus*, and afterwards became closely engaged with the *Diomède*. The French three-decker, which had been brought to action by the *Northumberland*, assisted by the *Superb* and *Canopus*, was fought with great gallantry; but having lost her main and mizen-masts, Admiral Leisseignes hauled towards the land, when the ship struck with great violence, losing her foremast.

Shortly afterwards she surrendered, having lost, by French accounts, 500 killed and wounded. The *Diomède* also ran on shore, her three masts going over the side; and thus, in less than two hours, the five line-of-battle ships were either captured or driven on shore, the frigates only escaping.

The British loss was not heavy, considering the great success achieved. The *Superb* had six killed, and one lieutenant, the master, four midshipmen, and 50 men wounded. The *Northumberland*, one midshipman and 20 men killed, and seven officers and 72 men wounded. The *Canopus*, eight officers and men killed, and 22 wounded. The *Spencer*, the boatswain and 17 men killed, and Captain Stopford,

three officers, and 46 men wounded. The *Donegal*, one midshipman and 11 men killed, and the master, three midshipmen, and 29 men wounded. The *Atlas* lost eight killed, and the master, boatswain, and nine wounded. The *Agamemnon*, which came up when all was nearly over, had only one man killed and 13 wounded. The total casualties were 74 killed and 264 wounded.

The *Northumberland* lost her mainmast, the *Donegal* her foreyard, and the *Atlas* her bowsprit. The *Impérial* and *Diomède*, being bilged and becoming total wrecks, were set on fire; and the other three prizes were taken to Jamaica.

Admiral Villaumez had little better fortune than his brother officer, M. Leisseignes. One of his frigates, *Le Volontaire*, 46, sailed into the Cape of Good Hope, not knowing of its surrender, and was captured by a British squadron lying there. The admiral then proceeded to the West Indies, where one of his ships, *L'Impétueux*, 74, was driven ashore in a gale, and destroyed by the *Melampus*, the three others being closely blockaded by a British squadron, until the crews themselves destroyed two of the number. Finally only three ships of his whole squadron returned to France.

The achievements of Lord Cochrane, after his return from incarceration in a French prison, form one of the most remarkable chapters in this long and glorious war. Appointed to the command of a small frigate, the *Pallas*, 38, he became the dread of the French and Spanish mercantile marines, and sent his prizes into Plymouth in rapid succession, laden with all sorts of treasures, ranging from ingots or dollars, to church plate and bales of Papal bulls and dispensations for eating on fast days. On 5th April the boats of his ships boarded and captured *La Tapageuse*, corvette, carrying 14 guns and 95 men. During the absence of these boats, two 20-gun corvettes, and a 16-gun brig, bore down upon the *Pallas*, upon which Lord Cochrane, with his accustomed hardihood, though having only 40 men on board, chased and drove all three vessels ashore. After this he worked up and down the coast for some weeks, capturing trading vessels, and destroying batteries and semaphores. On the 14th May, Lord Cochrane, while in company with the *Kingfisher*, corvette, stood in towards Aix Roads, and having

arrived within two miles of the battery on that island, shortened sail, so as to induce the French admiral to attack him. M. Allemand sent out *La Minerve*, 40, with three brigs, when the gallant captain of the *Pallas*, nothing daunted, first disabled one of the brigs, and then, by the display of some brilliant seamanship, getting to windward of the *Minerve*, opened fire with his 12-pounders, and after engaging the shore battery and the frigate for some time, determined to carry the latter by boarding. Putting his helm a-weather, he ran into her with such force as to bring down his own fore-topmast, carry away jib, and fore and main-topsail-yards, and otherwise reduced the *Pallas* almost to a wreck. The two ships then separated; but Cochrane was bent on making the *Minerve* his prize, when two more frigates came out from Aix harbour, and his lordship was compelled to retreat. The *Kingfisher*, 16 guns, Captain George Seymour (the late Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Seymour), bearing down, took the *Pallas* in tow, and Lord Cochrane soon afterwards returned to England to repair damages.

Commodore Sir Samuel Hood did good service, while in command of a squadron of six sail of the line, off Rochefort. On 15th July, 12 boats of the squadron cut out from the mouth of the Gironde, with great gallantry, the 16-gun brig *Cæsar*, with the heavy loss of 11 officers and men killed, and 40 wounded. On the 25th, Sir Samuel Hood fell in with five large French frigates, and captured four of them, after a spirited resistance, during which the *Monarch*, *Centaur*, and *Mars*, not being able to open their lower-deck ports, owing to the heavy weather, suffered severely in rigging and spars, and lost seven officers and men killed, and 30 wounded, including the commodore, whose arm was shattered. On the previous 27th July, the *Mars*, then commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir Robert) Oliver, after a chase of 150 miles, captured the *Rhin*, 44-gun frigate. In the successful military operations under Sir David Baird, that resulted early in the year in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, the navy, under Sir Home Popham, earned distinction, as it did likewise in the Mediterranean, under Sir Sydney Smith and Commodore Hoste, who took part in the operations resulting from General Stuart's victory at Maida, in Calabria.

Among actions fought between single ships, the most remarkable were the capture of the 16-gun brigs *Phœton* and *Voltigeur* by the *Pique*, 36, Captain Ross, in which, while boarding the former, the master and eight men were killed, and three lieutenants and 11 men wounded; the capture, near Cività Vecchia, by the *Sirius*, 36, Captain Prowse, of the *Bergère*, 18, and dispersion of a flotilla mounting 78 guns, in which gallant affair one officer and eight men were killed, and three officers and 18 men wounded; the unavailing resistance of the armed East-Indiaman *Warren Hastings*, maintained for several hours against the 40-gun frigate *Piémontaise*, during which the Indiaman had her mizen-mast shot away, and 20 officers and men killed and wounded; the capture of the *Guerrière*, 40, by the *Blanche*, 38, Captain Lavie (who was knighted), in which the French frigate lost 20 killed and 30 wounded; the action near the Havannah, between the Spanish frigate *Pomona*, 34, and the *Arethusa*, 38, Captain Brisbane, when the Spaniard hauled down her colours, after 35 minutes' hot fighting, with a loss of 20 killed and 30 wounded, that of the British frigate being 32 killed and wounded; at the same time the *Anson*, 44, Captain Lydiard, sank or drove on shore 10 gunboats, and silenced a battery; and the capture, in Batavia Roads, of a Dutch 36-gun frigate by the *Caroline*, 36, Captain Rainier, with the loss of 21 killed and wounded.*

Urged on by the intrigues of Napoleon's special envoy, General Sebastiani, the Turkish Government, in December, 1806, declared war against Russia, with which power we made common cause, though, indeed, the Czar had forestalled the Sublime Porte, by invading what are now known as the Danubian Principalities. Under instructions from home, Lord Collingwood despatched Sir John Duckworth, with a squadron, to coerce the Sultan; at Tenedos, the vice-admiral was joined by Admiral Louis, and, on the following day, the 11th February, weighed and stood towards the Dardanelles, a strait upwards of 30 miles in length, and so narrow

* The prize was re-named the *Java*, and, when under the command of Captain Pigot, was lost in the following year (as already related), in company with the *Blenheim*, 74, the flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge.

that it was commanded by the Turkish batteries on either shore. Contrary winds at first prevented the admiral from entering the Dardanelles, and when, after a delay of eight days, he proceeded to force a passage, the defences, which consisted of three pairs of forts situated on either side, had been considerably strengthened. During this delay the *Ajax*, 74, Captain Blackwood, unfortunately took fire on the 14th February, and was lost, with 250 of her men. On the 19th, the squadron, consisting of the following ships, passed the Dardanelles, exposed to a heavy cannonade of stone shot from the Turkish forts and batteries.

Guns.		
80	*Canopus*	Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis. Captain Shortland.
74	*Repulse*	,, Hon. Arthur Legge.
100	*Royal George* ...	Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth (White). Captain Dunn.
98	*Windsor Castle*...	,, Boyles.
64	*Standard*	,, Harvey.
Bomb	*Meteor* (in tow)	,, Collins.
80	*Pompée*	Rear-Admiral Sir Sydney Smith. Captain Richard Dacres.
Bomb	*Lucifer* (in tow)	,, Elliott.
74	*Endymion*.....	,, Hon. Thomas Capel.
38	*Active*	,, Mowbray.

The cannonade from the castles of Sestos and Abydos, at the narrowest point, was very heavy, but the main body of the fleet passed on, while Sir Sydney Smith with a few ships attacked and drove on shore a Turkish squadron lying under the redoubt on Port Pesquies, mounting 31 guns. This work, together with the ships, was destroyed, and the rear-admiral then rejoined Sir John Duckworth. The entire loss hitherto had been 10 killed and 78 wounded. Having refitted his ships, Sir John proceeded, and arrived within eight miles of Constantinople on the 20th February. Instead of attacking the city, as Nelson, or even Duckworth himself would have done, had he not been hampered by the presence and advice of Mr. Arbuthnot, our ambassador at the Porte, precious time was wasted in despatching menacing letters. At length, finding that the defences of the capital had meanwhile been so strengthened that an attack was out of the question, the admiral resolved to retrace his steps while it yet lay in his power to do so.

Accordingly the fleet weighed on the 3rd March, and ran the gauntlet of the forts, suffering severely from the heavy guns which opened on them along the whole line of the Dardanelles from numerous fresh redoubts and batteries. Many ships sustained serious injury, the heavy stone shot that penetrated their sides weighing in some instances no less than 800 lb., and measuring 26 inches in diameter. The total loss during this cannonade, which, be it said, was well responded to by the British ships, amounted to 29 killed and 138 wounded, among whom were 25 officers.

On the 9th July, 1807, the famous Treaty of Tilsit was signed between the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon; and one of its secret clauses requiring Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark to close their harbours against all British vessels, and place their fleets at the disposal of France, the English Government promptly despatched Admiral Gambier to Copenhagen, with 17 sail of the line, besides 21 frigates and smaller vessels, escorting an army of upwards of 20,000 men, under General Lord Cathcart. On the 14th August, the Danish king quitted his capital, intrusting its defence to Major-General Peiman; and, as the latter refused to surrender the fleet to the British commanders, preparations were at once made to coerce the Danish Government.

The Trekronen batteries at this time mounted 68 guns, besides mortars, the citadel 20 guns and four mortars, and the arsenal batteries 50 guns and 12 mortars: to work these guns and man the defences there were some 12,000 soldiers. In front of the harbour were a 64-gun ship and upwards of 30 gunboats and floating batteries; while in the arsenal were 16 sail of the line and 21 frigates, and three seventy-fours were on the stocks. The operations that ensued were chiefly conducted by the army, the moving spirit being, as at the famous bombardment of Copenhagen by Nelson, the second in command, Sir Arthur Wellesley, destined to rival the great naval hero, and ultimately to repose by his side under the dome of St. Paul's. While advancing on the capital, the *Comus*, 22, Captain Heywood, captured, after a spirited action, the 32-gun frigate *Frederickscoarn*. Much time was occupied by the land forces in constructing the necessary works for the guns, but at length, on the 2nd September, the batteries and mortar-vessels opened fire on

the city; and so effectually were the siege operations conducted that on the 5th General Peiman sent out a flag of truce, and on the 7th September the treaty was signed, by which the Danish fleet of 18 sail of the line, 15 frigates, and upwards of 30 smaller vessels, were surrendered to our commanders. During these successfully-conducted operations the army lost 42 killed, 25 missing, and 145 wounded; the navy only 14 killed and 30 wounded; while the Danish losses amounted to above 1,750. Only four of the captured ships of the line were found to be fit for service; but the vast naval stores, which filled 92 transports, formed a valuable prize. The thanks of Parliament were voted to the army and navy. Admiral Gambier was raised to the peerage; Lord Cathcart created a peer of the United Kingdom; Vice-Admiral Stanhope, Lieut.-General Burrard, and Major-General Bloomfield made baronets; and Captain Collier, of the *Surveillance* frigate, who brought home the despatches, was knighted.

The Danish West India islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix fell into our hands; and one of the most gallant actions of the war was the capture of the Danish settlement at Curaçoa, on the 1st January, by a British squadron of four frigates—the *Arethusa*, 38, Captain Charles Brisbane; the *Latona*, 38, Captain Wood; *Anson*, 44, Captain Lydiard; and the *Fisgard*, 38, Captain Bolton. The entrance to the harbour of Curaçoa is only fifty fathoms wide, while Fort Amsterdam, the chief work forming its defence, mounted 60 guns; there were also in the harbour the 36-gun frigate *Halstaar* and 20-gun corvette *Surinam*. Soon after daylight, the squadron anchored close to the forts and shipping, the "saucy" *Arethusa* bringing-to with her jib-boom over the wall of the town. As a summons to surrender in "five minutes" was not complied with, the squadron opened fire at 6.15 a.m., and after the third broadside Captain Brisbane, at the head of his men, boarded and carried the Dutch frigate, Captain Lydiard at the same time capturing the *Surinam*. Pulling ashore, the two gallant officers led their men against Fort Amsterdam, and, though it was manned with 270 soldiers, the sailors scaled the walls, and in ten minutes the British flag was floating over this formidable work. Fire was now opened on Fort République, which

was situated on a high hill, and commanded the town; and before noon, this and other smaller forts, together with the entire island, were in the hands of Captain Brisbane. The British loss was only 17, while the Danes had 200 killed and wounded. Captain Brisbane was deservedly knighted for this most glorious achievement, and the three other captains received medals, the first lieutenants being promoted to commanders.

The navy, under Commodore Sir Home Popham, took part in the expedition against Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, though they were only engaged in the successful part, and had no share in the disastrous termination of the enterprise.

In this year, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, with two seventy-fours and some frigates and sloops, worked up the river Sourabaya, in the island of Java, and, after silencing some batteries at Madura, forced the Dutch to surrender two ships of the line, a frigate, and some guns and military stores at Gressie.

The list of frigate and boat actions during the year 1807, and indeed until the termination of the war, is too lengthy even for the most cursory notice. We must not omit, however, to chronicle the dashing courage with which the boats of the *Galatea*, containing five officers and 70 seamen and marines, under the command of Lieutenant Coombe, boarded and carried the 16-gun brig *Lynx*, having on board 161 men. After a pull of seven long hours, Mr. Coombe, who had a wooden leg, led the assault in his barge; a desperate struggle ensued, but, notwithstanding that the boarders were three times driven back into their boats, and that the brig fired grape-shot as well as musketry with fatal effect, the determined valour of the British seamen prevailed. The *Lynx* was carried with a loss of one lieutenant and eight men killed, and 22 wounded, the French brig losing 14 killed and 20 wounded. Lieutenant Coombe, who was severely wounded in the thigh, was promoted, and received the command of the prize, which was re-named the *Heureux*. Unhappily the country soon lost the services of this dashing officer, for on the 28th November, 1808, Captain Coombe was killed by a 24-pounder shot from a land battery, after he had, with only 19 men, cut out of the harbour of Mahant,

in Guadaloupe, a schooner carrying two guns and 39 men. The hero expired, exclaiming, "I die contented—I die for my country."

The boats of the *Spartan*, 38, Captain Jahleel Brenton, were not equally fortunate in an attempt to carry a heavily-armed polacre ship, and lost, out of 70 hands engaged, no less than 63 officers and men killed and wounded, among the former being the first and second lieutenants. As gallant, and more successful, were the seamen of the *Hydra*, 38, Captain Mundy, in an attempt to cut out three large privateers from under the protection of a battery of four 20-pounder guns placed on a cliff commanding the small harbour of Begur, on the coast of Catalonia. Three boats' crews first landed, and, scaling the cliff, stormed the battery, and then proceeded to seize the privateers, the crews of which had meantime made for the shore, whence they kept up a heavy fire on the *Hydra's* men, as the latter warped out the captured vessels: these were the ship *Eugène*, of 16 guns and 130 men, and the brigs *Caroline*, 12 guns and 40 men, and *Rosario*, four guns and 40 men.

On the 31st August, 1807, the island of Heligoland capitulated to a British force, the naval portion of which was commanded by Vice-Admiral Russell, and in December the Madura island surrendered to Sir Samuel Hood's squadron. One of the most brilliant feats of the war was the capture, off Barbadoes, on the 1st October, of the privateer *Jeune Richard*, seven guns, and having a crew of 92 men, by the packet *Windsor Castle*, mounting eight small guns, with only 28 men. After a desperate conflict, Captain Rogers of the packet, boarded and carried the privateer, with a loss of 13 men, that of his adversary amounting to no less than 21 killed and 33 wounded.

CHAPTER XXII

1808–1809.

Operations against the Russian Fleet in the Baltic—Frigate and Boat Actions during the year 1808—Lord Cochrane's Action in the Basque Roads, 11th April, 1809—The Walcheren Expedition—Frigate and Boat Actions during the year 1809.

In the year 1808 among our enemies we counted the great Northern power, which had concluded the famous Treaty of Tilsit with France; but, on the other hand, we found ourselves allied with our ancient foe, Spain, driven into our arms by the insatiable ambition of Napoleon, who had placed his brother Joseph on the throne.

Collingwood continued in command of the Mediterranean fleet, and Ganteaume, the French commander-in-chief, though in strong force, only ventured to sea from Toulon, in order to throw supplies and troops into Corfu, returning to Toulon in April, where he remained inactive till the end of the year.

On the outbreak of the war with Russia, Sir James Saumarez was sent with a fleet of 11 sail of the line to the Baltic, but no general engagement took place. The admiral sent his second in command, Sir Samuel Hood, with his own ship, the *Centaur*, and the *Implacable*, 74, Captain Byam Martin, to join the Swedish squadron, and the only fighting that took place was between these ships and the Russian fleet. The *Implacable* engaged the *Sewolod*, 74, and after a smart action, compelled her to strike, but was unable to take possession, as the Russian admiral, Hanikoff, bore down to the rescue. The enemy proceeded to the harbour of Rogerswick, and the *Sewolod* taking the ground, Sir Samuel Hood ran on board her, and lashing the bowsprit of the Russian seventy-four to his mizen rigging, compelled her a second time to strike her colours. Other Russian ships now ad-

vanced, and the prize being immovable, with her hold half-full of water, she was set on fire and destroyed, after all the prisoners and wounded had been removed. The total number of casualties in the *Implacable* amounted to six killed and 26 wounded; in the *Centaur*, three killed and 27 wounded; while the *Sewolod* had 43 killed and 80 wounded in her first action, and after having received a reinforcement of 100 men, lost 180 more in the engagement with the *Centaur*.

Thus the British man-o'-war's-man showed his invincibility when pitted against the seaman of any other nation. Russian, Spaniard, Dane, and Frenchman all alike came off second-best in an encounter with him. Sir James Saumarez blockaded the Russian fleet in Rogerswick, but on the approach of winter, returned to England, leaving Rear-Admiral Keats in command.

By the terms of the famous Convention of Cintra, in Portugal, Sir Hew Dalrymple permitted the escape of a French army, and the officers and men of a squadron of nine sail were conveyed in British transports to Russia, though their ships were surrendered to Sir Charles Cotton, the British admiral, who would not permit them to be released according to Junot's demand. In this year, 1808, British seamen displayed their prowess also against Turkish sailors. On the 5th July, the 38-gun frigate *Sea-horse*, Captain Stewart, engaged in the Levant the *Badere Saffer*, 52 guns and 543 men, and also the *Fezan*, 24 guns and 230 men. Every attempt of the enemy to board was eluded by skilful seamanship, while an equally scientific display of gunnery caused the smaller vessel to fly after she had sustained great damage, and resulted in the surrender of the *Badere Saffer*. The carnage on board of her was terrible. No less than 170 men were killed and 200 wounded, while the ship was reduced to a perfect wreck, and her hull so shattered, that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. The *Sea-horse*, thanks to the consummate skill with which she was handled, lost only four killed and 10 wounded.

Equally successful, but more sanguinary as regards our losses, was the action between the 36-gun frigate *Amethyst*, Captain Michael Seymour, and the French 40-gun frigate *Thetis*, Captain Pinsun. After an engagement in which every

attempt of the enemy to rake his ship failed, while Captain Seymour succeeded in sweeping the decks of the *Thetis* with terrible effect, the French captain tried to board; but just as his men were on the point of jumping on to her decks, a heavy and well-directed broadside cleared the *Thetis*' forecastle. Now muzzle to muzzle the two ships fought until after midnight, when the French fire was silenced, and the frigate boarded and taken possession of. The *Amethyst* had been repeatedly set on fire, had lost her mizen-mast, and out of a crew of 261 men and boys, had 20 officers and men killed and 50 wounded. The *Thetis* had lost even more heavily. Out of 436 men, including 106 soldiers, with whom she had commenced the action, she had her captain and 133 men killed and 102 wounded. Her rigging and sails were cut to pieces, her mizen-mast shot away, and her fore and mainmasts badly wounded. The first lieutenant of the *Amethyst* was deservedly promoted to commander.

Numberless were the feats of arms performed by British seamen during the year, but they were thrown into the shade from this date, until the peace of 1815, by the more imposing achievements of the army, which, under the generalship of Wellington, displayed the traditional valour of the British soldier.

We must not, however, omit to mention the action between the French 40-gun frigate *Piémontaise* and the *San Fiorenzo*, 36, commanded by Captain Hardinge, whose gallant capture of the Dutch brig *Atalante*, by the boats of the *Scorpion* in 1804, we have already described. After a two days' action off Cape Comorin, the *Piémontaise* struck her colours, having lost, out of a crew of 566 men, 48 killed and 112 wounded. The *San Fiorenzo*, which commenced the action with only 186 men and boys, had to deplore the loss of her gallant and chivalrous captain, and 12 men killed and 25 wounded. All three masts of the prize fell over the side a few days after the action. Not less spirited was the attempt of the *Terpsichore*, mounting 26 guns, to capture the *Semillante*, 36; after an engagement, which was renewed on the second day, the French frigate succeeded in escaping. The *Terpsichore* lost one lieutenant and 20 men killed and 22 wounded, chiefly through an explosion of some cartridge-boxes on the main deck, which

also set the ship on fire. Very gallant were the services performed on the coast of Spain by the seamen of the *Emerald*, 38, Captain Frederick Maitland, who stormed two forts, mounting respectively eight and five 24-pounders, 22 men being killed and wounded; and by the frigates *Alceste*, 38, Captain Maxwell, *Mercury*, 28, Captain James Gordon, and *Grasshopper*, 18-gun brig, Captain Searle, which destroyed or cut out nine gunboats at the entrance of Cadiz, and in sight of 11 sail of the line. About three weeks later, Captain Searle, whose dashing conduct on this occasion excited the admiration of his countrymen in the two frigates, and elicited the warmest encomiums from Captain Maxwell in his official report, while cruising off Faro, on the coast of Portugal, in company with the 14-gun brig *Rapid*, Lieutenant Baugh, engaged four gunboats, and a battery under which they had taken protection, and after a severe action of two and a half hours, drove on shore two of the gunboats, and compelled the remainder to surrender.

The navy and the country sustained in April of this year a great loss in the untimely death of Captain Conway Shipley. This gallant officer, when in command of the *Comus*, 22, had greatly distinguished himself by his exploits against the Spaniards in the Canary Islands and elsewhere. Having obtained information that the 20-gun brig *Garotta* was lying above Belem Castle ready for sea, he proceeded to cut her out with the boats of his ship, the *Nymphe*, 36, and of the *Blossom*, 18, Captain Pigot. The eight boats, carrying 150 officers and men, proceeded to the entrance of the Tagus, and about 2.30 in the morning, having got within hail of the brig, which was moored close under the guns of Belem Castle, orders were given to cast off and proceed to board. Captain Shipley was the first to spring into the fore-rigging of the *Garotta*, and was in the act of cutting away the boarding netting, when he received a musket-ball in the forehead, and fell dead into the river. After his death the attempt to carry the brig failed, the boats fouling one another. Captain Bettesworth, of the 32-gun frigate *Tartar*, also fell a victim to his gallantry while engaged with a Danish schooner and five gunboats, which, however, were either sunk or driven under the batteries of Bergen. Four

Danish gunboats were more successful in an attack upon the 14-gun brig *Tickler*, Lieutenant Skinner in command, which was compelled to surrender, after losing 36 men out of her small crew of 50 hands.

Several other severe actions were fought with Danish gunboats. In one instance, the 16-gun brig *Seagull* fought a most gallant but unequal battle with the *Longen*, of 20 guns, and six gunboats, each armed with two heavy guns. After an engagement which lasted for three hours, the *Seagull*, being almost unrigged and with five guns dismounted, was forced to surrender, having lost, out of a crew of 94 men, her second lieutenant, master, and six men killed, and her captain (severely), first lieutenant (dangerously), and 18 men wounded. The combined crews of the Danish vessels numbered 220 men; but a more convincing proof of the pertinacity of the defence was afforded by the foundering of the *Seagull* immediately after the action. Her commander, Cathcart, was promoted to post rank. On one occasion the *Africa*, 64, Captain Barrett, when convoying 137 vessels from Carlscrona, was attacked off Malmo by 25 large Danish gunboats and seven armed launches, carrying 80 heavy guns and upwards of 1,600 men. It being a dead calm, these craft were able to take up positions on the bow and quarter of the *Africa*, and keep up a heavy fire upon her with comparative impunity, as she could only reply with her bow and stern-chasers. Captain Barrett, who was wounded, fought his ship until nightfall, when the gunboats retired; but the British loss amounted to nine killed and 53 wounded, and the ship was almost disabled. The officers and men of the *Porcupine*, 22, Captain the Hon. H. Duncan, greatly distinguished themselves on the coast of Italy, in cutting-out expeditions, though this desperate description of warfare cost them considerable loss on more than one occasion. Brave to rashness was the attempt made by three boats of the *Circe*, 32, to carry the 16-gun brig *Cigne*. In this desperate affair, Lieutenant Crooke, commanding the boats, was wounded in four places; and out of 68 men who accompanied him, only 12 returned unhurt. The *Cigne* was, however, boarded and captured on the following day by the boats of the *Amaranthe*, led by Lieutenant Hay, in company with those of the *Circe* and

Stork, 18-gun corvette. An ill-judged attempt on the part of Captain Crofton, of the *Wanderer*, 18, to storm some French batteries in the island of St. Martin, having a garrison of 900 men, met with the failure that might have been anticipated. To undertake this duty, Captain Crofton landed 135 sailors under command of a gallant young officer, Lieutenant Spearing, who was killed, together with six of his men, 30 also being wounded. Not less gallant, though equally unsuccessful, was the defence made off the island of Mauritius, by the *Laurel*, 22, Captain Woolcombe, having a crew of 144 men, against the *Canonnière*, 48 guns, with a complement of 350 hands. The same eulogium may be passed on the 18 brave fellows who fought the little 4-gun schooner *Rook* against two French privateers, carrying 12 and 10 guns, until the commander was killed, and the mate and 13 men mortally or severely wounded. Worthy of honourable mention were the efforts of the officers and crew of the 14-gun brig *Maria*, who, though numbering only 65 souls, engaged a French 22-gun ship, with a crew of 160 men. The *Maria* struck, after losing 15 men, including her gallant commander, Lieutenant Bennett; but her captors had to run her ashore to prevent her sinking. These defences were not less honourable than the most brilliant victories, for the British officers and seamen who took part in them never dreamt of surrendering until they had fought the battle out, even though success was absolutely unattainable.

The year 1809 was one of great successes for our navy. Lord Collingwood's last service to his country was the despatch of a squadron of six sail of the line under Rear-Admiral Martin, to effect the destruction of a convoy of storeships, and of the *Lion* and *Robuste*, 80, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Baudin, which were forced to run ashore, when they were so greatly injured that their crews set them on fire. Following up this success, Collingwood sent Captain Hallowell to Rosas, where the remaining portion of the large fleet of transports that had sailed from Toulon under Admiral Ganteaume, had taken shelter. The boats of the *Tigre*, *Cumberland*, *Apollo*, *Topaze*, *Volontaire*, *Scout*, and *Tuscan*, under the command of Lieutenant Tailour, first lieutenant of the *Tigre*, boarded and carried four armed ships and a

felucca, in spite of a desperate resistance, and in face of a heavy fire from the Castle of Rosas and other batteries, and from a large party of soldiers who lined the beach. By daylight of the 1st November, 11 French vessels were either brought off or burnt at their moorings. The British loss on this occasion was 15 killed, including two officers, and 55 wounded, among whom were nine officers. Lieutenant Tailour, who was among the latter, was promoted to the rank of commander. Shortly before this, the Ionian Islands fell into our hands almost without firing a shot; the chief loss sustained being at the capture of the small island of Cerigo, at the southern extremity of the Morea. In the spring of 1810, Lord Collingwood was forced by ill health to relinquish his command to Rear-Admiral Martin, but, animated by the purest patriotism, he had delayed his return to his native country until remedial measures were too late. The gallant and much-beloved admiral, the friend and successor of Nelson, who had continuously served on board ship for six years, expired on the 9th March, the day after he sailed from Minorca. Lord Gambier had been blockading Admiral Villaumez at Brest, during the winter of 1808–9, but the British fleet being driven off the coast by a gale, the latter put to sea, with eight sail of the line and two frigates. Three 40-gun frigates which tried to join him off L'Orient, were driven on shore and destroyed by Rear-Admiral Hon. Robert Stopford's squadron of three sail of the line and one frigate. Proceeding southward, Villaumez reached the Basque Roads, where he was blockaded by the combined squadrons of Lord Gambier, Admiral Stopford, and Commodore Beresford, numbering 11 sail of the line, a force only equalling that of the French admiral. The Admiralty determined to destroy the enemy's fleet by fireships, and, taking advantage of the presence at Plymouth of Lord Cochrane, who had just arrived from off the French coast, they sent for his lordship to London, and notwithstanding the objections he urged, with becoming modesty, to undertake the duty when so many senior officers were with the fleet, he at length consented at the repeated solicitations of Lord Mulgrave (first Lord of the Admiralty in the Duke of Portland's Government). Cochrane was not wrong in his fear that jealousy would be aroused by his

appointment to carry out an undertaking which had been proposed by Lord Gambier's second in command, Admiral Harvey, a gallant admiral, who had carried the *Téméraire* through the thickest of the fight at Trafalgar. So enraged was this officer, that on the quarter-deck of Lord Gambier's flagship, he expressed his views on the slur thus cast upon him, in such intemperate language, imputing actual cowardice to his lordship, that he was brought to a court-martial and dismissed the service, though he was afterwards restored. As some delay took place in the arrival of the fireships, eight of the 30 transports then in company, and the *Mediator*, storeship, were fitted out, and three explosion-vessels were equipped under Lord Cochrane's immediate supervision. Soon after the *Etna*, bomb, the fireships, and a transport laden with congreve rockets, and having Mr. Congreve on board, arrived from England. About this time Villaumez was succeeded by Admiral Allemand, who placed his ships in double line, close to the island of Aix, with three frigates about 700 yards in advance. At a distance of 110 yards in front of these and across the channel leading from Basque Roads to the anchorage, he moored by heavy anchors, a boom, half a mile in length, composed of the largest cables floated by buoys and spars. The broadsides of the French ships of the line, consisting of one 120-gun ship, two of 80 guns, seven of 74, and the *Calcutta*, 50, bore upon this boom, while the shore batteries protecting the anchorage mounted upwards of 30 heavy guns, besides mortars.

On the 11th April, Lord Cochrane, in the *Impérieuse*, 38, anchored at the edge of the Boyart Shoal, about two and a half miles from the French fleet, the *Aigle*, 36, Captain Wolfe; *Unicorn*, 36, Captain Hardyman, and *Pallas*, 32, Captain George Seymour, anchoring close by, in order to receive the crews of the fireships on their return, and to support the boats of the fleet appointed to accompany them.

The other 10 frigates, brigs, and bomb-vessels also took up their positions near the shoal. It was about 8.30, on a dark night, the wind blowing strong from the north-west, and with a strong tide, that Lord Cochrane in person led the fireships to the attack in the *Mediator*, the largest of the three explosion-vessels. Each of these latter contained 1,500 barrels of powder, having on the top more than 300

live shells, and thousands of hand grenades. It was a desperate service.

Lord Cochrane, accompanied by Lieutenant Bissel and four seamen, remained in the *Mediator* till the last moment, and kindled the port-fires with his own hand before descending into the boat. The effect of the explosion was prodigious, and the scene that ensued one of the grandest that can be conceived. The sea was convulsed as by an earthquake, and nearly swamped Lord Cochrane's boat, though his men had been pulling hard for seven or eight minutes in an opposite direction. Shells, grenades, and fragments of wreck were hurled to vast distances, falling among the French ships, though half a mile off. The huge boom was shaken, the pieces of spars of which it was composed being sent adrift. The fireships were unfortunately not well managed; some were fired too soon, others drifted harmlessly away, and only four reached the enemy's position. The French seamen were seized with consternation, as these burning masses bore down upon them, and the cables of all the ships were slipped or cut, with the exception of that of the *Foudroyant*. At midnight 13 French ships were aground, and the entire fleet was helpless, with the exception of the *Foudroyant*, 80, and *Cassard*, 74, which had brought up. At 6 o'clock Lord Cochrane signalled the admiral from the *Impérieuse*, that "Half the fleet can destroy the enemy," and later that the frigates alone could destroy them; but valuable time was lost, and the French, by throwing overboard their guns and stores, and taking advantage of the rising of the tide, were enabled to get afloat again. Seeing that Lord Gambier only brought his ships nearer the scene of action to anchor again some six miles from the enemy, Cochrane, filled with indignation and disgust at such over-caution, or rather pusillanimity, got under weigh about 1 p.m. in the *Impérieuse*, and without any orders dropped down, with the tide, towards the enemy. In the vain hope of inducing the commander-in-chief to send aid, he signalled, a little later, that his ship was in distress and required immediate assistance, and forthwith engaged the *Calcutta* and two seventy-fours, the *Ville de Varsovie* and *Aquilon*, which were aground. At 2 o'clock, Lord Gambier sent to Cochrane's aid the seventy-fours *Valiant* and *Revenge*, and five frigates, and when, an

hour and a half later, these ships arrived on the scene of action, the *Calcutta* had already been abandoned by her crew, and taken possession of by an officer from the *Impérieuse*. Before dusk both the *Aquilon* and the *Ville de Varsovie* struck, and the crew of the *Tonnerre*, 74, setting fire to her, made their escape in the boats. The *Ocean*, 120, *Cassard*, *Regulus*, *Jemappes*, and *Tourville*, were all aground, with their crews deserting them, and though Captain Bligh, of the *Valiant*, signalled that they might easily be destroyed, the admiral ordered the advanced ships to be recalled. The signal was not obeyed that night; but on its being repeated the following morning, it was complied with, the *Aquilon* and *Ville de Varsovie* being first set on fire. Lord Cochrane, who had passed the night refitting his ship, which had suffered considerably in her encounter with the *Calcutta*, was preparing, in conjunction with Captain Seymour of the *Pallas*, and four brigs which followed her gallant example, to attack not only the ships aground, but the *Foudroyant*, 80, and *Cassard*, 74, which had got afloat again, when he received a letter from the admiral ordering his return in such peremptory terms that he could no longer refuse compliance. On Lord Cochrane's retiring, the French crews returned to their ships, which were warped off. Thus the British commander-in-chief saved the French squadron from destruction at the hands of Lord Cochrane.

On the following day the *Impérieuse* sailed for England, having on board Sir Harry Neale, with Lord Gambier's despatches. The Ministry, having determined to propose a vote of thanks to the admiral, his officers, and men, Lord Cochrane, in his capacity of member of Parliament, signified his intention to oppose the resolution. Lord Gambier, accordingly, demanded a court-martial, the verdict of which was an honourable acquittal of the admiral on all the points at issue. Public and professional opinion was at the time much divided as to the merits of the question, most of the officers examined, acquitting Lord Gambier of incapacity, and though the uncertain currents and variable winds, coupled with the imperfect knowledge of the shoals in the Basque Roads, formed the best excuse for the want of enterprise displayed by the admiral, it is certain that a Nelson would have made light of such difficulties. The result was that the vote of thanks

was carried in the House of Commons, and Lord Cochrane, whose conduct alone merited such a compliment, became a marked man, and after he resigned command of the *Impérieuse*, could never again obtain employment afloat.

The Ministry, having resolved on an expedition for the purpose of attacking Antwerp and Flushing, where Napoleon had a squadron of 10 sail-of-the-line with an arsenal and dockyard, fitted out a powerful fleet of 37 ships of-the-line, with a vast number of frigates and smaller vessels, together with 400 transports, in which were conveyed 40,000 troops, placed under the command of Lord Chatham, elder brother of the late William Pitt. No selection could have been more unfortunate than this, and all the celerity and ability displayed by Sir Richard Strachan, the naval commander-in-chief, was thwarted by the sluggishness and want of decision of the general. The fleet left the Downs on the 27th July, and the operations conducted in conjunction with the navy were eminently successful. Flushing fell, after a short bombardment of two days, on the 14th August, when 6,000 men and vast stores fell into the hands of the British. A squadron of 10 frigates under Lord William Stuart, distinguished itself by its advance up the West Scheldt to support a garrison occupying the town of Batz; and Sir R. Keats, in conjunction with some troops, compelled the surrender of the islands of Schowen and Duiveland. After these successes Lord Chatham thought it most prudent to relinquish the idea of attempting the siege of Antwerp; and accordingly two-thirds of the army, with the bulk of the fleet, returned to England, about 12,000 men and a small squadron remaining in occupation of the island of Walcheren. Before the end of September, the malignant Polder fever had carried off or attacked half the men of the division; but it was not until the beginning of December that the remnant of the force was withdrawn to England, the whole of the docks, arsenals, and fortifications of Flushing being first destroyed.

On the coast of Africa the French settlement of Senegal was captured, and on the 7th January Captain Yeo of the *Confiance*, 20, aided by two Portuguese brigs and 500 soldiers, in the most gallant manner stormed two batteries near Cayenne, on the South American coast. Shortly after

he advanced against General Victor Huques, who, with 1,000 men, was marching to meet him; and after 36 hours' heavy fighting, Captain Yeo and his Portuguese allies compelled the French general to surrender with 400 men. Cayenne was then occupied with a loss to the British of only two killed and 22 wounded. Even more important was the surrender, on the 24th February, of the island of Martinique, which was garrisoned by 5,000 troops, and mounted on its different fortresses 500 guns. A squadron of six sail-of-the-line, six frigates and some smaller vessels, commanded by Rear-Admiral Hon. Sir Alexander Cochrane, co-operated with a force of 10,000 soldiers commanded by General Beckwith. The only loss sustained by the navy was in the bombardment of Fort Desaix, when the naval brigade lost 25 men killed and wounded. The French, under the orders of the veteran admiral, M. Villaret Joyeuse, Lord Howe's old opponent on the 1st June, made a noble but ineffectual resistance, and the reduction of the island was completed.

Some small islets, called Saintes, near Guadaloupe, being taken possession of on 14th April by Captain Beaver and a British squadron, three French line-of-battle ships, lying at anchor in the roads beneath, were compelled to put to sea. They were chased by the admiral's flagship *Neptune*, 98, and *Pompée*, 74, which, however, were outsailed by three 18-gun brigs. One of these, the *Recruit*, commanded by Captain Charles Napier (who had already earned distinction at Martinique), coming up with the *D'Hautpoult*, kept up a fire upon her with so much skill and gallantry as to delay her, so that by night the *Pompée* arrived up. The French captain fought his ship with obstinate courage, but was compelled to surrender to the *Pompée*, which lost nine killed, and Captain Fahie, the first lieutenant, and 28 officers and men wounded. Captain Napier was rewarded by Sir Alexander Cochrane with the command of the prize, which was re-named the *Abercromby*.

There were some other brilliant exploits performed by the navy during the year. The 10-gun brig *Onyx*, Commander Gill, captured the Dutch 16-gun brig *Manby*, a prize from the British, for which Captain Gill obtained post rank. The *Cleopatra*, 32, assisted by the *Jason*, 38, and *Hazard*, 18,

attacked and brought off the *Topaze*, 40, although she was anchored under the protection of a battery. Good service was also rendered to the country by the *Belle Poule*, 38, Captain Charles Brisbane; by the *Horatio*, 32, Captain George Scott; also by the boats of the *Arethusa*, 38, Captain Robert Mends, in capturing and destroying some French batteries on the north coast of Spain; and by the boats of the *Mercury* in cutting out from the port of Rovigno, on the coast of Istria, two gunboats moored close to two heavy batteries.

Captain Michael Seymour, of the *Amethyst*, the same gallant officer who had gained a high reputation in the preceding year by the capture of the *Thetis*, earned fresh laurels by a second equally creditable affair. Early on the 5th April, the *Amethyst* sighted and chased the 40-gun frigate *Niemen*, and a little before midnight, having come up with her, opened fire with her bow chasers. At 1.15 on the 6th, the *Amethyst* having closed upon the *Niemen*, fired a broadside into her, upon which the latter wore. Half an hour later the two ships became closely engaged. The *Amethyst* first raked the Frenchman, which tried to escape, but having again ranged up on her larboard or weather beam, Captain Seymour renewed the action. The *Niemen's* mizen-mast and main topmast were shot away a little after 3 a.m., and the ship caught fire aloft. A little later the enemy ceased firing, and all her remaining masts went over the side. The *Amethyst* commenced the action with only 222 men and boys, out of which she had eight men killed, and three officers and 34 men wounded. The slaughter on board the *Niemen*, which, though pierced for 40 guns, mounted 46, was very heavy; out of her crew of 319 men she had 47 killed and 73 wounded. The prize was brought into the service, and retained her name in the Navy List. Captain Michael Seymour, who had thus a second time displayed great gallantry, accompanied by no ordinary skill, was created a baronet; and Mr. Hill, his first lieutenant, was promoted.

Captain Staines, of the *Cyane*, 22, in company with the *Espoir*, 18-gun brig, and some Sicilian gunboats, engaged and captured 18 French gunboats near the island of Ischia; and, on the following day, he most gallantly brought to

action off Naples the French 44-gun frigate *Ceres*, until his ship, being rendered almost helpless by the superior weight of metal of the enemy, was taken in tow by the *Espoir*. In this action Captain Staines lost his arm, which was taken out of the socket; the first lieutenant was dangerously wounded, and died of his injuries; and altogether the *Cyane* lost 18 men killed and wounded. Not less gallant, though more successful, was the action between the British 20-gun corvette *Bonne Citoyenne* and the 36-gun frigate *Furieuse*, carrying only 20 heavy guns. After the engagement was maintained with great fury for seven hours, the *Furieuse* surrendered, having lost her three topmasts, and with five feet of water in the hold. Out of her crew of 200 men, she had 35 killed, and her commander, two lieutenants, three midshipmen, and 31 wounded. The British corvette was also almost unrigged, but only lost six men.

At Hango Head, in the Baltic, the boats of the *Bellerophon*, 74, most gallantly attacked and captured a Russian battery, mounting four guns, and garrisoned with 103 men; and on the 7th July, 17 boats, containing 270 officers and men from the 74-gun ships *Bellerophon* and *Implacable*, *Melpomene*, 38, and *Prometheus*, 18, proceeded to the attack of eight Russian gunboats, each armed with two heavy guns, and manned with 46 men, which were drawn up ready to receive them under the protection of a battery, mounted on a point of the coast at Porcola Point. Six of the gunboats were boarded and captured, one was sunk, and one only escaped. In this brilliant affair the officer commanding, Lieutenant Hankey, of the *Bellerophon*, a most talented and promising officer, together with three officers and 13 men, was killed, and 38 were wounded. The Russians lost 63 killed, and of 127 prisoners 51 were wounded.

Equally obstinate was the resistance offered by four Russian gunboats and an armed brig, lying in the Bay of Finland, to an attack by 17 boats of a British squadron under the command of Captain Forrest, of the 18-gun sloop *Prometheus*. The attack began at 10.30 p.m., and after a desperate and sanguinary struggle, three of the gunboats, having on board 137 men, were brought off. In this service the British loss was very severe; two lieutenants, one midshipman, and 16 men were killed; and Captain Forrest,

who was posted for his gallantry, one lieutenant, three midshipmen, and 46 men were wounded. The Russians had 28 killed and 58 wounded. Very honourable was the defence made by the 38-gun frigate *Junon*, Captain Shortland, against the French 40-gun frigates *Renommée* and *Clorinde*, assisted by the *Loire* and *Seine*, each mounting 20 guns, and carrying 200 troops. The gallant crew of the *Junon* drove back the enemy, who boarded in overwhelming numbers, but they could not shake off the frigates, which again closed upon them, and the British ensign was at length hauled down. In this unequal conflict, out of only 224 men, 20 were killed and 40 wounded, including Captain Shortland. The *Renommée*, which lost 18 men, and the *Clorinde* 21, achieved but a barren conquest; for the *Junon* was so shattered, that she could not float, and the captors had to set fire to her. After five weeks' intense suffering, the gallant Captain Shortland expired of the severe wounds he had sustained.

The *Loire* and *Seine* took refuge in Basse Terre, in the island of Guadaloupe; but notwithstanding that they were anchored under the protection of a strong battery, the 38-gun frigates *Blonde*, Captain Ballard, and *Thetis*, Captain Miller, engaged and forced them both to haul down their colours after a severe contest, in which the *Blonde* lost her first lieutenant, master's mate, and six men killed, and three officers and 14 men wounded. Soon after their surrender, the *Loire* and *Seine* caught fire and blew up. The crews of the boats of the *Sceptre*, 74, and some other ships, commanded by Captain Hugh Cameron, of the 18-gun sloop *Hazard*, at once landed and stormed the fort, but unhappily the gallant Cameron was killed by a grape-shot.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1809-1811.

Actions in the Eastern Seas, and Operations against the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, 1809-10—Frigate and Boat Actions during the year 1810—The Action at Lissa, 13th March, 1811—Frigate and Boat Actions during the year 1811—Capture of Java—Action off Tamatave.

In the year 1809, at the island of Bourbon, on the other side of the globe, a party of 236 sailors and marines, under the orders of Commander Nisbet Willoughby, of the 18-gun sloop *Otter*, in conjunction with 350 soldiers, commanded by Colonel Keating, stormed the batteries protecting the harbour of St. Paul's, and captured the town, with all its guns and stores, while a British squadron, commanded by Commodore Rowley, of the *Raisonable*, 64, stood into the bay, and captured the 40-gun frigate *Caroline*, the 14-gun brig *Grappler*, and two ships lately belonging to the East-India Company. The total British loss in this very successful affair was 15 killed, 58 wounded, and three missing. Commander Willoughby—who had previously signalized himself by the daring with which, while off the Isle of France, he had with only the launch and gig of the *Otter* destroyed a large brig, and cut out a merchant vessel, lying under the protection of heavy batteries, at Rivière Noire—was promoted to the command of the *Nereid*, 36, in the room of Captain Corbett, who commissioned the *Caroline*. The British, having destroyed the magazines and stores, quitted the island on the 28th September; but in March of the following year (1810), another squadron was despatched from the Cape of Good Hope, having on board Colonel Keating, with a land force, and operations were commenced against the Isles of Bourbon and France, or, as the latter is now called, Mauritius. Again

Captain Willoughby distinguished himself by the audacious courage with which, on the night of the 30th April, he, with only 50 men, landed at Jacotel, forming the south-eastern point of the Isle of France, and stormed some batteries armed with heavy guns, and dispersed some 600 French troops and militia. He then spiked the guns and mortars, destroyed the magazines and stores, and, having captured a French 4-gun schooner, returned on board the *Nereid*, with two field-pieces, having experienced the loss of only one man killed and seven wounded. Shortly afterwards the gallant officer nearly lost his life by the bursting of a musket, which inflicted some ghastly wounds; but so indomitable was his will, that when, three weeks later, Commodore Rowley arrived in the *Boadicea*, 38, and, taking command of the squadron, commenced operations against the Isle of Bourbon, Captain Willoughby, with his wounds still only bandaged up, superintended the disembarcation of the troops. The capital, called St. Denis, was surprised, and the entire island, with a vast quantity of stores and all the shipping, became a British dependency. From thence the squadron repaired to Mauritius, and on the 13th August, Captain Pym, of the *Sirius*, 36, despatched five boats, including two from the *Iphigenia*, containing in all 71 officers and men, to attack the batteries on a small rocky islet called Isle de la Passe, about four miles distant from Grand Port, on the eastern side of the island. The French, though in superior force, were driven from their works, but Lieutenant Norman, commanding the party, was shot through the heart in the battery, though the enterprise was prosecuted to a successful issue by an equally gallant officer, Lieutenant H. Chads.* Captain Willoughby, who was left in charge of Isle de la Passe, passed over to Grand Port, and stormed a fort commanding one of the entrances into the harbour, and destroyed several batteries. While on shore on the 20th August, observing five large sail in the offing, he pulled off to his ship, the *Nereid*, and having previously obtained possession of the French signal-book, induced them to enter the harbour of Grant Port by the signal that the enemy was cruising in the neighbourhood. As the headmost of the ships, the *Victor*

* The late distinguished gunnery officer, Admiral Sir Henry Chads.

sloop, neared him, Captain Willoughby opened fire upon her within pistol-shot range, and with such effect, that she struck. In the meanwhile her consorts, the French frigates *Bellone* and *Minerve*, came to the rescue, and after the *Bellone* had exchanged broadsides with the *Nereid*, entered the harbour in safety, together with the *Ceylon* and *Windham*. (These two vessels, formerly East Indiamen, had been captured on the 3rd July, after a most gallant resistance, in which the former lost 27 men killed and wounded, and the latter 24.) On the following morning the *Windham* was boarded by 11 seamen from the *Sirius*, and though mounting 26 guns and manned with 30 Frenchmen, was actually captured by the handful of British sailors, who were only armed with boats' stretchers. On the 22nd August, Captain Pym arrived with the *Sirius*, and the 36-gun frigates *Iphigenia*, Captain Lambert, and *Magicienne*, Captain L. Curtis, joining on the following day, the rival squadrons were well matched. Unfortunately the *Sirius* and *Magicienne* both grounded while standing into the harbour of Grand Port to attack the enemy, and the *Iphigenia* engaged the *Minerve*, 40, until that ship had her cables cut by a shot and ran aground. The *Nereid* had taken the station intended for the *Sirius*, and with her 12-pounders replied to the heavy 18-pounders of the *Bellone*, 40, as well as to the *Victor*, which had brought her guns to bear upon the British ship. The *Ceylon*, an Indiaman, hauled down her colours, and about the same time the *Bellone* cut her cables and ran aground, but still kept up a heavy cannonade on the *Nereid*. The *Iphigenia* was unable to come to the assistance of the latter, owing to a shoal, so that Captain Willoughby had to sustain the entire brunt of the enemy's fire. Early in the action the gallant captain had his left eye completely torn out by a splinter; the first lieutenant, Burns, was mortally wounded, the second dangerously; one marine officer, two infantry, and one artillery officer were killed, and the greater part of the officers and crew either killed or wounded. Most of the quarter-deck and many of the main-deck guns were dismounted, and the ship, all riddled with shot, was bumping heavily with every heave of the swell. The slaughter was terrible, and at length Captain Willoughby ordered the men to quit the few remaining guns, and sent off to Captain Pym for assistance or instructions. He was

ordered to abandon the ship, but that Captain Willoughby would not do. The *Bellone*, having shot away the *Nereid's* mainmast, still continued to fire upon the helpless wreck, and although French colours were hoisted on the fore-rigging as a token of surrender, the firing was resumed on the following morning; indeed the *Bellone* did not cease her attack until the mizen-mast, upon the mast-head of which a small Union-Jack had been displayed at the commencement of the action, was cut down, for the halyards and rigging being shot away, it was impossible to haul down the obnoxious flag. Out of 281 men, the *Nereid* had lost 92 officers and men killed, and 138 wounded, leaving only 51 uninjured. The *Iphigenia* lost 18 men, and the *Magicienne* 28. The French had 37 killed and 112 wounded. It being found impossible to move the *Magicienne* and *Sirius*, they were burnt, and the sole remaining ship of this unlucky squadron, the *Iphigenia*, was not more fortunate than her consorts, for a fresh French squadron of three frigates, bearing in sight, Captain Lambert was forced to surrender both his ship and the island, on the condition that he and all the surviving officers and men of the three British frigates should be sent to the Cape of Good Hope. By the verdict of a court-martial subsequently held, the four British captains were honourably acquitted from all blame, and Captain Willoughby was complimented for his "noble conduct."

Preparations were at once made by Commodore Rowley in conjunction with Admiral A. Bertie, at the Cape, for the reduction of the island and the retrieval of the great disaster that had befallen our arms. While off the Isle of Bourbon, in company with the *Otter*, 16, and the gun-brig *Staunch*, Commodore Rowley, who flew his broad pennant on board the *Boadicea*, was joined by the *Africaine*, 38, Captain Corbet, and learning from the latter that three French sail were in sight, proceeded in chase of them. On the following day, 13th September, the *Africaine* having outsailed her consorts, Captain Corbet, fearing the enemy might escape into Port Louis, resolved to engage the French ships, which proved to be the 38-gun frigates *Iphigenia*, so recently captured from us, and the *Astrée*. The action commenced soon after two in the morning, by a double-shotted broadside poured into the *Astrée*. At the second broadside received in

return, Captain Corbet was mortally wounded by a round shot. Nothing daunted at the heavy odds, the British seamen fought their guns with the utmost gallantry, but after the three senior officers and more than half her men had been either killed or wounded, her hull shattered, her three masts in a tottering condition, all this devotion was found to be unavailing, and the survivors had to yield to superior force; out of 295 men, the *Africaine* had 49 officers and men killed, and 114 wounded. The senior surviving officer was tried by court-martial, and was not only most honourably acquitted, but was justly promoted to be commander.

Not long after the surrender of the *Africaine*, the *Boadicea* arrived on the scene of action, and recaptured the *Africaine*, whose three masts had gone over the side. The French frigates declined the engagement proffered by the *Boadicea*, and retreated into Port Louis. Four days later, the 32-gun frigate *Ceylon*, built for an Indiaman, commanded by Captain Gordon, and having on board General Abercromby and his staff, was captured by the *Venus*, 40, and *Victor*, 16, after a protracted and gallant resistance; but on the afternoon of the same day, Commodore Rowley, discovering the two French ships abreast of St. Denis, with their prize, made sail in chase. The *Venus* had lost her mizen-mast and topmasts in the action with the *Ceylon*, and was forced to surrender, after a ten minutes' engagement. The *Boadicea* taking the prize in tow, and the *Otter* the *Ceylon*, returned to the Isle of Bourbon; the *Victor*, being a fast sailer, having effected her escape. At the end of November, Admiral Bertie arrived off Mauritius with a large squadron, and an army of 10,000 men under General Abercromby; and the troops being disembarked at Grande Baye, about 12 miles from Port Louis, General Decaen surrendered the island on the 2nd December, together with six frigates, among which were the *Nereid*, *Iphigenia*, *Bellone*, *Minerve*, and *Astrée*, and a large number of smaller vessels and merchantmen. The regular troops, 1,500 in number, and the crews of the frigates, were conveyed to France, and the island of Mauritius has from that day remained a dependency of the British crown.

In the preceding February, the Dutch settlement on the island of Amboyna capitulated to a squadron of frigates and

a party of the Madras European regiment, after some severe fighting, with the loss of only 13 men; and before the end of the summer, Captain Cole, of the *Caroline*, 36, with the *Remonstrance*, 38, Captain Foote, and *Barracouta*, 18, Lieutenant Kenah, achieved a glorious success in the reduction of Banda, the chief of the Spice Islands. Disembarking less than 400 men, half of whom missed their way in the dark, he first scaled the strong castle of Belgica, and then gained possession of the castle and town of Nassau, and forced the garrison of 700 regulars and a large body of militia to lay down their arms. This almost unique feat of arms, by which two castles and 10 batteries, mounting 138 guns, fell into British hands, was accomplished with only 140 sailors and 40 soldiers, and without the loss of a man. Captain Cole was knighted, and received the thanks of the Admiralty, commander-in-chief, and governor-general, and four swords of honour, one of which, with a letter from the crew of the *Caroline*, must have been especially gratifying to this dashing officer.

The most notable frigate-action during the year 1810 was that fought by the 38-gun frigate *Spartan*, Captain Jahleel Brenton. While off Naples she was attacked by a squadron sent out of the port by King Joachim Murat, consisting of the *Ceres*, 42 guns and 350 men; *Fama*, 28 guns and 200 men; brig *Sparviere*, eight guns and 98 men; cutter *Achille*, 10 guns and 80 men, and seven gunboats, each carrying one long 18-pounder and about 40 men, making, with 400 Swiss troops placed on board, a total of 95 guns and about 1,400 men, to oppose the 46 guns and 258 men of the *Spartan*. Captain Brenton was not backward in accepting the challenge, and engaged them all in succession, until the breeze dying away, left the *Spartan* with her head exposed to the starboard broadside of the *Ceres*, with the corvette and brig on her larboard bow, and the cutter and gunboats sweeping up astern. With undaunted courage, Captain Brenton carried on the unequal conflict, until he received a most severe wound in the hip from a grape-shot. Fortunately, a breeze sprang up, and the *Spartan* was enabled to bring her broadside to bear on her opponents. At length the hostile squadron made sail for Naples, and the British frigate, closing with the *Sparviere*,

compelled her to surrender. The *Spartan* lost 10 killed and 22 wounded, while the French acknowledged to having 30 killed and 90 wounded. The first lieutenant, Willes, was promoted, and the extreme gallantry and skill of captain, officers, and men received the warmest encomiums from the commander-in-chief, Sir Charles Cotton, and the Admiralty. Great gallantry was also displayed at Groa, in the Gulf of Trieste, by the boats of the frigate *Cerberus*, which dispersed or took prisoners some French soldiers, and brought off or burnt 16 vessels; also by the boats of the *Success* and *Espoir*, commanded by Lieutenant (now Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Rose) Sartorius; by the cutter *Sylvia*, 10 guns and 44 men, which captured in the Straits of Sunda, the Dutch 8-gun brig *Echo;* by the four boats of the 36-gun frigate *Freija*, under Lieutenant Hope, at Guadaloupe; by the boats of the *Dreadnought*, 98, near Ushant, when, in attempting to destroy a French ship, they were exposed to the fire of a large body of troops, and lost 37 men; and by the boats of a squadron, which, in destroying some vessels near the Mole of Palamos, in the south of Spain, lost out of 350 men 122 killed and wounded. Several French brigs and luggers were captured in European waters by British vessels of equal and even inferior force and size, but we have not space to chronicle these, in many instances most meritorious actions.

One of the chief operations undertaken in 1810 by the Mediterranean fleet, in conjunction with the army, was the reduction of Santa Maura, by which the last of the Ionian Islands fell into our power; but the following year was signalized by an action which reflects the highest credit on all those officers and men of the Mediterranean fleet who took part in it.

Commodore Dubourdieu, having sailed on the 4th March, 1811, from Ancona for Lissa (a small island on the coast of Dalmatia, since rendered memorable by the defeat, in 1866, of an Italian fleet by Admiral Tegethoff), with a squadron having on board 500 troops, came in sight, on the 13th, of a British squadron under Captain William Hoste. The hostile force numbered four large 40-gun frigates and two carrying 32 guns, besides a 16-gun brig and four small vessels. The British squadron consisted of the *Amphion*,

32, Captain Hoste; *Active*, 32, Captain A. Gordon; *Volage*, 28, Captain Phipps Hornby; and *Cerberus*, 32, Captain Whitby. In all the enemy's ships carried 300 guns and 2,500 men, and the British 154 guns and 880 men.

Notwithstanding this disparity of force, the gallant Hoste, one of Nelson's favourite officers, and a man after his own heart, eagerly accepted battle; with the signal flying, "Remember Nelson," he bore down in compact line, and at 9 a.m. the action commenced. The enemy were formed in double line, as if to cut Hoste's squadron in two, but in the advance suffered considerably, and were soon obliged to change their tactics; and, led by the commodore in the *Favorite*, endeavoured to wear and get to leeward of the British line, so as to place our ships between two fires. In making this attempt the *Favorite* struck on the rocks and bilged.

The *Flore* and *Bellone*, taking up a station on either quarter of the *Amphion*, opened a heavy fire upon her, when Captain Hoste, crossing the bows of the former within half-pistol-shot range, hauled up on the larboard tack, and bringing the entire weight of his broadside to bear on her starboard bow, caused her to strike her colours in ten minutes. No sooner had she finished with this enemy, than the *Amphion* turned her attention to the *Bellone*, which had been raking her with destructive effect. Wearing round on the starboard tack, Captain Hoste took up a position on the weather bow of that ship, which was also compelled to strike a few minutes before noon. The French 40-gun frigate *Danäe* meanwhile engaged the *Volage*, and the *Corona* and *Carolina* the *Cerberus*. Both ships maintained the unequal conflict with great gallantry until the arrival of the *Active*, when the three frigates bore up to the eastward and made sail. The captain of the *Flore*, to his disgrace, taking advantage of the inability of the *Amphion* to take possession of his ship, also crowded sail and escaped to Lessina, as did also the *Danäe*, *Carolina*, and the smaller vessels. The *Active* chased the *Corona*, and getting alongside her, forced her to surrender after a spirited engagement.

Out of 251 men and boys, the *Amphion* lost in this brilliant action three officers, two of them midshipmen, and 12

men killed; Captain Hoste, seven officers, and 38 men wounded. The *Active* had four killed and 24 wounded. The *Cerberus*, which had only 160 men on board, lost her purser, one midshipman, and 11 men killed, and 41 wounded. The little *Volage* also suffered severely, losing out of her complement of 175 men, one midshipman and 12 men killed, and 33 wounded.

Of the prizes, the *Corona* had no less than 200 killed and wounded, and the *Bellone* lost 70 killed and about the same number wounded, including her captain (mortally). The *Favorite* was set on fire by her crew, and blew up the same afternoon. The *Corona*, while in tow of the *Active*, also caught fire, which was, however, extinguished by the exertions of the *Active's* men, five of whom thus lost their lives. The captains present at the action of Lissa, one of the most glorious to British arms, each received a medal, and the first lieutenants were promoted to the rank of commander. The *Amphion* was so much shattered, that Sir Charles Cotton sent her home, and Captain Hoste soon afterwards returned to the Mediterranean in a larger frigate, the *Bacchante*, 38.

The gallant Captain Gordon continued to do good service in his ship, the *Active*, in the Adriatic, where he destroyed or captured 28 vessels of various descriptions, until on the 29th November, being in company with the *Alceste*, 38, Captain Murray Maxwell, *Unité*, 36, Captain Chamberlayne, he quitted the island of Lissa in chase of the French 40-gun frigates *Pauline* and *Pomone*, and *Persanne*, 26, all bound from Corfu to Trieste. The *Unité* was directed to chase the *Persanne;* and the *Alceste* and *Active* continued the pursuit of the two heavy frigates. After a four hours' chase, Captain Maxwell approached the *Pomone*, and exchanged broadsides with her, when, unhappily, his maintopmast was shot away, thus preventing him from passing on to engage the French commodore in the *Pauline*. About two o'clock, the *Active* having shot ahead, brought the *Pomone* to close action, and half an hour later the *Pauline*, eager of the chance to engage the *Alceste* at a disadvantage, took up a position on her weather beam. At three, observing that the *Pomone* was getting the worst of her encounter with the *Active*, the French commodore made sail and escaped.

Early in the action between the *Active* and *Pomone*, a round shot coming in through a porthole, first carried off a seaman's leg, and striking a carronade, cut off the leg of Captain Gordon. The gallant officer, as he was being carried below, calmly exhorted Lieutenant Dashwood (who shortly after had his arm shot away) to do his best, and gave similar advice to Lieutenant Hayes on the main deck.

The *Pomone*, having lost her main and mizen masts, surrendered a little before four o'clock. The *Persanne* was overtaken and struck to the *Unité*, after receiving a single broadside. The *Active's* crew, already reduced by the battle of Lissa, lost in this action one midshipman and seven men killed and 27 wounded, including the captain and two lieutenants, named above (who were promoted for their gallantry). The *Alceste*, out of 218 men, had one midshipman and five men killed, and one lieutenant and 12 men wounded. The *Pomone* was reduced to a sinking state by the *Active's* fire, and had 50 killed and wounded, including the captain.

Captain H. Duncan, second son of the hero of Camperdown, signalized the anniversary of that day by sinking a gunboat and storming a strong fort in the Gulf of Salerno with his gallant fellows of the *Impérieuse;* and a few days later, in conjunction with a congenial spirit, Captain Charles Napier, battered down and captured a strong fort near the classic harbour of Palinuro, and in spite of 700 troops, a party of British seamen and, some soldiers of the 62nd regiment brought off six gunboats and 22 merchant vessels.

On the 20th September the Emperor Napoleon witnessed an indecisive action in Boulogne Roads, between seven prames, each carrying 12 guns and 120 men, supported by ten brigs, mounting four guns each, under the command of Rear-Admiral Baste, and the *Naiad*, 38, Captain Carteret. On the following morning the prames again came out, reinforced by five additional brigs, and the *Naiad*, assisted by the 10-gun brigs *Rinaldo* and *Redpole*, and *Viper*, 8, attacked them, when the *Ville de Lyon*, under the command of Commodore Coupe, was boarded and carried by the *Naiad*, after a gallant resistance, in which she lost 40 men, the *Naiad* only having two killed and 15 wounded. Before this affair, Captain Anderson, of the *Rinaldo*, in company with the

Redpole, had beaten off 15 French brigs; and the former, in consequence of his successes against the French marine, had become the terror of all their privateers.

Many gallant exploits were performed by British seamen in 1811, at the expense of Russian soldiers and sailors, Lieutenant Blythe, with the boats of the *Quebec* and *Raven*, particularly distinguishing himself. The greatest disaster we suffered this year was experienced at the hands of no mortal foe: two gallant ships, the *St. George*, 98, flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Reynolds, second in command to Sir James Saumarez in the Baltic, and the *Defence*, 74, Captain Atkins, were driven by stress of weather on to the iron-bound coast of Jutland, and both ships went to pieces, the entire crews, including the admiral and the captains, with the exception of 18 men, either perishing in the waves or being frozen to death in the rigging.

The year 1811 was signalized by the conquest of Java, one of the last remaining Dutch dependencies in Eastern seas. This conquest was achieved chiefly by an army despatched from India by the Governor-General, Lord Minto, and placed under the orders of General Sir Samuel Achmuty. A powerful fleet, commanded by Rear-Admiral Stopford, assisted by a squadron of ships of the Indian navy under Commodore Hayes, aided materially in achieving this successful result. A young officer, Lieutenant Edmund Lyons—the late Lord Lyons, naval commander-in-chief in the Black Sea during the Crimean war,—gained great honour by the extreme gallantry with which, on the 24th July, having only 34 men with him, he stormed two Dutch batteries, near Batavia, mounting no less than 54 guns and manned with 180 soldiers. It was a feat rivalling that of Captain Cole at Banda; and having served with that officer, he had doubtless learnt under him what a handful of British seamen can do, and how to lead them. His barge being bilged, the whole party, having spiked the guns, re-embarked in a single cutter.

In the following week the army was landed near Batavia, and, on the 10th August, the strong position of Wetternede was stormed by General Gillespie. Admiral Stopford landed a naval brigade of 500 men, under command of Captain Sayer, who greatly distinguished themselves; and, on the

19th September the entire island was surrendered by the Dutch general, Jansens.

Many spirited actions were fought by British ships in the year 1811. After the capture of Mauritius, but before the news could reach France, a squadron of three fine French 40-gun frigates, the *Renommée*, Commodore Roquebert, *Clorinde*, and *Néréide*, each carrying 200 soldiers, sailed from Brest, with reinforcements and supplies, and arriving off Isle de la Passe early in May, learned that Mauritius was no longer a French colony. After being sighted and chased by an inferior British squadron, Commodore Roquebert arrived, on the 19th May, off Tamatave, on the eastern coast of Madagascar, which, having only a small garrison of 100 soldiers, was easily recaptured, it having only been wrested from the French three months before. At daybreak on the 20th, the British squadron that had previously chased the enemy, consisting of the 36-gun frigates *Phœbe*, Captain Hillyar, and *Galatea*, Captain Losack, and 18-gun brig *Racehorse*, Captain De Rippe, reinforced by the *Astræa*, 38, Captain Schomberg, came in sight of the French frigates, and at four o'clock in the afternoon the leading ship, the *Astræa*, opened fire on the *Renommée*. A general action now ensued, and the *Galatea* suffered severely, being raked by the *Clorinde* under her stern, and the *Renommée* on her starboard quarter, while, owing to the dead calm caused by the concussion of the firing, she was unable to bring her broadside to bear on her enemies. In this condition she lost her fore and mizen-topmasts, and most of her remaining spars and rigging were so cut up that she was rendered unserviceable. The *Phœbe* and *Astræa* meanwhile became engaged with the *Néréide*. A little before eight, the enemy made sail, and were chased by the British squadron, with the exception of the *Galatea*. The *Renommée* struck at 10 p.m., and the *Néréide* was subsequently captured at Tamatave, but the *Clorinde* effected her escape. In this action the *Astræa* lost only two killed and 16 wounded, the *Phœbe* seven killed and 27 wounded, and the *Galatea*, which, in addition to her injuries aloft, had fifty-five shot-holes in her hull and four feet of water in the hold, lost 14 killed, two mortally, 19 severely (including her captain, first lieutenant, marine officer, and two mid-

shipmen), and 27 men slightly, wounded. The loss of the *Renommée* amounted to 145, including Commodore Roquebert (killed), and that of the *Néréide* to 130.

One of the most brilliant operations of the war was the defence of the island of Anholt, in the Baltic, by Captain Maurice, with 400 marines commanded by Major Torrens. This small party, being attacked by 1,000 Danish soldiers, beat them off, and forced no less than 520 men to surrender, while the *Tartar*, 32, Captain Baker, and *Sheldrake*, 16, Captain Stewart, pursued a division of twelve gunboats protecting their landing, and captured two and sunk a third. The Danish loss amounted to 35 killed and 23 wounded, the British only losing two killed and Major Torrens and 30 men wounded.

A very gallant exploit was the capture of the French brig *Teazer* and four merchant vessels, and destruction of the 16-gun brig *Pluvier*, by the boats of the frigates *Diana*, Captain Ferris, and *Semiramis*, Captain Richardson, which, being disguised as French ships of war, sailed up the Gironde, and effected their object in broad daylight.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1811–1815.

War with the United States—Action between the *Belvidera* and American squadron: between the *Guerrière* and *Constitution*; *Frolic* and *Wasp*; *Macedonian* and *United States*; *Java* and *Constitution*; and the *Peacock* and *Hornet*—The Capture of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon*—Other Frigate Actions of the American War.

For the last two years of our struggle with France, an ill-feeling had existed between ourselves and the United States of America, which, on the 18th June, 1812, culminated in a formal declaration of war by the Washington Government. We will not enter more explicitly into the causes that led to this breach, further than to say, that the ostensible ground was the right we claimed of searching American vessels for deserters. In May, 1811, matters were nearly precipitated by an unprovoked attack made by Commodore Rogers, of the *President*, 56 guns, upon the British 20-gun sloop of war *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham: the pretexts put forward by the American commodore that he did not see the British colours, and that Captain Bingham fired first, were both manifestly groundless. Explanations were offered by the American Government, and accepted by our own, though 32 of our seamen had been killed and wounded; but the feeling of irritation between the two countries only admitted of being appeased by blood-letting, and accordingly war was declared by our impetuous cousins over the water.

For some time the Navy department at Washington had been making extensive preparations for such an eventuality; within three days of the issue of the hostile proclamation, Commodore Rogers put to sea with a squadron of three frigates and two sloops.

A word as to these so-called Yankee frigates.

They were well described as "line-of-battle ships in disguise," and were, in point of fact, 74-gun ships cut down and armed with 56 heavy guns; those on the main deck being 24-pounders, and the rest 18-pounders and carronades throwing 42-pound shot. Of such were the class numbering the *President* and *Constitution*, which subsequently came into collision with our *bonâ fide* frigates with such fatal effect.

The first shot fired in this war was between the *Belvidera*, Captain R. Byron, and Commodore Rogers' squadron, which, however, did not succeed in capturing the British frigate. Captain Byron was first engaged for two hours in a running fight with the *President;* but on the *Congress*, 36, arriving up, was forced to cut away his boats and anchors, and start his water in order to effect his escape. In this action the Americans displayed excellent gunnery, as did also, in a not less degree, the crew of the *Belvidera;* but it became manifest that the superiority over other nations in the working of broadside guns, of which our seamen had given a thousand proofs, had its exception in the case of the American navy. This, it should be stated, was due chiefly to the fact that the seamen, who had immortalized their country by their prowess under Nelson, and other great sea captains, being disgusted with their treatment in the British service, had deserted to the United States, in order to profit by the higher pay and other inducements held out to them. In this action the *Belvidera* lost two killed and 22 wounded, including the captain and a lieutenant; and the *President* had two midshipmen and one man killed, and Commodore Rogers, five officers, and 12 men wounded.

On the 19th August, 1812, the British 48-gun frigate *Guerrière*, Captain Dacres, bound to Halifax to refit, fell in with the United States frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hall, when a sanguinary engagement ensued. The *Guerrière* commenced the action at 4.30 by firing a broadside at her formidable opponent, and, after some manœuvring and firing at long range, the *Constitution* brought her to close action. At six, the *Guerrière's* mizen-mast went over the side, and the *Constitution*, taking up a position on her bow, raked her with terrible effect. Soon after this, the two ships fell foul of each other, when the American made an attempt to board, which, however, was frustrated.

All this time the enemy's riflemen, stationed in the tops, swept the deck with their fire, and Captain Dacres and other officers were wounded. A little later the ships separated, and the bowsprit of the *Guerrière* coming in contact with the *Constitution's* taffrail, the fore and main-masts of the former fell over the side. The British frigate now lay rolling like a helpless log in the trough of the sea, but Captain Dacres, who, though wounded, would not quit the deck, protracted the defence until the *Constitution*, taking up a position on her starboard quarter, all further resistance was seen to be impracticable, and indeed would have been criminal.

The *Guerrière's* Union-Jack was accordingly hauled down from the stump of the mizen-mast, and the ship was surrendered, after having lost, out of her crew of 244 men and 19 boys, with which she commenced the action, 15 killed and 63 wounded. That the *Constitution* was victorious in this unequal conflict was a matter of course, when it is stated that she carried 476 picked seamen and marksmen, and that her 24-pounders were opposed to the 18-pounders of the British frigate. In justice to Commodore Rogers it should be stated that the *Guerrière's* officers and men were treated with the humanity and consideration due to a gallant foe. It was found impossible to keep the prize above water, and she was burnt after the prisoners and wounded were taken out of her. Captain Dacres and his officers and crew were subsequently tried by court-martial, but were, of course, honourably acquitted.

Passing over the capture of the 16-gun sloop *Alert* by the United States frigate *Essex*, 46, we come to the next action between single ships. On the 18th October, the 18-gun brig *Frolic*, Captain Whinyates, when almost crippled aloft from the effects of a severe gale, and having been five years in commission, encountered the United States 18-gun corvette *Wasp*, Captain Jones, which had just put to sea from the Delaware, in first-rate condition. The *Frolic* attempted to reply to the superior fire of her adversary, but with little effect, as the heavy sea that was running almost prevented her from opening her ports, while the guns of the *Wasp*, being six feet above the level of the water, owing to her greater tonnage, enabled her to work them in a sea-way. After an action which lasted three-quarters of an hour, the

Frolic was compelled to surrender, having lost, out of 91 men and 18 boys, 15 killed, and her captain, both lieutenants (one mortally), her master (mortally), and 43 men wounded: both the *Frolic's* masts went over the side a few minutes after her capture. The *Wasp* had eight killed, and about the same number wounded, out of her crew of 138 seamen. Not many hours after the capture of the British brig, the *Poictiers*, 74, Captain Beresford, hove in sight, and both the *Frolic* and *Wasp* again changed hands.

A week later the 38-gun frigate *Macedonian*, Captain Carden, encountered the American 44-gun frigate *United States*, Commodore Decatur; and though the latter, taking the *Macedonian* for a ship of superior force, at first tried to escape, on discovering his mistake, he hauled to the wind, and at 9 a.m. the action commenced. The superior weight of metal of the Yankee frigate soon began to tell, and a little after 11, having been enabled to take up a most advantageous position on the lee-bow of the *Macedonian*, she shot away her mizen-mast and fore and main topmasts and main-yard, and so cut up her lower masts and standing and running rigging, that the British frigate rolled the muzzles of her main-deck guns under the water, and became almost unmanageable. As a last resource, an attempt was made to board the *United States*, but this being thwarted by an unlucky shot which cut away the lee fore-brace, Captain Carden was forced, at noon, to haul down his colours. That he had defended the honour of his flag to the last extremity will be apparent from the fact that the loss sustained by the *Macedonian*, out of her complement of 254 men and 35 boys, amounted to 36 killed and 68 wounded, including many officers. Of the 56 guns with which the *United States* engaged the 46 18-pounders and small carronades of the British ship, the carronades, being 42-pounders, were even heavier than those of the *Constitution*, while her crew numbered 474 men. On being removed on board the *United States*, it must have been some satisfaction to Captain Carden and his officers and men to learn from the lips of Commodore Decatur that they had not been beaten by Americans, but by their own countrymen; for the gallant officer boasted that every man under his command had served not less than five years on board a British man-o'-war. A flush of shame must have risen on

the cheeks of these renegades, when actually some men were pointed out who had manned the barge of England's greatest hero, when he flew his flag in his last fight on board the *Victory*. Every endeavour was made to seduce the crew of the *Macedonian* from their allegiance to their country by offers of higher pay, which, however, were treated with the contempt they deserved. It need scarcely be added that Captain Carden was honourably acquitted by sentence of a court-martial.

Even more sanguinary was the action between the 38-gun frigate *Java* (late the French frigate *Renommée*) and the American 44-gun frigate *Constitution*, now commanded by Commodore W. Bainbridge. The *Java*, Captain Lambert, was on her way to Bombay, whither she was conveying General Hislop and his staff, together with a large amount of military and dockyard stores, when, on the 30th December, being off St. Salvador, she sighted and chased the *Constitution*. Soon after two, the latter opened fire, and, after exchanging some broadsides, in which at first the little *Java* had the best of it, having shot away the wheel of her opponent, the two ships became closely engaged. A little before three, the head of the *Java's* bowsprit was shot away, and when the *Constitution* wore, she was unable to follow, but had to tack, when she was severely raked by the American; after some further manœuvring, in which the gallant Captain Lambert displayed the skill for which, as well as for the possession of courage, he was remarkable in the service, the ships once more engaged at pistol-shot range. The *Java* being now completely unrigged, Captain Lambert, in despair, determined to board; but on putting the helm a-port, the foremast of his ship went by the board, and the stump of the *Java's* bowsprit hooking the *Constitution's* mizen rigging, she was brought up head to wind. The British frigate then dropped astern, where she lay a helpless wreck, when the *Constitution* sailed round her, pouring in broadsides how and where she liked. At this time Captain Lambert fell mortally wounded, with a ball in his breast, upon which the first lieutenant, Henry Ducie Chads (before mentioned for his services at the Mauritius), assumed command, and, though severely wounded, remained at his post encouraging his men to renewed exertions. The gallant tars of the

Java responded to the call of their youthful leader, but all their exertions were in vain. Soon after four, the *Java's* mizen-mast fell over the side, and a little later the *Constitution*, having ranged ahead to replenish her deck magazines and refit aloft, took up a position across the bows of the ill-fated ship, preparatory to blowing her out of the water. At length, acknowledging the futility of further resistance, Lieutenant Chads struck his colours, the action having lasted nearly four hours.

The *Java* lost, out of 277 men and 23 boys, besides 86 supernumeraries, 22 killed, including six officers* and 102 wounded, among whom were her captain (mortally) and 12 officers. The *Constitution* did not escape unscathed out of this unequal conflict, having lost 10 men killed, 48 wounded, including five mortally and the commodore slightly. The *Java* was found to be so much damaged, that she was set on fire the next day and blew up. Lieutenant Chads' noble conduct was highly eulogized by the president of the court-martial appointed to try him for losing the ship, and he was promoted to the rank of commander.

On the 24th February in the succeeding year, the United States 20-gun corvette *Hornet*, Captain James Lawrence, sighted, off the bar of the Demerara river, the 18-gun brig *Peacock*, Captain Peake, and about 5.30 p.m. the two ships opened fire on each other. After exchanging broadsides, the *Peacock* wore round under the *Hornet's* stern, and engaged her to leeward, when the *Hornet* ran her on board on the starboard quarter. In this position the Yankee corvette shot away the brig's mainmast, and so cut her up aloft and in her hull, that, when on the point of sinking, the *Peacock* was compelled to surrender. Of her crew of 110 men, she lost her captain and four men killed, and four officers and 29 men wounded. That she was gallantly defended was proved by her going down almost immediately after her capture, carrying with her 13 men.

* One gallant young midshipman, only thirteen years of age, who lost his leg, inquired anxiously, after the action was over, if the ship had struck. The truth was mercifully kept from him; but, seeing a flag spread over him, he became very uneasy, and would only rest satisfied when he learnt that it was the colours of his own country. He died next day.

As in every previous instance, the superiority in size, weight of metal, and crew was altogether on the side of the Americans. A broadside of the *Peacock* weighed 192 lb., that of the opponent 297 lb., and the latter went into action with 52 more men.

The next action fought between frigates of the rival nations was most glorious to our arms, and proved that British prowess was not less than in former years, when the disparity of force was not such as to render success impossible.

Captain Philip Broke, in the *Shannon*, 38, was cruising off Boston in the month of March, 1813, in company with the *Tenedos*, 38, Captain Hyde Parker, in the hope of encountering the *President* and *Congress*, which lay in the harbour, when these ships, taking advantage of foggy weather, put to sea, and managed to escape. As there was now only the *Chesapeake*, a ship of equal force with his own, Captain Broke sent away the *Tenedos*, and then despatched a formal challenge to the captain of the *Chesapeake* to come out and meet "ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags." The commander of the *Chesapeake* was no other than the redoubtable Captain Lawrence, who had sunk the *Peacock*, and he was not backward in accepting the challenge. Soon after noon on the 1st June, the *Chesapeake* was seen rounding Boston lighthouse under all sail, and accompanied by numerous pleasure-boats, who had come out to see the "Britisher whipped." The *Shannon* also stood out to sea until about 5 p.m., when being some 18 miles off the land, the *Shannon* rounded to, and both ships having taken in studding-sails, the *Chesapeake* hauled up her foresail and steered for the starboard and weather quarter of the British frigate.

Orders were given to the captain of the 14th gun on the *Shannon's* main deck, that he was to reserve his fire until his gun would bear upon the *Chesapeake's* second bow port, and at 5.50 the gun was fired as directed. The shot told with wonderful accuracy, and each gun, which were all double and treble-shotted, was fired with equal correctness of aim. The *Chesapeake* returned the fire, but not so effectively; and soon afterwards, her jib-sheet and fore-topsail-tye being cut with shot, she flew up into the wind, thus

exposing herself to a most galling fire. Captain Broke was about to lay his ship alongside the American with the object of boarding, when the latter, having stern way on her, fell foul of the *Shannon*, whose spare anchor soon afterwards entering the *Chesapeake's* after-quarter-deck port, held her fast. Captain Broke immediately ran forward, and perceiving that the Americans were quitting their guns, ordered the two ships to be lashed together, which was gallantly executed by Mr. Stevens, the boatswain, who, while endeavouring to execute the order, received some severe cutlass wounds, and was mortally wounded by musketry fire, as was also Mr. Samwell, the forecastle mate, who displayed a like devotion and contempt for death.

Exactly at two minutes after six, the captain of the *Shannon*, at the head of only 20 men, stepped from the rail of the waist hammock-netting on to the muzzle of the *Chesapeake's* after carronade, and from thence bounded on to the quarter-deck. A body of twenty or thirty Americans, panic-stricken, fled below, or laid down their arms. The quarter-deck was now in possession of the British, who were quickly reinforced by a strong division of boarders. At this moment a most daring act was performed by Mr. William Smith, midshipman of the *Shannon's* fore-top, a very powerful young fellow. Observing that the riflemen in the *Chesapeake's* maintop were picking off the boarders on the deck beneath, he ran along the foreyard, and at the head of only five men, boarded the American's maintop, and killed or drove below every man stationed there. The mizen-top was also cleared by Mr. Cosnahan, midshipman in charge of the *Shannon's* maintop.

The Yankees in the fore part of the ship who had surrendered, took advantage of Captain Broke being almost alone, and resuming their arms, three of them made a dastardly attack on him. The gallant officer parried the pike of one with his sword, and wounded him in the face, but instantly was felled by a blow from the butt-end of a musket, which laid bare his skull; the third man cut at him with his cutlass, and was about to despatch him, when a British seaman opportunely stepped forward, and in turn cut him down. The Americans paid dearly for their treachery, and were all despatched; and a few minutes later the British

ensign was hoisted over the stars and stripes, and the *Chesapeake* was the prize of the *Shannon*. In performing this last act, Lieutenant Watt, a gallant officer, who had already been severely wounded, was shot through the head, and some four or five men fell, it is believed, at the hands of their countrymen on board the *Shannon*, as in the hurry the Yankee flag was at first hoisted uppermost, and it was concluded the boarders had been unsuccessful. As some of the Americans who had been driven below, still kept up a fire from thence, a volley was discharged among them, when all further opposition ceased: thus, in exactly fifteen minutes since the first gun was fired, and only four minutes from the time of boarding, the battle had been fought and won.

Neither ship was much damaged aloft, but both received many shots in their hulls. Their loss was also very heavy. Out of 330 men and boys with which the British frigate commenced the action, she lost 24 killed, including three officers, and 50 wounded, among whom were the captain and two officers. The *Chesapeake's* casualties were even greater. Of her crew of 440 men, she had 47 killed, including the master, four lieutenants, a marine officer, and three midshipmen, and 99 wounded, of whom 14 had received mortal injuries. Among the latter were Captain Lawrence, his first lieutenant, and boatswain, while all the surviving lieutenants were wounded, as were also five midshipmen and the chaplain.

Eulogy is superfluous in speaking of the gallantry of all the officers and men of the *Shannon*, who were opposed to a crew outnumbering them by 110 men, and by a ship throwing a heavier broadside. Captain Broke displayed the highest courage and professional skill, and was created a baronet; Lieutenants Provo Wallis* and Falkiner were promoted to the rank of commanders; and Midshipmen Etough, Smith, and Cosnahan received lieutenancies.

As the *Shannon* sailed into Halifax, in company with her prize, she was received with loud cheering by the crews of the ships in harbour and by the townsmen, assembled in thousands to greet the victors. The brave Captain Lawrence expired two days after receiving his mortal wound,

* Now (1872) Admiral Sir Provo Wallis, K.C.B.

and was interred with all the honours due to a gallant foe.

We will merely mention the capture of the British schooner *Dominica* by the privateer *Decatur*, in which the former had her entire crew of 66 men and boys killed or wounded, with the exception of one man; the *Decatur*, which had double the number, losing 19 men,—a success which was counterbalanced by the capture of the 20-gun brig *Argus* by the British 18-gun brig *Pelican*, Captain Maples, the former losing her captain and six men killed and 17 wounded, and the latter only seven *hors de combat*.

A few weeks later, the 14-gun brig *Boxer*, Captain Blyth, engaged, but unsuccessfully, the United States 16-gun brig *Enterprise*. Both the captains were killed, and the little British brig, after a gallant fight, was captured. Out of her small crew of 60 hands (exactly one-half that of the Yankee cruiser), she lost 21 killed and wounded. In March, 1814, the 36-gun frigate *Phœbe*, Captain Hillyar (carrying 42 guns), and 24-gun ship *Cherub*, Captain Tucker, blockaded the American frigate *Essex*, 32 (carrying 46 guns), and the armed 20-gun ship *Essex junior*, in Valparaiso, until the former, being driven to sea by stress of weather, was engaged by the British ships, and after a severe action of three-quarters of an hour, was compelled to surrender, having lost 24 killed and 45 wounded. The Americans made up for this loss by the capture of the 18-gun brig *Epervier*, Captain Wales, by the 18-gun corvette *Peacock*, Captain Warrington. The guns of the British brig were nearly all dismounted, and her masts and rigging shot away by the superior accuracy of the corvette's fire, though the conditions of the contest were, as usual, much in favour of the American, both as regards the size of ships and number of the respective crews. Even more unequal, and very much more sanguinary, was the conflict between the British 18-gun brig *Reindeer*, Captain Manners, and the 18-gun corvette *Wasp*. After a heavy cannonade had been maintained for two hours, the *Reindeer* fell foul of the corvette, and became exposed to a destructive raking fire. The gallant Captain Manners, the idol of his crew, was twice severely wounded in the legs with canister-shot, but refused

to quit the deck. At length, seeing the fearful slaughter among his men, caused by the grape and musketry fire of the enemy, he was in the act of leading them to board the *Wasp*, when two musket-balls from her main-top penetrated his skull, passing out beneath the chin. Clasping his forehead with one hand, and convulsively brandishing his sword with the other, he fell back dead on the deck of his ship, exclaiming, "Oh, God!" The Americans now boarded and carried the British brig. The hull of the *Reindeer*, which had to be destroyed, was literally cut to pieces, and the masts were in a tottering state. Out of her crew of 118 men and boys, she lost 25 killed and 42 wounded; the *Wasp*, which went into action with 173 men, had 11 killed and 15 wounded. The same corvette was equally successful in an engagement, fought some months later, with the *Avon*, Captain Arbuthnot, a brig of the same force as the *Reindeer* (a class much inferior in weight of metal to that of which the *Wasp* was a specimen), which struck her colours and went down shortly afterwards, her men being rescued by the 18-gun brig *Castilian*, which opportunely arrived on the scene of conflict. The *Reindeer* lost her first lieutenant and nine men killed, and her captain and 31 officers and men wounded. The *Wasp* foundered a few weeks later, so that her gallant crew did not survive to receive the reward of their courage and discipline, and, above all, of the good gunnery which so distinguished the American navy of that day.

The capture of the *President* by the *Endymion*, 40, Captain Henry Hope, was one of the most brilliant feats of our navy during the war. The British frigate had been unsuccessful on the 9th October, 1814, in an attempt to cut out with her boats an American 18-gun privateer manned with a crew of 120 men. The achievement was clearly beyond the power of the force, numerically inferior, sent to effect it, and the boats were repulsed after some desperate fighting, in which the officer commanding, Lieutenant Abel Hawkins, one midshipman, and 26 men were killed, and two officers and 35 men wounded, and the launch captured with the remainder of her crew. The crew of the *Endymion* had their revenge. On the 15th January the *President*, Commodore Decatur, attempted to escape

from New York, when she was chased by a British squadron blockading that port, and the *Endymion*, outsailing the ships in company, gradually closed with her adversary, until a little before 6 p.m. she brought her to action. The *President's* musketry fire having caused some execution on the *Endymion's* decks, Captain Hope passed under the Yankee's stern, and, raking her twice, placed himself on her larboard quarter. Though the British frigate suffered severely aloft from the bar and chain shot of the enemy, yet her fire was so accurate and destructive that the *President* first ceased firing, and then hauled to the wind to escape. As soon as Captain Hope had bent new sails, those aloft having been cut to pieces, he made sail in pursuit, but unfortunately was robbed of the credit of causing the surrender of the frigate he had engaged so gallantly; for the *Pomone* arriving up, fired two broadsides into her, when Commodore Decatur hailed to say he had surrendered. The *Endymion*, out of 346 men and boys, had 11 killed and 14 wounded, the *President* losing three lieutenants and 32 men killed, her commander, master, two midshipmen, and 66 men wounded, out of a crew numbering 465 men. The arrival of the *Pomone* must have been a subject of keen regret to the gallant officers and men commanded by Captain Hope, as the capture of a ship carrying 56 guns, and throwing a broadside nearly 200 lb., in excess of that of a British frigate armed with 48 guns, would have been as glorious an achievement as the surrender of the *Chesapeake*. During the ensuing heavy weather, both ships had to throw overboard their quarter-deck and forecastle guns; the *Endymion* also lost her bowsprit and fore and main masts, and the *President* was totally dismasted. The latter was added to the British navy under her name, but was too much damaged to be commissioned.

On the 20th February, two small British ships—the *Cyane*, 22, Captain Falcon, and *Levant*, 20, Captain Douglas —were forced to surrender to the *Constitution* after a gallant and protracted conflict, in which much skill and pertinacity were displayed, but unhappily without avail. No other result could have been anticipated in an encounter wherein two small vessels, mounting only 50 guns, all but four of which were light and inefficient carronades, given

to capsizing down the hatchway,* or carrying away their breechings and fighting-bolts,—were pitted against a "line-of-battle ship in disguise," having 56 of the heaviest guns in use at sea. The *Cyane* and *Levant*, which carried between them 260 men and 42 boys, lost eight killed and 37 wounded; and the *Constitution* had six killed and 20 wounded, out of her crew of 472 men. Of course Captains Douglas and Falcon were honourably acquitted, and they and their officers and men commended for the gallantry they had displayed, by the court-martial convened to try them.

Not less brave was the defence made by the 13-gun schooner *St. Lawrence*, Lieutenant Gordon, against the American 14-gun privateer *Chasseur*. Out of only 50 men, the *St. Lawrence*, before she surrendered, lost 24 killed and wounded; and the *Chasseur*, carrying 115, had five killed and eight wounded.

Notwithstanding that it was known that peace had been concluded between the belligerents, the American 22-gun corvettes *Peacock* and *Hornet*, Captains Warrington and Biddle, having escaped from New York, proceeded on a cruise, and the former, on her arrival off Tristan d'Acunha, engaged the 18-gun brig *Penguin*, Captain James Dickinson. As usual, the superiority was, in every way, on the side of the Americans. The corvette not only had more guns, but, exclusive of the *Penguin's* boys, had 60 more men. After a gallantly fought action of forty minutes, during which Captain Dickinson, in despair at the havoc wrought aloft and on his ship's decks, sought, but in vain, to board his ill-matched enemy, the bowsprit and foremast of the brig having been shot away, and the captain receiving a mortal wound, Lieutenant MacDonald was forced to haul down his flag. The *Penguin* lost, besides her captain (who had distinguished himself at Lissa as first lieutenant of the *Cerberus*), nine men killed and mortally wounded, and three officers and 25 men wounded.

Soon afterwards, the *Hornet*, when in company with the *Peacock*, only escaped capture by the *Cornwallis*, 74, flag of Rear-Admiral Sir George Burlton, by throwing all her guns overboard.

* The writer has actually seen a similar accident happen with this species of ordnance during "general quarters" at sea.

Still more inexcusable was the conduct of Captain Warrington. On the 30th June, 1815—more than four months after the ratification of the treaty of peace at Washington by the President, of which, nevertheless, the captain of the *Peacock* professed to be ignorant, on the ground that he had received no official intimation,—having arrived off Angier, in the Straits of Sunda, he attacked the 14-gun brig *Nautilus*, Lieutenant Charles Boyce, of the Bombay marine. Though informed by officers from the *Nautilus* of the conclusion of peace, Captain Warrington was base enough to sail up to the little brig, not half the size of his own full-rigged ship, and hail her to haul down her flag. On the gallant Boyce refusing to accede to this unparalleled demand the corvette fired into the *Nautilus*, and an action ensued, which of course terminated in the surrender of the latter. In this affair the captain of the Company's cruiser lost his leg at the hip joint, the chief officer was mortally wounded, six men were killed (rather we should say murdered), and seven wounded. This unprecedented act of barbarity concluded the list of actions fought at sea by the ships of the two nations, between whom peace had been signed on the 18th February, 1815.

CHAPTER XXV.

1813—1815.

Actions on the Sea-board of the United States, and on the Canadian Lakes during the American War—Operations against Washington and New Orleans in 1814—Frigate and Boat Actions with the French Navy between the years 1813–15—Enumeration of Losses and Gains of the British Fleet between the years 1803–15.

DURING the month of February, 1813, the 74-gun ships *San Domingo* and *Marlborough*, with the frigates *Maidstone* and *Statira*, and brigs *Fantome* and *Mohawk*, under the orders of Admiral Sir John B. Warren (who had also authority to propose terms of peace with the Washington Government) and Rear-Admiral George Cockburn, arrived off the American coast, and, on the rejection of Admiral Warren's overtures, preparations were made to prosecute the war in the enemy's territory. In April the Chesapeake was entered, and on the 3rd of that month, the boats of the squadron, carrying 105 men, were despatched to cut out four large schooners that had proceeded up the Rappahannock. After a very gallant resistance, the schooners, which were armed with 31 guns, and had on board 219 men, were all captured, and two of them added to the navy and armed with 14 guns. Admiral Cockburn—one of Nelson's favourite officers—now proceeded some way up the rivers Elk and Sasafras, and reduced the fortified towns of Havre-de-Grace on the former and Frederickstown and Georgetown on the latter stream; while his boats' crew, co-operating with the squadron, stormed the batteries which lay in his way. A month later the capture of Hampton terminated the operations in that quarter. Sir John Warren now despatched Cockburn to the coast of North Carolina, where he met with almost equal success. During the months of June and July, the boats of the *Narcissus*, *Contest*, *Mohawk*, and *Martin*, did good service in cutting out small American craft, Lieutenant Westphal particularly distinguishing himself by

his courage and conduct. But it was in the Canadian lakes that some of the most severe fighting of the war took place.

The Americans exerted themselves to place a large naval force on the lakes Ontario, Huron, and Erie; and having built some vessels at Sackett's Harbour, their principal station on Ontario (the lake nearest Quebec), in the winter of 1812, they possessed a squadron of eight vessels. In May of the following year, Captain Sir James Yeo was sent out from England to command on the lakes, with a body of 500 officers and men, and on his arrival at Kingston, exerted himself so effectually that he raised a respectable flotilla, and, landing at Sackett's Harbour, burnt one ship, and a large magazine of stores. On the 3rd June, Sir James made a second descent, and with even more satisfactory results. The commodore had now under his orders six vessels, mounting in all 92 guns, and having crews amounting to 717 men. The American flotilla, commanded by Commodore Chauncey, consisted of fourteen vessels —one, the *General Pike*, a large ship,—carrying in all 114 heavy guns, and manned with 1,190 officers and men. Nothing daunted at the disparity of force, Sir James Yeo sailed out of Kingston on the 8th August, and, after a delay caused by light winds, attacked the American squadron, consisting of three ships and 11 schooners, which lay off Fort Niagara. After exchanging a few broadsides, the enemy bore up, and made sail for Niagara, leaving two schooners in the hands of the British. In May, 1814, Commodore Yeo, with his squadron and 1,100 troops, was equally fortunate in an attack on Oswego. But, though successful till the end of the war in every enterprise undertaken on Ontario, we met with severe reverses on the lakes Erie and Champlain; though it is only due to our naval officers to state, in the words of Yonge, the historian, that this was due "solely to the incapacity of the general, who was only saved by death from being called to a severe account for his conduct before a court-martial."

Captain Barclay, who was sent to take command on Lake Erie, found himself with five small vessels, having only some 50 seamen, the remainder of the crews consisting of 320 soldiers and Canadian militia. With such materials he had to confront a well-found squadron of three large brigs,

six schooners, and a sloop, all mounting heavy guns, throwing double the broadside weight of metal; while, so old and worn-out were the guns of the British flotilla, that it was necessary to fire a pistol at the vent to discharge them! Not less disproportionate were the odds in men, the American commodore having under his orders nearly 600 picked sailors from the fleet. Want of provisions forced Captain Barclay to quit the port of Amherstburg, and on the 10th September the rival squadrons came into collision. After severe fighting, in which the *Detroit*, the ship flying Captain Barclay's broad pennant, caused the *Lawrence*, Commodore Perry's flagship, to surrender, but which, not being taken possession of, re-hoisted her colours, the entire British squadron of six vessels was captured. The *Detroit* made a desperate resistance, the gallant Barclay being severely, and the first lieutenant mortally, wounded. The British loss, out of 370 men, amounted to Captain Finnis, commanding the *Queen Charlotte*, two officers, and 38 men killed, and eight officers and 85 men wounded. The Americans owned to having lost 27 killed and 96 wounded. Captain Barclay was honourably acquitted of all blame, which was rightly attributed to defective equipment and want of seamen, and was complimented on the gallantry displayed by his officers and men. The Americans were now masters of Lakes Erie, Superior, and Huron, on the waters of which some severe fighting took place with varied success, a party of British seamen under Lieutenant Worsley particularly distinguishing themselves.

The operations on Lake Champlain were singularly unfortunate, though the disaster was consequent on the imbecility of General Sir George Prevost. To oppose the American squadron on this lake, three of which were vessels mounting respectively 17, 20, and 26 guns, and having on board in all 86 guns and 981 men, Commodore Downie, the naval officer in command, could only muster a force consisting of small brigs and gunboats, carrying a total force of 48 guns and 444 men, of whom the greater part were soldiers and Canadian militiamen. Commodore Downie, having added to his squadron a hastily-constructed ship mounting 36 guns, called the *Confiance*, on board which he hoisted his flag, was fitting her out for service with all despatch, when Sir George Prevost, with whom he was ordered to co-operate,

urged him to get under weigh for Plattsburg, which he (the general) proposed forthwith to attack. Stung by the nature of the general's letters and messages, on the 8th September, only thirteen days from the date of the launching of the *Confiance*, and five from the date of his having taken command of her, the commodore anchored abreast of the main body of the army. On the morning of the 11th, only a few hours after a portion of the crew had joined from Quebec, and while the shipwrights were still employed fitting the ringbolts for the guns, the commodore, with the *Linnet*, 16, *Pring*, 10, and *Finch*, 8, and 10 gunboats, got under weigh and stood out for Plattsburg Bay, where the whole American squadron was moored in line ahead, abreast the encampment of their army. It will be scarcely credited, but at this critical juncture Sir George Prevost, instead of ordering the attacking column to advance on the preconcerted signal from the *Confiance* being observed, directed the men to go to breakfast. Unsupported, and exposed to the fire of the shore batteries in addition to that from the powerful Yankee squadron, Commodore Downie engaged the enemy with the greatest gallantry. Early in the fight he was killed by a 24-lb. carronade, which was completely knocked off its slide by a round shot, and striking him on the right groin, inflicted so terrible a bruise that he was struck speechless, and expired in a few minutes. In a short time the British squadron was overpowered and captured, the gunboats alone making their escape. Fifty-seven men were killed and 92 wounded; the American loss, which was little less, consisting of 52 killed, 58 wounded, out of 981 men engaged.

Charges were about to be preferred by Commodore Sir James Yeo, as senior naval officer, against Sir George Prevost, when, fortunately for his good name, all proceedings against that general were stayed by the hand of death.

The peace with France in 1814 released a large number of Wellington's veterans, who were conducted to America under General Ross's command, to take part in the war. Rear-Admiral Pulteney Malcolm also arrived with some more ships, and the chief naval command was assumed by Sir Alexander Cochrane in the place of Sir John Warren, who had solicited his recall. In June and July, Admiral Cockburn penetrated up the Patuxent, the Potomac, and

other rivers in Virginia, and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, who were defeated with the loss of large amounts of military stores. On the 22nd August the rear-admiral, taking with him the armed boats of the squadron, attacked and dispersed the American Commodore Barney's flotilla of gunboats; and two days later, General Ross's small army of less than 4,000 men, assisted by a small naval brigade under Rear-Admiral Cockburn, achieved the victory of Bladensburg, defeating an American army of double their force. On the evening of the same day, Washington was entered, and thus was consummated this daring and successful march, the proposal of the gallant Cockburn. Then ensued the most unjustifiable and impolitic act of burning the chief public buildings of the capital, of which we have recently had a parallel in Paris, though in the latter instance the hand that held the brand was that of a friend, while on the present occasion both friend and foe alike fired the dockyards, ships, stores, and public buildings. On the day following the capture of Washington, the British force retraced its steps, and, on the 30th August, the whole was re-embarked on board the squadron, and descended the Patuxent.

While these operations were in progress, Captain James Gordon, in the *Seahorse*, 38, with the *Euryalus*, 36, Captain Charles Napier, and some bomb-vessels, ascended the Potomac to Alexandria, to co-operate in the attack on Washington on that side, and after encountering difficulties that would have daunted almost any hearts but those of British seamen, owing to the intricacies of the navigation and the strong batteries commanding the river, they compelled the surrender of Fort Washington, armed with 27 heavy guns, and of the city of Alexandria, and 21 prizes. The squadron on their return found the banks of the Potomac lined with men and heavy batteries, thrown up to attack the ships; but notwithstanding every impediment, the ships silenced the batteries, some mounting from 14 to 18 guns, and on the 9th September, twenty-three days after quitting the mouth of the river, the *Seahorse* and consorts arrived at their former anchorage. The loss throughout this arduous service amounted to only seven killed, including one lieutenant, and 35 wounded, among whom was Captain Napier.

A joint expedition under Sir John Sherbroke and Admiral

Griffith, under whose command were two ships of the line and six frigates and corvettes, sailed from Halifax on the 26th August, and proceeded up the Penobscot. After capturing the Fort of Castine, a portion of the soldiers and seamen were disembarked, and proceeded up the river as far as the town of Hamden, for the purpose of attacking the *Adams*, a 32-gun frigate, having on board a crew of 248 men. The British shore party consisted of 600 soldiers, and 160 seamen and marines, and having routed a body of nearly 1,400 militia, forced the captain of the *Adams* to burn his ship to prevent her falling into their hands. The town of Bangor was then captured, and six ships and vessels were destroyed and two brigs taken.

An attack was projected on Baltimore; but after gaining a victory within five miles of the city, in which the division of 600 seamen sustained a loss of 52 killed and wounded, the attempt was abandoned, chiefly in consequence of the death of General Ross, who was shot while reconnoitring. The troops were accordingly re-embarked to engage in the disastrous affair at New Orleans.

It is not our province to enter into details of this expedition, which was undertaken by the sister service, who therein lost their able general, Sir E. Pakenham, one of Wellington's subalterns, and numerous other gallant officers and no less brave men, the flower of that glorious army that marched from the lines of Torres Vedras over the Pyrenees.

On the 8th December, Sir Alexander Cochrane arrived off the Chandeleur Islands, and some of his ships having been fired at by American gunboats—which retired into Lake Borgue, at the head of which the army intended for the attack on New Orleans was to be disembarked—the admiral resolved to clear the lake of them. Accordingly, on the night of the 12th December, 42 launches, armed for service, with three gigs, carrying in all 980 men, were despatched, under the orders of Captain Lockyer, to attack the American flotilla, consisting of five gunboats, each carrying nine guns, and two smaller vessels, having crews of the aggregate of 245 men. After a pull of 36 miles against a strong current, about noon of the 14th the boats got alongside the enemy, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued. For some time

the second barge of the *Seahorse*, commanded by Captain Lockyer and Lieutenant Pratt, was engaged, single-handed, with the gunboat carrying the American commodore's flag, and nearly all the assailants were either killed or wounded, including among the latter Captain Lockyer (severely), and Lieutenant Pratt (mortally). The gallant band of survivors, however, managed to make good their footing on the enemy's deck, and other boats coming up, the vessel was soon compelled to surrender. The remaining gunboats were also boarded and carried, our seamen displaying their wonted dash and gallantry. In this affair the British, who suffered severely from the fire of the gunboats while advancing, lost three midshipmen and 14 men killed, and Captain Lockyer, four lieutenants (one mortally), four other officers, seven midshipmen (two mortally) and 61 men wounded. The American loss was 41 men. Commanders Lockyer, Montresor, and Roberts were promoted, as were likewise many of the lieutenants and midshipmen. No obstacle now intervened to prevent the disembarkation of the army, which was carried out, only to be succeeded by one of the most disastrous assaults in our military annals. The ratification of the treaty at Washington, on the 18th February, 1815, concluded the war; and let us hope that the peace which has now endured nearly sixty years between the two nations, may never be broken.

Between the years 1812 and 1815 many sanguinary frigate and boat actions took place between the navies of England and France. In February, 1812, Captain Sir James Yeo, when in command of the 32-gun frigate *Southampton*, engaged the *Amethyst*, 44, a French frigate at that time in the service of the Haytian Government. After an hour and a quarter's action, during which the admirable gunnery of the British frigate had shot away the enemy's bowsprit and all three masts, and almost silenced her fire, the *Amethyst* surrendered, having lost, out of her crew of 700 men, no less than 105 killed and 120 wounded, including the captain, a noted privateersman.

Not less severe was the loss sustained by the French seventy-four *Rivoli*, in her action off Venice, with the *Victorious*, 74, Captain Talbot. A protracted engagement of four and a half hours at half pistol-shot ensued, during which

the two ships engaged, with courses hauled up and royals set, when the *Rivoli*, being almost unmanageable, and her guns nearly silenced, was compelled to surrender, having lost 400 killed and wounded out of her crew of 800 men. At the same time, the *Weasel*, 18-gun brig, engaged the *Jena* and *Mercure*, of 16 guns, until the later blew up, with all her crew, only three men being saved; and the *Jena* made sail to escape. At a signal from Captain Talbot, the *Weasel* opened fire upon the *Rivoli*, just before she hauled down her flag, though the French seventy-four struck to the *Victorious*. The latter ship lost one officer and 25 men killed, and Captain Talbot (severely), one marine officer (mortally), four mates and midshipmen, and 93 men wounded. The captain of the *Victorious* was knighted; the first lieutenant, Peake, promoted to commander; and Captain Andrew, of the *Weasel*, advanced to post rank. The *Rivoli*, whose fore and main-masts fell a few days after the action, was added to the British navy.

The 10-gun brig *Rosario*, Captain Harvey, supported by the 16-gun brig *Griffon*, Captain Trollope, rendered good service in attacking a division of the Boulogne flotilla, consisting of 12 brigs and a lugger, of which the *Rosario* captured one brig and drove another on shore; the *Griffon* also capturing one. The boats of the brigs *Bermuda*, *Skylark*, *Castilian*, and *Phipps* also boarded and captured the 14-gun brig *Apelles*, although exposed to a heavy fire, and to musketry from the shore. The boats of the *Leviathan* and *America*, 74-gun ships, and 18-gun brig *Eclair*, carried a battery near the town of Languelia, and brought out 16 vessels laden with merchandise, losing 16 men killed and drowned, and 20 wounded. Equally successful were the men of the frigates *Impérieuse* and *Curaçoa* and brig *Eclair*, on a point of the coast near the same town. The 74-gun ship *Northumberland*, Captain Hon. Henry Hotham, and brig *Growler*, drove on shore, after a running fight, and destroyed the 40-gun French frigates *Arienne* and *Andromache*, and 16-gun brig *Mamelouk*, the *Northumberland* losing five killed and 27 wounded. A very spirited action was fought between the 64-gun ship *Dictator*, Captain Stewart, and 18-gun brig *Calypso*, Captain Weir, and a Danish 40-gun frigate, three 18-gun brigs, and a large number of gunboats which took refuge in a small creek on the coast of

Norway. Captain Stewart ran his ship aground within hail of the Danish squadron, and engaged the enemy with such success, that the frigate and brigs were compelled to surrender; the gunboats managing to escape. On the same occasion, the brigs *Podargus* and *Flamer* engaged some Danish batteries and another division of gunboats. The British ships lost nine killed and 35 wounded. The captains of the *Calypso* and *Podargus* and the first lieutenant of the *Dictator* were promoted. In this affair the Danes lost 300 killed and wounded; and a few weeks later suffered heavily in resisting the attempt made by the four boats of the *Horatio* to board an armed cutter. The officers and men of the 10-gun schooner *Sealark* performed a very gallant exploit in capturing, after a severe action, a French 16-gun privateer; the *Sealark*, out of her small crew of 60 men, had seven killed, and her commander (who was promoted), one midshipman, and 20 men wounded.

A singularly daring exploit was performed on the 10th August, 1812, at Bicudom, in the island of Alicant, when Lieutenant Dwyer, with a boat's crew of only seven men, landed and attacked, without hesitation, a battery manned by 80 Genoese, who abandoned the place. He had not been long in possession, however, before he was attacked by 200 French soldiers, and after a gallant defence, in which all his ammunition was expended, and every man of his small party was either killed or wounded, he himself receiving seventeen bayonet-wounds, the battery was regained by the enemy.

A desperate but indecisive action was fought on the 6th February, 1813, off the coast of Africa, between the 38-gun frigate *Amelia*, Captain Hon. F. Irby, and the French 40-gun frigate *Arethuse*. The action commenced at 7.20 p.m., and raged for four hours. Twice the ships fell on board of each other, during which the great guns and small arms were plied with telling effect on both sides; but in the end the ships dropped out of gun-shot, and the action was discontinued. Besides having her rigging cut to pieces, and her hull shattered, the *Amelia* lost, out of her crew of about 350 men and boys, four lieutenants, three other officers, and 44 men killed and mortally wounded, and her captain, eight officers (four of whom were midshipmen), and 81 men wounded. Not less

damaged was the *Arethuse*, whose casualties, out of 375 men, amounted to 31 killed and 74 wounded.

The year 1814 opened auspiciously by the capture by the *Venerable*, 74, of the French 40-gun frigates *Iphigénie* and *Alcmène:* the latter made a gallant resistance, losing 30 killed and 50 wounded. A sanguinary but indecisive action was fought near the Cape de Verd Islands, on the 23rd January, between the French 40-gun frigates *Etoile* and *Sultane*, and the British 36-gun frigates *Creole*, Captain Mackenzie, and *Astrea*, Captain Eveleigh, in which the former, out of 284 men and boys, had 10 killed and 26 wounded, and the latter, besides her gallant captain, lost 8 killed and 37 wounded. The loss on board the French frigates amounted to 40 killed and 60 wounded. Two months later both these frigates were captured, the *Sultane* by the *Hannibal*, 74, and the *Etoile*, after a protracted action of three hours' duration, by the 38-gun frigate *Hebrus*, Captain Palmer, during which she lost her mizenmast, and 40 killed and 73 wounded, out of a complement of 325 men. Of the gallant crew of the *Hebrus*, numbering 284 men and boys, one midshipman and 12 men were killed, and 25 wounded. Both prizes were added to the navy.

A gallantly-contested engagement was that between the *Eurotas*, 38, Captain Phillimore, and the French 40-gun frigate *Clorinde*, though unfortunately the crew of the former were robbed of the fruits of their exertions by the arrival of the *Dryad*, 36, to which ship the *Clorinde* surrendered, just as the *Eurotas*, having rigged three jury-masts, was approaching the French frigate to renew the action. The loss on board the British ship, which, as we have denoted, was totally dismasted, was three midshipmen and 18 men killed, and the captain, two officers, and 36 wounded, out of a complement of 329 hands. The *Clorinde*, which commenced the action with 344 men, had 30 killed and 40 wounded. Many gallant engagements between single ships and boat actions took place during the years 1812–15, in nearly every instance our brave seamen being successful; but want of space debars us from even barely enumerating them. Most remarkable was the devotion displayed by Lieutenant Jones and the officers and men, numbering in all 41, of the little schooner *Alphea*, in

engaging a 14-gun French privateer, until the former blew up with every soul on board; also the gallantry of the boats of the 74-gun ship *Swiftsure*, in boarding a French privateer schooner carrying eight guns and 93 men, on which occasion the British loss was one lieutenant, one midshipman, and four men killed and mortally wounded, and 14 officers and men wounded. Also worthy of chronicle are Captain Charles Napier's achievements in the *Thames*, 32, when he destroyed the fort of Sapri, and captured nearly 30 vessels; and again in the *Euryalus*, 36, when he captured or destroyed 23 vessels, and performed other gallant acts. Captain Jeremiah Coghlan (the same who so gallantly cut out the *Cerbère*) performed good service, as did also the boats of the *Eagle*, 74, under command of Lieutenant Cannon, and the boats of the *Bacchante*, during the time she was commanded by that gallant seaman Captain Hoste, the hero of Lissa.

The entry into Paris, on the 31st March, 1814, of the allied armies, and the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau on the 28th of the following month, was succeeded by the removal of the French emperor to the island of Elba, whither he was conveyed by the *Undaunted*, 38, Captain Ussher. The peace that followed was short and deceptive. Napoleon's return to France on the 1st March of the following year, brought about the period of warfare known as the Hundred Days, during which the naval operations were of an unimportant character.

The *Rivoli*, 74, captured in the Mediterrancan, after a short running fight, the French 40-gun frigate *Melpomène*, and the day before the battle of Waterloo the 18-gun brig *Pilot*, Captain Nicolas, chased and gallantly brought to action the French ship *Légère*, 28, which, however, managed to escape, after having lost 100 men, the *Pilot* only losing 14 killed and wounded. For the second time, Napoleon found himself on board a British man-of-war as a captive, and on the 7th August was transferred from the *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland, to whom he had surrendered himself, to the *Northumberland*, 74, Captain Ross, bearing the flag of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, K.C.B., which sailed on the following day for St. Helena.

The following is an abstract of our gains and losses during

the protracted period of hostilities with various nations, commencing with the rupture with France in May, 1803:—French: 26 ships of the line and 55 frigates captured, and nine ships of the line and 15 frigates destroyed. Dutch: 10 ships of various classes taken and destroyed. Spanish: 11 ships of the line and seven frigates captured and destroyed. Danish: 18 ships of the line and nine frigates captured, and one destroyed. One Russian ship of the line, six Turkish ships, and four American frigates captured or destroyed. The grand total is 173 ships of the line and frigates captured or destroyed, of which 101 were added to the navy. During the same period, our losses consisted of only 83 frigates captured and seven destroyed, not a single sail of the line having struck to an enemy. The enumeration of our losses and gains, from the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1793, to the peace of Amiens, has already been laid before the reader.

Before concluding the account of the services of the British navy during the twenty-two years' war, ended by the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena, forming, as it does, the most brilliant portion of our naval history, it should be mentioned that throughout the earlier portion of the memorable struggle known as the Peninsular War, the fleet under Admiral Berkeley, in the Tagus, afforded valuable aid —and indeed the same may be said throughout the war— to the invincible general whose name is the proudest boast of the sister service; and this the great Duke of Wellington was himself always foremost to acknowledge. His letters to Admirals Berkeley, Keats, Popham, and Collier, which appear in his despatches, amply testify to this; and so great was the confidence he placed in British seamen, that at one time he solicited a reinforcement of a brigade of seamen and marines, though the Admiralty refused to sanction the proposal.

Not only in Spain, and up the Adour and Garonne in France, were the ships and boats of the fleet of material assistance, but in the north of Europe, at the defence of Riga and reduction of Glückstadt on the Elbe, our seamen co-operated with our allies, and astonished friends and foes alike by the skill and courage with which they worked their guns on shore as artillerymen, or stormed batteries, as we are in the habit of saying, *as only Britons can.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

1816—1858.

The Bombardment of Algiers, 27th August, 1816—Wars waged with Pirates between 1816 and 1858—The First and Second Burmese War—Operations connected with the Suppression of the Slave-trade.

WITHIN a year of the conclusion of the Great War, we found ourselves once more involved in hostilities, which afforded a favourable opportunity for the navy to earn fresh laurels. The enemy with whom we were now about to contend, was the semi-civilized power that held sway on the African seaboard in the Mediterranean. For years the Corsairs of the Barbary states had been the terror of all peaceful voyagers on that inland sea, and at length Lord Exmouth, better known as Sir Edward Pellew, one of the most dashing of our admirals, who now commanded in the Mediterranean, received instructions from his Government to demand a cessation of the iniquitous conduct of the barbarians.

Accordingly, his lordship, in March, 1816, proceeded with his fleet to Tunis and Tripoli, which submitted to his demands; but the Dey of Algiers, confident in the strength of his fortifications, haughtily refused to decree the abolition of Christian slavery, though he consented to release any British subjects imprisoned in his dungeons, and to allow the ransoming of Italian and Spanish slaves. Lord Exmouth, uncertain whether English public opinion would support him in insisting on the entire abolition of slavery in the Barbary states, returned to England to receive definite instructions from Lord Liverpool's Government. On his being asked the number of ships he would require to reduce Algiers in the event of the Dey still remaining obdurate, Lord

Exmouth, to the surprise of the Admiralty, who remembered that Nelson named 10 sail of the line as the smallest force necessary to do the work effectually, replied that he would be contented with five or six sail of the line, as many frigates, and some bomb-vessels and brigs. Of course the admiral received *carte blanche*, and accordingly, on the 28th July, he sailed from Plymouth Sound with the following ships :—

Guns.		
100	*Queen Charlotte*...	Admiral Lord Exmouth, G.C.B. (Blue). Captain James Brisbane, C.B.
98	*Impregnable*	Rear-Admiral David Milne (Blue). Captain Edward Brace, C.B.
74	*Superb*	„ Charles Ekins.
	Minden	„ William Paterson.
	Albion	„ John Coode.
50	*Leander*	„ Edward Chetham, C.B.
46	*Severn*	„ Hon. Frederick Aylmer.
	Glasgow	„ Hon. Anthony Maitland.
26	*Granicus*	„ William Wise.
	Hebrus	„ Edward Palmer, C.B.

Four bomb-vessels and five brigs.

On Lord Exmouth's arrival at Gibraltar, he found a Dutch squadron lying there, and the officer commanding, Vice-Admiral Baron Van de Cappellen, having solicited permission to assist in the praiseworthy task of bringing the Dey to his senses, Lord Exmouth could scarcely decline the offer. The fleet, which was now strengthened by these four Dutch 40-gun frigates and two smaller vessels, carrying respectively 30 and 18 guns, and five British gunboats, arrived in sight of Algiers on the 27th August. This famous city, which had never submitted to a foreign foe since our own mighty Blake had silenced its guns, was fortified by works of great strength.

Allen, the naval historian, thus enumerates the formidable defences that made the city well-nigh impregnable :— Upon the various batteries on the north side, 80 pieces of cannon and eight heavy mortars were mounted, and the water was so shallow, that a large ship could not approach within reach of them. Between the north wall of the city and the commencement of the pier (which is about 250 yards in length, and connects the town with the lighthouse)

were about 20 guns; and a semicircular battery, mounting two tiers of guns, about 44 in all, stood on the northern projection of the mole. To the southward of it, nearly in line with the pier, was the Lighthouse battery of three tiers, mounting 48 guns; next to which was the "Eastern battery," mounting 66 guns, in three tiers, flanked by four other batteries of two tiers, mounting altogether 60 guns; and on the mole-head were two long 68-pounders, described as being twenty feet in length. The total number of guns on the mole, consisting of 32-, 24-, and 18-pounders, was at least 220. The Fish-market battery, about 300 yards west from the south mole-head, mounted 15 guns in three tiers: between it and the southern extremity of the city were two batteries of five guns each. Beyond the city in this direction were a castle and three batteries, mounting altogether about 70 guns, and in the rear of the city and on the heights were several other batteries. The total number of guns mounted on all these works exceeded 1,000, 500 of which were on the sea-face, and they were manned by a force of 4,000 fierce and fanatical Moslems. In addition, the entire Algerine fleet, consisting of nine large frigates and corvettes, and nearly 50 gunboats, lay ready for service in the inner harbour.

To a demand for the release of the British consul, who had been detained, the Dey returned a prompt refusal. Again, on the morning of the 27th August, a dead calm then prevailing, his lordship sent in a flag of truce, demanding the perpetual abolition of Christian slavery, and the release of all Europeans. Taking advantage of the sea-breeze which had sprung up, the fleet sailed in, and on the expiration of two hours, Lord Exmouth receiving no answer, bore up for the attack in the prescribed order. The *Queen Charlotte* led the way, and at 2.35 anchored with springs about fifty yards from the mole-head. While securing a warp to an Algerine brig, she was fired upon, and almost immediately afterwards, the *Implacable* and *Superb*, following in her wake, received two shots. First waving his hand to the crowds of people assembled on the parapet of the mole-head to gaze at the great three-decker, to descend, Lord Exmouth gave the order to open fire. The well-practised seamen gunners obeyed with a broadside, and

each ship, as she took up her station, opened with her guns.

On the larboard bow of the flagship lay the *Leander* (the same frigate that had fought at the Nile), with her starboard after-guns bearing upon the mole, and her foremost ones upon the Fish-market battery. Ahead of her lay the *Severn*, her starboard broadside bearing full upon the same battery. Close to the *Severn* was the *Glasgow*, her larboard guns bearing on the town batteries. On the port quarter of the *Queen Charlotte* lay the *Superb*, her starboard broadside bearing on the 60-gun battery, next to that on the mole-head. The *Impregnable*, not being sufficiently advanced when the firing commenced, brought up outside her appointed place, and lay exposed, at the distance of 500 yards, to the concentrated fire of the Lighthouse and Eastern batteries. The *Minden* brought to in the space between the *Impregnable* and *Superb*, and the *Albion* anchored within her own length astern of the *Minden*, but was hove close up that ship by means of a hawser passed out of the gun-room port of the latter.

The Dutch admiral's flagship *Melampus* anchored close astern of the *Glasgow*, two of his frigates being astern, two farther out, and the corvette under way during the battle. The *Hebrus* anchored a little without the line, on the larboard quarter of the *Queen Charlotte*, and the captain of the *Granicus* displayed the utmost skill and gallantry by the seamanlike manner in which he anchored his ship in a space scarcely exceeding her own length between the flagship and *Superb*. The bomb-vessels threw their shells at a distance of 2,000 yards from the enemy's works, and the brigs and the flotilla of gunboats were placed where they could be of the greatest service.

So precise and tremendous was the fire of the *Queen Charlotte*, that, after the third broadside, the end of the mole was razed to its foundation. Springing her broadside towards the batteries over the town gate leading into the mole, their demolition was as speedily effected. The *Leander* engaged the enemy's gunboats, and so completely silenced them, that at four the admiral despatched the barge of his flagship to set fire to the frigate lying across the mole. This service was gallantly executed by Lieutenant Richards with the loss of only two men.

The *Impregnable* suffered more severely than any ship of the fleet, and about half-past four Admiral Milne had to request assistance from Lord Exmouth. The *Glasgow* was despatched to divert some of the fire from the line-of-battle ship, but, owing to the calm, was unable to take up the required position. This frigate, and more particularly the *Leander*, experienced heavy losses from the fire of the Fish-market and neighbouring batteries.

About seven all the enemy's vessels within the harbour were set on fire by the mortar and rocket boats, and the flames were soon communicated to the arsenal and store-houses, and to the city itself. The spectacle at this time was grand beyond description. At 10 o'clock, the upper tiers of the batteries on the mole being nearly all destroyed, and the lower tiers almost silenced, the *Queen Charlotte* cut her cables, and, favoured by a land-breeze, stood out to sea, signalling the other ships to follow motions. Before 2 a.m. on the following morning (the 28th August), the entire fleet was at anchor, out of reach of the enemy's shot.

The loss sustained in this memorable bombardment was very heavy. The *Queen Charlotte* had eight killed and 131 wounded (some mortally), including three lieutenants, two marine officers, five midshipmen, and two non-combatant officers. The *Impregnable* lost 50 killed, including one midshipman, and 160 officers and men wounded. The *Superb* had eight killed, including a master's mate and a midshipman, and 84 wounded, among whom were Captain Ekins, three lieutenants, and two midshipmen. The *Minden* lost seven killed, and two midshipmen and 35 men wounded. The *Albion* had one midshipman and two men killed, and Captain Coode, one midshipman, and 14 men wounded. The *Leander* lost two marine officers, three midshipmen, and 12 men killed, and two lieutenants, five midshipmen, one clerk, and 110 men wounded. The *Severn* had three killed, and five midshipmen and 29 men wounded. The *Glasgow* lost 10 killed, and one lieutenant, the master, a marine officer, five midshipmen, and 29 men wounded. The *Granicus* had 16 killed, including two marine officers and one midshipman, and one lieutenant, four midshipmen, and 35 men wounded. The *Hebrus* lost one midshipman and three men killed, and one midshipman and 16 men wounded. The *Infernal*,

bomb-vessel, had one officer and one man killed, and six officers (including a lieutenant and three midshipmen) and 11 men wounded.

The total British loss was 128 killed and 690 wounded; that of our allies, the Dutch, amounted to 13 killed and 52 wounded.

On the 29th August, Captain Brisbane, the flag captain, had an interview with the Dey at the palace, and the final result of the negotiations was that all the admiral's demands were acceded to. Upwards of 1,200 Christian slaves were given up, as well as 382,500 dollars, advanced by Naples and Sicily to redeem their subjects, and 30,000 dollars were paid to the British consul for compensation for the loss of his property. The fleet returned to England on the 3rd September, having performed a service of mercy and justice which must ever redound to the credit of the country, scarcely less than to the gallant seamen, who risked life and limb with traditional gallantry and success.

Lord Exmouth was created a viscount of the United Kingdom, Rear-Admiral Milne received the ribbon of a KnightCommander of the Bath, and Captains Ekins, Aylmer, Wise, Maitland, Paterson, and Coode were made companions of the order. Three lieutenants of the *Queen Charlotte*, two of the *Impregnable*, the first lieutenants of all the ships, and some other officers of the same rank, were promoted, as were also a great number of mates and midshipmen.

From that day to the conquest and occupation of their country in 1830 by the French, the Algerines only once gave us any trouble; this was in 1824, when, in the most gallant manner, Mr. Michael Quin, the first lieutenant of the *Naiad*, cut out, with the boats of that frigate, a large 16-gun brig from under the castle of Bona, mounting 40 guns.

Between the years 1816 and 1840 profound peace reigned in European waters, and almost the only shot fired, with the exception of the interlude of Navarino, in 1827, was against Greek pirates, in the Archipelago. The navy was also engaged against desperadoes of a like character in West Indian waters, in the Chinese seas and Straits of Malacca, and, most daring of all, against the pirates of the Persian Gulf. The Jowassamees, as these freebooters were called, were the most powerful of five tribes of pirates, and had their head-quarters

at the town of Ras el Khymah, situated on that portion of the shores of the Persian Gulf which was known as the Pirate Coast. So daring had their depredations become, that so far back as 1809 an expedition sailed from Bombay to chastise them. The naval portion consisted of the frigates *La Chiffone*, Captain Wainwright; *Caroline*, Captain Gordon; and the East-India Company's ships of war *Mornington*, 28, *Nautilus*, 14, six small brigs, and a bomb-vessel.

The military consisted of the 65th regiment, a detachment of Bombay artillery, and 1,000 sepoys.

Ras el Khymah was first bombarded and then stormed, and warlike stores, magazines, and 48 large vessels were burnt. From thence the expedition proceeded to Lingah, on the opposite coast, and Luft, in the island of Kishm, which were both captured, though not without severe loss, and all the piratical craft were destroyed. Other places were taken, and then the squadron, leaving the Persian Gulf, proceeded to Sheenaz, not far from Muscat, into which no less than 4,000 shot and shell were thrown, when, a practicable breach being made, it was stormed by the soldiers. The expedition now returned to Bombay; but the pirates soon became bolder than ever, and even appeared off Mocha, capturing four British vessels near that port. Accordingly, in September, 1819, a second strong expedition was fitted out and dispatched from Bombay, Sir William Grant being in military command, while Captain Collier, of the frigate *Liverpool*, acted as commodore. Several ships of the Indian navy again took part in the operations, which were chiefly carried out by the military, who numbered 1,700 Europeans and 2,500 native soldiers. Again Ras el Khymah was bombarded by the fleet and stormed by the army, with severe loss to the Jowassamees. Sharga and other minor places were also taken, and all the pirate craft that fell into the commodore's hands, in these strongholds, were burnt. The Jowassamees never forgot the stern lesson read to them by British power, and they have ever since been kept in subjection by the cruisers of the Indian navy, though not without occasional passages of arms, until the abolition of the service remitted the police duties of the Persian Gulf to ships of the Royal navy.

Captain Chads did good service in 1836, in repressing

piracy in Malay waters, and seven years later the famous Rajah Brooke, of Sarawak, and Captain Keppel, of the *Dido*, were equally successful in their efforts to combat this monster evil. Those of my readers who desire detailed information of the operations in Bornean seas, undertaken by the gallant Keppel, in conjunction with the late Sir James Brooke, should read the work of the former officer on the subject. In the latter part of 1843, the *Dido* was recalled to China by Admiral Sir W. Parker, but Keppel returned the next year, bringing with him also the Hon. East-India Company's steamer *Phlegethon*, and inflicted a heavy blow on the pirates of the river Sikarran, capturing Karangan, their headquarters. In 1845, the new commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Cochrane, visited Borneo in person, and superintended the destruction by two boats of the squadron, commanded by Captain Talbot, of the piratical stronghold up the river Songibasar, which falls into the Bay of Maloodoo near Labuan. Again in July, 1846, an expedition, consisting of some 600 seamen and marines, with field guns, embarked in vessels of light draught, including the steamer *Phlegethon*, which was particularly serviceable, and under the immediate command of Captain Mundy (now Sir R. Mundy, K.C.B.), the admiral also being present, the fortified position of Pulo Bungore, and the city of Brune itself, were captured with small loss on our side. Operations against Chinese pirates were also successfully carried out between the years 1854—1858, by Captain O'Callaghan, commanding the *Encounter*, and by Commander Fellowes, of the *Rattler*, whose boats, assisted by those of the American frigate *Powhattan*, captured 18 junks. In this desperate action no less than 500 pirates were estimated to have been killed, while our loss consisted of 24 British and American seamen. Still more successful was Commander E. Vansittart, of the *Bittern*, in his action in August, 1855, with 40 junks, off the mouth of the river which leads to the city of Fushan: in the first day's fighting eight junks were disabled or sunk, and, soon after, Captain Vansittart captured 12 more, each having 10 guns and crews of 50 men. In September, the same distinguished young officer captured 22 more junks, which for more than an hour maintained a heavy fire against the *Bittern*.

The gunboat *Staunch*, Lieutenant Wildman, and the

Surprise, under Commander Cresswell, were equally successful against these vermin in 1858, and in the same year Captain N. Vansittart,—the same officer who a few years later fell gloriously at the attack on the Peiho forts,—at the head of a squadron, in the last week of August, destroyed or captured a 14-gun battery, 100 junks, carrying 230 guns, besides killing and wounding 400 pirates, giving over to justice 36 more, and freeing from captivity 60 prisoners.

Of the achievements of the navy in voyages of exploration in the Arctic and Antarctic seas, commencing with the year 1818, particularly the noble deeds of such men as Ross, Parry, and Franklin, of Back, Collinson, McClure, and McClintock, we must omit to give even the barest outline, as it is a subject foreign to the battles of the British navy; but they form not the least brilliant chapter in the history of this noble service: not less heroism was required to battle against Arctic frost, and the horrors of a Polar winter, than to stand up against the shot and shell, the bullet and cutlass of the Frenchman, the Spaniard, or the American. For the same reason we must omit all mention of the grand survey made in unknown waters all over the globe,* those by the surveying officers of the Indian navy being not inferior in ability of execution, or importance, to the surveys of their brethren of the Royal service. Passing over, with only a bare mention, the attack on Mocha, in 1817, and again in 1820, when some rather severe fighting took place, before the town was reduced by the squadron, chiefly consisting of vessels of the Bombay marine, under the command of Captain Lumley, of the *Topaze*, we come to the year 1824, when hostilities ensued between the Indian Government and the King of Burmah. The operations were chiefly military, and therefore do not call for detailed notice. The capture of Rangoon, however, was effected by the *Liffey*, 50, Commodore Grant; and the work done by the flotilla on the rivers and coasts of Burmah and Arracan greatly conduced to the successful termination of the war.

The squadron that rendezvoused at and sailed from Port Cornwallis, in the Andaman Islands, consisted, besides the *Liffey*, of the *Larne*, 20, commanded by the great novelist

* For details of the Indian Maritime Surveys, see Mr. Clement Markham's Memoir on the Indian Surveys. 1871.

Captain Marryatt, and a few sloops and smaller vessels of the Royal and Indian navies; but frequent changes took place in the constitution of the force, owing to the disease caused by the Arracan fever, which decimated both army and navy alike. Commander Chads, who brought the *Arachne*, 18, to take the place of the *Larne*, exhibited all his former daring and fertility of resource in engaging the Burmese stockades on the Irrawaddy, particularly at Kemmendine.

Early in 1825 Captain Alexander was in supreme command, and he again was succeeded, in the summer of that year, by Commodore Sir James Brisbane. The mortar-vessels and gunboats under this distinguished officer proceeded up into the heart of Burmah, in company with the army, which, commanded in chief by Sir Archibald Campbell, marched by the banks of the Irrawaddy. The navy assisted at the capture of Donnabew and Prome, in the subsequent operations before the latter place in December, and in the capture of Mellown, when the guns of the Bengal artillery were directed by the veteran Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock. After the fall of Mellown, Captain Chads again succeeded to the command, Sir James Brisbane's return to Rangoon being necessitated by his state of health; and the gallant former first-lieutenant of the *Java* was present at the final defeat at Pagahm Mew, and the signature of the treaty of peace under the walls of Ava, the capital.

Not less arduous was the service performed on the coast of Arracan by Commodore Hayes, of the Indian navy, at the head of a flotilla which he had himself organized. This gallant old seaman had served continuously since 1782. He had been engaged in our struggle against Tippoo Sultaun, both on shore and afloat, up to 1799; and when in command of the small cruisers *Vigilant*, *Fly*, and *Swift*, between the years 1797–1803, performed feats of extraordinary gallantry in attacking or repelling the pirates who swarmed along the western coasts of India, from Cutch to Ceylon, on one occasion being desperately wounded. In 1811 he commanded, as commodore of the first class, the Indian navy contingent that took part in the reduction of Java; and in 1824, besides organizing and leading the Arracan flotilla, he raised and embodied for

service 1,600 native seamen, and a battalion of 650 Sepoy marines. Manned with these natives in addition to their European crews, he led his squadron of ships and gunboats against the stockades of Chumballa, which he engaged for two hours within pistol-shot. It was one of the severest contests that took place during the operations in Burmah, and Horace Hayman Wilson, the historian of the war, speaks highly of the gallantry displayed by Commodore Hayes. Equally praiseworthy were his servicse when co-operating with General Richards and other officers. The commodore was knighted for his services.

In the second Burmese war of 1852, the Royal and Indian navies shared the honours with the army under General Godwin. The fleet, consisting of the Queen's ships *Fox*, *Serpent*, *Rattler*, *Hermes*, and *Salamander;* the Indian navy steamers *Feroze*, *Moozuffer*, *Zenobia*, *Medusa*, *Sesostris*, and *Berenice*, and seven of the Bengal marine steamers, took part in the capture of Martaban and Rangoon. Admiral Austin, having relegated the command of the fleet to Commodore Lambert, of the *Fox*, returned to India, and the commodore, in conjunction with the general, proceeded to Bassein. On the 18th May, the squadron, consisting of the Honourable East-India Company's steamers, which, being of lighter draught, could proceed up the river, attacked the town of Bassein, while the soldiers and a naval brigade stormed the works. Then followed the capture of Prome and Pegu; but the continued successes hitherto attending the operations were dimmed by the disastrous affair of February, 1853, when a party of 600 men, half of whom were seamen under the command of Captain Loch, suffered a repulse near Donnabew, in which the naval brigade, on whom the brunt of the affair lay, lost nearly 60 men, among the number being the gallant Loch and his first lieutenant, Mr. Kennedy. On the conclusion of the war, the province of Pegu was annexed to the territories of the East-India Company, the Irrawaddy being opened up to British trade.

In South America, our seamen, in the year 1845, earned laurels by the audacity with which the steamers *Gorgon*, Captain Hotham, *Firebrand*, Captain J. Hope, and some small vessels, advanced a distance of 800 miles up the Parana, into the heart of a hostile country, and, in conjunc-

tion with a few French gunboats, successfully engaged most powerfully-armed batteries, supported by large bodies of troops, at Obligado, a position of great strength, 100 miles from the mouth of the Parana, and at San Lorenzo, the same distance above Obligado.

Very brilliant actions have been fought by the navy in the suppression of the slave-trade; and indeed there is, perhaps, no chapter in the history of the service more gratifying, or indeed more glorious, than that which treats of the devotion displayed, of the sacrifices cheerfully undergone, and of the successes attained in the glorious prosecution of the suppression of that most infamous of all traffics, the trade in human flesh and blood. Both on the east and west coasts of Africa, numberless have been the dashing exploits performed by British naval officers and men; and their brethren of the Indian navy, on the east coast of that continent, have also shared in the dangers accruing from their participation in this honourable service.

Every reader of naval fiction is conversant with the features of this work of hunting for slavers,—the chase, the search, oftentimes the fight with the desperadoes who man these craft. Few, however, except those who have been engaged in the service, can understand the distressing character of the too frequent accompaniment of a pull in a ship's boat of several miles over a glassy sea, on which the rays of a tropical sun are poured with a fierceness that makes the brain reel again.

Among the most hardly-contested actions fought by our cruisers was the capture, in 1830, of a famous Spanish slave-ship, carrying 20 heavy guns and 150 men, by the 16-gun sloop *Primrose*, Captain Broughton; also the feat of the *Black Joke*, Lieutenant Ramsay,* carrying two guns and 44 men, in boarding and carrying, after a desperate conflict, a slaver having five guns and 77 picked men. A great blow was inflicted on the slave-trade of the west coast of Africa by the destruction of the barracoons, or fortified buildings for the reception of slaves, by Commander Hon. J. Denman, who, landing at Gallinas in 1849, burnt these receptacles and all their contents. Having then destroyed the

* The late Admiral Sir William Ramsay, K.C.B., who died in 1871.

boats employed in the trade, he embarked 900 slaves on board his ship, the *Wanderer*, for conveyance to Sierra Leone, where they were restored to liberty. Seven years later Commander A. Murray burnt a large barracoon at Cape Mount, and in 1849 destroyed some more at Gallinas. A gallant exploit was performed in 1851 by a squadron under Commodore Henry Bruce, who captured the slave-dealing settlement at Lagos, though with the loss of 17 killed and nearly 80 wounded. In January, 1858, and again in March of the following year, Commodore Wise inflicted heavy blows on the Soosos, a tribe extensively engaged in purveying slaves for the Portuguese, Brazilian, and other slave-ships; and in 1861 his successor, Commodore Edmonstone, severely chastised the King of Porto Novo with a handful of British seamen, defeating his army of 10,000 warriors.

The successes of the cruisers of the late Indian navy and of her Majesty's ships on the east coast of Africa, from Natal to the Red Sea, in the suppression of the slave-trade, were not less signal, and have been equally productive of beneficial results.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Navarino, 1827—Syria, 1840.

THE history of the War of Independence waged by Greece against Turkey forms a glorious page in the annals of that little kingdom, and one of great interest to every Englishman, not only on account of the national sympathy against despotism, but also because of our share in its ultimate success, and of the untimely fate that befell England's greatest poet, Lord Byron, who died at Missolonghi, in 1824, while actively engaged in the mission of freeing the land he loved, with a disinterested and noble enthusiasm that does him infinite honour. The sanguinary and remorseless character of the proceedings of the ablest of the Sultan's generals, Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, who, by his excesses in the Morea, rivalled the evil fame attaching to the names of Tilly and Alva, at length drew down upon the Turkish Government the indignation of all Christendom. In July, 1827, England, France, and Russia resolved to compel the Porte to acknowledge the actual independence of Greece, on condition of receiving an annual tribute; and to enforce such an unpalatable demand, each power furnished a squadron, which was despatched to Navarino, on the western side of the Morea, where was lying a fleet which had brought reinforcements to Ibrahim Pasha.

Sir Edward Codrington, one of Nelson's captains, commanding the British fleet, arrived at Navarino in September, in company with the French squadron, under M. de Rigny, and on the 25th of the same month, a conference was held with Ibrahim Pasha, at which the latter agreed to suspend hostilities against the Greeks until he could communicate with the Sultan. Codrington now detached a portion of his fleet to refit at Malta, and repaired in his flagship to Zante,

whence he frequently communicated with Captain Fellowes, whom he left with the *Dartmouth* frigate to watch the Turkish fleet. Twice Ibrahim Pasha endeavoured to elude the terms of the treaty, by sending ships to act against the Greeks in the Gulf of Patras; but the British admiral intercepted both squadrons, and, on the 15th October, the combined fleets, reinforced by a Russian squadron under Admiral Heiden, assembled off Navarino, with the object, if necessary, of compelling Ibrahim Pasha to cease his brutal proceedings against the inhabitants of the Morea, whom he was slaughtering with increased and remorseless cruelty.

On the 19th October, Sir Edward Codrington issued his instructions to the captains of the combined fleets, and at 1.30 p.m. on the following day, he hoisted the signal to prepare for action, while the fleet stood into the harbour of Navarino, the British and French squadrons forming the weather or starboard column, and the Russians the lee line.

The following were the ships of the respective squadrons:—

BRITISH SQUADRON.

Guns.		
80	*Asia*	Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K.C.B Captain Edward Curzon.
74	*Genoa*	Commodore Walter Bathurst.
	Albion	Captain John A. Ommanney.
46	*Dartmouth*	„ Thomas Fellowes.
50	*Glasgow*	„ Hon. James Maude.
48	*Cambrian*	„ Gawen Hamilton.
28	*Talbot*	„ Hon. Fred. Spencer.

Corvette *Rose*, three brigs, and one cutter.

FRENCH SQUADRON.

Guns.		Guns.	
60	*Syrène*, flag of Rear-Admiral de Rigny.	78	*Scipion.*
80	*Tridente.*	80	*Breslau.*
		48	*Armide.*

And two corvettes.

RUSSIAN SQUADRON.

Guns.		Guns.	
80	*Azoff*, flag of Rear-Admiral Heiden.	48	*Constantine.*
76	*Gargonte.*	46	*Proveskey.*
	Ezekiel.		*Elena.*
	Alexandre Newsky.		*Castor.*

The harbour of Navarino is about six miles in circum-

ference; but the island of Sphacteria stretches across its mouth, affording only an entrance about 600 yards in width. On the right-hand side of this passage stood a fortress mounting 125 guns, and on the extremity of the island, almost opposite to it, was placed another fort; while a third battery at the northern end of the island also commanded the harbour.

The Turkish and Egyptian ships were moored, with great skill, in the form of a crescent; the largest of them presenting their broadsides towards the centre, and the smaller being drawn up inside, filling up the intervals: at the entrance of the harbour lay six fireships.

The fleet consisted of one ship of 84 guns, two seventy-fours, two ships of 64 guns, two of 60, two of 50, 15 frigates carrying 48 guns, 26 large corvettes, 11 brigs, and the fireships.

At 2 p.m., the *Asia*, leading the line, passed the heavy battery on the mainland unmolested, and steering up the harbour, anchored close alongside a ship of the line, bearing the flag of the Capitan Bey, and on the larboard, or inner quarter, of a double-banked frigate, having on board Moharem Bey, the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian squadron. The *Genoa* brought up abreast of a double-banked frigate, and the *Albion* took up her position astern of the *Genoa*. The Russian admiral was instructed to engage four Egyptian ships to windward of the fleet, besides others to leeward, the French and Russian ships of the line following those of the English line, and the whole being closed by the Russian frigates. The *Armide*, and the frigates *Cambria*, *Glasgow*, and *Talbot*, took up stations abreast the three British ships of the line, and the *Dartmouth*, with the smaller vessels, directed their attention to the fireships. The action was commenced by the latter, which fired upon a boat of the *Dartmouth*, and killed Lieutenant Fitzroy as he was proceeding on a mission from Captain Fellowes to the Turkish officer in command. This was returned by the *Dartmouth*, and soon a general engagement followed.

At first the *Asia* only directed her guns upon the Turkish admiral's ship, but soon afterwards the Egyptian commodore opened fire, when Sir Edward Codrington replied with so crushing a cannonade, that she was, to quote the admiral's

despatch, "effectually destroyed by the *Asia's* fire, sharing the same fate as his brother admiral on the starboard side, and falling to leeward a complete wreck." The Turkish ships of the inner line were now enabled to rake the *Asia*, which suffered severely in consequence; her mizen-mast was shot away, several guns disabled, and her crew began to fall fast, the admiral himself being struck by a musket-ball, which knocked his watch out of his pocket.

The *Genoa* also sustained heavy losses, owing to the concentrated fire to which she was exposed. Her gallant captain, Bathurst, was wounded early in the action by a splinter, which struck off his hat and lacerated his face; soon a second shot carried off his coat-tails, and at length a grape-shot entering his side, passed through his body. This last wound was, of course mortal, but he lingered eleven hours in great suffering. His body was brought to England at his particular request, and he was buried at Plymouth, with military honours, on the 27th December.

The *Albion* was also exposed to the fire of a cluster of ships, and after repulsing an attempt to board by a 64-gun ship, a party of her seamen boarded in turn, and captured the latter; the prize was, however, soon discovered to be on fire, and, after she was relinquished, blew up with a tremendous explosion. The *Albion* engaged others of the enemy's ships until dusk, when she stood out to clear herself from the blazing mass.

The remaining ships of the allied fleet did good service; the smaller vessels, particularly the *Hind* cutter, Lieutenant Robb, carrying eight guns and 30 men, engaging the enemy's frigates and batteries with the greatest intrepidity. Two fireships were burnt, one was sunk, and a fourth blew up; the *Dartmouth* and *Rose* being chiefly instrumental in effecting this result. Sir Edward Codrington cordially acknowledged the valuable assistance afforded him by the Russian and French squadrons, without which, indeed, his small fleet must have been overpowered. The result of this spiritedly conducted battle, as regarded the hostile fleet, was concisely put by the British admiral in the following passage of his official letter:—"Out of a fleet composed of 81 men-of-war, only one frigate and 15 smaller vessels are in a state ever to be again put to sea."

The losses sustained by the allies were severe. The *Asia* had five officers and 14 men killed, and six officers (one of them, a midshipman,* the son of the admiral) and 51 men wounded. The *Genoa* lost Commodore Bathurst, three officers (two of them midshipmen), and 22 men killed, and four officers and 29 wounded.

The *Albion* had two officers and eight men killed, and seven officers and 42 wounded; the *Dartmouth*, two officers and four men killed, and two officers and six wounded; the *Talbot*, one midshipman and five men killed, and four officers and 13 wounded. The *Rose* lost three men killed, and her commander, Lieutenant Maine Lyons (mortally), two midshipmen, and 12 men wounded. The remainder of the British ships altogether lost two officers and three men killed, and one officer and 17 wounded.

The total of casualties was as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.
British	75	197
French	43	144
Russian	59	139
	177	480

Grand total of killed and wounded, 657.

Sir Edward Codrington was nominated a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and received the Crosses of St. George from the Emperor of Russia, and St. Louis from the King of France. The captains and commanders were named Companions of the Bath, and received crosses from the foreign sovereigns; Captain Fellowes, of the *Dartmouth*, who was instrumental in saving from destruction the French flagship *Syrène*, receiving in addition the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. The commanders were made post-captains, and the first lieutenants and senior mates were also promoted. The battle of Navarino put an end to the War of Independence. Before the close of the year, Ibrahim Pasha withdrew his troops from the Morea, and Count Capo d'Istria was elected by the Greeks as their first president.

In 1832 the quarrel of some years' standing between Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and the Sultan, was brought

* Now Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Codrington, K.C.B.

to a climax by the former sending an army into Syria which defeated the Turkish troops in three pitched battles, and, after overrunning Asia Minor, threatened Constantinople itself. From the danger of a hostile occupation of his capital, the Sultan was saved by Russia; but, taking up arms again in 1839, he was once more defeated. His successor, Abdul Medjid, offered Mehemet Ali the hereditary vice-royalty of Egypt, subject only to an annual tribute, and the government of Syria; but this the arrogant old Pasha refused; and as he now demanded Syria on the same terms as his own province, the four powers, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, concluded a treaty in July, 1840, by which they bound themselves to compel the Egyptian Viceroy to accept the terms of his suzerain. France alone of the great powers kept aloof, and was credited at the time with scheming with the object of forwarding the Pasha's designs on the autonomy of the Turkish empire.

Orders were immediately sent to Sir Robert Stopford, commanding in the Mediterranean, "to support the Syrians in their endeavours to expel the troops and officers of Mehemet Ali." At this time Commodore Napier, who had been at Beyrout with a squadron, watching with disgust the atrocities committed by Ibrahim Pasha's troops, was on his way to Vourla Bay, when he received a despatch from the admiral, directing him to return to Beyrout, to take such steps as he should deem necessary to carry out the above instructions, and sending him a reinforcement of two ships of the line.

The following were the British ships forming the Mediterranean fleet:—

Guns.		
104	*Princess Charlotte*	Admiral Hon. Sir Robert Stopford, G.C.B. Captain Arthur Fanshawe.
84	*Powerful*	Commodore Charles Napier, C.B.
	Asia	Captain Fisher.
	Ganges	,, Reynolds, C.B.
	Thunderer	,, Berkeley.
92	*Rodney*	,, Maunsell, C.B.
80	*Bellerophon*	,, Austen.
	Vanguard	,, Sir David Dunn, K.H.
78	*Cambridge*	,, Barnard.
76	*Revenge*	,, Waldegrave.
74	*Implacable*	,, Harvey.

Guns.		
72	*Edinburgh*	Captain Henderson, K.H.
	Hastings	„ Lawrence, C.B.
	Benbow	„ Houston Stewart.

There were also two 36-gun frigates, three 26-gun frigates, three corvettes, the steam frigates *Gorgon* and *Cyclops*, and seven smaller vessels.

Commodore Napier gave notice to the Governor of Beyrout that the district of Mount Lebanon and the Turkish troops were under his protection, that in twenty days Syria was to be restored to the Sultan's officers, and that he would not permit troops or military stores from Egypt to be landed in Syrian ports. Sir Robert Stopford, in the meantime, had an interview with Mehemet Ali at Alexandria, and as this potentate gave a formal refusal to the demands of the allied Powers, the admiral left the *Asia*, *Implacable*, and a corvette to prevent the Pasha's fleet from quitting Alexandria, and set sail for Beyrout, where he arrived on the 9th of September.

The position of affairs at this time was very critical, and a war was anticipated with France, Louis Philippe's Prime Minister, M. Thiers, having held very hostile language towards England in a conversation with our ambassador. The admiral, being joined by a Turkish squadron of five ships under Captain Baldwin Walker, of the British navy (holding the rank of vice-admiral in the Turkish marine, with the title of Bey), and three Austrian frigates, hostilities were immediately resolved upon, the command of the troops on shore being entrusted to Commodore Napier, in consequence of the bad state of health of Colonel Sir Charles Smith, of the Engineers.

After landing the marines and 5,400 Turkish troops, the 26-gun frigate *Carysfort*, Captain Byam Martin, the corvette *Dido*, Captain Davies, C.B., and the *Cyclops*, Captain Henderson, proceeded to the northward to attack Djebail and Batroum, two towns on the coast. The latter was evacuated by the Albanian troops, and the former was captured after a bombardment of several hours, though not without loss, as before a breach had been made, a party of 200 marines were landed to escalade the walls, but met with a repulse, with the loss of five killed and 18 wounded, including two officers.

While the main body of the fleet bombarded Beyrout, the *Benbow*, accompanied by the *Carysfort* and *Zebra*, made an unsuccessful attack upon Tortosa; and Captain Collier, with the *Castor* and *Pique*, and a Turkish frigate, proceeded to the southward to Caiffa, which, refusing to surrender, was bombarded and subsequently abandoned by the enemy, when it was taken possession of by Captain Collier, who hoisted the Turkish flag on its ramparts. Equally successful was this small squadron in an attack upon Tsur (the ancient Tyre), which, though defended by 1,500 soldiers, was silenced and captured by the seamen of the two frigates. At Commodore Napier's suggestion, an attack was projected on Sidon; and on the 27th September he sailed for that port with the *Thunderer*, Austrian frigate *Guerriera*, commanded by H.R.H. the Archduke Charles Frederick, the 18-gun brig *Wasp*, the *Cyclops*, and *Gorgon*, carrying 500 marines and a battalion of Turkish troops, and a Turkish corvette. At Sidon he was joined by the steamship *Stromboli*, from England, having on board 284 marines, and the *Hydra* from Tyre, and proceeded with characteristic energy to attack the town. For an hour the squadron rained shot and shell on the works, and about 1 p.m., a breach having been made on the sea-wall of the chief fort, the troops landed with but slight loss, and the castle was taken possession of. It now remained to capture the town. Captain Mansel of the *Wasp* landed with the marines from the *Stromboli* and *Guerriera*, and some seamen, while the commodore took command of a third party. The whole force now advanced upon the town, and after a sharp but brief struggle, Sidon was captured, no less than 2,700 Egyptian troops laying down their arms to 900 marines and 500 Turkish soldiers. Commodore Napier earned great credit by his masterly arrangements, and to this and the valour of the small allied force the success was mainly due. The total loss was only four killed, including a lieutenant of marines, and 33 wounded.

The operations at Beyrout resulted in the evacuation of the town on the 9th October, and the surrender of 2,000 Egyptian troops, with 26 field-pieces and considerable stores. This success was mainly due to a defeat inflicted by Napier two days before upon the forces of Ibrahim

Pasha, occupying the mountains in the neighbourhood. Mention should here be made of the great gallantry of Commanders Worth and Hastings, who, with the boats' crews of the *Edinburgh* and *Hastings*, landed and cut a train laid along the arched stone bridge leading to the castle of Beyrout, and afterwards threw into the sea nearly the whole of 200 barrels of powder stored in that fortress.

Other places on the coast of Syria were soon afterwards vacuated, and at length only Acre remained to the Viceroy of Egypt.

On the 31st October, the following ships, having on board 3,000 Turkish troops, got under weigh from Beyrout to undertake the capture of this stronghold. The *Princess Charlotte*, *Powerful*, *Bellerophon*, *Revenge*, *Thunderer*, *Edinburgh*, *Benbow*, *Castor*, *Carysfort*, *Gorgon*, *Vesuvius*, *Stromboli*, and *Phœnix;* the Austrian frigates *Medea*, flag of Rear-Admiral Bandiera, and *Guerriera*, commanded by the Archduke Charles Frederick; a Turkish seventy-four, bearing the flag of Admiral Walker, and a corvette. The fleet arrived at Acre on the 2nd November, and found lying in the bay the *Pique*, *Talbot*, *Wasp*, and *Hazard*. Arrangements having been made for the bombardment, the admiral proceeded with Sir Charles Smith on board the *Phœnix*, the better to conduct the proceedings of the two squadrons into which the fleet was divided, and to Commodore Napier was entrusted the task of attacking the western or strongest side of the town. We will not enter into details of the intended disposition of the fleet, which was defeated by a change of wind, but will give the positions actually taken up by the commodore's squadron on the day of battle.

The ships were ranged from south to north in a line parallel to the works, and in the following order:—*Powerful* (bearing Napier's broad pennant), *Princess Charlotte*, *Thunderer*, *Bellerophon*, and *Pique*, the three latter ships being too far to the northward to effect much with their guns.

The commodore opened fire at 2.17, and a little later Sir Robert Stopford, seeing an available position ahead of the *Powerful*, ordered the *Revenge*, which was still under weigh as a reserve, to take it up, which she did, and soon brought her heavy battery of guns into play.

The other division of ships under Captain Collier was

led by the *Castor* and *Talbot*, and taking up a position against the southern face, also opened fire. The cannonade from the fleet was tremendous, and nothing could stand against it. The Egyptian gunners were confounded by the terrific broadsides of the ships of the line, and about 4 o'clock all further resistance was paralyzed by one of those fearful catastrophes of which we have seen so many instances in these pages. The principal magazine, supposed to contain some thousands of barrels of powder, exploded, it was believed by a shell from one of the steamships, which for the first time in naval warfare had an opportunity of showing the great utility of this new means of propulsion. The explosion was received with cheers by the fleet, and after a short cessation, the cannonading was resumed with renewed vigour, until not more than twenty of the enemy's guns were in a condition to reply, when about dusk the admiral made the signal to cease firing. Before daybreak deserters came off to the fleet, announcing that the garrison, disheartened by the events of the preceding day, were deserting; and in the morning all the troops were landed under command of Sir Charles Smith, and took up their quarters in the town. The effect of the fire upon the defences of the town in some places was astounding; two embrasures had been knocked into one, parapets had been torn up and guns hurled out of their carriages, and in some instances split from breech to muzzle. The devastation caused by the explosion was even more appalling. Sir Charles Smith, in his despatch, wrote, "Two entire regiments, formed in position in the ramparts, were annihilated, and every living creature within the area of 6,000 yards ceased to exist, the loss of life being variously computed from 1,200 to 2,000 persons."

The casualties in the fleet were singularly small, only amounting to 12 killed and 32 wounded in the British portion, the Austrian and Turkish ships losing six killed and 19 wounded. This almost perfect immunity from the liabilities of warfare was due to the fact that the Egyptian gunners, believing that the buoys laid down by the masters of the *Talbot* and *Pique* to mark the shoals were intended to denote the positions the ships of the fleet were to take up, levelled their guns for these marks, and then

wedged them into the embrasures. It was stated that the water a few yards outside the ships was lashed into foam by the storm of projectiles showered innocuously into the sea.

The capture of Acre virtually put an end to the war; for though Ibrahim Pasha, evacuating the northern strongholds of Aleppo and Scanderoon, concentrated his army near Baalbec, yet the fall of a fortress mounting 147 guns, which it had taken him ten months to reduce with 40,000 men, and which had foiled the mighty Napoleon himself, was regarded as irremediable. Sir Robert Stopford withdrew the fleet to Marmorice, and reported to his Government that nothing more remained to be done. Napier, who had been sent to Alexandria, took upon himself to conclude a convention with the Viceroy, agreeing to recognize his hereditary claim to the sovereignty of Egypt on payment of an annual tribute of two millions sterling, and even placing his quasi-independence under the guarantee of the four Powers. Our Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston, overlooking the presumption of the gallant commodore, accepted this convention, but disowned the guarantee; and thus matters have stood ever since between the Porte and its powerful vassal, though it scarcely requires a prophetic vision to predict that the arrangement, like other later expedients to bolster up the Ottoman Empire, appears to be of a temporary character. The Turkish ships which had deserted to Mehemet Ali six months before, were delivered up to Admiral Walker on the 11th January, 1841, and thus closed this episode in European history. Rewards were showered upon the victorious fleet. Sir Robert Stopford, Commodore Napier, and the officers and men were thanked by both Houses of Parliament; and the admiral received the freedom of the city, also a splendid sword from the Sultan, and orders from the sovereigns of the allied Powers. Commodore Napier and Admiral Walker, of the Turkish fleet, received the ribbon of the Bath, and all the captains not previously so distinguished, were nominated to be companions of the order. Ten commanders were posted, and 23 lieutenants and 50 mates were promoted; and doubtless every one engaged was satisfied, except the marine officers and masters, who, as usual, were overlooked by "My Lords."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1840—1862.

The First Chinese War, 1840-42—The Second Chinese War, 1856-58—The Third Chinese War, 1859-62—The Siege of Mooltan, 1848-49—The Persian War, 1856-57—The Indian Mutiny, 1857-59.

We will not enter here into the causes of the China War of 1840, but will only say that the Government of the Celestial Empire had become so arrogant in consequence of our conciliatory bearing (which, like all Eastern nations, they construed into a confession of weakness), that their punishment was at length resolved upon by the British ministry. The first operation was the reduction, on the 4th July, of Chusan, by the fleet commanded by Sir Gordon Bremer, in conjunction with a small body of troops under Brigadier Burrell. On the same day Admiral Elliott arrived in the *Melville*, 74, and assumed the chief command, but returned to England on the 29th November on account of severe illness. Sir Gordon Bremer, with characteristic energy, proceeded to the attack of the Bogue Forts, on the Bocca Tigris, or Canton River, and on the 7th January, 1841, the ships of war first battered the minor forts of Chuenpee and Tycocktow with shot, and then the naval brigade, in conjunction with a small body of troops, stormed the works, with but very slight loss. The Chinese Emperor sought to gain time by signing a treaty which he subsequently treated as a dead letter, and the East-India Company's ship *Nemesis* having been fired upon, as she passed the Bogue Forts, the commodore left Hongkong, which had shortly before been ceded to us, and proceeded with the fleet, consisting of the 74-gun ships *Wellesley*, *Melville*, and *Blenheim*, five frigates and some smaller vessels, to attack these formidable forts.

On the island of Anunghoy were five batteries mounting

no less than 172 guns, many of them 42-pounders; and on North Wantong were mounted 167, some of which were of even heavier calibre. On the 26th February, 1841, these forts were attacked by the fleet, Sir H. Senhouse leading the attack on Anunghoy in the *Blenheim*, while the commodore engaged North Wantong. The fire of the ship was irresistible, and these formidable defences were first silenced and then carried by the soldiers, with small loss, while the enemy's dead alone numbered over 500. From Wantong Captain Herbert proceeded with a division of boats to Whampoa, and landing with a party of seamen and marines carried by storm a strong battery on that island, mounting 50 heavy guns, while the boats captured a 34-gun ship, and dispersed a fleet of 40 junks. Two days later Sir Gordon Bremer himself arrived, and Howqua's fort, a still stronger work at the northern end of Whampoa, was abandoned by the Chinese at his approach. The lighter draught vessels of the fleet were sent up one of the tributaries of the Bocca Tigris, and fighting their way against all obstacles, destroyed several Chinese forts, while Captain Herbert forced all barriers, and silenced the forts on the main stream, until at length Canton itself lay at our mercy. Captain Elliott, the British political officer, and the naval and military authorities now agreed to a suspension of hostilities, earnestly requested by the Chinese Commissioner; but the Celestials taking advantage of our moderation to fortify the city, operations were resumed on the 19th May, and the naval brigade of 1,000 men, and the ships of war under Captain Herbert, divided with their brethren of the army under Sir Hugh Gough, the honour of capturing the imperial city.

On the 27th of May, a treaty was signed for ransoming Canton for a sum of six millions of dollars; but before the negotiations could be concluded, Sir Henry Pottinger arrived to supersede Captain Elliott, and Sir William Parker joined to take command of the fleet. The new admiral at once concerted an attack on Amoy in conjunction with Sir Hugh Gough, and on the 26th May that strongly-fortified city, mounting 152 guns, and the island of Kalongsen in the harbour, having 76 guns, fell into our hands after a short but spirited resistance. Towards the end of September the fleet arrived off the island of Chusan, the chief town of which mounted

95 guns on the sea-face: this place was captured on the 1st October after a heavy cannonade, and on the 10th of the same month, the still stronger town of Chinghae, which lies on the mainland opposite Chusan, was attacked, and notwithstanding its walls and heavy batteries, was stormed by the soldiers, and by a party of seamen and marines led by Captain Herbert, after the citadel and other works had been breached by the fire of the ships. Three days later Ningpoo submitted without firing a shot.

During the next two months nothing was effected, except a repulse of the Chinese army by the 55th Regiment, and the destruction of some fire-rafts, with which the Celestials had the temerity to attack the British fleet at Chinghae, Ningpoo, and Chusan.

After some further operations, which were uniformly successful, the town of Chapoo was captured on the 18th May, 1842, and preparations were made for a grand attack on the city of Nankin, the renowned ancient capital of the empire, situated 200 miles up the river Yang-tze-Kiang.

It was necessary first to destroy the heavy batteries at Woosung and Paoushan, near the mouth of the Yang-tze, which were accordingly attacked and destroyed by the fleet on the 16th June, and on the 18th the town of Shanghai fell into our hands. The admiral now started on his crowning enterprise against Nankin, and on the 6th July the fleet, which, including transports, numbered over 70 sail, proceeded up the Yang-tze. The Chinese batteries at Seshan opened fire, but were silenced. In a few days later the city of Chin-Kiang-foo, 15 miles higher up, was captured by the military; a small party of seamen, under Captain Richards, alone being engaged.

These successes at length opened the eyes of the Emperor, and convinced him of the futility of resistance, and on the arrival of Sir William Parker with the fleet off Nankin on the 4th August, the general and admiral were entreated to suspend operations until the arrival of peace commissioners. On the 29th August a treaty was signed on board the *Cornwallis* flag-ship, by which the Chinese Government agreed to cede Hongkong, to open certain ports to us for the purposes of trade, and to pay an indemnity of 21 millions of dollars.

In October, 1856, hostilities again broke out with China, in consequence of the seizure, by the Chinese authorities at Canton, of the lorcha *Arrow*, sailing under British colours. That act, though insignificant in itself, was the last feather that broke the back of British endurance under the faithlessness of the Chinese Government. There can now be no question, after the experience of three Chinese wars, that hostilities between the two nations were inevitable; but in 1857, Mr. Cobden and his supporters would persist in looking on the case of the *Arrow* by itself, and in condemning the Government for "the violent measures resorted to at Canton." Those were the words inserted in Mr. Cobden's famous motion, which, supported by Mr. Gladstone in one of his splendid bursts of rhetoric, placed the Government of Lord Palmerston in a minority of 16 on the 26th of February. That veteran statesman appealed from the House to the people, and candidly told his opponents that, pending that appeal, "there would be no change and could be no change in the policy of the Government with respect to events in China." At the same time he intimated that a special envoy would be sent out to supersede the local authorities, armed with full powers to settle the relations between England and China on a broad and solid basis. The new House of Commons approved the policy of Lord Palmerston, and Lord Elgin set sail for China in the face of an adverse vote of the Lower House. So far the political history of these events.

Long before his lordship's arrival, the British navy had been called upon to act, and the admiral commanding-in-chief, Sir Michael Seymour, sailed up the Bocca Tigris, and having cannonaded Canton, entered the city. Proceeding down the river, the admiral captured the Bogue forts, mounting 200 guns, with but slight loss. As the Chinese mandarin at Canton, Commissioner Yeh, would not yield to his demands, Sir Michael Seymour returned to Canton, and having taken possession and garrisoned some forts, and a position within the city itself, he put a stop to all the native trade on the river. Nothing of importance now occurred until the end of May, 1857, when a brilliant action was fought at Fatshan Creek with a large fleet of Chinese war-junks: after some desultory fighting, the admiral in person

advanced against the enemy, who with 80 powerfully-armed junks, manned by 6,000 picked braves, were drawn up across the creek in a strong and well-chosen position. Our force of 11 gunboats and some 50 or 60 ships' boats were none too many for the work, but British courage amply supplied the deficiency of numbers. The enemy kept up a terrific fire, as the British flotilla, led by the admiral and Commodores Elliott and Keppel, dashed among the heavy junks, the whole of which, with the exception of three, were either captured or destroyed. It was a singularly well-planned and ably-executed enterprise, and the Chinese worked their guns with a creditable rapidity and precision. Our losses were 13 killed, including Major Kearney, a volunteer, and a midshipman, and 40 wounded, while nearly all the boats in Commodore Keppel's division, which was most severely handled, were hit or disabled.

Operations languished somewhat during the first burst of the great Indian Mutiny, but in September, 1857, Lord Elgin returned to China, and reinforcements having arrived from England, the British commanders, Sir Michael Seymour and General Van Straubenzee, assisted by a French naval brigade, led by Admiral de Genouilly, attacked Canton, which was captured on the 29th December, 1857, the British fleet supplying the greater portion of the land force. The attack of the sailors, who were formed in three divisions, under Captains Sir R. McClure, Key, and Stewart, was irresistible, and as the onus of the fighting lay upon them, so more than one-half of the loss of 130 men killed and wounded was sustained by the fleet, among the former being the gallant Captain Bate, of the *Actæon*.* A few days afterwards the

* It is related in the recently published *Letters and Journals of the Earl of Elgin*, that his lordship most reluctantly consented to the bombardment of Canton. "I feel sad," he said to Admiral Elliott, as they lay before the doomed city, in which were 1,000,000 souls, "because when I look at that town I feel that I am earning for myself a place in the Litany, immediately after plague, pestilence, and famine." After the bombardment he was overjoyed to find that the loss of life and property had been small, and that there was a probability of no more bloodshed. When Canton was taken, having completely succeeded in gaining a diplomatic superiority over his French colleague Baron Gros, he proceeded northwards, recognizing the truth of the policy which declared that at Pekin, the heart of the empire, a lasting peace must be extorted from the fears of the reigning dynasty.

brutal and sanguinary tyrant Yeh was captured by that distinguished officer Captain Cooper Key, who seized him as he was in the act of escaping. Yeh was at once transported to Calcutta.

A portion of the fleet, accompanied by a French squadron, now proceeded to the Peiho, and an attack was made on the forts on that river with the most complete success, our loss being only 21 killed and wounded.

From thence the gunboats, having on board Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, proceeded up to Tientsin, with the intention of advancing on Pekin itself if necessary; but the Chinese were thoroughly humbled, and hastened to sign a peace, by which all our demands, including the residence of a British envoy at the capital, were acceded to. It is now clear that the negotiations at Tientsin were illusory, and the consent to stop the march on the capital a mistake; yet it must be remembered the allies had a very small force with which to attack Pekin, and the chief articles of the treaty secured enormous advantages to England and other nations.

Rear-Admiral James Hope succeeded Sir Michael Seymour as commander-in-chief in Chinese waters, in April, 1859, and two months later arrived off the Peiho with a powerful fleet, having on board Mr. Bruce, the newly-appointed minister, who intended to proceed to Pekin to exchange the ratifications of peace.

The admiral found the defences on both banks of the river considerably strengthened since the visit of Sir Michael Seymour, and the earthworks which had replaced the old forts were bristling with guns; powerful batteries raked vessels advancing up the Peiho, the whole channel was filled with ingenious obstructions, and to prevent the storming of the line of forts, two ditches, one 15 feet, and the other 25 feet wide, had been constructed. So menacing was the conduct of the authorities, who refused the emissaries of the British envoy even permission to land, that no course remained but to bring them to their senses by the only arguments Chinamen can appreciate. The principal attack was arranged to be made on the Taku forts, which lay on the right bank, and in a line nearly parallel with them was placed a division of gunboats, consisting of the *Starling*, *Janus*, *Plover* (flying the admiral's flag), *Cormorant*, *Lee*,

Kestrel, and *Banterer*, the last being commanded temporarily by Captain Shadwell, who led this attack. In the rear were the *Forester*, Captain Vansittart, commanding the second or left division, the *Nimrod*, and *Haughty*, which were held in reserve. The *Opossum* commenced operations about 2 o'clock, by fulfilling her appointed task of pulling up the iron stakes which lay between the squadron and the boom. This completed, the gunboats advanced against the boom, and the instant the *Opossum* struck it, the enemy unmasked their batteries, and opened a tremendous fire upon the squadron. The admiral advanced close to the town, and the *Plover* and other gunboats engaged the heavy guns opposed to them; but it soon became apparent that they were over-matched. The *Plover* lost her commander, Lieutenant Rason, killed; the admiral was severely wounded, and out of her crew of 40 but nine were uninjured; nothing daunted, the gallant veteran shifted his flag to the *Opossum*, and directed his flag-captain, Willes, to proceed close under the walls, where he received a second wound. The *Opossum* being disabled and unmanageable, Admiral Hope, like his gallant predecessor in the Dutch wars, Sir Edward Spragge—although suffering intensely from his wounds, for the second time shifted his flag to the *Cormorant*, and lying on the deck, issued his orders with his well-known intrepidity, until at length he was compelled to resign the command into the hands of Captain Shadwell. The battle still raged fiercely, and the *Opossum* and *Plover* reinforced with a fresh crew returned into action, but their accession was more than counterbalanced by the loss of the *Kestrel*, which had sunk, while the *Lee* and *Haughty* were disabled. At length the indomitable perseverance of the British appeared to overcome all obstacles, and after four hours' cannonading, only five guns of the enemy replied to their fire.

It was now, therefore, determined to land and storm the forts, and Captains Shadwell and Vansittart, Colonel Lemon of the marines, supported by Commanders Heath and Commerell, and Major Fisher of the Engineers, landed with about 500 men to storm the forts. No sooner was the landing effected, and the men struggling through the deep mud left by the receding tide, than a heavy fire of musketry and great guns was opened upon them. That gallant and

promising officer, Vansittart, was first shot through the neck, and as he pressed on was struck by a cannon-ball, which carried away his leg; then Shadwell had his foot smashed by a gingall ball, and Colonel Lemon fell severely wounded. With undaunted front the gallant band never wavered for a moment, and though their numbers were fearfully thinned by the round shot and rifle bullets, they pressed on, headed by Commander Commerell. The first ditch being nearly empty was passed, but the second, close beneath the walls of the fort, was full of water, and here the gallant Commerell was compelled to halt with a handful of men, some 50 in all. As these, and about 150 men at the first ditch, were now all that were available to storm the forts frowning above them, a retreat was considered imperative. This was effected in a most orderly manner, but it was long after midnight before Commanders Commerell and Heath found themselves back on board their ships with the survivors. In this disastrous affair we lost between the bombardment and attempt to storm above 80 men killed and 350 wounded, many of them mortally; among these was Captain Vansittart, whose death was deplored alike by the fleet and by his country, for in him England lost a true seaman, and an able and talented officer. The gunboats *Cormorant*, *Lee*, and *Plover* were irrevocably lost, and the *Haughty*, *Kestrel*, and *Starling* were got afloat with the utmost difficulty. It should be mentioned that a party of French seamen, under Captain Tricault, accompanied the British force in this glorious, though unsuccessful affair, and that flag-officer Tatnell, of the American navy, testified, as he said, that "blood was thicker than water," by the generous assistance he personally afforded in the thickest of the fire, to the wounded British admiral and seamen.

This unlooked-for repulse was not suffered to remain long unretrieved, but the details of the successful advance on Pekin by the combined British and French armies, under Sir Hope Grant and General Montauban, belong rather to the domain of military history. After the capture of the Taku forts, owing chiefly to the judicious arrangements of Sir Robert Napier, the city of Tientsin surrendered to Admiral Hope on the 23rd of August, and on the 24th October, 1860, a treaty of peace was once more concluded by Lord

Elgin,* this time under the walls of Pekin itself. Since that date some desultory operations have been undertaken against Taepings, or rebels, in which British seamen have participated under the command of Captain Roderick Dew, and other officers, and on one occasion near Ningpoo, in the year 1862, Admiral Protet, a gallant French officer, was killed.

In our great struggle with the Sikhs, a small force of British seamen was engaged, and performed good service. This was in the second Punjaub War, of 1848–49, when Captain Powell, of the Indian navy, commanded a body of sailors of that service at the siege of Mooltan by the British army under General Whish. Lieutenant Christopher, a talented and highly scientific young officer, died from the effects of a wound in the ankle, and the officers and men were highly commended for the smart manner in which they worked their battery, Captain Powell receiving a C.B.-ship.

In the year 1856, the Indian Government was involved in hostilities with the Shah of Persia, and an expedition was fitted out at Bombay, the naval portion of which was drawn from the Indian navy.† A fine squadron of steam frigates and sailing corvettes was got together, with an immense fleet of transports for the conveyance of troops and stores to the Persian Gulf. Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Leake, K.H., the commander-in-chief of the Indian navy, assumed command; but after the bombardment and capture of Bushire, he was recalled to Bombay by the Directors in Leadenhall Street. Soon after his return, his successor, Commodore Ethersey, I.N., and General Stalker, commanding the forces, both com-

* On the 16th of April, 1860, the Prime Minister, Lord Russell, wrote to Lord Elgin, that Her Majesty had determined again "to call on him for his valuable services as Ambassador-Extraordinary." His instructions were necessarily vague. He was to act with his old colleague, Baron Gros, and to demand—1st, an apology for the attack on the fleet off the Peiho; 2nd, the ratification and execution of the treaty; and 3rd, the payment of an indemnity to the allies for the expenses of the war.

† Up to the year 1832 this service was known as the Bombay Marine, under which title, from before the days of Clive, it faithfully and well fulfilled its duties. But little recognition was accorded to it by the Home Government, until his late Majesty William IV. generously acknowledged its claims to consideration and reward by constituting it the Indian Navy, and granting its officers commissions, with equal rank with their brethren of the royal service.

mitted suicide, when the command of the squadron devolved upon Commodore Jenkins, I.N.

The crowning achievement of the war was the bombardment of Mohamrah, a place situated up the Shatt-ul-Arab, not far from the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates. The supreme political and military command of the expeditionary forces was vested in that noble soldier and great man, Sir James Outram, whose chief lieutenant at Mohamrah was Brigadier-General Henry Havelock, while the Indian navy squadron was led by Captain Rennie, a brave seaman and distinguished officer. As Havelock said in a letter to his wife: "Our expedition against this place has been entirely successful, but the victory was won by the Indian navy; the troops of my division, which landed in the best order, and in the highest spirits, had not a shot to fire." Mohamrah consisted of earthworks of very great strength, situated in a commanding position, mounted with heavy guns, and defended by 13,000 men, under command of the Shahzada, Prince Khanla Mirza. The action was hotly contested, but at length the enemy's guns were silenced. Our loss was small, owing chiefly to the precaution taken of piling bales of hay round the bulwarks of the ships, the protection afforded by which preserved the sailors at the guns, and the soldiers from the severe musketry fire of the enemy.

Then followed the successful expedition up the Karoon to Ahwaz, in which six gunboats, under Acting-Commodore Rennie, and 300 men of the 64th and 78th Regiments, engaged and put to flight an army of 8,000 Persians. This concluded the war, and fortunately terms of peace were negotiated before the tremendous convulsion known as the Indian Mutiny taxed our energies to the utmost, and required the presence in India of every British soldier and sailor. Sir Henry Leake, who did little in the Persian War, was created a Knight Commander of the Bath, and Captains Jenkins, Young, and Rennie, of the Indian navy, received the decoration of Companion of that order.

The 50-gun frigate *Shannon*, Captain William Peel, had arrived at Hong Kong with Lord Elgin on board in the early part of July, 1857, when news arriving of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, with accounts of the fearful

massacres at Meerut and Delhi, Lord Elgin, with sound judgment and great forethought, decided to proceed to Calcutta, to give Lord Canning, the governor-general, the benefit of his advice and assistance. Sir Michael Seymour immediately consented to allow the *Shannon*, as also the *Pearl*, 21, Captain Sotheby, and *Sanspareil*, 74, Captain Key, to be diverted from his command; and these ships proceeded to Bengal, carrying reinforcements of royal artillery, which were so much needed in India.

On his arrival early in August, Captain Key sailed up the Hooghly to Calcutta, and landing his marines to garrison Fort William, thereby releasing the regular garrison for service up country, afforded the city the protection of the guns of his line-of-battle ship. An offer made by the gallant Peel to form his men into a naval brigade was gratefully accepted by the Governor-general; and on the 13th August he started up the Ganges in a river steamer with his crew of 408 seamen and marines, organized into a naval brigade, which, for efficiency and discipline, was never surpassed by any regiment of the regular army. A month later his first lieutenant, Mr. Vaughan, joined him with 120 more blue-jackets, raised from the merchantmen in harbour, and Captain Sotheby also proceeded up country with the crew of the *Pearl*. Captain Peel took with him the following ship-guns:—

Six 55 cwt. 8-inch guns (commonly called 68-pounders), two 8-inch howitzers, eight 50 cwt. 24-pounders, two ship field-pieces, and a battery of eight rockets. For the first time in the history of war such tremendous pieces of ordnance as 68-pounders were worked as field-pieces, and the dexterity and ease with which the gallant tars of the *Shannon* handled them in action during the ensuing operations called forth expressions of surprise, coupled with the warmest encomiums, from Sir Colin Campbell, the commander-in-chief, who had seen nothing like it in all his vast experience. Peel says, in a letter to Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, dated Camp Oonao, 23rd February, 1858,—"It is the most formidable field artillery the world has seen, for it is a truth and not a jest that in battle we are with the skirmishers."

For some time the *Shannon* brigade garrisoned Alla

habad, and before the end of October, a portion with 430 soldiers was engaged in an action with the rebels, in which Colonel Powell, of the 53rd, was killed. Upon his death Captain Peel assumed command, and completed the rout of the mutineers, who lost 300 killed and all their guns and ammunition. The British loss was 95 killed and wounded, among whom were two naval lieutenants. A few days later the naval brigade joined Sir Colin Campbell's small army, and participated in the second relief of Lucknow in November, 1857. The naval brigade was engaged at the attack on Dilkoosha and the Martiniere, and also on the Shah Nujeef. The commander-in-chief, in his official report, says, "Captain Peel brought up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry within a few yards of the Shah Nujeef, to batter the massive stone walls; it was an action almost unexampled in war, and Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate." On this occasion the brigade lost 17 killed and wounded, among the latter being Lieutenant Salmon. The incident of the death of Mr. Daniel, a young midshipman, who was killed by a round shot in the head, forms a feature in Barker's famous picture of the meeting before Lucknow, of the three generals, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir James Outram, and Sir Henry Havelock.

Then came the attack on the mess-house on the 17th November, which was carried after three hours' cannonade; after this the relief of Lucknow was effected. The sailors were again engaged in the battle before Cawnpore, necessitated by the defeat of General Windham by the rebels. Peel's heavy guns crossed the Ganges on the 29th November, in company with Sir Colin Campbell, who in hot haste pressed forward to repair the disaster caused by Windham's rash act of attacking the Gwalior mutineers with a limited force. Peel's guns kept down the fire of the enemy on the bridge as the troops crossed over, and on the 6th December, at the battle of Cawnpore, the gallant seamen of the *Shannon* surpassed themselves. The commander-in-chief writes, "I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounders were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy and goodwill with which the latter had

worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout the late operations, from the relief of Lucknow till now, as if they were light field-pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounders advancing with the first line of skirmishers."

Except the battle of Kallee Nuddee on the 2nd January, 1858, in which the sailors were engaged, and distinguished themselves by the accuracy of their fire, not much was effected after the battle of Cawnpore until in March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell laid siege to Lucknow, at the head of a splendid army of 25,000 men. In these well-planned and in many respects ably-executed combinations, a prominent part was borne by Peel's brigade, which numbered at this time 430 officers and men in splendid condition.* Operations against the capital of Oude were commenced by the capture, on the 2nd March, of the Dilkoosha, and on the 9th by the storming of the Martiniere after it had been cannonaded by the heavy guns of the *Shannon* brigade. Thus, step by step, the city was won; and by dint of hard fighting, on the 19th March the last position of Moosa Bagh was carried, and Lucknow was again ours. During these operations the loss of the naval brigade was only five killed and 11 wounded, though among these latter was their gallant leader, who, on the 9th March, received a musket-ball in the thigh. Captain Peel was recovering from this wound when he was attacked by smallpox, of which he expired on the 27th March, universally lamented by all classes of his countrymen. Before his death he received the almost unique honour, for an officer of his rank, of the red ribbon of the Bath.

Peel's first lieutenant, Mr. Vaughan, who brought the *Shannon* home, and of whose merits his late captain spoke in the highest terms, received a C.B.-ship, and was promoted to the rank of commander; and Lieutenants Young, Wilson, Hay (who subsequently died gloriously in New Zealand), Salmon, and Wratislaw, were promoted, as were also the surgeon, assistant-paymaster, and Mr. Verney, mate,

* Sir Edward Lugard, in whose division they served, reported that he had never commanded finer or better disciplined troops.

whose work, "The *Shannon's* Brigade in India," should be read by every one taking an interest in those momentous events of our Indian history, and the part taken in them by the navy.

Captain Sotheby's *Pearl* brigade likewise rendered good service, and was engaged with the rebels in ten actions, in which its proficiency in gunnery was of the utmost service in routing the enemy. The Indian navy supplied several small naval brigades, which, in some instances acting as garrisons, were of incalculable service in restraining the wavering from disaffection, and taking the field in other parts, formed valuable auxiliaries to the regular troops. The small force of 90 men, under Lieutenant Lewis, defeated a strong body of Sepoys at Dacca in the most gallant manner: charging the rebel guns, they cut down the artillerymen, and then drove the Sepoys out of some loopholed barracks, though not without experiencing a loss of 19 in killed and wounded. On the west coast of India, at Rutnagherry, the sailors of the Indian navy were of great assistance to the civil power, and at Bombay their presence on shore overawed the disaffected, and restored confidence to the wealthy and loyal inhabitants of that great city. Two officers of the service* earned the Victoria Cross for their gallantry in face of the enemy.

In 1859, before the final suppression of this great revolt, a squadron of the ships of this service was engaged, together with the 28th Regiment, in reducing to subjection the half-rebel, half-pirate inhabitants of the island of Beyt, and of Dwarka, a place on the north-western coast of India. There was some rather severe fighting, in which not a few officers and men of the 28th, and of the Indian navy, who landed a brigade of sailors, were either killed or wounded, though eventually the expedition was entirely successful.

* Mr. Midshipman Mayo (now a clergyman of the Church of England) and Acting-Master Chick, who was afterwards lost at sea, together with all hands, in a cyclone in the Bay of Bengal.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1854–55.

The War with Russia—Operations of the Navy in the Black Sea.

In June, 1853, the Czar Nicholas commenced hostilities against Turkey, by invading the Danubian Principalities, to which the Porte replied by a declaration of war. The Emperor of Russia counted on only having the "sick man" of Constantinople to deal with, but he reckoned without his host, when in the following October the French and English fleet, under orders from their respective Governments, passed the Dardanelles, and anchored in the Golden Horn. Then followed the destruction at Sinope of the Turkish fleet of four frigates and some smaller vessels, when their crews, amounting to 3,000 men, were slaughtered: it was an act almost unparalleled among civilized nations, as the option to surrender was not even offered by Admiral Nachimoff, who attacked with a powerful fleet of six ships of the line, carrying each 120 guns. Upon receiving information of this outrage, the allied fleets proceeded to the Black Sea, and on the 4th January, 1854, the Bosphorus was passed, and Captain Drummond, of the *Retribution*, proceeding to Sebastopol, gave notice to the governor of the intention of his Government to prevent by force a repetition of such a criminal proceeding. Captain Drummond made good use of his few hours' stay at the mouth of the harbour, by taking notes of the defences of this stronghold, which he pronounced of so formidable a character as to render it impregnable to the attack of ships alone. The soundness of this judgment was verified by the result, and during the war which presently followed, the fleet could do little more than afford a general co-operation with the army, and blockaded the port, though this was rendered unnecessary by the Russians sinking their own ships at the mouth of the harbour

The Czar now recalled his ambassadors from London and Paris, and on the 28th March, 1854, our Government issued a declaration of war against that sovereign, who, it was said, never anticipated so decided a step from a nation which he considered was too much enamoured with money-making ever to draw the sword unless to protect its independence.

On the 9th April intelligence of the outbreak of hostilities reached the British fleet, which lay in Kavarna Bay, on th western shore of the Black Sea, in the following force :—

Guns.		
120	*Britannia*	Vice-Admiral Deans Dundas, C.B.
	Trafalgar.....	Captain Carter.
116	*Queen*	,, Greville.
91	*Agamemnon* ...	,, Michell.
	Albion	Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B.
90	*Rodney*.....	Captain Symonds.
	London	,, Stephen Lushington.
84	*Vengeance*	,, C. Graham.
80	*Bellerophon*.....	,, C. Eden.
70	*Sans Pareil*.....	,, Lord E. Russell.
50	*Arethusa*.....	,, Lord G. Paulet.
	Leander	,, Sydney C. Dacres.
31	*Tribune*	,, N. R. Mends.
	Curaçoa	,, G. St. Vincent King.
28	*Retribution* ...	,, Hon. S. Carnegie.
26	*Diamond*.....	,, Hastings.
22	*Terrible*	,, Hon. T. R. Drummond.
	Sidon	,, William Peel.
21	*Highflyer*	,, McCleverty.
16	*Furious*	,, Goldsmith.
	Tiger	,, J. Moore.
13	*Niger*	,, Loring.
		,, Giffard.
		Commander Heath.

The *Agamemnon*, *Sans Pareil*, *Tribune*, and *Highflyer* were auxiliary screws, and the *Retribution*, *Terrible*, *Sidon*, and *Furious* paddle steam-frigates. There were in addition the paddle steam-sloops *Sampson*, *Firebrand*, *Fury*, *Inflexible*, *Cyclops*, *Vesuvius*, *Triton*, *Spitfire*, and *Viper*, all of which carried a few eight-inch and other heavy guns.

The French fleet, commanded by Admiral Hamelin, who hoisted his flag on board the *Ville de Paris*, 120, with M. Bruat, his second in command, in the *Montebello*, 120.

consisted of no fewer than 15 ships of the line and 21 frigates and smaller vessels. The Russian commander at Odessa, General Osten-Sacken, having fired at the *Furious*, which, flying a flag of truce, had brought off the British consul and residents, the combined fleets weighed for that port on the 17th April, and summoned the governor to make reparation for his offence against the laws of war, by the surrender of all Russian, as well as English and French ships. On receipt of a refusal, the steamships stood in on the morning of the 22nd, and opened fire upon the batteries: these suffered severely, without being able to inflict much injury in return, as they could not get the range of the steamers which kept under weigh, wheeling round in short circles, and at 1 p.m. the fort blew up, and the rest of the batteries were silenced. The shipping behind the mole was then destroyed, as were also the barracks, docks, and a vast accumulation of warlike stores. The steamships *Sampson*, Captain Jones (who commanded the squadron), *Terrible*, *Tiger*, *Retribution*, and *Furious*, and three French steamers, assisted by the *Arethusa*, Captain Mends, carried out this affair with great credit to themselves, and with the loss of only 13 killed and wounded in the English squadron.

The fleet quitted Odessa on the 26th April, but a few of the smaller vessels were left behind, and one of these, the *Tiger*, unhappily got aground on the 12th May, about four miles from Odessa, and, after being exposed to a heavy fire from Russian field-guns and small arms, which there were no means of returning, Captain Giffard was forced to haul down his flag after setting his ship on fire. This gallant officer, who was suffering from a severe fever, had both his legs smashed by a round shot, while using every endeavour to get his ship afloat, and died soon after.

On the 28th April the fleet arrived off Sebastopol, and on the following day, Captain Mends, who was sent to reconnoitre, made out that the Russian fleet included three three-deckers, 11 ships mounting 84 guns, four frigates carrying not less than 54 guns, and six smaller vessels, truly a formidable fleet, and one with which much might have been done by an enterprising admiral, as it lay in his power to select his own time for acting on the offensive. Notwithstanding the artifices employed by the allied commanders to induce the

enemy to put to sea, he remained in security in harbour, and at length the fleets of England and France dispersed, the main body returning to Kavarna Bay. Sir Edmund Lyons now proceeded to the coasts of Circassia and Georgia, and compelled the Russians to abandon Ridoute Kaleh. At length, in September, the allied armies were landed in the Crimea, the only naval operation preceding the invasion being the destruction of some heavy batteries at the Sulina mouth of the Danube, by Captain Hyde Parker, with the *Firebrand* and *Fury*, in which affair unhappily that gallant officer was killed.

Sir Edmund Lyons, assisted by Captain Mends, who had been removed into his flagship, superintended the embarcation and disembarcation of the British army of 27,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 60 guns, which were conveyed in 150 transports, no less than 412 large ships being employed in the transport of the entire forces of the three allied armies, forming altogether the largest armada the world had yet seen. The disembarcation commenced near Eupatoria on the 14th September, and was concluded by midnight of the 18th, the energy and smartness displayed by the seamen of the fleet being the admiration of all beholders, including combatants, and "special correspondents."

After the victory of the Alma, and on their arrival before Sebastopol, the allied generals and admirals concerted a plan for a general bombardment of the great stronghold. The French fleet was to attack the forts on the southern side of the harbour, and the English the northern portion, where was the tremendous fortress of Fort Constantine, mounting 104 of the heaviest guns then known; also the Telegraph Battery, the 17 guns of which brought a plunging fire to bear on the ships; the Star Fort (nicknamed by the seamen the Wasp), and a strong earthwork mounting 20 pieces of ordnance. The fleet, anxious for an encounter with the Russian navy, had learned, with something like dismay, that Prince Menschikoff had sunk a great portion of the noble squadron of ships of the line at the mouth of the harbour; not content with this homage to their invincibility on their own element, the announcement of the formation of a naval brigade to serve on shore was received with enthusiasm, and 1,050 seamen were drafted from the fleet, with 50 heavy

guns, and placed under the command of Captain Lushington. This brigade was formed directly after the arrival of the fleet before Sebastopol, and it is related that the seamen constructed their own batteries without the aid of engineers, and with characteristic smartness were ready to open fire before the artillery battering guns had been got into position.

On the 17th October took place the first great bombardment of Sebastopol. Next to the French admiral's ship lay the *Britannia*, and continuing the line, about 1,000 yards from the batteries, the *Trafalgar*, *Vengeance*, *Rodney*, *Belleropbon*, *Queen*, and some smaller vessels. Inside this outer line Sir Edmund Lyons led his own ship, the *Agamemnon*, followed by the *Leander*, *Sans Pareil*, and *Albion*. The sailing ships were towed into their positions by the steamers lashed alongside. The *Agamemnon*, piloted by the little steamer *Circassian*, brought up in five fathoms of water about 200 yards inside the main line, and opened fire upon Fort Constantine at two o'clock. The Russians, not expecting that an enemy would approach so close as 750 yards, had laid their guns for a longer range, and at first the shot passed over the *Agamemnon*, a lucky shell from which blew up a powder-magazine in the fort; but this immunity was only temporary, and having got the range of these ships, the Russian gunners handled them so roughly, that the *Albion*, *Sans Pareil*, and *London* were obliged to haul off. Presently the two latter returned, but the *Albion* apparently not being able to do so, Sir Edmund signalled for some of the outer ships to close up, when the *Rodney*, *Queen*, *Bellerophon*, and *Arethusa* bore down to his support. The *Queen* was set on fire by a shell, and the *Rodney* grounded on a reef, whence she was towed off amid a heavy fire, by the gallant exertions of Commander Ky naston, of the *Spitfire*, who was wounded. The action was maintained by these ships until nearly dusk, when the *Agamemnon* quitted her berth, and the remainder followed her motions.

The British fleet lost in this bombardment 44 killed and 264 wounded, of which number the *Albion* lost 81, and the *Agamemnon* 29; the French had nearly 200 *hors de combat*. Many of their ships were also disabled, and two of ours, the *Albion* and *Arethusa*, which latter well preserved the

renown of her name, were so much damaged, that Admiral Dundas sent them to Malta for repairs. The Russian loss was said to be much more severe, among the killed being the perpetrator of the massacre of Sinope.

The naval brigade had taken a prominent part in the bombardment on the land side, and the destruction of the Malakhoff tower was entirely due to the battery of heavy ship-guns from the *Terrible* and *Retribution*, while Captain Peel, of the *Diamond* (the same officer whose career had so untimely an end before Lucknow), shared with the artillery the honour of silencing the Redan.*

During the bombardment a conspicuous act of gallantry was performed by a young acting-mate of the *Beagle*, Mr. N. Hewett.* On the 26th October, the day after the battle of Balaclava, he was in charge of a Lancaster gun before Sebastopol, when the Russians made a sortie upon Sir de Lacy Evans's division. The enemy were within 300 yards of the battery, when Mr. Hewett received an order to spike the gun and retreat; upon which he expressed his disbelief that the command had come from Captain Lushington, and, aided by his blue-jackets, with some soldiers, proceeded to traverse the gun round so as to play upon the enemy. With admirable coolness and seamanlike promptitude, the young officer got the gun round, when, blowing away the parapet, he opened so effective a fire upon the advancing column of Russians that they gave way and retreated. It is related that his commanding officer inquired of the young hero if he had not been ordered to spike the gun and retreat, and why he disobeyed the order. Mr. Hewett stammered out, "I did, sir; but I am sorry if——" "Well, then, you are promoted," was the rejoinder. The Admiralty gave him his lieutenancy, and he received the Victoria Cross. Mr. Hewett again distinguished himself at the fierce struggle of Inkerman, and was soon afterwards appointed to the command of the *Beagle*.

Other officers and men of the Naval Brigade received the Victoria Cross for deeds of daring. Great gallantry was displayed in the batteries, and at Inkerman, by Captain William Peel, who assisted in defending the colours of the Grenadier Guards at that sanguinary combat, and led a

* Yonge's "History of the British Navy."
† Now Captain Hewett, V.C., C.B.

ladder party at the assault on the Redan on the 18th June, 1855, when he was severely wounded; Mr. Midshipman Daniels, of the *Diamond*, fought by his captain's side on both those glorious days. Distinction was also earned by Commander Roby and two seamen on the same 18th June; by John Sullivan, in the batteries, on the 10th April, 1855; by Mr. Shepherd, boatswain; and by five seamen at Inkerman, whose devotion was rewarded by three crosses distributed to the survivors.

During the first six days of the bombardment, the Naval Brigade lost Lieutenant Greathed, of the *Britannia*, and 11 men killed, and Captain Moorsom, of the *Firebrand*, five officers and 60 men wounded. On the occasion of the disastrous assault on the Redan above referred to, the loss was also heavy; out of two parties of 60 men each, who were actually engaged, 14 were killed, and 47, including their gallant leader, Peel, wounded; indeed only three officers escaped unhurt. At the end of July, Captain Lushington, having attained the rank of rear-admiral, returned to England, and was succeeded in command of the brigade by Captain Hon. Henry Keppel, in whose hands the prestige acquired by our sailors was not likely to suffer. The naval batteries took a prominent part in the great bombardment of the 7th September, which prepared the way for the assault of the following day, and the fall of the great Russian stronghold.

The fleet rode safely through the memorable storm of the 14th November, 1854, the *Retribution* and *Sampson* alone losing their masts. But the transports, however, suffered severely; some foundered, others went to pieces on the rocks, among the number being the magnificent ship *Prince*, with 150 men on board. The total loss exceeded 40 vessels and 400 men, with a vast amount of stores; while our allies, the Turks and French, experienced even greater losses, among the number being a line-of-battle ship of each nationality. After this catastrophe, the transports and a portion of the fleet returned to the Bosphorus and Constantinople for the winter. At Christmas Admiral Dundas struck his flag, owing to ill-health, and was succeeded by Sir Edmund Lyons, a man in whom both the fleet and nation placed the utmost reliance.

During the early portion of 1855, the new commander-in-chief, whose flag was flying on board the *Royal Albert*, a magnificent three-decker of 130 guns, watched Sebastopol, while Captain Hastings, of the *Curaçoa*, lay off Eupatoria, with a small squadron. The *Britannia*, *Bellerophon*, *Trafalgar*, and *Sans Pareil* had gone home, and had been replaced by the *Hannibal*, 91, Captain John Hay (flagship of the second in command, Rear-Admiral Sir Houston Stewart), the *St. Jean d'Acre*, 101, Captain Hon. H. Keppel, *Princess Royal*, 91, Captain Lord Clarence Paget, and *Algiers*, 91, Captain Talbot; there were now also nearly 30 smaller steamers and gunboats. Changes had occurred among the commanders. Captains Jones and King had succeeded Captains Eden and Graham, in the *London* and *Rodney*; Captains Peel and Hon. J. Drummond had replaced Captains St. Vincent King and Carnegie, in the *Leander* and *Tribune*; and Captain Mends having accompanied the admiral into the *Royal Albert*, Sir Thomas Pasley succeeded him in the *Agamemnon*.

During the action between General Liprandi and Omar Pasha, on 17th February, Captain Hastings' squadron supported the Turkish general's right flank, which rested on the shore, by bringing his ships close in and cannonading the Russian batteries within range.

A week later Captain Giffard, of the *Leopard*, with a still smaller squadron, routed a body of troops crossing Lake Kouban in boats; then sailing towards Kertch, whither he learned a convoy of guns and military stores was proceeding, escorted by 500 Cossacks, he drove the enemy from three positions in succession by the superiority of his fire, and attacking the train, captured 10 guns and other stores, and burnt a range of barracks and storehouses. In April a large portion of the fleet came out of Kazatch Bay, and anchoring in front of Sebastopol, greatly harassed the garrison by some of the number standing in every night and shelling the town.

An attack upon Kertch, undertaken on the 3rd May, by a combined military and naval expedition of the two powers, was countermanded the very morning after it sailed, owing to the receipt of a despatch from his Government by General Canrobert, the French commander-in-chief. His successor,

General Pelissier, however, decided upon undertaking this enterprise, and on the 22nd May an expedition sailed for Kertch, which, from its defences and situation at the extreme eastern point of the Crimea, close to the straits of the same name, was a place of great importance. The force employed consisted of six British and three French sail of the line, and 27 British and 20 French frigates and smaller vessels, conveying 16,000 soldiers and six batteries of artillery. The Russians, however, made no attempt at resistance, but blew up their works, as they did also at Yenikale, whither the fleet proceeded. Supplies sufficient for 150,000 men for four months were destroyed during this expedition, and above 100 guns, 12,000 tons of coal, and vast military stores were carried off.

Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda* (a son of the commander-in-chief), who had recently arrived from the White Sea, now proceeded into the Sea of Azoff, with 13 steam vessels and four French ships, and in a few days destroyed large quantities of grain and 250 vessels, besides successfully engaging the batteries at Genitchesk. His most brilliant exploit was the attack, on the 23rd June, upon Taganrog, a strong fortress garrisoned by 3,000 soldiers, and situated on the shallow arm of the sea known as the Gulf of Azoff; Gheisk, on the other side of the gulf, was also destroyed, and then the squadron returned to the straits, and rejoined the fleet. In these operations, Commander Cowper Coles and Lieutenant Hugh Burgoyne (who both perished in the ill-fated *Captain*), and Lieutenants McKenzie and Buckley, both of the *Miranda*, greatly distinguished themselves.

A few days after the return of the *Miranda* before Sebastopol, she was engaged in a night bombardment, when her gallant captain received a severe wound on the leg from a shell, and though he received every care in the hospital at Therapia, to which he was removed, Captain Lyons died within a week, to the inexpressible grief of the noble old admiral his father, and amid the sympathizing regrets of both fleets and armies. Her Majesty, with that kindness of heart which has always distinguished her, wrote to the admiral a warm and gracious letter of condolence, in which, on her own part and on that of the Prince Consort, she said, how "deeply we grieve to think of the heavy affliction

into which Sir Edmund Lyons is plunged at this moment, and we mourn over the loss of an officer who proved himself so worthy of his father, and was so bright an ornament of the service he belonged to."

Commander Sherard Osborn, of the *Vesuvius*, was a worthy successor of the gallant Lyons, and cleared both sides of the Gulf of Azoff, destroying various magazines, and attacking fortified places and batteries, and even ascending the river Uklinka. All this was completed with the loss of only a few men, and of the *Jasper*, which ran aground, and had to be abandoned, after her young commander, Lieutenant Hudson, had engaged a strong force of Cossacks and riflemen. In these operations Commander Lambert, of the *Curlew*, and Lieutenants Day, in command of the *Recruit*, and Hewett, of the *Beagle*, greatly distinguished themselves, as did also Lieutenant Commerell, of the *Weser*, who gained the Victoria Cross for his dashing conduct near the river Sivash, in destroying a vast quantity of stores in the presence of some Cossacks. Commanders Osborn and Lambert were posted for their services, and Lieutenant Commerell likewise received his promotion. Early in November, Captain Osborn destroyed the stores at Vodina, Glofira, and Gheisk, notwithstanding the resistance offered by about 4,000 Russian troops, and then, as winter was approaching, withdrew from the Sea of Azoff.

After the fall of Sebastopol in September, the allied admirals concerted a plan for an attack on the Russian ports at the mouth of the Dnieper and Bog, and on the 7th October a large combined expedition sailed for Odessa, from thence proceeding to Kinburn, a strong casemated fort, armed with 70 heavy guns, supported by two well-made earthworks, each mounted with 10 guns. The British contingent consisted of six sail of the line, nine steam frigates, 24 steam sloops, gunboats and mortar-vessels, with several transports conveying 4,000 troops. Our allies sent as their portion of the combined force more soldiers and fewer ships. The fleet anchored off Kinburn on the 14th October, and after a skilful survey of the bay by Captain Spratt, of the *Spitfire*, on the 17th the attack was commenced by the English mortar-boats, followed by three French iron floating batteries. At the termination of about two hours'

bombardment, the ships of the line, headed by the *Royal Albert*, the stately flagship of the commander-in-chief, attacked the forts on the southern side from a distance of something less than 1,200 yards, while the steam frigates, led by the two admirals second in command, Sir Houston Stewart and Pellion, opened their batteries on the northern face. The tremendous fire thus brought to bear proved irresistible, and in ten minutes the fort and both the batteries were silenced, and the governor surrendered. A vast quantity of warlike stores, provisions, and guns was the prize of the conquerors. The capture of Kinburn led to the evacuation of Oszahov, a fort supported by batteries situated on the mainland, opposite the former. Sir Houston Stewart proceeded up the Bog, and having silenced a battery on its banks, returned to Kinburn next day. The fleet now sailed for its old station at Kazatch Bay, where it anchored on 2nd November, and thus was successfully completed the last naval operation of the Russian War so far as the Black Sea and Crimea were concerned.

CHAPTER XXX

1854—1872.

The Russian War—Operations of the Navy in the Baltic; also in the White Sea, and at Petropaulovski—The New Zealand and Abyssinian Wars—Conclusion.

On the 11th March, 1854, Queen Victoria reviewed one of the most magnificent fleets that had ever yet been mustered under the Union-jack, and received on board her yacht, the *Fairy*, the admiral commanding-in-chief and his captains; then amid the cheers of thousands of gallant seamen, the thunder of guns, and the martial music of many bands, this fleet weighed anchor and proceeded to the Downs, whence, before war had been declared between this country and Russia, a portion sailed for its destination. That magnificent force was the Baltic Fleet, and the commander-in-chief was Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier, a veteran seaman, whose name has been more than once recorded in these pages as the hero of gallant exploits, and who crowned his achievements in the Great War by his able conduct of operations at Beyrout, Sidon, and Acre. But Sir Charles Napier was now 68 years of age, and the nerve and vigour of mind which characterized him in his prime, when he would have shrunk from no enterprise because of its difficulty or danger, were as wanting as the activity of body which was lessened by advancing years. In the course of a few weeks, the remainder of his ships having joined him from England, whence they had been despatched as fast as they could be equipped, Sir Charles Napier found himself in command of a fleet consisting of the following ships:—

Guns.		
131	*Duke of Wellington*	Vice-Admiral Sir C. Napier. Commodore Michael Seymour. Captain G. Gordon.
120	*Neptune*	Rear-Admiral Corry. Captain Hutton.
	St. George	„ Eyres.
	Royal George	„ H. Codrington.

101	*St. Jean d'Acre* ...	Captain Hon. H. Keppel.
91	*Princess Royal* ...	,, Lord Clarence Paget.
	James Watt.....	,, G. Elliott.
	Nile	,, Martin.
	Majestic	,, James Hope.
90	*Cæsar*	,, Robb.
	Prince Regent	,, Smith.
84	*Monarch*	,, Erskine.
80	*Cressy*	,, Warren.
70	*Boscawen*	,, Glanville.
	Cumberland.....	,, G. Seymour.
60	*Edinburgh*	Rear-Admiral H. D. Chads. Captain Hewlett.
	Hogue	,, W. Ramsay.
	Blenheim.....	,, Hon. F. Pelham.
	Ajax.....	,, Warden.
51	*Impérieuse*	,, Watson.
	Euryalus	,, G. Ramsay.
46	*Arrogant*	,, Yelverton.
34	*Amphion*	,, Key.
33	*Dauntless*	,, Ryder.
18	*Leopard*	Rear-Admiral Plumridge. Captain Giffard.
17	*Cruiser*	Commander Hon. G. Douglas.
	Archer	Captain Heathcote.
16	*Valorous*	,, C. Buckle.
	Odin	,, F. Scott.
	Magnificent.....	,, Fisher.
8	*Desperate*	,, C. J. D'Eyncourt.
	Conflict	,, Cumming.
6	*Vulture*	,, Glasse.
	Dragon	,, Wilcox.
	Driver	Commander Hon. A. Cochrane.
	Rosamond	,, G. Wodehouse.
	Basilisk	,, Hon. F. Egerton.
	Hecla	Captain W. H. Hall.
4	*Bulldog*	,, W. K. Hall.
3	*Porcupine*	Lieutenant Jackson.

The surveying ships, *Lightning*, Captain T. B. Sullivan, and *Albacore*, Commander Otter; and the hospital-ship *Belleisle*, Commander Hosken.

As regards the ships themselves, the fleet was magnificent,* but the *personnel* was not equally good, for a great

* Of the above list, the *Neptune*, *St. George*, *Prince Regent*, *Monarch*, *Boscawen*, and *Cumberland* were sailing-ships. All the other line-of-battle ships and heavy frigates were auxiliary screws, the remainder of the fleet being chiefly paddle-steamers.

portion of some of the crews were landsmen, who had never before set foot on board ship. However, with such first-rate officers as Admiral Chads, and Captains Seymour, Keppel, Hope, Warden, Key, Yelverton, and a host of others, the raw material was rapidly worked up into the British man-'o-war's man.

Sir Charles Napier was in Kioge Bay, when intelligence of the declaration of war reached him, and having learnt from Admiral Plumridge, that the state of the ice permitted an advance on Sveaborg, he left Rear-Admiral Corry behind with six sailing-ships of the line, and proceeded to Hango Head. Here he lay for nearly three weeks, during which time some desultory attacks were undertaken by a few ships; that performed by Captain Yelverton, with his own ship and the *Hecla*, being remarkable for dash, combined with seamanlike skilfulness.

The *Arrogant* and *Hecla* advanced to within a mile of the town of Ekness, situated up a narrow creek, and after silencing an earthwork mounting four guns, and a field battery, and dispersing some riflemen, Captain Yelverton brought back with him a large merchantman, the whole affair having been accomplished with trifling loss.

In June, Napier was joined at Baro Sound, by a French fleet, consisting of—

Guns.		Guns.	
90	*Inflexible*, flag of Vice-Admiral Duchesnes.	80	*Duguesclin*, flag of Rear-Admiral Penaud.
	Hercule.		*Breslau.*
	Tage.	70	*Duperre.*
	Jemappes.		*Trident.*
	Austerlitz (screw).		

And several frigates and smaller vessels.

The allied admirals determined to commence operations at once, by passing up the Gulf of Finland, and offering battle to the Russian fleet at Cronstadt. Accordingly they took with them 12 British and six French ships of the line, with several frigates and smaller craft, and on the 24th June the whole fleet arrived at Seskar, some 40 miles from Cronstadt. On the 26th the fleet again advanced in battle-array, formed in three lines, led by admirals Napier, Duchesnes, and Chads, and on sighting the Russian fleet, the signal was made to anchor while the position was reconnoitred The

enemy was discovered to number 18 sail of the line, besides frigates, but the defences of Cronstadt were reported by the officers sent forward to reconnoitre, to be of a strength and character sufficient to render the place impregnable. The outside fort mounted nearly 200 guns, while the fleet, which was moored in two lines in a channel so narrow that they completely blocked it up, was flanked on either side by enormous batteries, mounting above 120 guns; the western and southern sides bristled with some 350 more guns; and finally the northern face could not be approached within three miles by the smallest ship in the fleet, owing to the shallow water.

The admirals, seeing that an attack on Cronstadt must end in failure, and that the Russian fleet would not come out, returned to Faro Sound.

Meanwhile a large number of merchantmen and stores were destroyed in the Gulf of Bothnia, though this success was counterbalanced by a disaster at Gamla Carleby, on the Finland coast, when twenty-three officers and men were killed and wounded, two boats' crews of the *Vulture* and *Odin* being also captured by a large Russian force, after a desperate fight, in which nearly every man was wounded.

The allied admirals now resolved on an attack upon Bomarsund, the chief stronghold of the Aland Isles. By the 24th July, the place was completely blockaded,* and before the 2nd August, the entire force of 9,000 French soldiers had arrived, under command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, whom the Emperor Napoleon had selected to lead the troops. This plan of a land attack had been proposed by Napier on the report of Captain Sulivan, who stated that the defences, consisting of four bomb-proof forts mounting in the aggregate upwards of 160 guns, and garrisoned by 2,500 men, were impregnable from the sea, but that the place

* During the blockade, a singular act of cool daring was performed by Lieutenant Bythesea, of the *Arrogant*, who, learning that some despatches of importance were expected at Bomarsund from St. Petersburg, landed with one seaman, and, after lying concealed in the wood for two days, attacked four boatmen landing the mail-bags, and knocking over two, forced the others to surrender the despatches, with which he immediately proceeded to his ship. Lieutenant Bythesea, as also his companion, received the Victoria Cross, and the former is now a post-captain in the navy.

must fall if attacked on the landward side. The artillery and stores arrived on the 9th August, and then the Bay of Bomarsund and the fortifications having been reconnoitred by the generals and admirals, the troops were landed at three different points,—the French to the south-west of the principal fort, under the protection of the fire of the *Arrogant's* guns, and the British, consisting of Brigadier-General Jones's sappers and about 700 marines and seamen, to the northward. Both divisions now pushed forward, and the Russians retired within their forts, to attack which the boats of the fleet landed the artillery, some 32-pounders from the English ships, besides ammunition, and necessary stores for the construction of batteries. On the 12th, the *Penelope* grounded on a rock within range of the Great South Fort, but was towed off by the *Hecla* and *Gladiator*, after suffering severely from the Russian guns; and on the following morning the French general opened fire with his guns, and silenced the West Fort.

Not to be behindhand with our allies, Captain Ramsay, of the *Hogue*, who commanded the British battery of three 32-pounders, supported by a field battery of 12-pounder howitzers (boats' guns), opened fire on the morning of the 15th August on the North Fort, at a range of 950 yards. So admirable was the practice of the sailors, that though the fort replied vigorously, and was assisted by some guns on Presto Island, by the afternoon of the same day they had made a huge breach, so that the commandant was forced to surrender.

In the meantime the fleet shelled the Great Fort, and though it was bomb-proof, the Russian general capitulated before the regular approaches, upon which General Baraguay d'Hilliers had resolved, could be commenced; the fall of the Great Fort precipitated the surrender of the tower on Presto Island, which had been exposed to the cross fire of Captain Ramsay's guns, and of the *Leopard*, *Hecla*, and the French steamer *Cocyte*. The capture of Bomarsund was now effected, and with but small loss on the part of the allies; early in September the forts were blown up, and thus were concluded all active operations for the year 1854.

The British and French engineer officers, Generals Jones and Niel, after reconnoitring Sveaborg, expressed an opinion

to Sir Charles Napier, approving of an attack being made on that stronghold by the fleet, assisted by a land force; and though several distinguished naval officers coincided in these views, the admiral dissented from the feasibility of the plans submitted to him by General Jones, and the proposal fell to the ground.* The French fleet returned home in September, but before leaving the Baltic, which was not evacuated by the whole British fleet until the second week in December, Sir Charles Napier proceeded in person to reconnoitre Sveaborg, and came to the conclusion formed by Captain Sulivan, a highly scientific officer, who had proceeded thither early in July in the *Lightning*, that the place was only assailable by mortars for a sufficient number of which he had indeed already applied to the Admiralty.

The admiral's conduct, particularly as regards his want of enterprise in not attacking Sveaborg even without mortars, was severely criticised in Parliament and the Press, and it was universally felt that, considering the force placed at his disposal, the results obtained were very inadequate. Credit was given him for having brought back the fleet almost intact, but this it was considered ought not to be a primary consideration with a British admiral.

During the year now brought to a close, a squadron, consisting of the *Eurydice*, 26, Captain Ommanney; *Miranda*, 15, Captain E. Lyons (the same gallant officer who subsequently fell before Sebastopol), and the *Brisk*, 14, Commander Seymour, was despatched to attack the Russian settlements in the White Sea. In the latter part of July, as Captain Lyons, with the *Miranda* and *Brisk*, was returning from Archangel—whither he had proceeded only to find an attack on its defences impracticable, owing to a bank of sand,—he engaged and destroyed some batteries on the island of Solovetskoi. A month later the same gallant officer greatly distinguished himself by penetrating 30 miles up the river Kola to a town of the same name. A ship had never before attempted such a feat, but the difficulties

* In justice to Sir Charles Napier it should be stated that both General Baraguay d'Hilliers and Admiral Duchesnes, though extremely anxious to effect something before withdrawing from the Baltic, expressed their concurrence in the opinion of their English colleague.

that presented themselves only acted as an incentive to Captain Lyons, and at length, after warping his ship the last two miles of the way, he anchored within 500 yards of the batteries. A refusal being returned to his summons to surrender, the *Miranda* opened fire next morning, and, after a hotly-contested artillery duel, silenced the Russian guns, and set the town on fire. A party of men was now landed and drove the enemy out of the batteries, bringing off the guns and destroying government stores and buildings. The *Miranda* returned to the mouth of the river on the following day, and on her arrival in England proceeded to the Black Sea.

There was one episode in the naval operations during the war with Russia which cannot be regarded with satisfaction. We refer to the affair at Petropaulovski, the principal seaport of Kamschatka, where a British squadron, owing to the lack of enterprise of the commodore, suffered a repulse from an inferior force. In August, 1854, Rear-Admiral Price, commanding the Pacific squadron, with the *President*, 50, Captain Burridge; *Pique*, 40, Captain Sir F. Nicolson, Bart., and *Virago*, 6, Commander Marshall, accompanied by the French admiral with the *Forte*, 60, *Eurydice*, 22, and *Obligado*, 12, proceeded to Petropaulovski, where two Russian ships, the *Aurora*, 44, and *Dwina*, 20, had taken shelter. The town was defended by several batteries, mounting about 40 guns, some of which had been taken out of the *Aurora*, but being mounted *en barbette*, and at distant points, they did not offer any formidable obstacle to the fire of the powerful allied squadron. The Russian ships lay moored behind a long, low spit, on which were erected two batteries, one mounting 11 and the other three guns; on the other side of the entrance were two 4-gun batteries.

The two admirals having reconnoitred the forts, resolved to attack them, but on the 19th August, Admiral Price shot himself while in a fit of insanity. The command now devolved on Sir F. Nicolson, who, instead of at once commencing the attack, for which the squadron was fully prepared, delayed till the 31st; on that day he confined himself to attacking the 11-gun battery, with the *Pique*, *President*, and *Forte*, at so distant a range that in spite of their vast superiority of force, the enemy's fire was not perceptibly

weakened.* The spirited commander of the *Virago*, on the contrary, engaged and silenced the 3-gun battery, and having landed a party of men, spiked the guns. Nothing daunted by the disparity of force, the little steamer then stood in and opened fire on the Russian ships. Captain Marshall was, however, soon forced to signal for assistance, as the *Virago* had received a shot between wind and water; but Sir F. Nicolson, instead of sending or giving it, went on board her and ordered the captain to cease firing and proceed to tow off the French admiral, who had asked for such aid. Later in the day the frigates hauled off, "consented," says the historian, "with having expended a great quantity of ammunition and with having done little more."

After remaining inactive for three days, the commodore and his coadjutor, the French admiral, attacked two other batteries, one mounting seven guns, and the other five, while the *Virago* towed ashore the boats of the squadron, carrying 700 seamen and marines, under command of Captains Burridge, Le Grandière of the *Eurydice*, and Parker of the Marines, who were ordered to attack a fort on the high ground behind the town, regarding which they had received information that it formed the key of the position. The small batteries were soon silenced by the heavy frigates, and the *Virago* protected the disembarkation of the land force by the fire of her guns. A terrible disaster now ensued. No sooner were the shore party beyond the protection of their guns, than a Russian regiment of sharpshooters sprang up out of the brushwood and opened so deadly a discharge of musketry within only a few yards' range, that the allied force was obliged to fall back, leaving behind them 26 killed, including Captain Parker, and many prisoners; of the remainder nearly half were wounded. The commanders of the combined squadron appeared to acquiesce in their defeat, and without making any effort to retrieve it, retired to San Francisco. The best comment upon this miserable failure may be gathered from the fact that the Russian Government ordered the governor of Petropaulovski to destroy the fortifications, which were considered incapable of offering any great resistance.

* Yonge's "History of the British Navy."

This was accordingly done, and all the troops, guns, and stores were removed to De Castries Bay, on the western side of the Gulf of Tartary. Here they were followed by a squadron under command of Commodore Hon. C. Elliott, of the *Sybille*, 40, who, though he waited outside the bay with the hope that the enemy's ships would venture out and engage him, had not sufficient enterprise to stand in and destroy them in their harbour. Soon afterwards the Russian ships managed to reach the Amoor, and at the close of the war were brought back to the Baltic, able to boast, in the words of the writer before quoted, "of being the only ships' crews in the entire navy of their country who had defeated one British squadron, and successfully defied another."

On the 20th March, 1855, a flying squadron of six frigates and steam-sloops, under command of Captain Watson of the *Impérieuse*, 51, weighed anchor at Spithead, and under the eye of the Sovereign sailed for the Baltic, the precursor of the fleet which followed on the 4th April. The new commander-in-chief was Rear-Admiral Hon. R. Dundas, having as his second in command Rear-Admiral Michael Seymour, and the fleet was constituted as follows :—

Guns.		
130	*Duke of Wellington*	Rear-Admiral Hon. R. Dundas. Commodore Hon. F. Pelham. Captain Caldwell.
120	*Royal George*	,, H. Codrington.
90	*Exmouth*	Rear-Admiral M. Seymour. Captain W. K. Hall.
91	*James Watt*	,, G. Elliott.
90	*Orion*	,, J. Erskine.
	Nile	,, R. Mundy.
	Cæsar	,, Robb.
84	*Calcutta*	,, J. Stopford.
80	*Colossus*	,, Robinson.
	Majestic	,, James Hope.
	Cressy	,, Warren.
60	*Cornwallis*	,, G. Willesley.
	Blenheim	,, W. H. Hall.
	Edinburgh	,, Hewlett.
	Russell.....	,, F. Scott.
	Hawke	,, E. Ommanney.
	Pembroke	,, G. Seymour.
	Hastings	,, Caffin.
	Hogue	,, W. Ramsay.
	Ajax.....	,, Warden.

51	*Impérieuse*	Captain Watson.
	Euryalus	,, G. Ramsay.
46	*Arrogant*	,, Yelverton.
31	*Amphion*	,, Key.
28	*Retribution*	Rear-Admiral Baynes. / Captain Fisher.
21	*Pylades*	,, T. D'Eyncourt.
	Esk	,, Birch.
	Tartar	,, Dunlop.
	Cossack	,, Fanshawe.
17	*Magicienne*	,, N. Vansittart.
	Falcon	Commander Pullen.
	Archer	Captain Heathcote.
	Cruiser	Commander Hon. G. Douglas.
	Harrier	,, Storey.

The above were all steamships, with the exception of the *Calcutta*. There also joined the fleet in the Baltic, as fast as they could be fitted out, thirteen smaller vessels and more than twenty gunboats. The *Duke of Wellington*, having lost some spars in a collision at Spithead, Admiral Dundas sailed in the *Nile*, but returned to his original flagship on her arrival at Kiel, before the end of April.

Leaving the gunboats and smaller vessels in Faro Sound, the admiral proceeded, on the 10th of May, to Nargen, in the Gulf of Finland, and, after reconnoitring Revel, which he decided not to attack, crossed over to Cronstadt, and, embarking on board the surveying-ship *Merlin*, commanded by Captain Sulivan, made close and repeated reconnaissances of that stronghold, in company with Admiral Seymour. Though the Russians had reduced the number of their line-of-battle ships fitted to take the sea, and had sent 6,000 seamen to Sebastopol, yet they had so greatly strengthened the defences of Cronstadt by the addition of earthworks and other batteries, that the place was unanimously pronounced by the British officers and by Admiral Penaud, the French commander-in-chief, who had joined with his fleet, as absolutely impregnable.

The combined fleets remained off Cronstadt a fortnight, and stretched across the Gulf of Finland in line of battle, in readiness to engage the Russian navy; but about the middle of June, as the enemy would not venture out of their harbours, they fell back to Seskar.

A serious accident happened to Admiral Seymour while

examining, on board his flagship, an infernal machine that had been fished up by our boats. The torpedo exploded, and deprived the admiral of the sight of one of his eyes, and injured some of his officers and men. A murderous attack was made at Hango Head by a body of Finnish soldiers upon a boat's crew of the *Cossack*, commanded by Lieut. Geneste, while employed in landing some prisoners under the protection of a flag of truce; six of the party of seventeen men were killed, four seriously wounded, and the remainder carried off as prisoners. As the admiral could receive no satisfaction for this outrage, a squadron, consisting of the *Arrogant*, *Magicienne*, and *Ruby* gunboat, was despatched, about the middle of June, on a cruise, in which Captain Yelverton demolished batteries at Rotsinsholm and Svartholm, and destroyed the barracks and other public buildings at Lovisa, though he was not equally successful at Viborg. Anchoring near the island of Stralsund on the 13th of July, the gallant captain of the *Arrogant* proceeded in the *Ruby*, with all the marines, and the boats of the squadron fully manned and armed, and, on approaching Viborg, was about to attack three gunboats and a steamer, when the *Ruby* was brought up by a submarine staked barrier, and at the same time found herself exposed to the fire of a masked battery within a range of three hundred and fifty yards. Captain Yelverton was obliged to relinquish the undertaking, but the affair gave occasion for the performance of a most gallant act by Lieutenant Dowell, of the Marine Artillery, who, in the midst of a shower of grape and musketry, jumped into a boat and towed out a cutter which had been swamped and was drifting towards the enemy's batteries. Mr. Dowell and a petty officer received the Victoria Cross for the coolness and daring displayed by them on this occasion.

In the following month Captain Yelverton was sent on a second cruise with a larger squadron, and silenced some strong batteries at Fredericksham and Kotka, at the mouth of the river Kymene. Other operations were conducted to a successful conclusion by Admiral Seymour at Narva; on the 8th of August, by Captain Otter, of the *Firefly*, at Brandon; and by Captain Key, of the *Amphion*, who engaged some powerful batteries on the island of Sandhamm,

to the eastward of Sveaborg, and on the adjacent main land.

At length the allied admirals resolved to undertake an attack on Sveaborg itself, and accordingly, on the 7th of August, the main body of the fleet, which had been lying at Nargen, crossed the Gulf of Finland, and anchored about two miles and a half from the great fortress. The defences of Sveaborg had been greatly strengthened during the winter of 1854-55, and formed altogether a truly formidable obstacle to any fleet. Both the allied admirals were present, with six ships of the line, besides frigates and paddle-steamers; but the work of bombarding the Russian stronghold was entrusted to the sixteen English and five French mortars, with an equal number of gunboats, according to the plan originally proposed by Captain Sulivan, and approved by Sir Charles Napier.

Sveaborg, which lies close to Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, is built on five islands; those commencing from the east are called Gustafsvard, Vargon, and West Svarto, while in the rear are East Svarto and Lilla Svarto. Gustafsvard is separated by a narrow channel from the island of Bak Holmen, also armed with heavy batteries, and having a large three-decker moored head and stern between it and the adjacent island. Neither Bak Holmen nor Sandhamm, close to the mainland, was regarded by the Russians as forming a portion of Sveaborg. The three principal islands presented an unbroken series of batteries, while the channels were protected either by ships of the line or by sunken vessels and torpedoes.

Admiral Dundas quitted his flagship for the *Merlin*, to superintend the arrangements for the bombardment, which were, however, practically entrusted to Captain Sulivan, who enjoyed the confidence of both the allied commanders. Like his brother admiral, M. Penaud also shifted his flag on board one of his gunboats. The attack was entrusted to the mortar-vessels, which were anchored 3,900 yards from the enemy's batteries, the five French vessels being placed in the centre. All the gunboats proceeded ahead of this line, with orders to open fire on the enemy's works with their heavy guns, in addition to which each had been supplied with a 10-inch mortar.

At a quarter before seven on the morning of the 9th of August the mortar-vessels opened fire on Sveaborg, and with such accuracy had they been placed by Captain Sulivan, that the first four shells which were fired to ascertain the range fell precisely on the prominent buildings which had been marked out for their targets, as was attested by the clouds of smoke which presently arose from them.

Under the direction of Captain Wemyss, ably seconded by Captains Lawrence and Schomberg, of the Marine Artillery, the whole of the mortar fleet now opened fire, and throughout the morning each of the ordnance they carried, threw, instead of seven (usual number), no less than thirty projectiles an hour. The effect produced was most marked, and before three hours the principal ranges of buildings in the citadel in Vargon were in flames. The gunboats, under command of Commodore Pelham, with Captains G. Ramsay, Vansittart, Glasse, Stewart, and Commander Preedy of the flagship, commanding divisions, now opened fire, and moving unceasingly in circles round the reefs and shoals, kept up a tremendous cannonade, which the Russians could return with little or no effect, owing to the smallness of the targets they presented.

Dense clouds of smoke now arose from various quarters, and two loud explosions were greeted with cheers by the seamen, who redoubled their efforts. At noon a succession of twenty or thirty heavy explosions was heard from the back of Gustafsvard, while fragments of buildings were hurled into the air, attesting the extent of the destruction wrought. Our allies were equally assiduous in the work on hand, and, in addition to the fire from their mortar-vessels and gunboats, maintained a well-directed bombardment from a battery of four 9-inch mortars established by them on one of the islands near Gustafsvard: this battery, having repeatedly set on fire a three-decker moored in the channel to the westward, compelled her to move into the open water in rear.

In the meantime Captain Yelverton, having under his orders the *Arrogant* and one or two smaller vessels, displayed his usual dash and skill in an attack upon the island of Drumsio, and Captain Wellesley, with the *Cornwallis*,

Hastings, and *Amphion*, engaged and silenced some of the guns of Sandhamm, and greatly damaged the batteries.

Before sunset Admiral Dundas ordered the gunboats to cease firing on Sveaborg, and at ten o'clock the mortar-vessels were also withdrawn; but the attack was only changed in form: the boats of the fleet, armed with rockets, were now sent in, under command ot Captain Caldwell, and all night kept up a harassing fire on the garrison, who were not suffered to have any rest or to extinguish in peace the fires already raging. At daybreak on the following morning some of the mortar-vessels and gunboats reopened their fire, and East Svarto, which had hitherto escaped with impunity, was bombarded by one division of English, and three French mortar-boats, which were moved into position four hundred yards nearer the enemy's works by Captain Sulivan, assisted by Captains Vansittart and Stewart.

The enemy replied with vigour, but without inflicting any injury on the allied fleet, while the dense volumes of smoke denoted the efficacy of the bombardment. As night closed in, "one unbroken sheet of flame spread over the whole horizon in front of our fleet, devouring the entire range of buildings that covered Vargon and Svarto." The batteries, which were bomb-proof, and one or two detached buildings alone escaped the conflagration. At night the rocket-boats again took up the fire, and at length, at daybreak on the 11th August, the enemy's batteries being silenced, the admirals decided on discontinuing the action, and, a day or two later, the fleet returned to its anchorage at Nargen.

The officers and men of the Baltic fleet, from the commander-in-chief downwards, had good cause to be satisfied with the result of this bombardment; for not only were all the magazines and public buildings of Sveaborg destroyed, but several thousands of the garrison were known to have fallen, while the loss of life in the allied fleet had been *nil*, and only some few men had been wounded.

Early in October the fleet returned to Seskar, but the enemy would not venture out of Cronstadt, and as winter commenced in the following month Admiral Dundas sent home his gunboats and sailing-vessels, and on the 12th November quitted the Gulf of Finland for Kiel. In December the whole fleet returned to England, and as peace was concluded

at Paris in the following spring, the Baltic fleet was broken up, and its deeds became a matter of history.

In estimating the value of its services, it should be borne in mind that the Russian navy declined an encounter in the open sea, and though Cronstadt was never attacked—such a measure would indeed have invited defeat,—the Baltic was swept clear of the Russian flag up to within sight of St. Petersburg; Sveaborg was almost destroyed; and a wholesome respect for the might of England was instilled into every power bordering on what was little more than a Russian lake.

Equally meritorious were the achievements of the Black Sea fleet. It is true Sebastopol proved itself impregnable to the attack of our wooden walls, but the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff became as safe for an English merchantman as the Thames, and the right of Britannia to the sovereignty of the seas was never for an instant disputed by the magnificent fleet of ships of the line sunk by Prince Menschikoff.

The war with Russia is the most recent in which this country has been engaged with a great naval power, but in the "Little Wars" which form so prominent a feature in the history of these isles, the navy has taken part.

The *rôle* it has filled has been, it is true, a subordinate one to that played by the sister service, but nevertheless it has acted with spirit and conspicuous success. In the series of wars in New Zealand, commencing with the year 1845 and ending with the very recent pacification of that noble dependency of the British crown, the seamen of the navy have done excellent service. Many brave hearts that once beat under the blue jacket throbbed for the last time in a New Zealand "pah," and when victory crowned the hard-fought day, the loud hurrahs of our gallant sailors have struck a chill to the heart of the Maori brave, who, not less devoted than his pale-skinned antagonist, has learned to recognize in him the representative of a superior race. The first Taranaki war was inaugurated early in 1860, after an unbroken peace had prevailed, without either wars or rumours of wars, since the termination of the operations in Cook's Straits, in 1846.* A truce was patched up on the 21st

* "The War in New Zealand," by William Fox (1866).

May, 1861, but soon after the appointment of Sir George Browne, the Waikatos committed the murders of the 4th May, 1863, which were followed up by renewed hostilities.

In the attack on the pah at Rangiriri, 1,300 men, including 200 sailors, were engaged, and the force was accompanied by four gunboats. Before a breach had been effected, four desperate attempts to assault the pah were made; but the walls were 21 feet high, and the ditch nine feet broad, and there being no breach, the troops and sailors were driven back, with the loss of 35 killed and 85 wounded. On the following morning the surviving Maories, to the number of 183, surrendered with their arms.

The next affair of importance was the attack on Orakau, whence the Maories managed to escape, after causing us a loss of 16 killed and 52 wounded, though the enemy also suffered severely. Most disastrous of all was the assault on the Gate Pah, on the 28th February, 1864, when the assaulting column of 300 men,—half of whom were seamen and marines led by Commander Hay, of the *Harrier*, the remainder consisting of the 43rd,—was driven back, Captain Hamilton, of the *Esk*, who rushed up with the reserve of the naval brigade, falling a victim to his gallantry, as did also Commander Hay, and more than 40 officers and seamen. Our total loss in this lamentable business amounted to 27 killed, nine of whom were officers, and 66 wounded.

These were the chief affairs in which our seamen were engaged, and though they displayed great devotion, there can be little doubt that the policy of employing regular troops and men-'o-war's men against the savage Maories, was, from a military point of view, unsound, and will not soon again be repeated. The Maories might, in every instance, have been starved out of their pahs, which were, moreover, generally assaulted without scaling-ladders or platforms to cross the ditches, and before they had been even breached by cannon.

Yet one more name may be inscribed on the Union-jack borne by British seamen, and that is "Abyssinia." In that glorious—and no less glorious because well-nigh bloodless—campaign, our sailors distinguished themselves by the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they endured every fatigue.

At the request of Sir Robert Napier, commanding the

expeditionary army, Commodore Heath, in supreme command of the squadron, detached a naval brigade under Commander Fellowes, to accompany the army on its march to Magdala. At the action at Arogee, which immediately preceded the capture of Theodore's much-vaunted stronghold, and its reduction to a "blackened rock," the sailors did great execution with their rocket-battery; while during the tedious march through Abyssinia, and the return to the sea-coast, they earned the encomiums of the illustrious Napier for their smartness, obedience, and steady discipline.

Commodore Heath received the ribbon of the Bath, and Commander Fellowes was deservedly posted, while the detachment of seamen and marines received the thanks of Parliament, as did also the fleet, who zealously performed the arduous task of landing and re-embarking the troops, stores, and war *matériel.*

Some idea of the task devolving on the Royal Navy and Bombay Marine (the successors of the Indian Navy, which was abolished in 1863) may be gathered from the bare enumeration of the transports and men and animals engaged in the Abyssinian expedition. There were 235 sailing ships and 94 steamers, and they conveyed to Annesley Bay, near Massowah, 42,699 persons, of whom 14,683 were soldiers; also 36,094 transport animals, including 44 elephants, of whom only 7,421 were re-embarked, including 80 camels out of 5,735, the rest having died during the campaign.

Among naval officers who bore the chief burden of the day in this successful and admirably-conducted expedition, were Captain (now Admiral) Tryon, R.N., and Lieutenants Hewett and Dawes, of the lately-abolished Indian Navy, the former of whom was a member of the Preliminary Survey Expedition, under the late General Merewether, and the latter superintended some 1,500 coolies at the landing-place at Zoolla. No honours or promotion were conferred on these two young officers, who shared in the neglect that had always been meted out to their service, of which a striking instance was afforded by the conduct of the Government at the conclusion of the Indian Mutiny, when, though the Indian Navy had 1,800 men and 42 field-pieces engaged on shore in

Bengal, no share of the rewards heaped upon the Royal Navy fell to their lot. Equally ignored by the Admiralty and India Office, they suffered the proverbial fate of those who sit on two stools, and neither the honours of the Bath nor the Star of India (instituted in 1861) were received by any of the officers of the Indian Navy, who participated in the glorious task of suppressing the Indian Mutiny, or assisted in the arduous duties of the Abyssinian Campaign amid the dust and heat of the sands of Zoolla.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1868—1874.

The Ashantee War—Operations of the Fleet and Marines on the Gold Coast—The Naval Brigade in the Ashantee Campaign—The Actions of Amoaful and Ordahsu and occupation of Coomassie.

SINCE the year 1868, which was signalised in the military annals of this country by the expedition into Abyssinia under Sir Robert Napier, now Lord Napier of Magdala, the British navy has been frequently employed on shore in co-operation with the sister service. Up to the date of the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley at Cape Coast Castle, which took place in October, 1873, the defence of Her Majesty's possessions on the Gold Coast against the Ashantees, who had overrun the entire country between the river Prah and the sea, was conducted by 210 Houssas, or native police, and a detachment of marines, sent out from England in H.M.S. *Barracouta*, Captain Fremantle, who assumed command of the squadron of ships of war stationed on the West Coast of Africa. The marines, 104 in number, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel (now Sir Francis) Festing, landed at Cape Coast Castle on the 9th June, and excellent service they performed at Elmina and in keeping the Ashantees in check until the arrival of a force of regular troops from England.

On the 5th July, Commodore Commerell, V.C.,* arrived in the *Rattlesnake* from the Cape of Good Hope, and assumed naval command, and on the following day, H.M.S. *Himalaya* arrived from Barbadoes with the 2nd West India Regiment, numbering 13 officers and 360 men. In addition to these and the Cape Coast Volunteers, not an imposing body either in numbers or efficiency, the defence of the colony was entrusted to 400 seamen and marines on board the ships of

* Now Sir John Commerell, K.C.B.

the fleet. Sickness, which is so prevalent among Europeans on this coast, by the 26th July reduced the small body of marines to an effective strength of 44 men, and, acting on the advice of Dr. Home,* the chief medical officer, the whole detachment, with the exception of 18 men, returned to England in the *Himalaya*. In the meantime the Government had determined on taking active steps to crush the Ashantee supremacy on the Gold Coast, and on the 17th July, H.M.S. *Simoom* sailed with 200 marines, but they were not immediately disembarked on their arrival at Cape Coast Castle. Commodore Commerell, hearing that the Ashantees were meditating an attack on Dixcove and Secondee, at the mouth of the river Prah, proceeded thither with the *Rattlesnake* and *Argus*, and pushed up with some boats to make a preliminary survey of the river. He was met with a heavy fire from the dense bush, and was severely wounded in the side, Commander Luxmoore, of the *Argus*, and Captain Helder, Civil Commandant of Secondee, and several men, being also wounded. The unseen enemy was driven from the bush by the fire of the boats, but the flotilla returned. The ships then bombarded and destroyed the town of Chamah. The British loss was 4 killed and 16 wounded, including 4 officers. Commodore Commerell was compelled by reason of his wound to leave the coast for the Cape of Good Hope on the 22nd August, leaving Captain Fremantle in command. This officer, with the *Barracouta* and *Argus*, shelled and burnt some villages near Secondee and the mouth of the Prah; and a landing party suffered some loss, Lieutenant Young, 2 officers and 12 men of the *Argus* being wounded. The whole coast from Cape Coast Castle to Axim, except Commendah, Secondee, and Dixcove, was now in open hostility. H.M.S. *Druid*, Captain Blake, and the gunboats *Merlin*, *Bittern*, and *Decoy* were actively employed, and the *Decoy*, Lieutenant Hext, by her fire compelled the Ashantees to abandon their camp near Ampenee.

On the 2nd October Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived from England, and assumed supreme political and military command of the Gold Coast, from Colonel Harley, the Administrator, and Colonel Festing, who had commanded the troops

* Now Sir Anthony Home, K.C.B.

with such success. The naval command also changed hands a little later, as on the 14th November, Commodore Hewett, V.C.,* arrived at Cape Coast in H.M.S. *Active*, and relieved Captain Fremantle. The six weeks between the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley and of Commodore Hewett had been very busy ones for the navy, and Captain Fremantle received the hearty thanks of the Commander-in-Chief "for the assistance which he had at all times afforded," and without which Sir Garnet said "it would have been impossible for me to have carried out the recent series of operations."

A naval officer, Commander John Glover, who had formerly served on this coast as Administrator of the Government of Lagos, and had defeated the Ashantees in 1870, was appointed at this time to act under Sir Garnet Wolseley's orders as Special Commissioner to the friendly native tribes in the Eastern District of the protected territories adjacent to the Gold Coast, with the object of employing those tribes in order to cause a diversion in the rear of the Ashantee army, and at the same time to threaten Coomassie, when the advance was made on the capital of King Koffee Kalkalli. Commander John Glover was to operate from the mouth of the river Volta with a mixed force of Houssas and friendly tribes, and several officers were appointed to assist him.

Sir Garnet being determined to strike a blow so as to overcome the enemy and convince the Fantees and other friendly tribes of the ability of European troops to operate in the bush at all seasons, secretly organised an expedition to attack the Ashantees at Essaman. Embarking on board the *Barracouta* at 10 p.m. on the 13th October, with a detachment of 150 marines and 30 blue-jackets, with a 7-pounder gun and a rocket-trough, he sailed at midnight in that ship and the *Decoy*, in which were the 2nd West India Regiment and a detachment of Houssas, and disembarked the troops at Elmina at 4 a.m. The garrison of that place, under Lieut.-Colonel Wood,† formed part of the column,

* Now Vice-Admiral Sir William Hewett, K.C.B., V.C.

† Now Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood, K.C.B., V.C. This officer began his career as a midshipman in the navy and gained the V.C. for his gallantry at the assault on the Redan at the Siege of Sebastopol.

and after a tedious and trying march the enemy were encountered in the bush near Essaman, and beaten with considerable loss, when the troops marched for Amquana, on the beach; and while the wounded were sent back to Elmina, a portion of the column marched for Akimfoo and Ampenee, which were burnt. The distance traversed during this successful and trying march, under a burning sun, was 21 miles, and the soldiers and sailors composing the force had encountered the additional fatigue of being up all the previous night and fighting an action. Colonel (now General Sir John) McNeill, Chief of the Staff, and Captain Fremantle were shot through the arm, and Captain (now General Sir Redvers) Buller had a narrow escape, the leather case of his prismatic compass being hit by a bullet.

This affair had the most depressing effect on the Ashantee army, and—combined with the outbreak of sickness in their camp at Mampon, and the energetic steps taken by Sir Garnet Wolseley with the handful of troops at his disposal, in forming outposts and stations on the road to the river Prah, preparatory to the advance on Coomassie, which he intended to undertake on the arrival of the three European regiments from England for which he had applied—resulted in the retreat of the Ashantee army across the Prah, and the evacuation of the Fantee territory. In the desultory operations preceding the march on Coomassie, the navy had their full share, a small force of marines and blue-jackets being at Abrakrampa, under Lieut. Wells, R.N.,* doing good service. The force despatched to the relief of that hard-pressed post on the 6th November, consisted of 22 officers and 303 men, drawn from H.M.S. *Encounter*, *Simoom*, *Bittern*, *Beacon*, and *Barracouta*, under Captain Fremantle, and Rait's Houssa Artillery, accompanied by Sir Garnet Wolseley in person; and no one who was present at that forced march under a burning sun is likely ever to forget its fatigues. Only 141 men out of 303 were able to continue the march from Assaybo, 20 miles from Cape Coast, but Abrakrampa was relieved by the remainder, reinforced by the 50 marines stationed at Assaybo. This and the affair at Faysowah were

* This officer died of yellow fever on his way home, and in him, says the historian of the Ashantee War, the navy lost "one of the finest, handsomest, and bravest officers that ever lived."

the last occasions on which our troops came into collision with the Ashantees south of the Prah, which they crossed a week later. The first phase of the war was ended without the assistance of European troops, with the exception of the handful of sailors and marines, and the British Protectorate was finally cleared of the invader, who has not since set foot upon it.

To assist in the invasion of the Ashantee country a Naval Brigade was organised, the nucleus of which was formed after the affair at Faysowah, and consisted of 3 officers and 50 seamen and marines, who marched to Sutah to reinforce Colonel Wood, who commanded the advanced post on the line of route. Between the 9th and 17th December H.M.S. *Himalaya* and *Tamar* and the transport *Sarmatian*, arrived from England with three regiments—the 42nd Highlanders, 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, and the 23rd Regiment—together with Sir Archibald Alison, Colonel Greaves, Chief of the Staff (now Sir George Greaves), Colonel (the late) Sir George Colley, and a large number of special service officers. The European troops were sent for a short trip to sea until required, and were not disembarked until the 1st January. Sir Garnet Wolseley quitted Cape Coast Castle on the 26th December, and arrived at Prahsu, on the banks of that river, on the 2nd January, 1874, one day in advance of the Naval Brigade, numbering 250 officers and men, which had been disembarked on the 27th December.

The first Europeans to cross the Prah on the admirable bridge constructed by the Royal Engineers, under Major Home, were the sailors, with the Headquarter Staff, on the 20th January, the advanced guard, with the scouts, under Lord Gifford, consisting of native levies, being some distance ahead, under the command of Colonel McLeod, of the 42nd Highlanders. The Naval Brigade was now commanded by Commander Luxmoore, Captain Blake, who had led them up to Prahsu, being compelled to resign the command as he was suffering from dysentery, to which he succumbed on his arrival at Cape Coast. Accompanying the column were Commodore Hewett and his A.D.C. Lieutenant Rolfe, and Captain (now Admiral Sir William) Hunt-Grubbe.

The first brush in which the Naval Brigade were engaged was on the 29th January, in the reconnaissance to Borborassie,

under Colonel McLeod, in which they had 4 men wounded. In the decisive action of Amoaful fought on the 31st January, the Brigade was divided into two wings, the right under Captain Grubbe, and the left under Commander Luxmoore. When the advance column, under Colonel McLeod, had quitted the starting point, Egginassie, at 8.30, Colonel Wood, with Commander Luxmoore's wing of the Naval Brigade, advanced to a point 200 yards beyond that village to the right, in touch of the rear company of the 42nd, and commenced cutting a path through the dense bush. But the Ashantees brought so heavy a fire to bear upon the sailors that Colonel Wood, after cutting a clearing, directed them to lie down, and they engaged in a musketry duel with their unseen but numerous foes. The firing was very heavy at this time, and Colonel Wood fell wounded by a slug in the left breast, but the village of Amoaful was entered by the Highlanders soon after noon, though it was not until two hours later that all firing had ceased, and so determined were the attacks of the Ashantees that Colonel Colley commanding the communications was engaged some hours later. The enemy suffered heavily, not less than between 2,000 and 3,000 being killed and wounded, among the former being Amanquatia, the celebrated Ashantee Commander-in-Chief; and the small British army of 134 officers, 1,375 European, and 708 native soldiers, had considerable losses. Captain Buckle, R.E., 2 men of the 42nd, and 1 native, were killed, and 21 officers and 173 men were wounded. The Naval Brigade engaged, numbered 19 officers and 170 men, and of them 6 officers and 26 seamen and marines were wounded.

On the following day, the 1st of February, an attack was made on Becquah, and the Naval Brigade, forming the European portion of the advanced guard, under Colonel McLeod, was detailed to participate. Leaving Amoaful at 1 p.m., the village was carried by Lord Gifford's native scouts, supported by the sailors, and so disheartened were the Ashantees of the previous day, that no sustained resistance was encountered. In this affair one sailor was killed and a few men wounded. The town was burnt and evacuated.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, having resolved, according to his wont, to give the enemy no time to rally, at daybreak on the

2nd February advanced with his little army, the Naval Brigade forming the rear of the main body, and at a later period of the day, escorting the convoy. The force was concentrated that night at Aggemamu, and as the European troops, on an appeal from Sir Garnet Wolseley, agreed to make their four days' rations last for six, the General determined to make a dash on Coomassie. Advancing with great rapidity, the river Ordah was reached at 2 p.m., and having been bridged by daylight on the following day, the whole force pushed across, the Naval Brigade bringing up the rear. A smart action was fought, and the village of Ordahsu was carried. Leaving a strong guard to hold the place with the baggage, Sir Garnet about noon pushed on his main body, regardless of all flank and rear attacks. Colonel McLeod, who took command of his own regiment (the 42nd Highlanders), advanced with the pipes playing, and without stop or stay this magnificent body of men swept on, carrying ambuscades and villages at the point of the bayonet, and no pause was made until a halt was called about four miles from Coomassie. On hearing of this success, Sir Garnet Wolseley ordered an advance of the main force, and himself pushing on with an escort, entered the Ashantee capital soon after 6 o'clock, three-quarters of an hour after the Highlanders had entered the town. During this memorable day the British losses, out of 119 officers, and 1,044 Europeans and 449 native soldiers engaged, were Lieut. Eyre and 1 man killed, and 6 officers and 60 men wounded; of this number the casualties of the Naval Brigade were 1 officer and 4 men wounded.

There was no more fighting after this. The King of Ashantee would neither fight nor negotiate, though ultimately terrified by the advance of Captain Glover on his capital from the direction of the Volta, he concluded a treaty with the British Government, which embraced the payment of an indemnity. Sir Garnet Wolseley returned unmolested from Coomassie on the morning of the 6th February, and on the arrival of his army at Cape Coast, the British soldiers were re-embarked for England, the Native corps were disbanded, and the officers and men of the Naval Brigade returned to their respective ships. Their chief losses had been through sickness. Of 250 petty officers and men, 95 per cent., or

almost the whole strength, were officially returned as having been sick at one time or another, and of them 39 per cent. were invalided to England. Of their conduct in the field Sir Garnet Wolseley said that "all have fought throughout the campaign with the dashing courage for which seamen and marines are so celebrated."

CHAPTER XXXII.

1877—1880.

The Operations of the Naval Brigade in South Africa—The Trans-Kei Campaign—The Zulu War—The Action at Inyezane—The Defence of Ekowe—The Battle of Gingilhovo.

THE next important occasion on which the British navy were engaged, was again in conjunction with the army, as has so often been the case since Nelson established on a firm basis the supremacy of this country on the sea. It was in South Africa, where the British sailor had not been engaged since the occupation of Cape Colony in the closing years of the last century, by a combined military and naval expedition, under Generals Craig and Alured Clarke and Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone. There have been many Kaffir wars since then—those of 1819, 1835, 1846, and 1850, which lasted for three years, and is known as the great Kaffir War, and the Transkei campaign of 1877, in the December of which year a Naval Brigade of 300 men and 7 guns was landed at New London, from H.M.S. *Active*, Commodore Sullivan,* to operate against the Gaikas and Galekas. A portion of the Brigade was left to garrison Fort Cunninghame, at the foot of the Amatola Mountains, and the remainder joined the small army under the command of Sir Arthur Cunninghame, concentrated at Ibeka, which was divided into three columns. The largest, which was to scour the country towards the Quora, was under Colonel Glyn, of the 24th Regiment, the blue-jackets being attached under Captain Wright, R.N., and the marines formed part of the second column, which operated beyond that river.

A skirmish took place on the 13th January, 1878, in which the rockets of the Naval Brigade did considerable

* Now Admiral Sir F. W. Sullivan, K.C.B.

execution,, and again on the 29th of the same month, a detachment led by Lieut. Hamilton performed good service under that gallant officer. On the 7th February a smart action was fought at Quintana Mountain between 436 European troops, including the Naval Brigade, with 560 Fingoes, and between 3,000 and 4,000 Kaffirs under Kreli and Sandilli, of whom nearly 400 were killed, the British loss being 2 killed and 9 wounded. Operating from Ibeka, Colonel Glyn sent out small columns to scour the country, and frequent skirmishes took place with the Kaffirs in which the Naval Brigade did good service, marching as much as 24 miles in one day. On the 10th March the Naval Brigade commenced the return march to East London, where they arrived on the 16th, after three months' eventful campaigning.

A portion embarked on board H.M.S. *Himalaya*, and rejoined the *Active* at Simon's Bay, and a detachment of seamen and marines, under Captain Wright, proceeded to King William's Town to join the troops, under Major-General Thesiger (now Lord Chelmsford), who had succeeded Sir Arthur Cunninghame in the command, and were engaged in the action with the Gaikas at the Peri Bush, where they did excellent service, especially the rocket battery under Sub-Lieutenant Barnes-Lawrence. This detachment also rejoined the *Active* about three weeks later.

Mention has been made of the employment of a portion of the Naval Brigade at Fort Cunninghame, in the Ciskei territory, where they arrived on the 20th December. Lieutenant Craigie, R.N., assumed command of the fort, a square stone building at the foot of the Amatola Mountains, commanding the main road from King William's Town to Queenstown, along which extended a chain of three defensive works, the others being Forts Cathcart and Tylden. This detachment performed good service in overawing the natives and disarming the so-called loyal Gaikas. As Surgeon H. F. Norbury, C.B., R.N., to whose work, "The Naval Brigade in South Africa," I am much indebted, says:—"The Naval Brigade indeed seems to have been ubiquitous. It had simultaneously detachments at Komgha, Ibeka, in the field, in the Transkei, Fort Cunninghame and King William's Town, and artillery with each detachment."

The next phase of our constantly recurring South

African troubles was the Zulu War, which created more interest, much of a painful character, than perhaps any of our military enterprises in that part of the world. For many years the growing power of the Zulu nation had caused uneasiness to the Natal settlers across the Tugela River, as it was known that Cetewayo had at his disposal 40,000 warriors, brave and not undisciplined, who, on a signal from him, would have laid waste the country, and "washed their spears," one of the necessary qualifications for matrimony, in the blood of the white man. Sir Garnet Wolseley, when acting temporarily as Governor of the Colony, warned the Government of the danger, and advised certain military measures of defence. On the arrival, however, of Sir Bartle Frere as High Commissioner of South Africa, that able Indian official adopted a more decided course, in which it is only right to say, for the balance of public opinion in England was against him, he had the support of the Natal public, who preferred to bring matters to a crisis rather than live on under the perpetual fear of a Zulu invasion with all the attendant horrors of slaughter and rapine. Taking advantage of what is known as the Sirayo affair, in which some sons of that chief crossed the Tugela into Natal, and carried off by force two of their refugee countrywomen, whom they put to death according to their custom, Sir Bartle Frere despatched an *ultimatum* to Cetewayo, and notwithstanding that the King was ready to afford satisfaction, the terms, one of which was the disbandment of his army, so clashed with what he considered as due to his dignity as an independent potentate, that he refused compliance with the conditions. Sir Bartle Frere at once directed Lord Chelmsford to invade Zululand, and his lordship, with the usual British fault of undervaluing an enemy, for which we have frequently paid so dearly, embarked on a hazardous undertaking, for which 20,000 seasoned regular troops would not have been too many, with one-third of that number, divided into three columns, each operating independently. Assisting the regular troops was a heterogeneous force, consisting of the Naval Brigade, local European levies and Military Police, and a Native contingent, officered by Europeans.

It was on the 19th November, 1878, when hostilities

ppeared probable, that a detachment of seamen and marines were landed at Durban, from H.M.S. *Active*, and arrived five days later at the "Lower Tugela" drift, or ford, where it guarded that important post and garrisoned Fort Pearson until Lord Chelmsford's plan of operations was so far advanced that the British army entered Zululand. The Naval Brigade consisted of 172 officers and men, with a Gatling and two other guns, and two rocket-tubes, under the command of Captain H. F. Campbell; among the officers were Lieuts. Craigie and Hamilton, and Lieut. Dowding of the marines, all of whom had done good service in the Transkei campaign. Lieut. Milne of the *Active* also joined the Staff of Lord Chelmsford as naval aide-de-camp. The earthwork, known as Fort Pearson, was in a most commanding position, as not only it dominated the drift, some 300 yards in breadth, of the Lower Tugela, a few miles from where that river flows into the sea, but also the main road to Ulundi, the capital of Zululand, distant 104 miles. It was here that, on the 11th December, took place the meeting between the British Commissioners and the Zulu King's "Indunas," or chiefs, in which Sir Bartle Frere's *ultimatum* was propounded, the rejection of which was the cause of the numberless woes that have since distracted that unhappy land, and caused the deaths of so many of her bravest sons no less than of the gallant British soldiers who fell at Isandhlwana. On the 4th May the Naval Brigade was reinforced by 40 men of H.M.S. *Tenedos*, under Lieut. Kingscote, and the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Regiment (the "Buffs"), 800 strong, under Lieut.-Colonel Parnell, arrived and took up their quarters at Fort Pearson. On the 10th, the time allowed by the *ultimatum* having expired, a state of war existed between this country and Cetewayo, and the troops forming the invading force commenced to cross the river by the "pont" worked by the Naval Brigade, which was to form part of the expedition. This column, with its stores and equipment and 100 waggons, was conveyed across in five days by the Naval Brigade, and at 6 a.m. on the 18th January, commenced its march into Zululand. The advance party, which included the *Active* Naval Brigade, 172 strong, with two 7-pounder guns, one Gatling, and two rocket-tubes, consisted of the Buffs (783 men), Royal

Engineers (104), Royal Artillery, with two 7-pounders (30), Mounted Infantry and Natal Volunteer Horse (190), and 1st Battalion 2nd Natal Native Regiment (1,100), making a total of 2,391 officers and men. The second division, which included the 99th Regiment, numbered 2,006 officers and men, the total strength of the column being 2,055 Europeans and 2,342 Natives, the whole under the command of Colonel (now Major-General) Sir Charles Pearson of the Buffs.

On the second day the Amatakulu River was crossed, and a force, including the Naval Brigade, made a *détour* to attack the military kraal of Gingilhovo, which was found to be deserted. On the 22nd of January took place the action known as Inyezane, which was a brilliant success for the British force, of which only 600 Europeans, including the Naval Brigade, and the 1st Battalion of the Native Regiment were engaged. The Zulu army was stated to number 5,000 or 8,000 warriors, according to varying estimates. On crossing the Inyezane River, the enemy was found in strength posted on some heights, and the action was commenced by the Naval Brigade and a detachment of Artillery, with 3 guns and rocket-tubes, which did considerable execution. But the Zulus stubbornly held their ground, and the blue-jackets, led by Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Hamilton, and assisted by a company of the Buffs under Colonel Parnell, who had his horse shot under him, advanced with great intrepidity. After three hours' fighting the Zulus retired in good order, leaving over 300 dead on the field, the British loss being 2 officers and 7 men killed, and 15 wounded, 7 of the latter belonging to the Naval Brigade.

The column continued its march, and at noon on the following day arrived at Ekowe. Here it was destined to be detained for some time, owing to the terrible disaster at Isandhlwana, which quite turned the tables, and not only prolonged the war, but had it not been for the unsurpassed valour of the small garrison of Rorke's Drift, under those heroic officers, Lieutenants Chard, R.E., and Bromhead, 24th Regiment, would have wrought massacre and rapine throughout the colony of Natal. On that disastrous 22nd January, 1879, the same day on which the action was fought at the Inyezane River, one sailor, the only representative of

his service, was present, but he worthily upheld the traditional reputation for gallantry of the British navy. Captain Hallam Parr, in his interesting "Sketch of the Kaffir and Zulu Wars," describing the incidents of that terrible day, on which died 517 British soldiers,* 126 Colonial and 350 Native troops, besides 100 camp-followers, bandsmen, and others, says: "The only sailor in the camp, one of the men of H.M.S. *Active*, was seen, his back against a waggon wheel, keeping the Zulus at bay with his cutlass, but a Zulu crept behind him and stabbed him through the spokes." This gallant fellow was a signalman, and had been left in camp that day when the only naval officer present with the force, Lieutenant Milne, accompanied Lord Chelmsford when he advanced with the main portion of his force to dislodge the enemy at Matyan's kraal, about 10 miles distant.

On the 25th January a strong column left for the Lower Tugela, escorting a large number of empty waggons, and on the following day two native runners arrived with the news of the disaster of Isandhlwana, which was confirmed two days later by the receipt of a despatch from Lord Chelmsford to Colonel Pearson, in which he said:—"You may expect the whole Zulu army on you. Consider all former orders cancelled and take the best steps you can for the safety of your column. If you are not in a position to remain at Ekowe, retire at once and hold the line of the Tugela."

The position was a critical one, for Lord Chelmsford had fallen back across the Tugela with the remainder of his (the centre) column, and Brigadier-General Wood had also retired on Utrecht, so that Colonel Pearson's column was the only one left in Zululand. Fortunately this officer was a man of resource, determination, and tried valour, and he proved equal to the occasion. Colonel Pearson resolved to hold the post at Ekowe, which, under the supervision of Captain Wynne, of the Royal Engineers, an able and accomplished officer, was soon made impregnable to the assaults of a foe unprovided with artillery. The Natal Native Regiment, the Natal

* Of whom 16 officers and 350 men belonged to the 1st Battalion, and 5 officers and 80 men to the 2nd Battalion of the 24th Regiment, the same gallant corps which lost 11 officers and 243 men killed at the desperate action of Chillianwallah on 13th January, 1849.

Volunteer force, and the Mounted Infantry were sent back that afternoon to the Lower Tugela, their place being taken by three companies of the 99th, which opportunely arrived with a convoy of provisions, so that the strength of the garrison was 1,397 Europeans and 461 Natives of the Natal Pioneers and cattle-drivers. The 4 guns, Gatling, and rocket-tubes were mounted in position, the church, the tower of which was utilised as a look-out by a signalman of the Naval Brigade, was turned into a hospital under the care of Fleet-Surgeon Norbury, and the soldiers set to work with a will completing the earthworks and placing the post in a complete state for standing a protracted siege if necessary.

The Zulus were reported by the native spies to be remaining between the fort and the Tugela, in numbers "like the grass," but though they were seen in the neighbourhood and came within range of the guns which dispersed them, they never ventured to make a determined attack. The most dreaded enemy to which the garrison of Ekowe was exposed was the sickness caused by the unsanitary nature of the site of the fort, the wet season, and the heavy work in the broiling sun, which raised moreover a malarious exhalation from the sodden ground. The deaths amounted to 28, and included Mr. Midshipman Coker and 4 men of the Naval Brigade, also 2 officers of the Buffs and 1 of the 99th Regiment; and Captain Wynne, the indefatigable officer of the Royal Engineers to whom the garrison owed so much, and another officer died soon after arriving at the Tugela. The monotony of work on the defences and constructing a road was varied by cricket and other sports, and the military kraal of Dabulamanzi, half-brother of Cetewayo, who commanded the Zulus at Isandhlwana, was burnt by a column detached with that object on the 1st March.

Reinforcements to the extent of 8,000 men landed from England in March, and after much delay, occupied in collecting transport, a strong column under Lord Chelmsford crossed the Lower Tugela, gained a hotly-contested action with the Zulus on the 2nd April at Gingilhovo, and effected the relief of the garrison at Ekowe on the 3rd April. In this engagement, which consisted of a gallant attempt by the Zulus to capture the laager in which our troops entrenched themselves on the previous night, a detachment of seamen

and marines took a prominent part. The British force consisted of 2,500 Natives and 3,400 Europeans, including the 57th, 3rd Battalion 60th, 91st, and some companies of the Buffs and 99th Regiment, and a Naval Brigade drawn from H.M.S. *Shah*,* *Tenedos*, and *Boadicea*,—the last flying the broad pennant of Commodore Richards, who had succeeded Admiral Sullivan in the command, and accompanied Lord Chelmsford—with 2 guns, 2 Gatlings, and 2 rocket-tubes, the seamen being led by Commander Brackenbury, and the marines by Captain Phillips, both of the *Shah*. The Naval Brigade, with the guns, defended the four angles of the laager, and though the Zulu army, about 12,000 strong, under Dabulamanzi, attacked with their accustomed intrepidity, the fire from the guns and Martini-Henrys was so deadly that they were beaten back and dispersed with the loss of 1,200 men, 470 dead Zulus being buried close to the laager. In this action the British loss was 1 officer and 3 men killed, and 5 officers, including Lieutenant Milne, R.N., and 25 men, including 6 of the Naval Brigade, wounded. Colonel Pearson, with 500 men, went out to meet Lord Chelmsford, and the relieving force were received by the garrison with hearty cheering. Ekowe was evacuated on the 4th April, to the regret of many, as the defences had been prepared with great labour, and the position would have to be reoccupied on the resumption of hostilities.

The Naval Brigade, leaving a detachment to hold a new fort called Fort Chelmsford, on the banks of the Inyezane, recrossed the Tugela on the 7th April, and while a company from H.M.S. *Active* occupied Fort Pearson, a detachment from H.M.S. *Boadicea* and *Shah* garrisoned Fort Tenedos. At this time, when preparations were in progress for the invasion of Zululand and the overthrow of the military power of Cetewayo, the Naval Brigade, under the command of Captain H. F. Campbell, of H.M.S. *Active*, having Lieutenant Craigie as Staff officer, consisted of a total strength of 41 officers and 812 men, the respective contingents being commanded as follows: H.M.S. *Active*, by Lieutenant

* The seamen and marines of the *Shah*, Captain Bradshaw, were the first reinforcement brought to the colony of Natal after the disaster of Isandhlwana had brought matters to a critical condition, and their advent was hailed by the colonists.

Hamilton; *Boadicea*, Commander Romilly; *Shah*, Commander Brackenbury; and *Tenedos*, Lieutenant Kingscote. The last-named detachment, however, numbering 3 officers and 58 men, rejoined their ship at Durban on the 2nd May.

On the 17th June, the First, or the Lower Tugela Division of the Army of Invasion, under the command of Major-General Crealock, numbering 4,488 European troops, and 780 Natives, crossed the river, and marched by the coast route to assist in the final operations. The Naval Brigade had 1 9-pounder and 3 Gatlings, and at Fort Chelmsford were joined by the detachment stationed there under Commander Brackenbury, the total strength being 21 officers and 514 men. We will not enter into a detailed account of the proceedings of the Naval Brigade, for the reason that they saw no active service, and were not present at the battle of Ulundi, which broke the power of Cetewayo, and finished at one blow the Zulu War. Though encamped at Fort Durnford, within 70 miles of the scene of that decisive engagement, the First Division, much to their chagrin, remained for three weeks in a state of inactivity, while Sir Evelyn Wood's and General Newdigate's Divisions were actively engaged.

Though a considerable amount of stores were landed at Fort Durnford, Sir Garnet Wolseley, who arrived off this part of the coast in H.M.S. *Shah* on the 2nd July, was unable to land, owing to the heavy surf caused by a south-westerly gale, and had to return to Durban, and proceed overland to join the army in Zululand. On the 4th July took place the decisive battle of the war, and three days later Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at the camp, having ridden from Durban. On the 21st July the Naval Brigade was paraded for the inspection of Sir Garnet, who delivered an address* eulogising their services, and the same day they embarked in a hired transport, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief and Commodore Richards, and proceeded to

* In his General Order on the services of the Naval Brigade, Sir Garnet Wolseley said: "The conduct of the men has been admirable, and their bearing in action in every way worthy of the service to which they belong, while they have worked hard and cheerfully in their laborious duties, which constitute so important a part of all military operations."

Durban, where they joined the *Shah*, which sailed for Simon's Bay, where the men of the *Active* rejoined their ship.

In the disastrous action at Majuba Hill, which concluded the wretched series of military blunders which form the chronicle of our brief but inglorious struggle with the Boers, a detachment of sailors participated, and suffered severely, their commanding officer, Commander Romilly, of the *Boadicea*, being among those who fell.

We have not space to detail all the numerous occasions in which the British Navy have distinguished themselves during the decade, embracing the period between the conclusion of the Ashantee campaign and the prolonged hostilities in Egypt and the Soudan between the years 1882–85. We will just mention the desultory operations in Malayan waters, known as the Perak War, in which the navy assisted their brethren of the army, and (even more arduous, and certainly not less glorious, though achieved in a pacific field, and against the forces of nature) the expedition of Arctic exploration under Sir George Nares, which advanced the British flag to a point nearer the North Pole than had ever before been reached.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1882—1885.

The Egyptian War of 1882—The Bombardment of Alexandria—The Occupation of the Suez Canal—The Naval Brigade at El Teb and Tamai—The Nile Expedition—The Actions of Abu Klea and Abu Kru—Lord Charles Beresford on the Nile—The Naval Brigade at Souakin and in the Action of the 22nd March, 1885—Conclusion.

WITH the political events that led to the Egyptian War of 1882, we have no concern in this work. The great naval achievement of that war was the Bombardment of Alexandria. This feat of arms cannot compare in brilliancy with such great attacks on fortified places as the Bombardment of Copenhagen by Lord Nelson, of Algiers by Lord Exmouth, and of Acre by Admirals Stopford and Napier, but the political consequences have been great and far-reaching, for the attack on Alexandria was the first link in the chain of military enterprises connected with Egypt—a country the destinies of which must be of importance to us as long as we hold India and our vast Colonial possessions—which extend over a period of nearly three years.

On the 11th June took place the massacre of Europeans in Alexandria, which remained unavenged, though the British and French fleets lay in the harbour until the 11th July, when Admiral Conrad, the French Commander-in-Chief, acting under instructions from his Government, sailed away with his ships to Port Said, thus resigning to England that supremacy in Egyptian affairs which our neighbours across the Channel had hitherto equally shared with us. The Egyptians continued strengthening the fortifications that bore on the British fleet in a manner that constituted a menace to its safety as it lay in port, and in disregard of the remonstrances of Sir Beauchamp Seymour, addressed to the President of the Egyptian Government, Ragheb Pasha,

and the Governor of Alexandria, Zulficar Pasha, acting under the authority of Arabi.

The Military Commandant of Alexandria having declined to accede to an *ultimatum*, addressed to him by Sir Beauchamp Seymour, demanding the temporary surrender of the batteries mounted on the Isthmus of Ras-el-Teen, and the foreign European ships of war having quitted the inner harbour, the British fleet, at 7 a.m. on the morning of the 11th July, opened fire on the Egyptian forts and batteries. The following were the ships of Admiral Seymour's fleet, and one more representative of modern ships of war could not well be assembled by any Power, while the captains, officers, and crews would have gladdened the heart of Nelson himself, so ably and admirably trained were they :—

Sultan	Captain	W. J. Hunt-Grubbe, C.B., A.D.C.
Superb	„	T. Le H. Ward.
Alexandra	„	F. Hotham.
Invincible	„	R. H. More Molyneux.
Monarch	„	H. Fairfax, C.B.
Penelope	„	St. George C. D'Arcy Irvine.
Inflexible	„	J. A. Fisher.
Téméraire	„	H. F. Nicholson.

The gunboats were :—

Beacon	Commander	G. W. Hand.
Condor	„	Lord Charles Beresford.
Bittern	„	T. S. Brand.
Cygnet	Lieutenant	C. D. Ryder.
Decoy	„	A. H. Boldero.
Helicon (despatch boat)	„	W. L. Morrison.

The plan of operations embraced two attacks, one by Captain Hunt-Grubbe, second in command, with the *Sultan*, *Superb*, and *Alexandra*, on the northern face of Ras-el-Teen (the lighthouse batteries), supported by an enfilading fire from the 81-ton guns in the after turret of the *Inflexible*, anchored off the entrance of the Corvette Pass. The other attack was by the *Invincible*, bearing the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, *Monarch*, and *Penelope*, from inside the reef, aided by the fire of the *Inflexible's* foremost turret, and the *Téméraire*, which took up a position close to the fairway buoy of the principal entrance (called the Boghaz Pass) leading into Alexandria harbour. The *Helicon* and the *Condor*—the latter commanded by Lord Charles Beresford,

an officer who has since made himself so famous by his services on shore as well as afloat, and appears to be a seaman of the Nelson and Cochrane type—were detailed for duty as repeating ships, and the gunboats *Beacon*, *Bittern*, *Cygnet*, and *Decoy*, were directed to assist the heavy ships by their fire as required.

It was exactly at 7 o'clock that Sir Beauchamp Seymour signalled from the *Invincible* to the *Alexandra*, to fire a shell into the recently-armed earthworks, termed the "Hospital Battery," and followed this by a general signal to the fleet, "Attack the enemy's batteries," when the action became general between the ships and the whole of the forts, mounting 59 guns, commanding the entrance to the harbour of Alexandria.

A steady fire, says the Admiral in his dispatch, was maintained on all sides until 10.30 a.m., when the *Sultan*, *Superb*, and *Alexandra*,* which had been hitherto under weigh, anchored off the Lighthouse Fort, and by their well-directed fire, assisted by that of the *Inflexible*, which weighed and joined them at 12.30 p.m., succeeded in silencing most of the guns in the forts on Ras-el-Teen, though some heavy ordnance in Fort Ada, mounting 25 guns, kept up a desultory fire. About 1.30 p.m., a shell from the *Superb*, whose practice excited admiration, blew up the magazine, and caused the immediate retreat of the remaining garrison. These ships then directed their attention to Fort Pharos, commanding the entrance to the New Port, mounting 45 guns, which were silenced with the assistance of the *Téméraire*, who joined them at 2.30, when a shot from the *Inflexible* dismounted one of the heavy guns. The Hospital Battery was well fought throughout, and although silenced for a time by a shell from the *Inflexible*, it was not until

* Early in the action an act of great heroism was performed on board the *Alexandra*. A 10-inch spherical shell passed through the ship's side and lodged in the main deck, when Mr. Harding, gunner, hearing the shout, "There is a live shell just above the hatchway," rushed up the ladder from below, and observing that the fuse was burning, took some water from a tub standing near, and threw it over the projectile, then picked up the shell and put it into the tub. Had the shell burst, it would probably have destroyed many lives. For this act of devoted bravery Mr. Harding received the Victoria Cross, and never was it better earned.

5 p.m. that the artillerymen were compelled to retire from their guns.

The *Invincible*, flagship, supported by the *Penelope*, both ships being at anchor, and assisted by the *Monarch*, under weigh inside the reefs, as well as by the *Inflexible* and *Téméraire* in the Boghaz and Corvette channels, succeeded, after an engagement of some hours, in silencing and partially destroying the batteries and lines of Meks, on the sea-shore. Fort Marsa-el-Kanat, still further to the west than Meks, was destroyed by the explosion of the magazine after half-an-hour's action with the *Monarch*. Early in the day, when the action had become general, Commander Lord Charles Beresford, of the *Condor*, stationed as repeating ship, performed a gallant action. Seeing the accuracy with which two 10-inch rifled guns in Fort Marabout were playing upon the ships engaged off Fort Meks, he steamed up to within range, and, by excellent practice, soon drew off the enemy's fire. The Admiral sent to his assistance the *Beacon*, *Bittern*, *Cygnet*, and *Decoy;* the *Cygnet* having been engaged with the Ras-el-Teen batteries during the early part of the day. About 2 p.m., seeing that the artillerymen in Meks had abandoned their guns, the Admiral, under cover of the fire of the gunboats, landed a party of volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant R. Bradford, of the *Invincible*, accompanied by Lieutenant Richard Poore, of that ship, Lieutenant the Hon. Hedworth Lambton (Flag Lieutenant), Major Tulloch, Welsh Regiment, and Mr. Hardy, midshipman, who got on shore through the surf and destroyed, with charges of gun-cotton, two 10-inch muzzle-loading rifled guns, and spiked six smooth-bore guns in the water battery at Meks, and re-embarked without a casualty beyond the loss of one of their boats on the rocks.

The action was over at about 5.30 p.m., when the ships anchored for the night. The victory was complete; but, says the Admiral, the force opposed to us would have been more formidable had every gun mounted on the line of forts been brought into action. In the Ras-el-Teen batteries few of the large smooth-bores, and fewer of the French 36-pounders, bought in the time of Mehemet Ali, were manned, the Egyptians preferring to use the English 10-inch, 9-inch, 8 inch, and smaller muzzle-loading rifled guns. These guns,

which are identical with those in use in the British Navy, were abundantly supplied with projectiles of the latest description, chilled shot, and their sighting was excellent. The same may be said of the guns in the Meks Lines, excepting that in them the 36-pounders were more used, and that one, if not two, 15-inch smooth-bores were brought into action, in addition to the 10-inch, 9-inch, and smaller guns fired. Fort Marabout brought two 10-inch guns into action at long range, shell after shell of which came up towards the in-shore squadron in an excellent line, falling from ten to thirty yards short, but not one shell from the guns in the Southern Batteries burst on board the fleet. Nothing could exceed the ability and coolness with which the ships were handled by Sir Beauchamp Seymour, who was ably seconded by Captain Hunt-Grubbe (the same officer who had done such good service in the Ashantee War), who commanded the outside squadron operating against the Ras-el-Teen batteries, which bore the brunt of the action. All the captains and the commanders of gunboats maintained the reputation of their noble service. The ships that sustained the greatest damage were the *Sultan*, *Superb*, and *Alexandra;* the upper works of the *Invincible* and *Inflexible* and *Penelope* were also a good deal knocked about, but the *Téméraire* and *Monarch* suffered no damage. The losses sustained were surprisingly small: 6 men killed, including Lieutenant Jackson and Mr. Shannon, carpenter, both of the *Inflexible*, and 27 wounded, including Lieutenant Davies of the *Penelope*, and Mr. Lumsden, midshipman, of the *Invincible*. It is only due to the Egyptian artillerymen to say that they stood to their guns under a crushing fire and amid the masses of falling masonry, with a heroism that elicited the encomiums of the British Admiral and all observers.

On the morning of the 12th July, the *Inflexible* and *Téméraire* engaged Fort Pharos, which hoisted a flag of truce after a few shots were fired, as did also the Meks Barracks Battery in reply to a similar appeal. On the following day the Admiral steamed into the harbour with the *Invincible*, *Penelope*, and *Monarch*, and landed a party of seamen and marines, under Captain Fairfax, to take possession of Ras-el-Teen, but owing to the absence of a sufficiently strong landing party to occupy the town, th

retiring Egyptian army set fire to it, almost destroying the European quarter, containing some buildings that would have adorned any city, which those will admit who remember the beauty of the great square called after Mehemet Ali.

During the afternoon of the 13th, the Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, who had been practically a prisoner of Arabi, arrived from Ramleh and took up his residence at Ras-el-Teen Palace, under the protection of 700 marines, and in the evening, the Admiral landed all the marines from the off-shore squadron, with some Gatling guns, and cleared some streets of the Arabs who were burning and pillaging.* During the whole of the 14th, as many men from the fleet as could be spared, were landed, under command of Captain Fisher, and by evening the most important positions were occupied. On the 17th the Channel Squadron, consisting of the *Northumberland*, *Agincourt*, and despatch vessel *Salamis*, arrived, also the *Tamar* with soldiers and marines. Major-General Sir Archibald Alison, than whom there are few more experienced officers in the army, now took command of the troops, and the greater portion of the seamen rejoined their ships. Mention should be made of the services of Lord Charles Beresford, in charge of a party of seamen, detailed for police duty during the days immediately succeeding the burning of the city, when the streets were crowded with incendiaries and thieves, and of the admirable service rendered by Captain Fisher with the armoured train, which constantly engaged the enemy in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and who has the credit of being the initiator of this novel experiment in war.

Sir Garnet Wolseley having decided to abandon Alexandria as his base of operations, and seize the Suez Canal so as to operate from Ismailia against Arabi's force, Admiral Hoskins proceeded to Port Said in the *Penelope* on the 16th August, and arranged with Captain Fitzroy for the occupation of Ismailia, and with Captain Fairfax for the

* This bombardment was a costly affair, not only to the Egyptian Exchequer, which ultimately had to pay an indemnity of 4 millions for the firing of the city of Alexandria, but to the English taxpayer. Every shot from the 81-ton guns cost £25 10s.; from the 25-ton guns, £7; from the 18-ton guns, £4 4s.; and so in proportion for the projectiles from the smaller ordnance.

seizure of Port Said. M. de Lesseps protested against the former step as an infringement of his rights, but it was pointed out to him that the temporary occupation, not only of Ismailia, but of the barges and dredges along the whole line of the Canal, and of the telegraph station at Kantara, was absolutely essential to the successful conduct of military operations with or without his consent. For this latter duty, Commander Edwards, of H.M.S. *Ready*, was selected as an officer thoroughly familiar with the Canal, and 100 officers and men were placed under his orders. Starting at 8 p.m. on the 19th August, with the necessary telegraphists, by 4 o'clock on the following morning he accomplished his task without hitch or delay, and the telegraph system along the Canal and to Syria was in British hands. At 3.30 a.m. on the 19th August, Captain Fairfax, of the *Monarch*, occupied Port Said with a party of 216 seamen, 276 marines, and 2 Gatling guns, and the garrison were surprised and laid down their arms. The landing force which disembarked at Ismailia, at 3 a.m. on the 20th August, consisted of 565 seamen and marines, with 2 guns and 2 Gatlings, and within an hour, after a brief and feeble resistance, the place was in British occupation.

Captain Fitzroy, of the *Orion*, had a difficult duty to perform in the occupation of Ismailia, as a large force of the enemy, having railway communication at their disposal, were in the neighbourhood of the town. Indeed, three trains full of soldiers were brought from Tel-el-Kebir, with the view of retaking the place, but were compelled to retire, so admirable were the dispositions of Captains Fitzroy and Stephenson, assisted by Major Fraser, R.E., and so effective the fire maintained by the *Orion* and *Carysfort* on Nefiche Station, where 2,000 men, with 6 guns, were encamped in a position only visible from the masthead of the latter ship, a range of over 4,000 yards. At the Suez end of the Canal the navy also performed excellent service. Captain A. P. Hastings, Flag-Captain to Sir William Hewett, was despatched by the Admiral to Chalouf, 15 miles from Suez, on the west bank of the Canal, with a force of 200 men of the Seaforth Highlanders, under Major Kelsey, and the gunboat *Seagull*, Commander M. Byles, and *Mosquito*, Lieutenant the Hon. F. R. Sandilands. The Highlanders,

and landing parties from the gunboats, under Lieutenants Rae and Story, were despatched against a body of 600 Egyptian infantry, concealed behind the embankment on the Canal, and, assisted by the fire from the Gatling guns in the tops of the gunboats, drove them from their position with the loss of 100 killed and 62 prisoners.

Sir Garnet Wolseley gratefully acknowledged the gallantry and readiness of resource of the officers and men of the British Navy in all the operations for the seizure of the Suez Canal, which formed his new base, and especially to the Admirals, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, Sir William Hewett, and A. H. Hoskins, who commanded in the Canal, for the ability and promptitude of their proceedings.

In the action of the 24th August at Tel-el-Mahuta, on the Sweetwater Canal, about 9 miles from Ismailia, a detachment of seamen from H.M.S. *Orion*, under Lieutenant King-Harman, with 2 Gatlings, rendered excellent service, and throughout the campaign, including the actions at Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir, the conduct of the battalion of Royal Marine Light Infantry, under Colonels H. S. Jones and Graham, and of the Royal Marine Artillery, under Colonel H. B. Tuson, was of a character to enhance the deservedly high reputation of these distinguished corps. At the latter decisive battle, Lieutenant Rawson, Naval A.D.C. to Sir Garnet Wolseley, was mortally wounded, and the Commander-in-Chief, with characteristic good feeling and thoughtfulness, rode back from the field of battle on the same afternoon to express to his dying follower his appreciation of his gallantry and devotion. "Did I not lead them straight?" was the eager question of the young officer, who, though *in articulo mortis*, smiled gratefully when his Chief, pressing his hand, expressed his satisfaction with his conduct, and said he hoped he might survive to enjoy the hardly-earned promotion to the rank of Commander, which a cruel fate, however, denied him. Sir Garnet Wolseley says of this officer, who had earned his thanks by his gallantry under him in Ashantee:—"Of my Aides-de-Camp I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant Rawson, R.N., who was mortally wounded at Tel-el-Kebir. During the many journeys I made by night, I found him of great use in directing our line of march correctly, through his knowledge

of the stars. On the 13th instant I consequently selected him to conduct the Highland Brigade during the night to the portion of the enemy's works where I explained to him I wished them to storm. This duty he performed with the utmost coolness and success, but lost his life in its execution No man more gallant fell on that occasion."

The next service in which the navy was engaged was i the campaign near Souakin, early in 1884, under General S Gerald Graham. Admiral Sir William Hewett, commanding the fleet in the East Indies, was also Governor of Souakin, and on the 24th February, the day following the arrival of Sir Gerald Graham at Souakin, proceeded to Trinkitat with the General and his staff in H.M.S. *Sphinx*, and commenced the disembarkation of the troops intended for the relief of the Egyptian garrison at Tokar, in essaying which General Valentine Baker met with so crushing a defeat a few weeks before. The disembarkation of the army, with its *impedimenta*, was completed in three days, a feat creditable to the navy, when the shallow water, deficiency of landing craft, and other difficulties are considered.

A Naval Brigade accompanied the army, consisting of 13 officers and 150 seamen, with 6 machine-guns, under Commander Ernest N. Rolfe,* of the *Euryalus*, who was selected by the Admiral on account of "his tact, coolness under fire, and knowledge of native warfare," qualities he displayed in a marked manner in the subsequent operations. Serving with the army was a battalion of nearly 400 men, drawn from the Marine Light Infantry and Artillery, under Colonel Tuson. A severe action was fought with the Arabs on the 29th February at El Teb, on the same field where Baker Pasha was so disastrously defeated.

The column advanced at 8 a.m. in the formation of a rectangle, having an interior space of about 200 by 150 yards, the Naval Brigade, with the machine-guns, occupying the intervals of the angles on the front, and the Royal Artillery, with their guns, those in the rear. Both corps dragged their guns by hand, and as the ground was very heavy, owing to a copious fall of rain at daybreak, the work was very arduous, and frequent halts were made to rest the

* Commander Rolfe had served in the Ashantee Campaign with the Naval Brigade that advanced on Coomassie.

men. It was anticipated that the Arabs would attack the advancing square, according to their usual method of warfare, but, more wary, they awaited the advance on an entrenched position.

At about 11.20 the enemy opened fire from a field-work, with 2 Krupp guns, worked by Egyptian artillerymen of Baker Pasha's late force, which were silenced by the British artillery, brought into action at a range of 900 yards. The advance was continued, and the Arabs, made desperate, charged in order to break the square, but they were no match for the disciplined bravery of our soldiers. Every attack was repulsed, the battery was captured at 12.20, when the guns, "admirably worked," says the general, by Major Tucker, Royal Marine Artillery, were turned on another work armed with 2 Krupp guns, which were taken in reverse and soon silenced. By 2 p.m. the last battery occupied by the enemy was abandoned, and the whole position was occupied, when they streamed away in the direction of Tokar and Souakin, leaving dead on the same field where they had slaughtered 2,400 of Baker's ill-disciplined and cowardly fellaheen soldiers, 1,500 warriors, being one-fourth of the number who attacked the British square with the devoted heroism begot of religious fanaticism.

Special features in the fighting on the 29th February, were the gallant charges made by the 10th and 19th Hussars (which suffered severely), and Mounted Infantry, under that brilliant soldier, Brigadier-General Herbert Stewart, and the hand-to-hand fighting in which the York and Lancaster Regiment (the old 65th) assisted by the Naval Brigade, "who managed," says Sir Gerald Graham, "to bring the guns into the fighting line,"* specially distinguished themselves. The

*A Victoria Cross was awarded, and well it was earned, to Captain A. K. Wilson, of the *Hecla*, on the recommendation of Sir Redvers Buller, for his distinguished gallantry. Captain Wilson attached himself during the advance on the Krupp battery to the right half battery of machine-guns, in the place of Lieutenant Royds, R.N., dangerously wounded. On charging the Krupp battery the enemy moved out on the corner of the square and upon the gun detachment who were dragging the Gardner gun. Captain Wilson sprang to the front and engaged in single combat with some of the enemy, protecting his detachment till some men of the York and Lancaster Regiment assisted him with their bayonets. But for

Naval Brigade lost in the action Lieutenant F. M. Royds, of the *Carysfort*, a gallant officer who had been engaged at Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir, and 3 seamen killed.*

Tokar having been relieved, the column marched back to Trinkitat, where it re-embarked under the superintendence of Captain A. Kennedy, of the *Briton*, assisted by Lieutenant Morrison, and returned to Souakin, whence, on the evening of the 11th March, the army advanced again inland with the object of dispersing the Arabs who had beleaguered Sinkat, another of the Egyptian garrisons in the Eastern Soudan. The first march was to Baker's Zareba, about 8½ miles distant, the Naval Brigade having hard work in dragging the machine-guns. At Tamai the British army again came into collision with the Arabs of Osman Digna, and that they were thoroughly demoralised by their defeat on the 29th February, was disproved by the reckless gallantry with which they threw themselves on the British squares.

At 8 a.m. on the 13th March, the force advanced from the second Zareba, in two squares, the Naval Brigade and Marine Artillery and Infantry, numbering 14 officers and 464 men, being attached to the 2nd Brigade, under General Davis. The Naval Brigade, in column of half-batteries, was posted inside the square, in rear of the 42nd Highlanders, which, in half-battalions, was on the left flank and front. The advance commenced at 8.20, the 2nd Brigade being ahead, and 10 minutes later, the order was given by Sir Gerald Graham to the brigade, which he accompanied, to charge the enemy. The 42nd Highlanders, in the front of the square, and the guns advanced at the double till within five yards of a deep nullah, when the right half battery was brought into action on the right of the Black

the action of Captain Wilson some of his detachment must have been speared. Captain Wilson was wounded, but remained with the half-battery during the day.

* In his General Order after the action, Sir Gerald Graham spoke as follows of the Naval Brigade: "The General Officer thanks the Naval Brigade for their cheerful endurance during the severe work of dragging the guns over difficult country when suffering from heat and scarcity of water, and for their ready gallantry and steadiness under fire while serving the guns. The Naval Brigade contributed materially to the success of the action, and the General Officer Commanding cannot too highly express his thanks for their services."

Watch, the left half battery filling up the angle of the square between the half-battalions of the regiment. Owing to the direction of the wind, which blew the smoke into the faces of the soldiers, the enemy were enabled to charge down unobserved on the right-hand corner of the square formed by the York and Lancaster regiments, where there was a gap. The 2nd Brigade fell back in confusion, and the Arabs captured the guns of the Naval Brigade, which, however, were locked by the officers and men, who, says the General "stood by them to the last." At this time Lieutenants Almack (*Briton*), Houston Stuart (*Dryad*), Montresor (*Euryalus*), and 7 seamen were killed, and Lieutenant Conybeare and 7 men were wounded, the officer receiving a heavy blow from a club. The 2nd Brigade soon rallied, and, assisted by the fire of the 1st Brigade, under that accomplished and skilful soldier, Sir Redvers Buller, and of the Mounted Infantry, advanced and retook the guns, which were immediately brought into action. At no time was there any panic, and no better proof could be afforded of the valour and coolness of British troops than the conduct of those regiments, the York and Lancaster, Royal Highlanders, and Royal Marines, on this memorable occasion, when they were borne back by sheer weight of numbers, and rallied with a steadiness perhaps no other soldiers in the world would have displayed in similar trying circumstances.

The camp and village of Tamai were occupied the same day, and on the 15th, the whole force returned to Souakin, 200 seamen, despatched from the fleet, assisting in carrying back the wounded. The campaign was concluded by an advance, in the last days of March, to Tamanieb, but the enemy were for the present thoroughly cowed, and offered no resistance; and by the 20th of the month, the whole force was concentrated at Souakin, and returned to Cairo, or England, with the exception of a small garrison, including a battalion of Marines, a corps which, throughout the Egyptian war, was condemned to bear the brunt of disagreeable and harassing duty.

A year later Souakin was again the scene of hostilities, the object being as before to drive away Osman Digna, who, notwithstanding the severe lessons inflicted on him at El Teb and Tamai, where he lost, it is said, 6,000 of his followers,

almost placed Souakin in a state of siege. In the second Eastern Soudan campaign, however, the Liberal Government of Mr. Gladstone had for their object the ambitious task of laying a railway from Souakin to Berber, with the object of assisting Lord Wolseley in his advance on Khartoum in the autumn of 1885. But we will take the services of the Navy in strict chronological sequence.

Captain More Molyneux, R.N., surveyed the Nile as far up as the second Cataract, and when the British Government decided, at the eleventh hour, upon the expedition for the relief of General Gordon, Commander Hammill, of the *Monarch*, did most excellent service in the preparatory stages previous to the advance of Lord Wolseley's army up the Nile in boats. In the arduous and protracted work of transporting men and stores up the Cataracts and along the reaches of the Nile to Korti, where the two columns, under Generals Earle and Herbert Stewart, advanced on Khartoum by the river and desert routes respectively, in which both these gallant soldiers met their deaths, a detachment of officers and men of the Mediterranean fleet, then under the command of Lord John Hay, was of the greatest assistance to Lord Wolseley, who gratefully and heartily acknowledged their services. Indeed no British commander has to an equal extent with his lordship been indebted for co-operation to the sister service, and no warmer admirer of the valour and resources of the British seaman exists than Lord Wolseley, as his despatches and general orders show.

It was not till August of the year 1884, six months after General Gordon's entrance into Khartoum, where he was destined to find a grave, that the Government made preparations to despatch an expedition to his relief by the River Nile, as recommended by Lord Wolseley, who was sent from England to assume the supreme command. The Naval Brigade, under Lord Charles Beresford, who was appointed to the command on the 26th November, took their full share of the danger and labours of the expedition, especially in transporting the men and stores, and the steamers over the cataracts of the great river.

On the 5th January, 1885, the first Division of the

Naval Brigade,* under the command of Lieutenant A. Pigott, consisting of 4 officers and 51 men, arrived at Korti, where Lord Charles Beresford, who came from Dal on the same day, assumed the command. Three days later the division marched from Korti, in the column commanded by Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart. On the 12th January, the column arrived, without encountering any opposition, at Gakdul, which they left two days later.

On the 16th the column first had touch of the enemy, the scouts of the 19th Hussars reporting them to be in great force about four miles ahead of the column, in a position some four or five miles distant from the wells of Abu Klea. A zareba (or breastwork of prickly camel-thorn bushes) was formed that night, the Naval Brigade being posted on the flanks with their Gardner gun. During that night a continuous and annoying rifle fire was kept up on the zareba, by riflemen from hills on the right flank, distant about 800 yards, and as the morning dawned this fire increased, but there were no casualties in the Naval Brigade. After breakfast, at 6 a.m. on the eventful 17th January, the force was formed up for receiving an attack outside the zareba, the artillery (half-battery 7-pounder screw-guns) and 40 of the Naval Brigade, with the Gardner gun, taking position on the right front, the remainder being left in the zareba. The fire from the enemy's riflemen increased considerably during this period, and as the men were full of fight, shortly after 9 a.m. the General, having waited in vain to be attacked, ordered the square to be formed on a clear space, about 400 yards in front of the zareba. Lord Charles Beresford was directed to place the Gardner gun in the centre of the rear face, keeping it in a line with the men on the march, but if the square was attacked from the front, or on either of the flanks, he was directed to use his own judgment as to the best place for the gun.

* The First Division of the Naval Brigade consisted at this time of Lieutenants A. Pigott and R. de Lisle (both of whom were killed), Sub-Lieutenant E. L. Munro (wounded), Mr. Webber, boatswain, and 51 petty officers and seamen. Lieutenants R. A. G. Montgomerie and G. W. Tyler joined on 11th July at Gubat. The Second Division consisted of Lieutenants E. Van Koughnet (wounded), and R. Poore, Sub-Lieutenants C. Keppel and E. L. Hardy, Messieurs G. Sparkes and H. Benbow, Engineers, and 50 petty officers and seamen. Total—13 officers and 101 men.

The square advanced under a very hot fire from the left flank, for about two miles, and as the column cleared a hill on their left flank, nearly 100 flags of different devices were seen attached to poles planted in the ground among the high grass, the distance of the edge of which from the flank of the square was about 400 yards. Not one of the enemy was visible in the grass at this moment, but when the square halted abreast of the flags, they immediately sprang up to the number of about 6,000, forming an arrow-shaped column with the head towards the square. Accompanying them were about 40 horsemen, who all carried flags and came on at a hand gallop; but the footmen, who were armed with spears, swords, or axes, kept pace with them.

To meet the attack the sailors, under the direction of Lord Charles Beresford, ran the gun from its position in the rear face of the square to a position in the centre of the left flank, about five paces out from the square, and at once opened fire. After firing about 40 rounds, or eight turns of the lever, Lord Charles Beresford perceived by where the enemy were falling, that the gun had too much elevation, and gave the order "cease firing" to alter the elevation. In a moment this was effected, and the sailors had again commenced firing on the front ranks of the enemy with the most excellent results, until after about 30 rounds the gun jammed.* At this time the enemy were about 200 yards from the muzzle of the gun. What then took place is thus described by Lord Charles Beresford: "The captain of the gun (Rhodes, chief boatswain's mate) and myself, unscrewed the plate to clear the barrel, or take the lock of the jammed barrel out, when the enemy were upon us. Rhodes was killed with a spear. Walter Miller, armourer, I also saw killed with a spear at the same moment on my left. I was knocked down in the rear of the gun, but uninjured, except a small spear scratch on the left hand. The crowd and crush of the enemy was very great at this point, and, as it struggled up, I was carried against the face of the square, which was literally pushed back by sheer weight of numbers about

* The gun was jammed by the extractor of the second barrel from the right pulling the head off the empty cylinder of a cartridge which had been fired. The cylinder remaining in the barrel, necessarily prevented the new cartridge from being forced home to its place in the barrel.—(*Lord Charles Beresford's Despatch.*)

12 paces from the position of the gun. The crush was so great, that at the moment few on either side were killed, but fortunately this flank of the square had been forced up a very steep little mound, which enabled the rear rank to open a tremendous fire over the heads of the front rank men; this relieved the pressure, and enabled the front rank to bayonet or shoot those of the enemy nearest them." The enemy then, for some reason, turned to their right along the left flank of the square, and streamed away in numbers along the rear face of it, where they effected an entrance. None of them got into the square at the spot where the crush was, which was held by the Mounted Infantry. In a very few minutes the terrific fire from the square told on the enemy. There was a momentary waver, and then, with the dignity characterising the noble savage, we are told, "they walked quietly away." Lord Charles Beresford, as soon as he recovered his breath, manned the Gardner, and cleared the jam, but not in time to be of much use to fire on the slowly retreating enemy, as they had got back into the nullah and behind the mound before it was ready. Of the Naval Brigade, which numbered 40 at the commencement of the action, there were 8 killed and 7 wounded, among the former being Lieutenants Alfred Pigott* and Rudolf de Lisle, both "most excellent officers," as their leader testified. After the fight the bodies of these officers, and of some of the seamen were found, together with most of the wounded, about 20 yards to the left rear of the gun, outside the square, which led to the belief, corroborated by the wounded, that they were borne away in the crush, when the enemy turned away from the left flank, and headed across the rear face of the square.

Lord Charles Beresford computed the number of killed visible on the battle-field outside the grass, to be about 800, amongst them being several horsemen, one of whom, by his position, and that of his horse, must have actually penetrated the square, and he was afterwards told that there were quite as many, if not more, killed in the grass.

After attending to the wounded, the square re-formed at

* This officer had been promoted shortly before to the rank of Commander, but did not live to know his good fortune.

about 2.30, and proceeded to Abu Klea Wells, arriving shortly after 5 o'clock. It was hard work for the seamen to haul the Gardner gun the whole way over very rough ground with a diminished crew, and fatigued by their recent exertions. The column bivouacked in a defensive formation at the Abu Klea Wells, on the night of the 17th, which was bitterly cold, without provisions, blankets, or covering of any description, and the sufferings of the wounded were very great.

At 2 p.m. on the 18th January, the detachment and camels having joined from the zareba, the column started for Metemmeh, leaving the wounded entrenched at Abu Klea under a guard. The march was continued, without a halt, all through the afternoon and night until 6.30 a.m. on the morning of the 19th, when the Nile was seen to the front, and Metemmeh to the left front. The enemy making their appearance on one of the hills, Sir Herbert Stewart formed a temporary zareba, and ordered the men to get their breakfasts as quickly as possible. This was done under a hot fire from about 600 sharpshooters, directed on the front and rear faces and left flank of the square. At this time the column suffered severely in killed and wounded, among the latter being the Brigadier-General, and Lieutenant Munro, R.N., who was wounded in seven places by one bullet. During this time the Gardner gun was placed about 10 yards outside the square, near the corner formed by the rear face and left flank. It was directed where the fire appeared to be hottest, without much result, as the enemy were under cover, lying down behind the grass.

About 10 a.m. square was formed with about 1,000 men in the rear of the zareba, of which Lord Charles Beresford was left in command with 300 men, composed of details of various regiments, Transport Department, Medical Department, Artillery, Engineers, and Naval Brigade. He proceeded to make two forts, about 200 yards apart, out of camel saddles, provision boxes, and thorn bushes. The larger contained all the sick and wounded, three 7-pounder screw-guns, and the Gardner, two of the former and the Gardner being mounted for action, there being no room for the third gun. The whole of the camels, some 2,000, were made to lie down in a circle outside the larger fort, and

formed an admirable means of defence. These forts were constructed under a severe fire from the enemy in the bushes and trees, about 800 yards distant, but officers and men worked on them cheerily and well. On the square moving out to meet the enemy, they were observed forming up in three V-shaped columns, the third being the largest. Captain Norton, R.A., served the two 7-pounder guns admirably, and completely demoralised the 3rd, or reserve, column of the enemy, entirely upsetting its formation, and changing it into a disorderly crowd. The Gardner gun was brought to bear on the 1st and 2nd columns with very good effect. The enemy could be observed from the forts charging down on the square, which appeared to be as steady as a rock, but at length they retired, and the square marched to the Nile, distant about 2½ miles, where they bivouacked. About 1.20 p.m. the enemy ceased their rifle fire on the forts, leaving the English unmolested for the night. This was the most critical day in the campaign, and nothing recorded in war shows better the steadiness and cool courage of British troops.

On the following day, the square arrived, having left a small force holding a position on the river, to the joy of the handful of men guarding the wounded, whose position during that night was a most anxious one, and at 4 p.m. the whole column marched on the Nile, and encamped at Gubat. On the 21st January a reconnaissance was made in the direction of Metemmeh, when the Gardner gun, under the command of Mr. Webber, boatswain (every other naval officer having been killed or wounded), accompanied the column. Gordon's four steamers, *Bordein*, *Sofia*, *Tewfikea*, and *Tull-howeiya*, arrived, and after some slight repairs to their engines, Lord Charles Beresford, who assumed command of the steamers, reported them as ready to proceed to Khartoum at 3 p.m. on the 22nd January.

It would seem a pity, looking at the enormous interests concerned, and the urgency of the case, that Sir Charles Wilson, who now commanded the troops, did not despatch the steamers with troops on the afternoon of this day to the relief of General Gordon, who was known to be in extremity; but instead of taking this step, he sent Lord Charles Beresford to Shendy, distant about 7 miles, in the *Bordein*

and *Tull-howeiya*, taking Bashi-Bazouks and the native crews of the vessels. A few shells were fired into Shendy, and a small earthwork was cleared, but no opposition was encountered.

On the 24th January, at 7 a.m. Sir C. Wilson left for Khartoum in the *Bordein* and *Tull-howeiya*, with a detachment, about 20 men of the Sussex regiment, and the Soudanese troops, about 280 in all. The Naval Brigade was ordered to remain at Gubat, and Lord Charles Beresford repaired on board the *Sofia* with a detachment of seamen and the Gardner gun, while the Egyptian troops from the steamer *Bordein* garrisoned the island opposite the English camp at Gubat. Shendy was again visited by the *Sofia* on this day, when the enemy opened a hot fire, but were dispersed with shell and the Gardner gun. Sir Herbert Stewart, whose condition had become serious, was put on board the *Tewfikea*, which was also used as a ferry-boat between the island and the English camp to bring food across for the camels. Between the 25th and 30th January, Lord Charles Beresford weighed daily at 6 a.m., taking on board 20 carefully picked shots from one of the regiments, and patrolled the river at distances varying from 10 miles down to 15 miles up, capturing cattle, sheep, goats, and vegetables for the camp; also raiding villages and driving the men out, and destroying a strong earthwork. In her passage up and down the river the steamer was always fired at by parties along the left bank, but the bullet-proof shields prevented any casualties.

The 2nd division of the Naval Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Van Koughnet, arrived on the 31st January, and on the following day, Lieutenant Stuart Wortley, who had accompanied Sir Charles Wilson, arrived in a boat with the startling news of the fall of Khartoum, and the loss of the two steamers, *Bordein* and *Tull-howeiya*, also reporting that Sir C. Wilson and his party, together with the Bashi-Bazouks, were encamped on an island about 30 miles south of Gubat, and a short distance from a strong earthwork, where there were some 5,000 men. Lord Charles Beresford was directed to proceed to the relief of the party, and selecting a crew for the steamer from both divisions of the Naval Brigade, with 20 picked shots of the Mounted

Infantry, and mounting the two Gardners on a platform amidships in *échelon*, on the 2nd February he proceeded up the river with all despatch (about 2½ knots).

At 7 a.m. on the following morning, a very strong earthwork was passed on starboard hand, with Sir C. Wilson's steamer on the rocks, about a quarter of a mile beyond it. Having given instructions to the riflemen, and Gardner and howitzer guns' crews, to fire solely into the embrasures as the ships passed the fort, and not at bodies of riflemen on the banks, Lord Charles opened fire with his bow gun at 1,200 yards, to which the enemy replied with heavy rifle fire from 600 or 800 rifles all along the bank, and also with a gun from an embrasure pointed down stream. Owing to the depth of water the steamer had to pass at about 80 yards from the fort, "but," says his lordship, "the machine-gun and the marksmen's fire, directed into the embrasures, was so accurate and terrific, that the enemy were luckily unable to fire their two guns when the fort bore on the beam, distant 80 yards." When the steamer had passed the fort about 200 yards, the machine-guns would no longer bear, and but comparatively few of the riflemen could get their rifles to bear over the stern. The enemy then sent a shot into the boiler. Observing the paddles still moving, Lord C. Beresford headed the steamer towards the opposite bank and, waiting until her weigh was lost, anchored. The enemy, on seeing the catastrophe, redoubled their fire, when the resourceful commander got up some planks and mounted one of the Gardner guns aft, cutting a hole in the after side of the battery, where one of the 7-pounders was, and, cutting off about a foot of the trail with a saw, was enabled to fire this gun, although it capsized after every round, as there was no recoil. The Gardner gun and rifles were all directed at the embrasure facing up stream, to prevent the enemy either getting their gun to bear on the steamer from the earthwork, or taking the gun out of the earthwork so that they could bring it to bear on the steamer from another position (as the earthwork was close down to the water at the bottom of a steep incline), while had they attempted to remove the gun they would have been exposed to the fire from the steamer.

From 7.30 to 8.30 p.m. a continuous fire, without a

minute's intermission, was kept up with the 7-pounders and Gardner, and by the riflemen who were told off in relief, on the earthwork and embrasure. The enemy were equally diligent, and particularly with their rifles, their bullets rattling like hail all over the ship. Though they managed to fire several rounds from the gun, they could not train it on the vessel, on account of the hot fire, and the shots travelled more than 100 yards to the right of the steamer. Having communicated with Sir Charles Wilson in the evening, and arranged that his party should land on the opposite bank, while his sick and wounded should float down in a nuggah after dark, Lord Charles Beresford hauled the boats, four in number (brought up to take the wrecked party back), alongside the vessel, hoping the enemy might think he was deserting the steamers, as at night, although they could not be seen, the enemy could see the steamers, and he feared that they would take their guns out of the fort, run them up the bank abreast of the vessel, where their range would be under 100 yards, and easily sink her. The *ruse* answered perfectly. The sailors ceased firing and maintained a dead silence before Sir Charles Wilson and his party floated down in the nuggah. The enemy opened fire on the nuggah, but owing to the darkness with little effect, and after it had passed them, took their guns out of the fort, and fired several rounds at the steamer, accompanied by a heavy rifle fire. To this no reply was returned, when the enemy, evidently thinking the crew had deserted, ceased firing for the night. At 11 a.m. the following morning, the 3rd February, when the boiler had got cool, Mr. Benbow, chief engineer, commenced repairing it, a job which took ten hours to accomplish. As Lord Charles says: "Too much credit cannot be given to this officer, as he had to shape the plate, bore the holes in plate and boiler, and run down the screws and nuts, almost entirely with his own hands, the artificers and every one in the stokehole having been scalded severely by the explosion when the shot entered the boilers. The plate was 16 inches by 14, so that some idea can be formed of the work entailed upon him."

The boiler being repaired by 9 in the evening, at 5 on the following morning (4th February) fires were lit, furnace doors kept closed, and every precaution taken to prevent

sparks coming out of the funnel, and it was not until 5.50, within 10 minutes of daylight, and the steam being ready for proceeding, that the enemy perceived that the English sailors had remained on board, and their chance of destroying them was lost. They gave vent to the most fiendish yells, and got their guns to bear on the steamer, but by the time they commenced firing, the plucky commander had weighed anchor, and proceeded to the southward. After going up for three-quarters of a mile, where there was more room, the vessel was turned round, and came past the fort at a good speed, using the guns (Gardners) and riflemen in the same manner as on the previous day. But they were not yet out of the wood. After passing the fort it was discovered that the nuggah, containing the sick and wounded of Sir C. Wilson's party, was aground on a rock, just within range of the fort. Lord Charles Beresford anchored as near as he could to the rocks, and sent Sub-Lieutenant Keppel—a worthy son of a gallant sire, Admiral Sir Henry Keppel—to get her afloat. This, with the assistance of Captain Gascoigne, who was with General Wilson's party in the nuggah, he succeeded in doing in the most clever and gallant manner in three hours, exposed to a smart fire all the time. On the nuggah getting afloat, the steamer weighed and proceeded two miles down the river, picked up Sir C. Wilson's party, who had marched down on the right bank, and proceeded to Gubat, arriving about 5.45 p.m. During this action there were fired 5,400 rounds from the Gardners, 126 from the howitzers, and 2,150 from the Martini-Henry rifles.

Lord Charles Beresford says: "I consider that we owe our safety in the steamer, as well as the safety of Sir Charles Wilson and his party, who undoubtedly would have been killed if the steamer had been destroyed, to the untiring energy of Sub-Lieutenant Keppel and Mr. Webber, boatswain (who worked the howitzer), to Lieutenant Bower, commanding the picked shots of the Mounted Infantry, and Mr. Ingram of the Yeomanry, who is attached by order to the Naval Brigade, and who attended to the working of the Gardner, after Lieutenant Van Koughnet was wounded at the moment the fort bore on our beam. Surgeon May, R.N., was also very attentive to the wounded. Testimony must be borne to the splendid discipline maintained by the

men, one and all, during a tremendous fire which lasted 13 hours." But more than to any of these officers the successful issue of the adventure was due to the true sailor-like resource and English pluck of the gallant commander of the party, who inspired officers and men with his indomitable spirit.

During the following day the Naval Brigade were employed plugging bullet and shot holes, and repairing the vessels, and on the 8th February, a court-martial assembled on board for the trial of the captains and pilot of the steamers *Bordein* and *Tull-howeiya*, "for wilfully losing their steamers, thereby causing vital danger to a part of Her Majesty's forces." The Court acquitted the captains, and found the pilot guilty and sentenced him to death, but recommended him to mercy on account of his having brought Lieutenant Wortley down safely to Gubat to report the situation of Sir Charles Wilson.

On the 7th February a raid was made in the steamer and a number of cattle and goats were captured, but they were obliged to return, as the steamer leaked so badly. During the next few days the leaks got worse. The starboard side came away from the beams distant about 12 feet, and the starboard side of entry came away from the fore foot. This was attributed to the concussion of the gun in the action of the 3rd February, there not being sufficient room for recoil, when fired in the position in which it had been placed.

Sir Redvers Buller now arrived from Korti to assume command of the troops, with orders from Lord Wolseley to evacuate Gubat. Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th February, Lord Charles Beresford spiked the guns on board the *Sofia* and *Tewfikea* and threw them overboard, together with all their ammunition, and took the eccentric bands from both the above steamers' engines. The Naval Brigade bivouacked on shore that night, and at daybreak on the 14th February, the whole left Gubat, marching on foot, there being no camels available.

Abu Klea was reached about noon on the following day, and the Naval Brigade was ordered into the fort with the Gardners, the remainder of the column throwing up earth-works. At 5 a.m. on the 16th, about 1,000 of the enemy appeared on the hill, and kept up a fire all night, until 11 a.m. on the 17th, when Major Wardrop went out with an

officer and 3 men and by a clever *ruse* caused them to retreat. On the 23rd February, a convoy with sick left at 2 p.m., and at 7 the column proceeded for Gakdul, marching as before on foot, and, picking up the convoy at 11.30, stopped for the night. Gakdul was reached on the 26th February, and during their halt at that place, the Naval Brigade was variously employed, an entry in Lord Charles Beresford's journal stating, in sailor-like language, that they were "engaged repairing camels' sides by plugging them with oakum." On the 28th February, the Naval Brigade left Gakdul with a portion of the column, and Korti was reached on the 7th March at 4.30 p.m. The sailors had made the desert march of 200 miles from Metemmeh without one man falling out, a most creditable performance considering the state of their shoe leather, and the fact of their having to carry rifle, cutlass, and 70 rounds of ammunition, besides in many cases having to "tow" an obstinate or worn-out camel.

On the 8th March, Lord Wolseley inspected the Naval Brigade, and afterwards addressed them. He praised the conduct of Lord Charles Beresford and his men in the highest terms, and especially Mr. Benbow, the engineer who repaired the injured boiler of the steamer which was sent to rescue Sir Charles Wilson and his party on their way down from Khartoum. Lord Wolseley complimented Mr. Benbow warmly on his gallant conduct and coolness under the fire of the enemy, and gave him his own cigarette case as a personal memento. The Naval Brigade was now broken up into detachments posted at Abu Gus, Kurot (3 miles below Debbeh), Tani (7 miles below Korti), and Abu Dom ; and its commander resumed his post as Naval Aide-de-Camp on Lord Wolseley's staff, and accompanied him to Souakin, to which we shall now turn as the scene of important events in which the Navy participated.

After the fall of Khartoum and death of General Gordon became known in England, the Liberal Government resolved to continue the campaign until British prestige had been re-established by the capture of the city so long and gallantly defended by that great man and accomplished soldier. An army of 12,000 men (including the battalion of marines stationed at Souakin) was assembled at that port

from England, Cairo, and India, to assist Lord Wolseley in his operations on the Nile, by opening up the Berber-Souakin route, and a Naval Brigade was formed from the ships of the Red Sea Division of the Mediterranean fleet, then under the immediate command of Commodore Molyneux. As had been the fate of the detachments of seamen engaged in the actions at Tamai, in the preceding year, and Abu Klea in the following January, the Naval Brigade suffered heavily in the fighting.

In the operations resulting in the occupation of Hasheen, the Royal Marines and Berkshire Regiment (old 49th) gained much credit by the way in which they stormed the hill, and again in the sanguinary struggle on the memorable Sunday, the 22nd March, when our troops were surprised by the enemy while constructing a zareba, the same battalions gained imperishable honour by their steady gallantry, fighting back to back in companies and knots of men, as the Arabs encountered them in the open while engaged in their task, with their coats off and arms piled close at hand. The Naval Brigade, drawn from the ships in port, *Carysfort*, *Condor*, *Dolphin*, *Coquette*, and *Sphinx*, under Commander W. C. H. Domville, of the *Condor*, was divided into two detachments, each having 2 Gardner guns, stationed respectively in redoubts at the apex of the northern and southern zarebas, these positions being therefore specially exposed to attack. The redoubts were unfinished at the time of the sudden attack, and when the Arabs poured like a cataract into the northern one, they carried all before them by dint of weight of numbers. The officer commanding, Lieutenant Seymour (First Lieutenant of the *Dolphin*), and 6 seamen were killed, many being wounded. The garrison of the southern redoubt, where Lieutenant Paget was in command, escaped without a casualty, and, by the deadly fire from their Gardner guns they brought to bear on the masses of the Arabs as they charged along the front, assisted effectively in driving back the wild horde of fanatics whose splendid courage elicited the admiration of their opponents. Over 1,000 Arabs lay dead close to the position they so ineffectually strove to capture, including some of their bravest chiefs, and probably at least as many more perished in the surrounding bush, or died miserably of their wounds. Our gallant soldiers,

including the Indian contingent, did not get off scatheless, and it is estimated that the total casualties were 400, while the loss of 800 camels and other transport animals seriously crippled the force during the remainder of the campaign.

Osman Digna had, however, received a lesson as to the folly of attacking British troops, and the operations after this were of a desultory character, the Arabs attacking convoys in a half-hearted sort of way; and when, early in April, Sir Gerald Graham advanced with 8,000 men, including the newly-arrived Australian contingent, to Tamai, he found that wretched place evacuated by the enemy, and committed it to the flames.

The Naval Brigade was now embarked on board their respective ships, and with the return to Cairo of their comrades who had fought under Lord Charles Beresford, the services of the British sailor in this quarter of the world were brought to a conclusion, though how soon they may again be brought into requisition, with the horizon threatening them in other places, no one can venture to predict. Throughout the second expedition to Souakin, the services rendered by the Naval Transport Department, under Captain John Fellowes and Commander W. L. Morrison, in providing for a force of 12,000 men in the field, were of a most meritorious character, and not less those of the harbour-masters, Lieutenants T. McGill and Fawckner. During many trying months in the preceding year, when Osman Digna was in great force, and the small garrison of Souakin was practically in a state of siege, the battalion of Royal Marines and the officers and men of the ships already named, and of the *Briton*, *Tyne*, *Woodlark*, *Myrmidon*, and *Albacore*, were constantly engaged with the enemy in boats at night, or manning machine and field guns, covering the causeway and weak points on the flanks. Lieutenants F. G. Kirby, of the *Briton*, Hugh Talbot, of the *Carysfort*, and the late M. H. M. Seymour, of the *Dolphin*, rendered special service in superintending the working of the land mines, which were used to protect the flank of the position, and the gunboat *Albacore*, Lieutenant P. K. Smythies, which was entrusted for some weeks with the defence of the south side of the town, was frequently attacked by the enemy from quarries near the harbour, which afforded them excellent shelter. Finally the

officer commanding the Red Sea Division of the Mediterranean fleet, Commodore Molyneux, C.B., well merited the thanks of his superior officer, Admiral Lord John Hay, who expressed his appreciation of his "tact, intelligence, and judgment in dealing with an infinite variety of circumstances."

Should the cutlass of the British seaman—for though he has had no chance of boarding an enemy's ship within recent years, the weapon may be said to be typical of the honest fellow—be drawn from its scabbard on his own element, we have no doubt of his ability to use it as of yore. We only trust it may never be drawn in any cause other than the defence of his native shores or the honour and paramount interests of his country, and then we have no fear for the result, and consider as remote indeed the possibility of a "Battle of Dorking"—a foreign victory based on the presumed effacement of the British Navy, a monstrous "if" surely beyond the bounds even of poetical license, for the very sufficient reason that the brave hearts who "guard our native shores" will ever be found true to their motto, "Ready—aye, ready." Yet must we not too confidently count upon an immunity from the decay of national spirit, for as in all things mundane there follow in an inevitable sequence, infancy, prime, and decadence—so our epitaph "Fuit" will some day be written over the bier of our national greatness. An historian has treated of the rise and fall of Imperial Rome, so will "our rough island story" be told by a writer of a future age, who will point a moral as he traces the causes that conduced to our decline. Is it not Hector who, when parting with Andromache, thus expresses his forebodings?

> But come they must, the days decreed by Fates,
> My heart trembles while my tongue relates,
> The days when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend,
> And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.

Should a combination of maritime powers crossing the "silver streak of sea," make a descent upon our shores with an armada having greater claims to invincibility than that foiled in the days of good Queen Bess by a Howard of Effingham and a Francis Drake, the country will recall the

last never-to-be-forgotten signal of her greatest Admiral, "England expects every man will do his duty," and will await a similar response from the devotion of her seamen. In that hour of peril to our national life, our gallant defenders will be cheered by the memory of the thousand victories and acts of devotion wrought by the British sailor on his native element in every clime under the sun, so inadequately described in this volume, and their arms will be nerved by the soul-stirring words of our greatest and most national poet:

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.
> Come the three corners of the earth in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

But to attain this end, the motto of the people and Government of England, whether Liberal or Conservative, should be *Si vis pacem para bellum*. Our Navy must be maintained at all times in sufficient strength to meet on the seas a combination of any two maritime nations. Even that lover of peace, Richard Cobden, insisted upon this as the minimum requirement to ensure our safety; but with our commerce and colonies so largely increased since his day, more than this is required if we would defend our shores, protect our vast mercantile marine and valuable possessions in every quarter of the globe, and maintain our ancient position as the mistress of the seas.

THE END.

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