

Col. Graham goth Reeg!

MARCHANT, SINGER & C.º LONDON.

LIFE

OF

THOMAS GRAHAM,

LORD LYNEDOCH.

BY

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Captain 56th Foot (late 90th L.I.)

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PREFACE.

Having been requested by the Officers of my late regiment, the 90th Light Infantry, to compile the records of the corps, I undertook the duty with some reluctance, owing to the apparent great want of material to enable me to produce a complete and at the same time an authentic work. But little was known beyond the fact that the regiment had been raised in 1794 by Mr. Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), of Balgowan, in Perthshire. In the course of my enquiries, it was suggested to me that I should apply to Mr. Maxtone Graham of Cultoquhey, who, as heir in line of the family of Graham, of Balgowan, was likely to be in possession of documents which might throw light upon my undertaking. On so doing, that gentleman at once placed at my disposal a large and valuable collection of MSS. connected with the regiment, and with the private and military career of its founder. With their assistance I have been enabled not only to produce a consecutive history of the regiment up to the present time, but also, a memoir of the most important features of Lord Lynedoch's distinguished life.

Besides the documents already alluded to, I am greatly indebted to the Earl of Cathcart, through whose kindness I have been able to select from his lordship's collection of MSS. many valuable additions.

I venture to bring this work before the public in the belief that, however humble the efforts of the compiler, the subject is one of the highest interest, and worthy of a more distinguished pen than that of a soldier, whose ability falls short of his desire to do justice to the theme he has taken in hand.

ALEX. DELAVOYE.

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE, 1879.

INDEX.

Abercromby, Sir Ralph, 106, 201, 219.

Acton, J., 215.

Adam, Mr. W, 728, 737.

Address to Freeholders of Perthshire, 630.

Almaraz, capture of, 629.

Annandale, Countess of, 1.

Anstruther, General, 272.

Antwerp, bombardment of, 705.

Athole, Duke of, 528.

Austrian Army, attached to, 109.

Badajos, capture of, 627.
Balgowan, 2.
Ball, Capt. Alex., R.N., 188, 257.
Barossa, battle of, 466.
Bathurst, Lord, 645, 695, 698, 699, 700, 706, 710, 714, 726, 727, 740.
Bergen-op-Zoom, attack on, 716.
Bernadotte, Marshal, 712.

Cadiz, appointed to command, 304.
Cambridge, Duke of, 552.
Castelcicala, Prince de, 219.
Castiglione, battle of, 123.
Cathcart, Lord, 8, 23, 25, 54, 244, 253.
Cathcart, Hon. Mary, 9.
Cathcart, Hon. Charles, 17, 563, 565.
Ciudad Rodrigo, attack on, 620.
Clancarty, Lord, 724.
Clarence, Duke of, 551, 643, 715, 724.

Clinton, Major General, 637. Constantinople, 227. Corunna, battle of, 296.

Douglas, Captain, 11th Foot, 49.
Douglas, Lord, 519.
Doyle, Major-General, 95.
Dukedom, offer of Spanish, 475.
Dumbarton Castle, appointed
Governor of, 784.
Dundas, Sir David, 304, 502, 546.
Dundas, Mr. Henry, 105.

Edinburgh, Freedom of, 746.
Egypt, war in, 222.
Elgin, Lord, 172.
Elphinstone, Captain, R.N.,
(Lord Keith) 32.
Erskine, General St. Clair, 167.

Fox, Lieutenant-General, 216.

Giron, General, 477.
Glasgow, elected Lord Rector of University, 689.
Graham, death of Hon. Mrs., 27.
Gravina, Admiral, 50.
Grenville, Lord, 109, 155.
Grey, Lord, 519.
Græme, Mr. Robert, 691.

Hamilton, Lord Archibald, 689. Hamilton, Sir Wm. 56, 174. Hamilton, Lady Emma, 162. Hill, Lord, 81, 84, 229, 234, 570, 612, 629, 652, 747, 784, 785, 806. Holland, appointed to command in, 695. Hood, Lord, 49. Hope, General Alex., 249, 504, 734. Huskisson, Mr. W., 748.

Isle Dieu, 96.

Joins Lord Wellington in Portugal, 560.

K.C.B., appointed, 623.Kent, Duke of, 307.King William IV., letter from, 806.Kinnoul, Lord, 5.

Leaves the Peninsula, 634.

Letters on Reform, 791.

Letter to General Anderson about Corunna, 801.

Liverpool, Earl of, 302, 393, 395, 505, 506, 507, 623.

Lynedoch, created Baron, 734.

Macpherson, James, 3.

Macpherson, Sir John, 608.

Malta, blockade of, 179.

Mantua, escape from, 140

Matagorda, defence of, 335

McGrigor, Dr., 638

Merxem, attack on, 705.

Messina, appointed Governor of, 165.

Minorca, capture of, 157

Moira, Lord, 501.

Moncrieff, Captain, 11th Foot,65.

Montrose, Duke of, 250, 530.

Moore, Sir John, 269, 272, 277, 281, 286.

Mulgrave, Lord, 53, 54, 77, 80, 82, 103, 228, 251, 520, 679, 728, 636.

Murray, Lieutenant-General, 594.

Nelson, Lord, 164, 168, 170, 173, 175.
Ninetieth Foot, 84.
Noirmoutier, expedition to, 94.

Offer of command in Portugal, 803. O'Hara, General, 32. Order of William, 766. Order of St. Ferdinand, 219. Oswald, Colonel, 213.

Palmerston, Lord, 324.
Passage of Bidasoa, 680.
Peel, Mr. Robert, 778.
Permanent rank, application for, 98, 230, 235, 300.
Perth, freedom of, 89, thanks of Constituency, 201, address to the King, 254.
Portugal, expedition to (1809) 262.

Plymouth, elected Burgess, 686.

Queen Charlotte, 30. Queen of Naples, 220.

Radetsky, Marshal, 810. Rosslyn, Earl of, 522. Roverbella, battle of, 113. Russia, visit to, 768.

Salamanca, battle of, 633. Saxe Weimar, Duke of, 733. Second in command in Pen- Uxbridge, Lord, 671. insula, 358.

Sidey, Mr. Charles, 524. Smith, Sir Sydney, 205. St. Sebastian, Siege of, 667. St. Vincent, Lord, 752, 755. Sweden, expedition to (1808) 261.

Taylor, Major-General Sir Herbert, 781.

Thanks of House of Lords, 508, 688.

Thanks of House of Commons,

Torrens, Colonel, 499, 641. Toulon, 41.

United Service Club, 746.

Vaubois, General, 198. Vittoria, battle of, 654.

Walcheren expedition, 303. Wellesley, Mr., 473. Wellington, Duke of, 340, 350, 352, 357, 374, 377, 401, 402, 426, 435, 493, 539, 553, 554, 566, 567, 571, 575, 589, 604, 606, 607, 616, 617, 618, 619, 624, 625, 626, 628, 629, 635, 636, 648, 651, 652, 653, 654, 673, 678, 693, 756. Winchelsea, Lord, 82. Wurmser, Marshal, 116.

York, Duke of, 98, 100, 102, 222. 233, 237, 300, 711.

ERRATA.

Page 3, line 22, for after, read during. Page 28, line 10, for Dalerne, read Dalcrue. Page 87, line 5, for country, read county. Page 176, line 16, for From, read To. Page 239, line 25, for little, read bitter. Page 577, line 33, for Smith, read Smythe. Page 712, line 20, for his, read its. Page 782, line 12, for Dansey, read Denny.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF REFERENCE.

Year. Page.	Year.	
A.D. 1748 2	A.D. 1810	Page.
1766 4		. 446
1767 4	1812	
1768 7	1813	. 644
1772 8	1814	
1774 9	1815	. 746
1781 14	1816	752
1783 15	1817	. 766
1785 17	1818	766
1789 23	1819	. 767
1792 27	1820	771
1793 34	1821	. 773
1794 84	1822	776
1795 93	1823	. 779
1796 103	1824	779
1797 151	1825	. 780
1798 155	1826	780
1799 164	1827	. 781
1800 188	1829	784
1801 219	1830	. 786
1802 228	1831	794
1803 244	1832	. 798
1804 247	1833	800
1805 251	1834	. 806
1806 257	1837	808
1807 261	1841	. 809
1808 261	1842	813
1809 293	1843	. 814

LIFE

OF

LORD LYNEDOCH.

THE subject of this Memoir was the third son of Thomas Graham, Esq., of Balgowan, in the county of Perth, and of Lady Christian Hope, his wife, daughter of Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun, and granddaughter of Henrietta, last Countess of Annandale, from whom Lady Christian inherited a considerable portion of her mother's fortune.

Thomas Graham was the sixth laird of Balgowan, his ancestor, John, second son of John Græme, of Garvock, having purchased the estate of Balgowan from Lord Tracing descent in lineal suc-Invermeath in 1584. cession from Sir William Graham, of Kincardine, and Mary Stewart, second daughter of King Robert the Third, the family of Graham of Balgowan is entitled to carry a double tressure on their shield, denoting royal Sir William, of Kincardine, was eleventh in descent from William de Graham, who, according to Douglas, settled in Scotland, under King David the First, obtained from him the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith in 1128, and was the progenitor of the many illustrious families of Graham, so closely connected with most of the stirring events in the history of their country. From him are descended the Dukes of Montrose, the Earls of Strathearn, the Earls of Menteith, the Grahams of Claverhouse, Fintry, Garvock, Balgowan,

Inchbrakie, Gorthy, Orchill, and many other families of that name.

Having now traced the descent of the Grahams of Balgowan, we return again to Thomas Graham, whose marriage with Lady Christian Hope took place in 1743. Of their three sons-John, Charles, and Thomas-the two elder died in early youth. Thomas was born on the 19th of October, 1748. The exact place of his birth Tradition only indicates that he was not is unknown. born at the family seat of Balgowan, but that the event took place either in the house of Blair, near Blairgowrie, one of the family estates in the north of Perthshire, or in the family jointure-house of Pitmurthly, in the parish of Redgorton, a few miles to the north of the town of Perth. From the fact that there is a silver christening bowl in the possession of the Kirk Session of Redgorton, believed to have been presented by Lady Christian about the time of the birth of her youngest son, it seems not unwarrantable to assume that Pitmurthly may have been the birthplace of him whose future career it is the design of this work to place before the public.

There are few records of any importance preserved in the family connected with the early years of young Thomas Graham. It was no uncommon custom at that period for wealthy landed proprietors to educate their sons at home, and we thus find that, up to the age of eighteen, young Thomas Graham was, under his father's roof, instructed by private tutors, the most eminent of these being Mr. James Macpherson, well-known as the compiler of Ossian's Poems.

In a letter from Elizabeth Græme, cousin-german to Thomas Graham the elder, there occurs the following sentence: "I have now, in this house, a letter from my "father's nephew, Mr. Thomas Græme, of Balgowan, in "Perthshire, Scotland, who, in speaking of his only "son (now alive), with much tenderness, says, 'Lady "Christian and myself prefer a private education for

"Tommy, and have procured a modest young man, "who is master of Greek and Latin, to live with us "at Balgowan, and to be preceptor to the boy; his "name is James Macpherson."

In writing of Ossian's Poems, there is the following extract, from the pen of the same lady:—

"These Poems, so much the object of inquiry, were "many of them collected and translated at the time "Mr. Macpherson resided as private tutor in the house "of my cousin-german at Balgowan. In the year 1765, "in the month of September, my cousin took me into "his library, and, with his own hand, took down and "gave me a large and very elegant edition of Ossian's "Poems and the 'Song of Selma,' which he desired "me to present to my father, his uncle, and to tell him "they were rendered into English by his son's private "tutor-a man of fine taste, and a good scholar. I had "not at that time heard so much of the dispute whether "they were genuine or not, otherwise I should have "asked many more questions than I did; but I well "know that Lady Christian, his wife (who was daughter "to Lord Hopetoun), said that Mr. Macpherson, after "his stay with them, which was between three and four "years, made frequent excursions into the Highlands, "and always returned with fresh ballads which he had "learned, and many written fragments."

Elizabeth Græme, the writer of the above, was daughter of Thomas, sixth son of Thomas, fourth of Balgowan.

Mr. Macpherson, after concluding his connection with the family of Balgowan, devoted himself to literature, held several official appointments under government, and entered Parliament in the year 1780, as member for Camelford, which seat he retained for upwards of ten years. He retired during the latter years of his life to his residence of Belleville, in Inverness-shire, where he died, in February, 1796. His body was honoured by interment in Westminster Abbey.

The properties of Mr. Graham, of Balgowan, were wholly situated in the county of Perth. A large portion of the estate, which came into the family by marriage, was, as has been already stated, in the neighbourhood of Blairgowrie, but the principal, and the most valuable, portion of the possessions was at Balgowan, the family residence, about eight miles to the west of Perth. was here that young Thomas Graham spent the earlier years of his life, engaging in all the healthful and manly recreations common to youths at the time. He was passionately fond of horses and dogs, in which tastes, by the liberality of his father, he was enabled freely to indulge. He enjoyed nothing more than riding; making frequent excursions on horseback, for several days at a time, to different parts of the country, sometimes accompanied by his tutor and sometimes alone. He had a keen eye for observation, and, on each return home, would give a graphic description of these varied expeditions.

In November, 1766, he was sent to Oxford, and became a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, in the last year of the Deanship of Dr. Gregory. During the year following his father died, leaving him in possession of a handsome and unencumbered rent-roll, but appointing his uncle, Lord Hopetoun, his guardian till he came of age.

"Dupplin, Nov. 18th, 1767.

" Dear Sir,

" My best acknowledgments are due to you for "your most agreeable and entertaining letter of the 27th " past, wrote with equal ease and elegance. Your observa-"tions are very judicious: we see by daily experience the "fatal effects of politics upon industry and manufactures; "and the great towns of Birmingham, Sheffield, and "Manchester feel the superior advantage of not sending "members to Parliament, and likewise that of not being

"hampered with the fetters of the exclusive privileges

"which corporations enjoy. By these means genius has "a free scope, and industry is exerted to the utmost, "without control, check, or interruption. Your remarks "upon agriculture and other improvements will always "be useful, and the observations you will have formed "upon the different places you have seen will improve "your taste in the ornamental parts of gardening; for "the laying out ground in a natural way is carried to "greater perfection in England than in any part of " Europe. In foreign countries, particularly in Italy, "architecture and the ornaments of building are more "refined and elegant; but there, as well as in France, the "taste of gardening is forced and unnatural, and there-"fore, in my opinion, vicious and disagreeable. They "constrain and counteract nature; we endeavour to "humour and assist her. The reflection you make upon "the breed of small cattle in Norfolk and Suffolk is just, " and shows that you carry with you an attention to your "own country, and a regard for the interest of it. I was "always apprehensive that the unreasonable rise in the " price of cattle, though it brought in great sums of money "at present, would in the end prove detrimental. For "trade goes on most successfully by gradual and easy "progression, but sudden and instant starts always pro-"duce bad effects. I find that already the drovers begin " to apprehend the consequences which will in a few years "ensue from the Norfolk and Suffolk farmers rearing " small cattle.

"Whatever parts of England you have not seen in this "tour you may easily visit in the spring vacation, or when "you leave Oxford. I much approve of the course of "your studies in history and law, which are the best "adapted to your situation, and which you may carry on "with pleasure and utility as long as you live.

"As I have had for some years an intimate acquaintance "with Dr. Markham, your new dean, I enclose you a "letter recommending you to him, which I desire you

"will be so good as to give to him whenever he comes to college.

"The disposition of your time after you leave Oxford, "where you cannot stay longer than this year with any "view of improvement, has been the subject of conversa-"tion with your mother and Lord Hopetoun, and we were "all of opinion that the most proper way of finishing "your education, before you settled at home, would be to "make a tour through foreign countries. Lord Hopetoun "proposes that you should first go to some provincial "town in France, where there are no English, merely to "learn the language, but to stay no longer there than is "necessary for that purpose. Then to go to Paris, and "from thence, making the tour of France, to go to Italy, "and finish by visiting the courts of Germany. I am not "a competent judge of the best method of making the "tour of Europe, because I never travelled myself; but "this proposed by Lord Hopetoun seems the most ad-"vantageous. The French language is a necessary "vehicle which, when once attained, will carry you "through Europe. In France, an ease of behaviour and "a politeness of manners, which prevail among all "people of fashion, and which render a young man " acceptable and agreeable to all society, may be acquired. "There is likewise a great deal of science, knowledge, "and entertainment to be found among the men of "learning and wit. The rock to be avoided there is the "general prevailing habit of gaming, which of all others "is the most pernicious to health and fortune. In Italy, " architecture, painting, sculpture, and all the fine arts "flourish in perfection; there you may feast your eyes "and refine your taste; but there is no knowledge and "learning among the men, and the women are bewitching "syrens who fascinate young men if they are not upon "their guard.

"Lord Hopetoun says that all the courts in Germany, small as well as great, are perfectly agreeable, and that

"a young man may learn more and be more improved, as "well as more amused and entertained, there than in any "other part of Europe. I own that, by my observation "for some years, the young gentlemen who have travelled "have received more prejudice than advantage. The "reason of that seems to be that they go abroad too "young; they get into company with their own country-"men; they do not associate with the men of the best "fashion, or with the men of knowledge, in the different "countries through which they pass, but they become a "prey to the worst and the most worthless, who are "always most forward to intrude into the company of "strangers, and to force an acquaintance. But I assure "you that I have better hopes of you: you have a manly "behaviour and knowledge of mankind above your years; "you will guard against the artifices both of men and "women; you will attend to the constitution of the "different countries through which you may pass, and "study the policy of states as well as the manners of the "people; you will associate with those of the first rank, " and seek out the men of letters and knowledge wherever "you go, from whose conversation you may receive "improvement as well as entertainment.

"You see I take up the correspondence with you just where I left it, in the same rambling frank way, throwing out whatever comes into my thoughts, without method or digestion.

"I am ever, with sincere regard and affection, etc. etc.,
"KINNOUL."

At Midsummer, 1768, he left the University, and, under the advice of his guardian and friends, soon afterwards went abroad, remaining on the Continent for several years, during which time he gained a thorough knowledge of the French and German languages, while visiting the places of note then most frequented. These languages became of incalculable use to him in the career which at a later period of his life he was destined to follow.

On his return home he took up his residence with his mother at Balgowan and engaged in the ordinary pursuits of a country gentleman, directing the management of his estates, assisted by the wise and judicious counsel of Lady Christian. He was a keen sportsman, an admirable shot, and in the hunting-field few could excel him.

His easy and cultivated manners, his kindly disposition, his high sense of integrity and honour, in addition to his good social position, rendered him popular wherever he went. He was tall, of a goodly presence and muscular frame, capable of enduring great fatigue, to which he was frequently in the habit of accustoming himself, both on foot and on horseback; it being no uncommon thing for young men of that age to ride from house to house, when visiting their friends, traversing frequently very great distances, accompanied only by one groom, or at most two, who conveyed the wardrobes of their masters in their capacious saddle-bags.

Among the families in Scotland he was in the habit of visiting there were few in which he was more welcome than in that of Lord Cathcart, where he was a frequent and, as will be seen hereafter, a favoured guest.

In the summer of 1772, at the early age of twenty-four, he was induced to offer himself as a candidate for the representation of the county of Perth, his opponent being Colonel the Honourable James Murray, of Strowan, brother of John, third Duke of Athole, by whom he was defeated by a majority of six votes. In those days the electoral franchise was in the hands of a favoured few, the constituency numbering about one hundred landed proprietors, who were dignified by the name of "freeholders;" and the victory was not unfrequently decided by the amount of support the candidates could bring into the field through family connections and the influence of private friends.

It is to be regretted that no record can be found of the opinions held or claims advanced by the respective candidates for the representation of Perthshire on this occasion.

In the year 1774 Mr. Graham became the accepted suitor of the Honourable Mary Cathcart, second daughter of Charles, ninth Baron Cathcart, to whom he had the happiness to be married on the 26th of December of that year, on the same day on which her eldest sister Jane married John, fourth Duke of Athole.

Mr. Graham's marriage was in every respect eminently a happy one. Endowed by nature with all the graces which render a truly amiable woman in every sense lovely, Mary Cathcart was gifted with a highly intellectual mind, cultivated by the attainments of a finished education and the advantages derived from frequent residence in foreign countries which her father's high official position* gave his family the best opportunities of enjoying. She was an admirable linguist, her letters to intimate friends being as frequently written in French as in English. She was married in her eighteenth year, and four years afterwards her portrait was painted by Gainsborough, whose exquisite work, now in the possession of the trustees of the Scottish gallery in Edinburgh, enables posterity to form some idea of the charms of the Honourable Mrs. Graham in her twenty-second year.+

The high opinion Lord Cathcart had of Mr. Graham may be judged of from his reply to Mr. Graham of Fintry's congratulations a few days after the marriages took place. "Jane," said Lord Cathcart, "has married, to please "herself, John, Duke of Athole, a peer of the realm; Mary "has married Thomas Graham of Balgowan, the man of "her heart and a peer among princes."

^{*} Lord Cathcart was for many years British Ambassador at the Court of Russia.

[†] This valuable work was bequeathed to the Scottish nation by the late Robert Graham, Esq., Lord Lynedoch's cousin and heir.

The following letter was written by Mr. Graham to the Duke of Athole, the father of the Marquis of Tullibardine, to whom the Honourable Jane Cathcart was at that time betrothed, announcing his own approaching marriage to her sister. Shortly after this letter was written his Grace died and was succeeded by his son.

" 22nd Oct., 1774.

" My Lord,

"I imagine your Grace is by this time acquainted "with my happiness in having obtained Miss Mary "Cathcart's consent to honour me with her hand, and that "Lord Cathcart has in the most obliging manner approved " of our union. Your Grace will readily believe me when "I assure you that my prospect of happiness in this "alliance is most agreeably increased by the knowledge " of Lord Tullibardine's intended marriage with Miss "Cathcart, which will give me the additional honour of "being connected with your Grace's family. I beg leave "to offer your Grace and the Duchess my sincerest com-"pliments of congratulation on this event, which now "becomes so interesting to me, and which I flatter myself "assures the happiness of two so deserving persons for "whom I entertain the highest regard. It has ever given " me particular satisfaction that the contest for the county "between your brother and me has been carried on in so "agreeable a manner; and I cannot help now looking on "it as most singularly fortunate that I have constantly "adhered to the line of conduct I laid down at first. "acted on principles which I thought right ones, and "therefore never would listen to any solicitation of some "of my party to depart from them. Even if by that " conduct I had sacrificed any material advantage (which " could not well be the case, because in the end one never "gains anything by acting improperly) I should have "been greatly overpaid on this occasion by the reflection "that during so long a contest I cannot charge myself

"with having acted so as to give rise to any difference "between us. Had it been otherwise I must have felt "very awkwardly at present; as it is I know your Grace "will not expect me to make any apology or to pay you "any compliment that is not sincere. I will therefore "fairly tell you that my determination to give up the "contest proceeds from my certainty of being beat. Had "there been a probability of success I could not have "withdrawn with propriety, therefore would have stood "to the last, however undesirable it would be for me now "to be in Parliament. Permit me, however, to assure "your Grace that, so far from regretting my defeat, I am "very happy that the dissolution of Parliament furnishes "me with a pretence to get so handsomely off that I am "confident none of my friends will oppose my resolution. "Till I have had an opportunity to consult them I beg "your Grace will not mention this, as you will at once " see the impropriety of my declaring my intention without " previously securing the concurrence and approbation of "those to whom I am so much indebted, and whose "friendship it is so much my interest to preserve; indeed, "without their consent I ought not, nor cannot, carry my "scheme into execution. As soon as I have had an "opportunity to consult them I shall write to Colonel " Murray to acquaint him of this determination.

"I have detained your Grace too long; permit me to "offer you and the Duchess and family my most respect"ful compliments, and to assure your Grace that I have "the honour to be, etc. etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

Shortly before their marriage Mr. Graham, Miss Cathcart, and Miss Mary Cathcart, when driving along Park Lane on their way to an evening party given by Lady Brown, at Hay Hill, were stopped by footpads. On one of the miscreants presenting himself at the door of the carriage with a pistol in his hand Mr. Graham seized him,

and sprang out of the vehicle, both falling to the ground. Those who held the horses, on seeing the capture of their comrade, made off, while he was made over to the watch. The party then proceeded on their way and no mention was made of the occurrence; but Mr. Graham had to hide himself behind ladies' skirts and articles of furniture to conceal the mud stains on his shoes and stockings.

The captured scoundrel was lodged in Newgate, whence, a few days after, he wrote the following letter to his captor, beseeching his indulgence:—

"Newgate, December 8th, 1774.

" Most honourable and worthy Sir,

"I hope you will pardon my freedom I take in "acquainting your honour how I was drove into this "unhappy afare. I was in a publick house enquiring for "a place as my present distress was very deplorable "having a poor distressed sick wife and old distraut "mother 90 years of age, and being out of place was "asking if any one of those servants could inform me of "any employ with this in please yr honour two men "gott up and took me out of the house and tould me if I " would dow as they have done for this two years I should " not want money so they told me what they did and I for "a long while wold not consent but sayd I wanted a " place till they made me all most drunk and by over per-"swadance at last I complyd with there request, and "they gave me a pistol neither charged nor any lock on "it and they sed as soon they saw yr carrege if I did not "go and stop it they would blow my brains out, so I did "it and when yr honour rested me they both flew from me "I never see ither of them after and I pray God I never "had. But honoured Sir so it is now and I hope in "God's name yr honour will pardon me and this shall be "a warning to me. While I have lived I have been in "the compsity [capacity] of a coachman for upwards of "15 years and never had a blot in my cariter before this

- "and God nows now its to soon. I lived with Lord
- "Williby de Brook from him to govr Powell from him to
- "Mister Thomas Pitt from him to Mr. Sumner in Grate
- "Gore Street Westmisstir from him to Mr. Quame (?) at
- "the Marquest of Rockhinghm from him to the Honble
- "Charles howrd All these plasses in plese yr Honour
- "my carriter will bare the strictest enquiry after, and as
- "this is the first afence I ever committed I hope yr honour
- "will take my unhappy case into yr serish considderation
- "and I shall as in duty bound ever pray from yr unfortutt
- " and most homble sarvant at command,

"THOMAS GILLMAN.

"The Right Honble Graham Esqre."

There is no record of what became of the unfortunate writer of the foregoing, but one can well imagine that he was treated with no very great severity.

Soon after his marriage Mr. Graham rented Brooksby, in Leicestershire, where he spent many happy years of his early wedded life. The neighbourhood of this place gave him ample opportunity for enjoying his favourite sport of hunting during the winter; at other seasons of the year he occupied himself with farming pursuits, in which his wife took an equal interest, a considerable portion of the grounds round the house being occupied by him for this purpose. They paid regular periodical visits to Scotland, and from time to time visited various places on the Continent, on which occasions it was their great delight to collect objects of interest and value, which were sent home to embellish the family seat at Balgowan. When abroad he was ever on the watch for experiences in agriculture and husbandry which might be turned to advantage in the management of his home estates. His correspondence shows how carefully observant he was of the customs of the countries in which they sojourned, and how fully he appreciated the natural beauties of the scenery through which he passed. In the autumn of 1780 he became

aware of a delicacy in Mrs. Graham's constitution, which rendered it inexpedient that she should pass much of her time in Scotland during the winter, and in the year following these symptoms compelled them to seek the more genial climates of Spain and Portugal.

To Mr. Burt, his bailiff at Balgowan.

" Bayonne, 17th Nov., 1781.

" Mr. Burt,

"We arrived safely here on the 13th, after twenty-"eight days travelling from Porto, which we performed "without any accident whatever. During that time we " never went faster than the mules could walk and we were "obliged to carry our beds and provisions, as the inns in "general have neither; but they make one pay pretty dear "for the noise that is made in their houses, and those "walking mules are better paid for than our post-horses. "This tedious journey would have been very tiresome if "we had not interrupted it by stopping at the principal "places on the road. We were a fortnight at Madrid: "I received your letter of the 29th of August while I was "there. The Spaniards were vastly civil to us, and " seemed to regret being our enemies. The only province "which is populous and where they are industrious is the " one next to France, Biscay; it is excessively mountainous, "but everywhere cultivated or wooded, so that it is very. "beautiful. They grow turnips in the fields, which I have "never seen abroad before, and they have made an ex-"cellent road through and over the mountains formerly "quite impracticable for wheel carriages.

"I'm glad to hear you have got in the hay so well, and "that the harvest was so far advanced. The arrears you "mention are very considerable, but you must take the "steps you think proper, according to circumstances, to "prevent any loss, and to get them paid as expeditiously "as possible.

"Lord Cathcart* wrote me that he had been at Bal"gowan, and that he was very much pleased with every"thing he saw, and much obliged to Mrs. Staig and
"you for the care you took of him. Pray return our
"compliments to Mr. Oliphant of Gask. I wrote pretty
"fully from Porto about everything I could recollect, and
"I hope to hear that my letter got safe to you.

"Have you let Pitcairn and Craigengall yet on a lease, according to the plan, and is the sheep-park finished? "Has there been anything done about the new Redgorton road, or the bridge on the Luncarty march? I sent James Dow directions about planting in the kitchen garden, and tried to explain it by a sketch. Were the clumps and scattered trees in the lawn planted last year?—if not, I would have that attended to in time, and any trees that have gone back renewed in places of that kind. I believe I mentioned in general to give the preference in planting to what is about or in sight of Balgowan. There should be a proper supply of seeds of different kinds of trees got in time, and sown in the garden.

"I suppose hawthorns will be gathered as usual. If "Mr. Belshes wants the hounds he may have them; if "not they may remain at quarters. Mrs. Graham joins "me in compliments to you and Miss Burt and Mrs. "Staig, and I remain ever,

"Yours, etc.,
"T. GRAHAM."

To Mr. Burt.

"Oporto, 11th July, 1783.

"Mr. Burt,

"You will have heard before this that we were stopped on our voyage by an American privateer, and

^{*} Mrs. Graham's brother, who succeeded to the title in 1776.

"carried into Spain. We were uncommonly well treated "by the Americans, and very well received at Vigo, so "that the delay and disappointment are the only incon-"veniences we have felt from our captivity. We spent "ten days very agreeably in Spain, as that part of the "country is very beautiful, and arrived here two days ago " after a very tedious journey of fourscore miles, which in "this country is much more fatiguing than as many "hundred in Britain. The ladies travelled in litters "carried by mules, at the rate of about two miles an "hour. We are very comfortably lodged here in Mr. "Whitehead the consul's house; and I believe there will "not be any neutral ship, fit to accommodate us, ready "to sail for England sooner than the end of this month. "In the uncertainty of our schemes, I cannot send you "any particular directions at present, but I think it is "most probable that we shall not pass next winter at "home, though Mrs. Graham continues pretty well, and "has borne these fatigues surprisingly. I hope it will "not be necessary for her to go abroad again, but it may "be prudent to put it easily in our power by being in "some place in the southernmost part of England, which "will likewise be a milder climate than any other in "Britain. This is my present idea, and if it takes place "I should wish to reduce the expense at home as much " as possible; but if some accident does not detain us much "longer in this country than I expect, I shall be myself "in Scotland time enough before the term for making "those arrangements. Remember us to Mr. and Mrs. "Smyth, the Maxtones, and our other neighbours. "have not time to write to Mr. Smyth, as the ship sails "this evening or to-morrow morning, and we have a "great many visits to pay and receive here from the " English factory.

" Adieu, in haste,

"Yours, etc.,

"T. GRAHAM."

To Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Charles Cathcart.*

"London, 10th March, 1785.

" My dear Charles,

"I have just heard that there are two ships to "sail for India in a few days. I take the opportunity of "writing you a short letter; the perpetual hurry I am in "at present (being here only for two or three days) makes "it impossible for me to write comfortably or with details. "Lady Stormont tells me she has written often to you, " and that, besides, she sends the newspapers to you, so "that I hope you will be at no loss for European intelli-"gence. I left all our friends well at Dunkeld about ten "days ago and spent a few days with your brother in my "way. The frost prevented my seeing the best pack of "beagles in the island, and, what is no less provoking, it "has prevented me ever since I came up from going "a-hunting. When I arrived at Pytchly I found the house "deserted and the frost almost as hard as in Scotland, "so that I drove on to this town. All my friends in the "sporting way have been in readiness for some time to "go down, but a cold N.E. wind, with hard frost every "night, has prevailed now for near a month. I shall bolt, "however, in a day or two, at all events, as I understand "the hounds go out very late in the day, and I intend "being back in Scotland in the very beginning of April. "Lord Winchelsea is to have a party at Benley. The "Duke of Chartres is to be with Meynil, and the Prince "intended it, but he has sent for his horses to come back. "Things go on as usual in this place. I have not mixed "much with the world, but I hear the young men and "young ladies are more than ever free and easy. "Prince has given the rage for dancing, so that there are "balls every night almost; they last till six or seven, and " are followed by a supper at Willis's frequently, which is

^{*} Younger brother of Mrs. Graham.

"sometimes succeeded by a morning riot in which some " of your friends are principal actors. My landlord Nerot "at the hotel threatens them with an action for breaking "into his house in search of Stepney and committing "great outrages against his person and property. On the "occasion of the triumph of Fox over Sir Cecil there was "not so much disorder as might have been expected; the "last night C. Wyndham and Aston got broken heads "from some of Lord Temple's servants. They got into "his house to complain of this, and, it is said, abused his "Lordship considerably and in very direct terms; but "next morning Lord T. [now Marquis of Buckingham] "very handsomely forgave these warm expressions and " offered to turn off any or all of his servants. I mean to "treat the Duke with this story in detail, as he has so " much regard for the Marquis that it will give him great " satisfaction.

"As to politics, you will see by the newspapers that the "Irish commercial regulations occupy everybody's atten-"tion. It is an object of the last importance to this "country. I cannot say I understand thoroughly the " resolutions passed in the Irish house, and proposed order, "they are so general and so ambiguously expressed that "it is difficult to guess at their real meaning and still more "at their extent. It puzzles even the people in trade and "manufacturers. They are, however, much alarmed, but "as the propositions are hitherto so indefinite they have " not opposed the proceedings of Parliament here so much "as was expected. There is little doubt, however, of "every exertion being employed against this business "unless some means are adopted to bring Ireland to some "degree of relative equality with this country; for it cannot "be doubted, on the general ground of these propositions, "that the advantage is on the side of Ireland entirely, "without any reciprocity whatever to this country; and it " is the opinion of many of the most sensible men in the "country (without prejudice or regard to Opposition or

"Government parties) that unless most material alterations "are made in these resolutions, Ireland must in a few " years enjoy the whole commerce of the West Indies and "be in possession of all our most valuable manufactures; " and that not from the activity, industry, and capital of "the people of Ireland, but from the emigration of com-"panies of merchants and manufacturers from this "country, where they are loaded to the teeth with heavy "customs and excise duties, to a country where labour is "cheap, where every foreign trade is open and free from "those heavy duties, and where no vexatious internal "excise cramps and bears down the internal manu-"factures; for all which articles of foreign trade and "home manufacture a sure and ready sale is secured in "Britain, which by these regulations is bound to give "Ireland the preference to all the rest of the world in "every article she can furnish-and in foreign markets "Britain cannot pretend to rival her. People on the side " of the Government say that all these fears are idle; that "Opposition poisons the minds of the people with false "alarms; that there will be no emigration either of mer-"chants or manufacturers; and that, that being the case, a "poor country can never rival a rich one, where a habit " of industry and a superior knowledge of business will "always compensate the advantages of cheap labour and "low taxes. This last proposition may be true in so far "as relates to the present time, or perhaps for a dozen or "even twenty years to come; but their bare assertion that "there will be no emigration (which does not admit of "solid support from the best theoretical argument) seems "to me a very slight foundation for the prosperity, or "rather the existence, of this country to stand upon. "Granting that this emigration is not probable (which, "however, I think is highly probable), it is undoubtedly "possible; if it does happen nothing can save this "country, as there will be such deficiencies in all the " public revenues as to weigh down the remaining industry

"and property of the country. This subject ought to "interest the people of Britain ten times more than Mr. "Fox's India Bill, but hitherto there are but few petitions "to Parliament on the subject, and these moderate. Time "may, however, open their eyes, and it is not at all "impossible that this Irish business may bury the present "ministers in the same grave of unpopularity that proved "so fatal last year to Fox. I do not say so because I wish "it (though I certainly do), but because I think when the "business comes in detail before the House it will be "impossible to veil the destructive effects of it from the "public eye. You will see, indeed, by advertisements in "the papers that there are meetings held, and to be held, "everywhere on the subject. The resolutions are to be "debated on to-morrow, but there will be no question on "them till next week. Pitt's friends say there is no doubt "of his carrying them easily; indeed, considering the "great majority he had last night on the question of " rescinding the resolutions of the House about the West-"minster, I shall not be surprised at his carrying any "question of any nature. It can only be prevented by "the positive interference of the constituent bodies, who "may instruct their members on the subject, in which " case the scale may be turned. Adieu for to-night; it is "very late. I'm afraid you will never decipher this. "know you, who are a moderate man and disclaim all " party, will read this scrawl with the persuasion of my "being influenced with zeal for the cause, therefore I shall " not make you professions of my candour. Adieu.

"March 10th.—I have not time this morning to add to "this letter, as I am obliged to send it immediately to "Lady Stormont. God bless you, my dear Charles; we "shall grow very impatient to hear of you soon. I have "not heard lately from Archy. I believe General Campbell "goes in three ships to Madras; I should think Dalling "would not be very fond of that. People pretending to be wiser than their neighbours say that he (Campbell)

"will very soon go to Bengal, perhaps immediately, as there is a chance of Lord Macartney having left India, or refusing the appointment; but, though some of Lord M.'s friends speak this language, I give it you as mere report. Adieu, mon cher frère. Mary will be sorry she does not know of this opportunity. She is at Dunkeld.

"Ever yours,

"T. G.

"I shall endeavour to get the best pamphlets on the "Irish business—that is, one on each side. I understand "there are such already published, and if they are good "for anything I will send them."

In the autumn of 1785 Mr. and Mrs. Graham visited Lord Cathcart at Shaw Park.

A curious record is extant of probably one of the earliest cricket matches played in Scotland, in the shape of a printed handbill, of which the following is a copy:—

GRAND CRICKET MATCH,

For One Thousand Guineas a Side,

PLAYED AT SHAW PARK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1785.

DUKE OF ATHOLE'S Side.	Duke of Athole 18 c, Stone o b. Mears Lord Cathcart o c, Stone 1 b. Mears Mr. Bambridge 8 c Fredring	Mr. Shears o b. Mears 9 c. T. Graham Mr. Gordon 1 c. Stone 2 c. Col. Talbot Mr. Weller o b. Mears o b. Mears	Mr. Oddy o b. Mears 1 c. Talbot Earl of Winchelsea 3 last man 4 run Mr. Webb o b. Mears 2 last man Hon. Mr. Cathcart o b. Mears o c. Erskine	Mr. Campbell o c. Talbot 1 c. Stone Byes
How. Col., TALBOT'S Side.	Innings. 2nd Innings. Ion. Col. Talbot 30 c. Ld. W 6 b. Molineux. C. Graham, Esq 4 b. D. of A 0 run out Graham, Esq 20 b. Shears 20 b. D. of A	fr. Mears. 4 run 8 c. Shears Erskine, Fsq. 9 b. D. of A. 13 c. Shears fr. Molineux 8 c. Ld. C. 1 c. Oddy	1r. Sidey 0 b. D. of A. 3 b. D. of A. 1r. Pennock 1 run 1 run 1r. Kennoby 1 b. D. of A. 1 b. Ld. C. 1r. Stone 0 c. Gordon 3 b. D. of A.	Fr. Hume, o last man 5 last man Byes

Mr. and Mrs. Graham resided now chiefly at Balgowan during the summer, moving southward to Brooksby for the hunting season, when not compelled to visit the Continent on account of Mrs. Graham's health.

In 1787 Mr. Graham purchased the beautiful estate of Lednoch, or Lynedoch, situated on the banks of the Almond, about eight miles from Perth. Mrs. Graham and he spent a great part of their time in laying out, improving, and embellishing this property, already renowned for its natural beauties and romantic scenery. The small cottage which stood on one of the wooded banks sloping down to the stream, was enlarged and rendered habitable with great skill and taste. The surrounding country, large tracts of which at the time of the purchase were open moorland, were judiciously enclosed and planted under Mr. Graham's immediate superintendence.

To Lord Cathcart.

" Balgowan,

" Oct. 21st, 1789.

" Mon cher Frère,

"I had read of your exchange having been "completed, and had been prevented from congratulating "you as I intended by a variety of those engagements which "in the country supply the place of real business, and of "which you know I always contrive to have my share. "Your letter made me very happy: it is a very comfortable "one; and although I regret your not having got the "£1,000, yet I am quite satisfied with the transaction as "I see you are so much so. I daresay the regiment will "be as good as you expect next year, and if it costs you "some trouble I shall not grudge it for you, as I know it "will be a pleasant kind of duty to you. The accounts of "Lady Cathcart's health are delightful, and give no room "for any uneasiness about the dénoûement.

"I think you have done very well to put your boys to a "day school; it will be of service in their education, and

"accustom them by degrees to the great world of Eton.
"You do not make a great figure as a sportsman this year.

"I have been moderate, owing to less game and worse weather than common; and I shall not, probably, kill

"another partridge this season-at least not till I get to

" Brooksby.

"We are all busy in preparations for the Perth-"shire hunt next week, where, on account of my being "one of the stewards, Mary and Charlotte and Miss "Napier are to make their appearance. I have no "hunters and I do not mean to drink, so that I do not "expect to get much credit by the discharge of my office. "The weather is terrible and the country deep beyond " imagination; the roads are very bad, but, as we are to set " about making our turnpike roads this winter, we comfort "ourselves for the sloughs and jolts which succeed one "another with astonishing regularity. The Gleneagles "road is one of those that will be made bowling, and I "hope some time or other we shall reap the benefit of it. "Do you mean to let Shaw Park again or not? I am "sometimes tempted to think of letting this place and "of living at Lednoch [or Lynedoch] while we are in "Scotland. My mother, who is quite well and has been "with us all the summer, would not approve I believe, "otherwise it would be a prudent plan and a very pleasant "one, as Lednoch is a delightful little spot and will very "soon be a neat and comfortable place, though the house "is a mere cottage. I have pulled down all the old offices "in front of the house and have built those absolutely "necessary behind. My farm there will turn out very well, "and will repay my expense in cultivating rough ground, "as the soil is excellent; everything about the place is to "be in the style of a mere farm a little ornamented.

"It is our hobby-horse at present, and you are well off to hear so little of it. But it grows very late. Adieu. "The fever of liberty rages violently in France, and seems to be catching; it is an interesting and singular

"period, and makes one better pleased to have been in

"France and to have seen the actors, than if this revo-

" lution never had happened.

"Adieu. I hope to get away about the 10th or 12th of "November. God bless you.

"Ever yours,
"T. G."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Brooksby, Dec. 19th, 1789.

" My dear Cathcart,

"We have at last got this length. I never could "write with any certainty about our motions, as they "depended on the conclusion of some business at Edin-"burgh which did not depend on myself. I intended to "have written to you from the road, but was prevented by "some hurry or laziness. We had the pleasantest journey "I ever made in December, but the fine weather made "me very impatient to arrive here. In passing (from "Grantham to Melton) near Croxton Park we saw the "Duke of Rutland's hounds running close by the road on "Wednesday, and I then heard they were to meet at "Melton Spinnies on Friday. Meynill's hunt in the forest "till his return from London, and all the Quorn people "were at Melton. This left me no choice; and I sent "Bayley and Badroulbadour (the only two that know "their business, and of course the fittest for a first day, "which is always a nervous thing) early to Melton to get "their breakfast and to meet me at the Spinney. I rode "Bayley the whole day, certainly with more management "than I usually do, but certainly was never better carried, " nor do I think there was a fresher horse in the field after "the most remarkable day's sport I ever saw. It was so "much so that I enclose you my mem. of the account of "it, which you will keep for me till we meet, which I "suppose will be next week, as Mary is engaged to be

"with Lady Stormont during her confinement, and we only wait till Fleming has got us a lodging. I shall pray for a frost, though if this fine weather continued and I remained here I should soon be a fool, as I have no hunters, except these two, though my stables are full. I think I shall take up two or three to town, as oats are ruinously dear, and endeavour to sell them into some of the royal hunts. Adieu, my dear Cathcart. I long to see you in your new habitation. I hear Winchilsea is to have a ball this evening; Lord Lorn and Paget, T. Grosvenor and L. Smith were to go there. The Duke of Dorset and Lady Tuffnell were expected, as there are some French people with him.

"Believe me ever most sincerely yours, "THOS. GRAHAM."

Towards the end of the year 1791 Mrs. Graham's health was the cause of much uneasiness to her husband and relations. Always delicate, she now seemed to be daily losing strength; and, following the advice of her medical attendant, Mr. Graham went with her and her sister to the south of France, with the hope that the change might prolong a life so inexpressibly dear to all.

After a lengthened sojourn at Nice, Mrs. Graham's symptoms became so alarming that Dr. Webster, an English physician, was sent for from home. On his arrival he recommended a sea voyage, which was at once commenced. For a short time it seemed to have a good effect, but nothing, alas! could now save the gentle, beautiful being who so patiently and calmly waited for an end she had for some time expected. Contrary winds compelled them to return to the coast, and on the 20th of July the anchor was cast near Hyères. A start was again made a few days later, but the weather forced them once more to return to the sheltered berth they had recently quitted. On the 26th Mr. Graham went on shore and walked to Hyères, which he was given to understand was at no great

distance. It was, however, much farther than he anticipated, and he did not return to the ship until nine o'clock. On arrival he was informed that Mrs. Graham had died about an hour before.

Words cannot describe a sorrow which, however softened by time, was never effaced. It is sufficient to say that, thanks to Him who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, Mr. Graham was enabled to bear this crushing blow.

To Mr. Burt.

" July 4th, 1792.

" Mr. Burt,

"Before you can receive this you will have heard "from my mother the melancholy accounts I sent her from "Hyères. As Dr. Webster thought it possible a sea voyage " might be of service and nothing else could, we sailed from "Nice on Tuesday, the 19th, but, the wind coming contrary, "we anchored the next day in a safe bay between that and "Hyères. We were detained by high and contrary winds "there five days. During all that time Mrs. Graham seemed "easier and better than at Nice: the heat was much less " and she suffered less from the cough, and she was much "pleased with sitting on deck. We sailed on Sunday "morning, the 24th. She sat on deck the great part of "the day, and seemed better. Monday the wind was "contrary and very cold, which prevented her coming on "deck. The night was very stormy and uncomfortable, " and on Tuesday morning, seeing her very weak, I deter-"mined, as the wind was very high and against our "getting into Toulon, to go back to the road off Hyères. "We anchored there about ten o'clock; in the evening her "strength was quite exhausted, and she died about eight "o'clock without a groan. Next day I took Miss Cath-" cart on shore to the town of Hyères, where we stayed till "Dr. Webster got everything necessary done. Miss C. "has supported herself with wonderful fortitude, and at "first seemed only occupied with me. We embarked again

"on Thursday night and sailed on Friday morning, but,
"owing to contrary winds and bad weather, we have but
"just got here. We shall proceed by the canal to
"Toulouse, and from there down the Garonne to Bordeaux.
"If there are any Leith ships there I think I shall send
"Mrs. Staig and Duncan by one of them, to be with the
"coffin, and we shall either go by sea to Portsmouth or
"travel through France to Havre or Dieppe, and embark
"there. I should wish you to order stones to be prepared
"immediately at Dalerne quarry for repairing the burying"place, as was intended; they must be such as will lay in
"regular courses and be broached. The exact quantity
"cannot be known till the plan is sent, which I shall do
"as soon as possible; but meanwhile a number of stones
"may be preparing.

"I shall certainly not live at Balgowan in a family way "for a good while; you will therefore sell off most of the "milch cows and any other stock intended for our use; and "as the best way of disposing of them will be by auction, "you may try to increase the number of lots by adding "some horses.

"I shall write to you again from Bordeaux. It was particularly fortunate when I wrote to London to have a physician sent, that Dr. Webster happened to be there and willing to come. I never had seen him but knew his character, which he is well deserving of. It was impossible to attend Mrs. Graham with more care and anxiety than he did; and I cannot say enough of Mrs. Staig's exertions, even at times that anybody else would have been disabled by sea-sickness from being of use, but nothing prevented her from giving her whole attention; we never could have undertaken the voyage without having them.

"I remain ever sincerely yours,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

The party left Hyères on the 29th of June, and, after

tossing about in the Gulf of Lyons for some days, arrived at Agde, on the river Hérault, on the 4th of July. Some difficulty was created by the Customs' officers, who refused to allow the coffin to be landed without its being opened. To prevent this unnecessary desecration Mr. Graham went to Cette, where he was most courteously and kindly received by the Director of the Customs, who gave him a bond of caution, to be discharged at Bordeaux, when the coffin was embarked for England. Thanks to this gentleman, the journey was recommenced on the 8th, the barge being towed by horses along the canal of the south. Toulouse was reached on the 13th, and, a boat having been hired, all preparations were made for leaving the place. However, as the boat was being brought to the mouth of the canal, preparatory to dropping down the river, it was stopped by a drunken, unruly mob of municipal guards and volunteers, who refused to allow it to proceed unless the coffin was opened. The Maire was appealed to, and he gave orders for the party to pass on unmolested; but equality was the order of the day, and the ruffians cared but little for the orders of those who dared not enforce them. On his return to the boat Mr. Graham was seized and insulted. In vain he attempted to win them over by good temper and reasoning with them. They declared the coffin contained something contraband, and at last brutally forced it open; then, when the foul mob had gratified its curiosity, the horror-stricken mourners were left in peace. So violently had the opening been made, that a new lead coffin had to be procured. When Mr. Graham appealed to the juge de paix for redress, he at first refused to have anything to do with the matter, and then stated that, in the event of the complaint being investigated, the boat and its contents must remain until the procès was terminated. Rather than submit to this delay, after what had happened, Mr. Graham refused to prosecute, and, embarking in the evening of the 15th, dropped down the Garonne, which was very

full at the time. Four rowers, aided by the current, sent the boat along rapidly, and took it into Bordeaux on the 18th.

Here letters were found awaiting the travellers, some directed to Mrs. Graham, and all adding to their sorrow by anxious inquiries about her health. The coffin was taken on board an English ship without being landed, and on the 28th Mr. Graham left for Cherbourg, where he arrived on the 7th of August, and whence he sailed immediately for England.

The coffin, in charge of the servants, was taken to London direct, and deposited in St. Audley Chapel until the tomb at Methven should be ready.

Among the many letters of condolence received by Mrs. Graham's relations, the following from the Queen tells, in a few unaffected words, of a wide-spread sorrow.

" My dear Lady Cathcart,

"I was extremely grieved at my return from "church this morning to hear of the melancholy accounts " of Mrs. Graham's death. I do most sincerely share this "severe affliction with you, and I fear that the Family "did flatter themselves more than they ought to have "done, which course will make them feel it more severely. "If under such an affliction you are capable of finding "any comfort, it must surely be that of knowing that your "beloved and amiable sister is universally regretted by "all who had the pleasure of knowing her. Though I "had not the pleasure of her acquaintance, I feel a satis-"faction in repeating what I have so frequently been told "by others. Pray, my dear Lady Cathcart, take care of "yourself at present, and consider well that your own life "is, and must be, very precious to your family; and do " not try over-exerting your spirits and strength upon this "occasion, for, believe me, your nerves will suffer more "than you are aware of. My friendship for yourself, and "esteem for Lord Cathcart, will excuse my taking the

"liberty of advising you; and, believe me, I should not say so much if I did not mean it sincerely, and such you shall always find my door I adv Cathoort.

" shall always find, my dear Lady Cathcart,

"Your very affectionate friend,
"CHARLOTTE."

On his return home Mr. Graham decided to leave Balgowan, in consequence of the sad recollections it called forth, and wandered aimlessly about the country, burdened by a sorrow which he could not overcome. He visited many friends, who gladly endeavoured to cheer him, and who, by inducing him to join in the various pursuits of the season, tried to dispel the cloud which had so suddenly overshadowed his life.

Finding, however, that neither the kind sympathy of relations and friends nor the active pursuits to which he devoted himself could efface from his memory the irreparable loss he had sustained, Mr. Graham began to look abroad for some means of soothing a melancholy which seemed incurable. Unconsciously he was about to enter upon the most momentous period of his life, and in his diary describes, with his usual modesty, the commencement of those adventures which, began with no very definite object, led to his adopting a profession in which he rapidly became distinguished.

"I met Lord and Lady Stormont at Southampton and accepted their kind invitation to accompany them to Cowes. I remained with them during the autumn and then proceeded to Brooksby. I soon found that it would be impossible for me to remain there alone. I determined to give up the place and I wrote to ask General O'Hara to give me a passage in the Resistance, Honourable Captain Legge, to Gibraltar. This he readily agreed to, and appointed me to meet him early in January at Plymouth, but it was not till about the middle of Febru-

"ary that he was enabled to leave London. I therefore spent some weeks with my friend Lionel Damer, at his house of Calne, near Dorset. While waiting for a fair wind at Plymouth, war was declared by France. Lord St. Helens was appointed ambassador at Madrid, and Captain Legge received orders to take him on board the *Resistance* and land him at Corunna.

"During our voyage, I had time to consider of my "future plans, after satisfying my curiosity about Gibraltar. "I had, in unison with the sentiments of those political "friends to whose judgment and opinion in general I was " sincerely attached, deprecated the hostile interference of "Britain in the internal affairs of France; but what I had "seen in my journey through that country the preceding "year, and the apparent determination of the rulers to "force their democratic principles upon every other Euro-" pean Government, made me consider that war was not "only inevitable, but was become just and necessary in "defence of our constitution. I therefore heard with "great satisfaction that a powerful fleet was immediately "to rendezvous at Gibraltar and proceed up the Mediter-"ranean under the command of Lord Hood. I resolved to "ask my friend Captain Elphinstone Safterwards Lord "Keith] to receive me on board his ship and so to take "my chance of such adventures as might come in our way. "Much delay took place, and, of course, considerable "uncertainty about the number of ships which the "squadron was to be composed of. This uncertainty led " me to accept of the obliging offer which Captain Archi-"bald Dixon, of the Egmont, made me, and I engaged "myself to go on board his ship. After staying some "weeks in the convent at Gibraltar with my kind and "hospitable friend General O'Hara, I embarked with my "cousin [George Hope] in the Bulldog sloop of war, "which was ordered on a cruise off the mouth of the "Straits, during which time we looked into Cadiz "harbour and remained there two days. On our return in

"about three weeks to Gibraltar, still finding that Lord "Hood with the last division of the fleet was not expected for some time, I agreed to make an expedition into Spain with my cousin, Major John Hope of the Royals [after-wards Sir John Hope, and subsequently Earl of Hope-toun]. We set off, equipped in the best manner we could, with a muleteer of San Roque. We proceeded to Cadiz, thence to Seville, Cordova, Grenada, and Malaga, and returned to Gibraltar more expeditiously than we could have wished; but my anxiety lest I should miss the opportunity of going up the Mediterranean with the fleet was too great to allow of our making more than a day or two's stay at any of these interesting places. It was not, however, for two or three weeks after our return that Lord Hood arrived.

"During my stay at Gibraltar I also made an expedition, "with Captain Arbuthnot of the Royal Artillery, to the "opposite coast of Barbary, and visited Ceuta, Tedouan, "and Tangiers. The unsettled state of the country pre-"vented our going far from the sea coast, but we had "opportunities of admiring magnificent orange groves "and some country houses in gardens, where there was "beautiful treillage work for giving shade round these "villas, constructed of the long canes which grow in the "marshy grounds of that country. We had been much "assisted by a Moor who spoke a little English and "Italian. I employed this man to procure for me some " plants of the broad-leafed myrtle which grew luxuriantly " all over the heaths, affording excellent shelter for game. "My object was to carry back half-a-dozen fine plants of "this species to the convent garden at Gibraltar, and I " particularly directed the Moor to take care that the roots " should be dug up with large balls of earth, and each to "be put in a separate basket. General O'Hara was "delighted with my attention; the gardener was sum-" moned to plant them according to his directions. When " on turning them out of the baskets, they were found to

"be merely cut off from the stem without any roots at all.

"So much for Moorish honesty. The General was com-

" forted for the disappointment by the opportunity it gave

"him of having a hearty laugh at my expense."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Gibraltar, 28th April, 1793.

"I returned here, my dear Cathcart, about ten days ago "from a month's tour in Spain, which was very pleasant " and entertaining. I regret now not having stayed longer "at some of the most interesting places, particularly at "Grenada, but, I was so afraid of not getting back in "time to meet Lord Hood's fleet, that I could not have "had any satisfaction in prolonging my stay. As there is "no authentic news about Lord Hood's motions, and as I " am intimately acquainted with every corner of this rock, "I am going for a few days over into Barbary to see Ceuta " and Tetuan, a considerable Moorish town near the coast. "The state of that country, at present, does not admit of "travelling with safety in the interior parts, as there are "two brothers who dispute the right to the imperial throne " of Morocco, and whose troops do not pay much respect "to the persons or property of strangers.

"I wrote you a long letter by the Assistance, but the wind has been so contrary, that that convoy will probably have a very tedious passage. You cannot expect me to send you any news from this sequestered corner; there are reports that the French have a fleet of 24 sail of the line at sea off Toulon. The Spaniards have about that number ready at Carthagena, but they don't seem inclined to sail till our squadron arrives. The war

"is, however, wonderfully popular in Spain, where the "French are detested cordially by all ranks. The English "are liked in the same proportion. We receive the

"greatest civilities everywhere. You may tell Lady "Cathcart that we were often asked, by people of all

"degrees (whom we did not know), with great earnestness, when the English Infanta was to come over; so universally was it believed and wished that an alliance was to take place. The Prince of Asturias is about seven, I believe, so that he must have a young wife.

"Adieu, my dear brother, I hope you and yours are in "perfect health; my love to them all, and to Archy when "you see him.

"Ever most affectionately yours,
"T. G."

"P.S. Our Admiral and his cruizers have been out for these three weeks and are not returned."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Gibraltar, May 30th, 93.

"As I have written pretty frequently to your "sisters, and of course you would hear of me from them, "you will not be surprised, my dear brother, at my "writing so seldom to you from a place so barren of all "news as this rock is. I can easily understand officers "being very soon sick of this garrison, for the duty is not " of a kind to be very interesting to those who are zealous "in their profession, and it is so severe on the men that "there is an impossibility of exercising them in the field, "even enough to keep up what they may have formerly "learnt. If my stay here had not been prolonged so "much beyond my expectation, I should have gone away "with very different prepossessions, as I was delighted "with Gibraltar at first; but having nothing to do, and the "style of the place not admitting of any kind of retire-"ment, I own I am heartily tired of it, and wait with "great impatience for Lord Hood's arrival. Had we "suspected so great a delay, Major Hope and I would "have extended our tour to Madrid, and crossed over into "Valentia and Murcia, by which means we should have "seen all the best parts of Spain. We often regret not "having done this; but Lord St. Helens wrote to me to

"Cordova, which was the point where it was necessary to "come to a determination concerning our route, that he "had reason to hope that Lord Hood had then sailed from "England, and I could not risk losing the opportunity of "going aloft with the fleet. I have, however, seen as "much as I wish of Barbary, and have taken a cruize to "the westward of the straits with my cousin George Hope "in the Bulldog sloop, which has qualified me for being a "tolerable pilot between Cape St. Vincent and Capes "Trafalgar and Spartel. These expeditions have relieved "the ennui of this long delay. Captain Dickson of the "Egmont, who came here with Admiral Gell, has re-"newed his invitation to me, and I have accepted of it, "though, being so little acquainted with him, I wished to "have waited for the arrival of the rest of the squadron, "in hopes of meeting with some more intimate acquaint-"ance, as I am almost ashamed of going to live, for "perhaps a great while, with a person I know so little; "but as I have heard him so well spoken of by his "acquaintances, I thought it best not to be too scrupulous, "as I might have been at last obliged to go in a less "agreeable manner. I was anxious to get my passage in "a line-of-battle ship, that, as this is an opportunity I "may never have again, I may be in the way of seeing "whatever is done in the fleet, which in a frigate or sloop, "so liable to be detached, I might have been disappointed " of. We have little information that can be depended on "concerning the French in the Mediterranean, not one "King's ship of any description having been sent aloft "since the war began. The navy people expected that "Corby would have sent a flying squadron of a ship or "two or three frigates, up to gain intelligence for Lord "Hood, and it was much talked of since he came here, "but I heard yesterday from good authority that he does "not intend it. I suppose his orders do not permit him, "for otherwise it would seem to be of material consequence "to the service to gain some certain information.

"that left Toulon about a month ago report their having " 26 sail of the line in the harbour, and 6 or 8 more in the "arsenal. None of them in good condition and their "preparations slack; that they have assembled 30,000 men "to protect Toulon from insult from the English and "Spanish fleets. We have had accounts from Leghorn of "a 74 and a frigate having been there to take a con-"siderable convoy of corn and hemp, etc., and that "another was preparing; that other convoys with frigates "were going and coming from the Levant. That Paoli "had been declared a rebel by the French in Corsica, but "had possession of Ajaccio (the best harbour in the "island), and some other places which he hoped to be able "to keep till the arrival of our fleet. I am afraid there is "little chance of that now. The Spanish fleet, of 22 sail "of the line and a number of frigates, is at sea, but "whether only cruizing off their own coast near Barcelona " or gone further is not known. They accuse us loudly of "great dilatoriness; certain it is that two of the best "months of the year in these seas are lost, during which "time the French have had great opportunities of pro-"viding themselves with supplies of all sorts, and the "delay is still more unfortunate if the operations of the "Austrian and Piedmontese troops depended on the ap-"pearance of our fleet, as the hot weather will so soon " set in. The Spaniards have invaded Roussillon, but have "not yet taken Bellegarde or any strong place, and they "are in great want of flour. The squadron in this bay "consists of the Windsor Castle, 98; Princess Royal, " 98; St. George, 98; Alcide, 74; Egmont, 74; Illus-"trious, 74; and Terrible, 74; which last sprang her "bowsprit and foremast, and will not be ready for sea in "less than a fortnight hence. The frigates are L'Aigle, "40, much in the same condition with the Terrible; "the Ino, in a still worse, owing to an engagement, of "which I wrote the particulars last post to Lady Stor-"mont; the Leda, 36; Aquilon, 32; and Romulus, "36; and Bulldog, 18, sloop; the Speedy, 14, brig,

"cruizing; the Nemesis, 28, frigate, gone to Madeira " for wine for the Admirals. By knowing what ships sail "with Lord Hood you will now know what this whole "squadron is to consist of. It is not publicly known here "how many ships come with him; if only ten, as some "people say, he will scarcely be able to act independently "of the Spaniards; but if he brings 15, as others say, "I should suppose he would require no assistance from "them. We have heard by yesterday's post that Lord "Hood had not sailed on the 10th inst., so that we cannot "expect him now for these ten days, as we understand he "had a large convoy to bring; and if foul winds in the "channel are taken into the account, one may easily "imagine that it may be ten weeks before we shall see him; "but, hitherto, I have betted according to my wishes, and "however prudent it might be to hedge, I will not allow "myself to think it possible that there should be such "further delays. Our speculations concerning the opera-"tions of the combined armies are very various. I hope "to hear from you at length when I get to some port in "Italy. I think now it will be best to direct for me to "Genoa, aux soins de Monsr. J. Braine there, as there is "more chance of our going there than to Leghorn; and I "beg you will call at Messrs. Drummond, when you are "passing at Charing Cross, to desire them to send my "letters to Genoa instead of Leghorn. I shall now give "up all thoughts of travelling in Italy, and as I cannot "get back near so early as I intended when I first thought " of this expedition, I shall perhaps stay longer with the "fleet than merely to reach an Italian port. It will be a "new and interesting scene to me, and may occupy my "thoughts much in cruizing in the very track of the "melancholy voyage of last June; but I am far from "wishing to avoid seeing that coast again about the same "time of the year. Adieu, my dear brother, make my "love to Lady Cathcart. God bless you all.

"Believe me ever most affectionately yours,

To Lord Cathcart.

"Gibraltar, Monday, June 24th, 93.

" My dear Brother,

"In my letters of the 4th by Colonel Hope, and " of the 13th by post, I complained grievously of the "delay of the arrival of the fleet, which I began to "despair of. Lord Hood, however, came in here on the "19th, at night, with five sail, having sent the other six "to get water at Cadiz. They arrived, too, last night, and "there is now nothing but the Montagu wanting, to "complete 21 sail of the line, which this fleet is to "consist of. There is such scarcity of water here and in "the neighbourhood that the ships which came in with "Lord Hood are not yet supplied with that necessary " article, and it is doubtful whether they will be ready to "sail to-morrow, as was intended. I long to get away, " and wait impatiently for orders to embark. I wrote you "I was to sail in the Egmont, Captain Dickson having "renewed his offer here; though, from being so little "acquainted with him, I should have preferred going with "Conway or Mann, but I am now engaged if I remain any "time with the fleet, to take a cruise with Admiral Gell; "it will depend entirely on circumstances how long I stay. "It seems to be a very general belief that the French will "not venture to come out of Toulon, and as there are no "troops on board there can be no offensive operation "intended against that or any other place. I dare say it "will be excessively pleasant to sail about with them, but "if there is no chance of seeing any naval action, I shall "leave them the sooner. However, I shall write to you "by the first opportunity after we go aloft. I am just "going on board some of those ships that came in last "night, in hopes of finding some letters. I thought "myself quite sure of hearing from some of you by the "fleet, having long ago said in all my letters that I had "no chance of getting away till Lord Hood arrived.

"Freemantle told me you were at Portsmouth when he " sailed, and I think you would certainly have taken that "opportunity of writing to me if you had suspected I was "still here, which you must have known had you received "my letters. I am much vexed to think that those I sent " to Lady Stormont and to you about the 25th and 28th of "April have not come to hand, as I proposed an arrange-"ment for an immediate removal from St. Audley Chapel "to Balgowan, where a deposit in my library might have "been made till the building at Methven Church was "finished. I regretted not having thought of that before, "so that Mrs. Staig might have been ready to enter to her "place in Lord Mansfield's family sooner. I wrote to "Lady Mansfield that now I must leave it to you and her "to settle whatever plan you thought most advisable, and "I know it cannot be in the hands of friends more desirous "to do everything that I could wish, which makes me easy "about a subject which you may suppose is often in my "thoughts, especially at this period. It is probable in "eight or ten day I shall be off that same coast where we "were this time last year, and perhaps we shall anchor in "the bay of Hières. Adieu, my dear brother. I cannot tell "how I long to hear from some of you. God bless " you all.

"Ever most affectionately yours,
"T. G."

"On the 27th of June a signal was made for sailing in the morning of a beautiful day, with a fresh breeze blowing right into the bay. Twenty ships of the line, with as many frigates, sloops, and tenders, got under weigh and worked out round Europa point, and then bore up with a fair wind to the eastward. It was impossible to imagine a more beautiful sight, or one more interesting to me, who had never sailed with a fleet before. The fair wind carried us quickly along the southern coast of Spain, which in most parts is very interesting from the

"view of the high mountains that range along, and at no " great distance from, the sea coast. After passing Alicant "contrary winds and calms made our progress slow. "Various detachments were made which reduced the "number of our smaller ships and diminished our fleet by "two or three ships of the line, which were sent to look "into Tunis, where it was reported some French ships "were at anchor. On nearing the French coast in the "Gulf of Lyons there was a general chase ordered on "the discovery of some strange sail, but as it was dusk "they were soon lost sight of. About midnight there "was an exchange of some broadsides between our most "advanced frigates and three French frigates, which, "however, got into Marseilles before morning. The next "day, the 19th of July, the blockade of Toulon was "established. We could distinctly reckon a number of "French ships of the line at anchor in the outer harbour, "and could distinguish the masts of many more in the "inner harbour, most of them having their sails bent. A "long cruise at that season of the year, when calms were "frequent for many days together, with great heat, in-"creased by the reflection of a bright sun on the still sea, "offered little of interest, and I was more than once "tempted to forsake the monotony of this scene by going "on board some of the frigates frequently employed on "detached service. My anxiety, however, to be present "at a general action with the French fleet (the number of " ships in the outer harbour being daily increased), which "was thought probable by the diminished number of our "ships, many of which were frequently detached for weeks "together, retained me on board the Egmont, where "Captain Dickson's kindness and hospitality put me "entirely at my ease in every respect. As are frequent "in those seas during the summer months, there were "several strong gales in the Gulf of Lyons. At first "Lord Hood endeavoured to keep his station off the port "on these occasions; but after being twice driven to lee"ward as far as Corsica, with much damage to sails and rigging, he afterwards used to run along the coast to the eastward, and take shelter under Cape Bonet till he was enabled to return off the harbour of Toulon by a cessation of the gale. The French fleet might easily have come out on such occasions."

To Lord Cathcart.

"On board ye Egmont, Tuesday, July 16th, 93." My dear Brother,

"I sit down to prepare a letter to send to Genoa " or Leghorn, having had notice that the Admiral means "to send a frigate soon to one or other of these places. I "wrote to Lady Mansfield yesterday morning, and refer you "to her for a detail of our tedious navigation since the 27th "ult., the day we sailed from Gib. But about dinner-time "(to use General Grant's date) the scene began to grow " more interesting. The high land between Marseilles and "Toulon had been discovered but a little while when the "Leda (George Campbell), employed to look out at a "distance from the fleet, made a signal for three sail; and, "being ordered to chase, afterwards made a signal for "their being enemies, and then another not understood. "The Illustrious was ordered to follow the Leda, and as "we stood on to the N.E., and they were chasing to the "N.W. before the wind, we lost sight of the Leda about "six, and of the Illustrious after sunset. About ten we "heard firing in that quarter; it appeared not to last "more than a quarter-of-an-hour, and ended with a heavy "broadside. We were then lying to, and continued so "till this morning; and our anxiety about our friends was "increased by our seeing nothing of them. About six the "Admiral determined to go back in search of them, and "the frigates (sent out early) made signals for three sail. "We think we have heard a good many guns, and after-"wards, the signal being made for an enemy, a general "chase took place. This has continued now for some

"hours, and we now see three sail from the deck, but cannot distinguish what they are. We had been detached from the fleet, and have kept our ground ahead pretty well, except from the Alcide and Colossus, which have beat the whole fleet and gained considerably on us. But we reckon that that is owing to the breeze having slackened, as the Egmont, having bad copper and, of course, a foul bottom (never having been docked for four years) requires a strong breeze to make her go well.

"I, this moment, hear they are all laying to for us; we, "therefore, hope it is a prize with our friends. Adieu, "must go on deck.

"In the evening.—It is a prize, but only a miserable "Smyrna man that has created such a bustle in the whole "fleet to-day. But the Illustrious and Leda last night at "ten (when we heard the firing) engaged three French "frigates. Unfortunately, they all escaped; which, you "may believe, is universally regretted in the fleet. I am "sure Campbell would do all that man could do in his "frigate; and we know no more particulars, except that "the three frigates lay to on seeing the Leda coming "down, and when she got near enough to make them out, "she made some signals which, owing to the distance, "were not understood. The Illustrious misunderstood a "signal that was made to her which lost much time. "Campbell waited till the Illustrious joined him, and then "acted under his orders. It is at least very unlucky that "we have missed beginning with some éclat, but all our "commanders, great and small, seemed impressed with "the idea that they (the French) could not have a man-of-"war at sea, otherwise these might have been an easy prey, "for they might have been almost surrounded. Captain "Dickson was quite of the same opinion with the others "yesterday; for when I was regretting, on Campbell's "account, that one or two more ships had not been sent "(thinking it very likely he might, from too much zeal,

"get into a scrape) he said that a sloop would have been "enough to take merchant-men, which these certainly "were. He thinks, had he been employed on the service, "that in the night, by way of securing one, a line-of-"battle ship should run on board a frigate. Whether "these lay to long enough to make that manœuvre "possible I don't know; but as both the *Illustrious* and "Leda are excellent sailors, it is the more provoking that "all these should have got into Marseilles. We are now "very near the station. We lay to last night at Cape "Sicie, bearing N.E., a few leagues off; and to-morrow "morning, I suppose, we shall be off to Toulon. Adieu, "for to-night, my dear Brother.

"Thursday 18th.—We are not more advanced than we were; it was calm all yesterday, and a current along shore carried us to the westward. We could see the Toulon signal flags flying for our fleet, and ten sail had been seen early in the morning standing in for the shore, but too far off to distinguish what they were. To-day it blows almost a gale of wind directly contrary, and we carry such low sails for fear of carrying anything away, that we shall rather go further to the west. All this is very unlucky, as they will have an opportunity of sending to give notice of our being on the coast. Several frigates have been out in chase, and a small brig or two are coming in to the fleet. Adieu, till I can add something more interesting.

"19th.—Our letters are called for. I have nothing new to add. We have been lying to all day off Toulon, and see ships over the lowlands. A flag of truce is sent in, probably about prisoners, and to gain information, on which account it is very probable they will not receive the officer.

"The ship from Smyrna, taken the other day, is a "corvette, or sloop of war, and gives some information about convoys expected, which may be useful. God bless you all.

"After the blockade had been kept up nearly three "months, a communication from Toulon was made in a "vessel bearing a white flag, and about the same time it "was observed that almost all the French ships of the "line retired into the inner harbour. Two days after, orders were circulated that preparations should be made for landing troops to take possession of Fort de la "Malgue, situated on a height on the northern shore of the outer harbour and opposite to the headland called "Cape Capet, which formed that magnificent roadstead, "protected from the east winds by the islands of Hières.

"Several ships were ordered to move into the outer "harbour, and, among them, I was delighted to find that "the Egmont was one. On the morning of the 27th of "August this movement took place; but it was not till "two days after that we learned that a counter revolu-"tion had taken place at Toulon-the Royalist party, "joined by almost all the principal officers of the fleet, "having prevailed over, and having thrown into prison, "or driven out of the town, the most violent of the "republicans. Lord Hood, on determining to accept of "the invitation of the Royalists, had immediately dis-"patched advices to the Spanish Admiral [Langara] at "Barcelona, requesting him to lose no time in sending as " many troops as could be obtained to assist in the defence " of this most important point. Similar requests were " sent to Naples and to Turin.

"As soon as I become acquainted with the real state of the case, and more particularly having learned that my friend Captain Elphinstone had been ordered to land with the troops and remain as Commandant of Fort de la Malgue, and also to assume the direction of the British troops, Lord Hood considering them entirely as if they were marines, I determined to join him. Having received a most cordial answer from Captain Elphinstone to my proposition, I lost no time in taking leave of Captain Dickson and the Egmont. Accordingly, I landed

"and took up my quarters in that part of Fort de la "Malgue occupied by the commandant. I had immediately a melancholy duty to perform. On the preceding evening a French force, with two pieces of cannon, had taken possession of the village Ollioulles, situated in a ravine, accessible on either side by a deep and rocky defile. The Royalist party determined to send out a force to drive back this republican advance guard, and requested Captain Elphinstone to assist them with a part of his small force in this enterprise. Captain Moncrieff of the 11th, the senior British military officer, was accordingly ordered to march with 300 men, and Captain Elphinstone accompanied the party.

"Without such assistance it is probable that the newly "organized French Royalists, little better than a rabble, "could never have succeeded in this arduous and almost "desperate attack. The two field pieces, above mentioned, "were posted on the bridge which commanded the avenue " of the street, running up the defile on the Toulon side of "the ravine. As soon as a part of the British force was "in a situation to annoy, by a flank fire of musketry, the "defenders of the bridge, a column of attack, at the head " of which was a company of the 11th regiment, led on by "Captain Douglas (Fort Major of the garrison of Gibral-"tar), advanced rapidly down the street, and, without "firing a shot, drove the enemy from their strong position, "capturing the two guns. In the last discharge of grape "from the two field pieces, that brave young officer, "Captain Douglas, fell mortally wounded. The post of "Ollioulles was left in the hands of the French Royalists, "and Captain Elphinstone withdrew the British troops, " after this signal success, back into Toulon, well knowing, "that Ollioulles, at such a distance (between two and three "leagues), could not be held long as one of the outposts, "however desirable its possession might have been. On "hearing of my friend Captain Douglas' wound, I has-"tened down into the town and remained there until he

"died the following morning. I sincerely lamented his fate, having lived in intimacy with him at Gibraltar. He possessed all the activity of body and mind, with great intelligence and enthusiasm for his profession, that fitted him for, and gave promise of his becoming, a distinguished soldier.

"It was not to be supposed that the republican govern"ment of France would not make great efforts to recover
"possession of so important a post and arsenal as that of
"Toulon. Accordingly, General Carteaux was ordered to
"assemble an army at Marseilles and gain possession of
"Toulon.

"The Spanish admiral was not slow in attending to "Lord Hood's summons; he hastily embarked two regiments of the brigade of Hibernia, in the Spanish service,
and came with his whole squadron to anchor in the
outer harbour, sending Rear-Admiral Gravina on shore
with the above-mentioned two battalions and about 400
marines drawn from the ships of his fleet."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Toulon, Fort de la Malgue, Sept. 7th, 93.

"I hope you would receive my letter of the 28th ult., "my dear brother, as soon almost as you heard of the astonishing event of our being in possession of Toulon, as Sir H. Parker has since told me he sent my letters by Conway, which I feel much obliged to him for. Having now a little spare time I take up my pen to note down the occurrences since, though probably the most material are already forwarded to government and will be made public. Everything remained very quiet on the evening of the 28th, both afloat and ashore, though the ships concerned in the disembarkation continued in a state of preparation, in case St. Julien should have thought of an attack on us at anchor, while the remainder of the fleet could not assist us; but we afterwards learnt that he went off as soon as he saw our ships

"coming round the point of Cape Sepet; there remained, "however, seven ships of the line and some frigates in the "outer road near us. On the 29th we saw Lord Hood, "joined by the Spanish fleet, standing in, and we sent to "summon the batteries that had fired at us, and found "them evacuated, so that all these ships came without any " resistance, and worked up through the remaining French "ships close to the entrance of the inner harbour; it was "a very beautiful sight. I went on shore that morning "with Sir H. Parker to the Committee of General Safety, "etc., and helped him to explain Lord Hood's intentions "with regard to the military arrangements, which he "insisted on their resigning entirely into the hands of a "Governor to be appointed by him. The Spaniards "landed this day about 1,000 men, and about 300 more "British were landed, making in all British and Spanish "troops about 2,600 men. I settled with Elphinstone to "come on shore next day to live with him, as he thought "I might be useful to him. In the evening the forts and "outposts on the hill were occupied; there were many "various reports current about conventional troops march-"ing from Nice and Marseilles in great numbers, but "nothing authentic. On the morning of the 30th one of "the forts on the hill fired a few shot over a village about "a mile-and-a-half east from Toulon on seeing some "dragoons, and a small party of foot retreated with them "on this alarm. These had arrived in the night, and "were, in fact, part of the advance guard of the detach-"ment from the Italian army. Some chasseurs returned "and reported nothing more was to be seen on that side, "nor on the side of Marseilles. I came up to this fort, " and to my surprise found that Elphinstone had removed "to the town, where I went in search of him. His "servant told me he had got a lodging over the coffee-"house, but that he had no room for me, and that he was "gone to dinner at Admiral Trugolph's, the French Com-"mander-in-chief (whose place St. Julien had usurped).

"I left a note for him, to say that I was at his orders, and " should, at all events, come on shore early the next morning "in order to find a lodging if he could not give me a room. "In the evening it was reported in the fleet, that part of "the Marseilles army was approaching the town. On the "31st, an officer of the 25th, who had belonged to the " Egmont, came on board and told us of Elphinstone's "having gone out to meet the Marseilles party, and "having beat them at the expense of a most distinguished "officer, Douglas of the 11th, who had come from Gibral-"tar with Admiral Gell, on a party of pleasure, having "been Town Major, and who, in this affair, was thought "to be mortally wounded. As I had lived very intimate-"ly with him for some time past, I immediately went to "him, made my servants attend him constantly, and "remained much with him till he died that night. "was shot through the lungs, within a few yards of the "cannon which the party he was at the head of got "possession of immediately after. Had I met with "Elphinstone that day, I should have been in that affair "undoubtedly; perhaps it is as well as it is. No other "officer was wounded. My poor friend's loss at this " critical moment was felt by every individual of the army "and navy who knew anything of his character, and we "were the more shocked with it, not having suspected "anything of what was going on. The account came to "Elphinstone at dinner at Trugolph's, and he immediately "determined to go out to attack them. The consequences "have been very much more important than what was "at first imagined, as otherwise there is little doubt that "we should have been harrassed by nearer approaches of "this banditti, who would have destroyed the country "from which the town derives some supplies, had they "been able to establish themselves in force at this strong "post of Ollioules. At first Lord Hood thought Elphin-" stone had rather acted rashly; but since, he has expressed "his approbation in the most decided terms. This "evening Douglas was interred in this fort with all the "respect imaginable—Lord Hood having given it out "in public orders that all officers of the fleet wishing to "attend the funeral of so justly lamented an officer, "should have leave to go on shore.

"On the 1st of September, Admiral Goodall came on "shore, having been appointed Governor of Toulon, in "conjunction with Gravina, the Spanish Admiral (a neces-"sary precaution to prevent jealousies, of which there "were some symptoms appearing). Elphinstone was "not sorry to resign the charge, which he had found a "difficult one from the impossibility of getting business "transacted with these committees. Nothing material "occurred to-day. On the 2nd, we left the town (where I "had hired a room near Elphinstone) and took possession " of the Governor's house in this fort, occupied as barracks, "but a very convenient one. 8th Sept.—On the 4th, 2,400 "Spaniards arrived from the Roussillon army and some-"how or other more men were picked out of both fleets, "making a total of about 5,800. This relief arrived very "apropos, and at first quieted the minds of everybody; but "an unlucky decision of our Marine General, (quite con-"trary to Elphinstone's opinion, who knew the most about "the post of Ollioules,) has brought us into a little "disgrace, and very much augmented our difficulties. "The Marseilles army and part of the Italian army having "been reconnoitred, they determined to maintain the post "of Ollioules, where 100 national guards had been left "ever since the affair there. Spaniards and national "guards, to the amount in all of about 900, were posted "there. On the 6th, in the evening, Lord Mulgrave came "from Genoa, and yesterday, as we were explaining the "nature of the country to him on a large military map of "the neighbourhood, various and contradictory accounts "arrived of Ollioules being attacked. Lord M. had at "first said it was too distant a post to occupy with the "force we have, being near six miles off; and probably it

"would have been abandoned to-day, but, being attacked, "a reinforcement of 300 Spaniards and 100 British were "ordered out, with four field pieces. After dinner we "heard a second reinforcement was ordered, and not being "able to get horses, Elphinstone and I drove out in a "cabriolet to see what was going on. It was a scene of "very great confusion, little to the credit of the Spaniards, "who did not support the British detachment of the first "reinforcement, which ought not to have attempted to do "more than cover the retreat of the original fugitives; "however, by the inequality of the ground, our party "escaped with hardly any loss, and retired in very good " order; and the second reinforcement was likewise ordered "to retreat. Before we got to an eminence where our field " pieces were firing on an enemy which could scarcely be "seen, but who were checked by it, Elphinstone had "pressed a horse, and soon after I abandoned the "cabriolet, as I could not keep up with him in it. On our "return, however, I was obliged to resume my station till "my horses met me, and during that time a scoundrel of "a national guard, who wished to get away as fast as he " could, addressed me with 'Place! Place! Sacré Dieu! On "ne fait pas la guerre en cabriolet.' I could not help "abusing him excessively, which he very well de-"served for his impertinence. This first essay towards "seeing a skirmish (which I did not after all) was so "ludicrous that I am not surprised if I was an object of "attention at least. You may imagine that this business "will have had bad effects, the numbers and spirits of the "enemy will increase; but what is the worst the disaffected "within the walls may become troublesome; and to-day "we have had various notices sent us, to be on our guard "against treachery in the national guards in this fort and "other places. It would be very desirable to do all the "duty without them, but hitherto it has been thought "impracticable; but I am convinced we are rather "weakened than otherwise by them, for though some are

"zealous and hearty there are many of the canaille who "may easily be bought off, and always have been so in "all similar defections from the conventional party. Their "armies march with the planches d'assignats, "scatter them in the most profuse manner to bribe the "lower classes. By these means Carteaux succeeded "against Marseilles without striking a blow, and certainly "would have done so here had we not been admitted at "the critical moment. I think Lord Hood's good luck will "carry us through. Lord Mulgrave's arrival from Turin "at the moment of all these alarms is particularly fortu-"nate, and having done his mission at Turin he intended "going back to England, if Lord Hood had not pressed "him to stay. To-day he has given him the command of "the British Troops, with the rank of a Brigadier General; " and he will immediately adopt a system of organization "which, for want of knowledge of the army details and "of field officers, had never taken place, and had been "attended with much inconvenience and confusion in the "service. He has likewise carried a great point (which I "give myself the credit of having thought so necessary "from the first moment that I wrote from the Egmont to "Sir Hyde Parker on it) of getting Lord Hood to write in "the strongest terms to Sir R. Boyd for a reinforcement "from that garrison. Had that been done at first the "troops would have been on their way here now, provided "the old Governor will comply, which is doubtful; he "will be unpardonable if he does not. If we can weather "the storm for a week or ten days, some of the various "troops sent for (and which when assembled will make "this place like the Tower of Babel) will arrive and put "us in safety. This fort must be our sheet anchor, and "as sailors will do tolerably well in it, there is no risk " of our losing it by a coup de main, though in an unfinished "state; but I cannot say the same of the town, especially "if the attack was to be assisted by an internal commo-"tion or the burning of any object of importance, such

"as the arsenal, which might happen from a shell, should "they establish themselves near enough, as they probably "will. They cannot be in force or have supplies for attempt-"ing a regular siege for several weeks, but if the Convention " retain their power I have no doubt that will be attempted. "I shall stay now till things are quiet or till we abandon "it, should that become necessary, which I cannot suppose. "I have bought a horse and am very comfortably "lodged in a bomb-proof room. I wish I had time to "send you a copy of the plan of the posts; but I only "heard late this evening of an opportunity and I must "finish my letter immediately. Should the whole army "be withdrawn from Nice to besiege this place we should "soon get strong reinforcements of Austrians and Pied-"montese. Adieu, my dear brother; order my letters to "be forwarded by Messrs. Drummond to Genoa, as usual. "I mentioned Turin to Lady Mansfield, but, not knowing "anything of my motions, I would rather wish them to be "sent on to Genoa. Love to Lady C., and believe me " ever affectionately yours,

" T. G.

"P.S. There are many things mentioned in this letter which you will see are meant only for yourself.

"On the 6th of September, Lord Mulgrave, who had been with the Piedmontese army in Savoy, arrived here to take command of the troops employed in the defence of Toulon. He brought with him as his A.D.C., Captain Rowland Hill, who having raised men for rank, had just been promoted to a company. Lord Mulgrave very kindly offered me an apartment in his quarters in Toulon, requesting at the same time that I would assist him as a Volunteer A.D.C. I accepted this offer, though it was with much regret that I quitted the hospitable quarters of my friend Captain Elphinstone.

"The first offensive movement of the republican troops "was to send, on the 8th of September, a strong force of two or three thousand men to regain possession of Ollioules."

"On the news of this attack being brought into Toulon, a part of the British force, under Captain Moncrieff was immediately sent to the front, and the remainder was held in readiness to follow."

From Lord Mulgrave to Mr. Graham.

"Toulon, Sept. 9th, 1793.

"Dear Graham,

"A thousand thanks for your note to-day and for "your paper yesterday. I hope you have not forgot your "promise of being my aid-de-camp as long as you stay, "which I hope will be till I go. I must have a quarter "where you ought to put up your bed, for I shall not leave you idle if you are so good as to give me your assistance. "Yours very sincerely,

"MULGRAVE."

To Lord Cathcart.*

"Fort de la Malgue,
"Toulon, Sep. 14th, 93.

" My dear Brother,

"I write this note to go by Corunna, so that you "will not probably receive it soon; but I missed an "opportunity to Genoa yesterday by not knowing of it in "time. No event has taken place lately. We have fre-"quent alarms; calculated, probably, on purpose to harass "the troops and indispose the minds of the people. "Measures of defence and precaution are going on, but not so quickly as they ought, owing to our not being "strong enough to venture to do unpopular things. "However, the principal depots of arms and powder are now brought to this fort from the town, and I hope soon "everybody will be disarmed but those who can be de-

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection of MSS.

"pended on, and that suspicious people will be removed "from places where they impede and retard the service "in various ways. The labourers come on slowly in the "works, but they are now in a much better state than "they were; but walls, houses, and olive trees still remain "where they should not. We wait with much impatience "for reinforcements, and are told that 2,000 Spaniards " are crossing the Gulf of Lyons now; we expect, besides, "Piedmontese, Austrians, and Neapolitans. I believe in "my last I made mistakes which show the difficulty of "getting at the truth even on the spot. In the first place, "Gravina is not joint Governor with Goodall, being merely "general of the Spanish forces. By exact returns our "whole troops of both nations do not exceed (including "officers) 4,300, and there are about 700 British and "Spanish sailors on shore besides. The number of "French and Spaniards driven from Ollioules about a "week ago, of which I wrote to you, amounted only to " about 500 instead of 900.

"We hope to get quit of about 6,000 French seamen in "a day or two. Lord Hood allows them to go home to "their departments on the west coast of France in four "74-gun ships without guns or ammunition. Adieu! I "have not time to write to anybody else. Pray write two "lines to my mother to say you had heard from me of this "date well. Love to Lady C. and believe me,

"Ever affectionately yours,

" T. G."

"Lord M. wants me to come down to live with him as "soon as he gets a house, which I may, perhaps, do, as I "commonly ride with him every day, and it would be "more convenient to be near.

"As soon as I heard of this movement I hastened into "the town, and, being unable to get a horse, I hired a "cabriolet and proceeded on to Ollioules. I had not gone "a league, before I met a considerable body of the French

"Royalists retiring with little regard to order. From them I learnt that they had been driven from the post at Ollioules, where, I believe, the resistance on their part was very feeble, before the British troops had reached the place. Proceeding onwards, I luckily found in a small field by the roadside a tolerably good horse, saddled and bridled, without any rider. Quitting my cabriolet, I mounted and galloped on till I met Captain Moncrieff and his force slowly retiring from the top of the hill on the Toulon side of Ollioules. The French troops had pushed on an advance guard with some field pieces to that position, but, with the exception of firing a few rounds along the road, they made no further hostile movement, satisfied with having gained possession of Ollioules.

" Naples, 23rd Sept., 1793.

" My dear Graham,

"Many thanks for your very obliging and "interesting letter of the 14th from Toulon. You "will, before this can reach you, have seen that I have "laboured hard with this Court that Lord Hood should "have immediate assistance of troops and ships from "hence to enable his Lordship to maintain his conquest. "Lord Hood's demand for troops and ships came here "the 11th by Captain Nelson in the Agamemnon, and on "the 16th and 17th two ships of the line, five frigates, "two brigantines, two corvettes, with ten transports and "4,000 men left Naples; and in ten days the remainder of "ships and troops, according to the convention, will be "sent off. They were desirous here of making a parade "and sending the whole force together three weeks hence; "but I carried my point and sent off the succours, which, "I hope, are arrived, in five days; and, indeed, they are "no despicable troops; and, considering that it was "thought necessary to provide them well with provisions, "every praise is due to this Court for the zeal they have

"shown in the common cause. . . . I think you did wisely in finding out a reasonable dissipation under your great misfortune, and nothing can be more interesting than the scene in which you are now employed; but I will flatter myself that you will visit Naples before you return home. . . .

" Adieu, my dear sir,

"And, believe me, with sincere regard and esteem, "Yours, etc.,

"WM. HAMILTON."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Toulon, 25th Sept., 93.

"Here we are still, my dear Cathcart, without having "received any further reinforcements, though we have "been obliged to occupy new posts to prevent their being "taken possession of by the enemy. I forget the exact "date of my last, but believe it was about the 13th; at "least, I know it went by a Spanish frigate to Barcelona " on the 14th; I shall, therefore, mention anything material "since that. If you have no plan of Toulon you will not "understand what I say well; but, I am in hopes a "slight copy I have ordered will be ready to send you "to-day; if not, it shall go by the next opportunity. On "the 14th, Lord M. went with Sir H. Parker to establish a " post with some guns to guard the Sablettes to prevent "the enemy from coming on Cape Sepet, where the naval "hospital is. On the 17th, a M. Puissant (Commandant of "the dock-yard), much suspected of being our enemy, "was arrested and sent on board the Victory. This will " have a good effect, and was a measure much recommended "at first. In the night there was an alarm of an attack "on the town, and several guns were fired from the "ramparts by some French and Spanish cannoniers, with-"out the least reason.

"On the 18th, Carteaux opened a five gun battery on a "gunboat carrying two 24 pounders, and a French frigate,

"both manned from our ships, which had been hauled as " near the west end of the inner road as possible, to flank "the enemy if they attempted anything against Mal-"bousquet. They fired very ill and did little damage to "our people, who silenced the battery about 12. On the "19th they did not fire. On the 20th they opened that "same battery, which they had repaired, and two others "lower down of four guns, and fired with more effect on "the ships. Another gunboat with two guns and two "small mortars, which had been sent out, suffered con-"siderably, and the St. George had 21 men killed and "wounded by the bursting of one of her lower deck guns; "the land batteries, however, were silenced before two "o'clock; but altogether, that day, we had about 70 men " wounded or killed, including those on board the St. George. "Lord Hood became anxious about the shipping, and "that evening it was determined to occupy the heights of "Grasse on the south side of the inner road, lying between "La Seine and the forts of Balaguay and L'Equille. Both "Admiral Gravina and Lord Mulgrave went, and I ac-" companied them; the detachment consisted of 150 British "and 350 Spaniards. We embarked at midnight and "landed near Fort Balaguay, and gained the wooded "heights without seeing any enemy. The Spaniards were "all against occupying the westernmost and most com-"manding point, as being too distant to receive any "support from the ships, and Lord M. was obliged to "yield, and to return to the easternmost point of the hill. "The post was established there about daybreak, and we " returned to breakfast on board the Victory.

"In the afternoon, they were attacked by 600 men, who got near them under cover of the wood, but were re"pulsed with some loss. Some of the Spaniards behaved
"very well, others ill—ours all well; we had an officer of
"the 25th and eight men wounded. In the night the
"Spanish Commandant wanted to abandon the post, but
"our officer (Captain Brereton of the 30th) refused to go,

" and sent to Lord Hood, who complained to Langara, and "another Commandant was immediately sent. Next "morning, that is on Sunday the 22nd, we went over again, "when the Spaniards agreed to occupy the best point, "which luckily the enemy neglected to possess themselves " of in their retreat. The first post continues to be held "as a reserve by the Spaniards; the best is now strong, "the wood in front being cut down in abattis, and cannon "brought to it. There are there about 260 British and "the same number of Spaniards, and they have in the "wood in their rear nearly as many more, all Spaniards, " so that the hill is defended by about 800 men. The skirts "and sides of the hill are within reach of our ships' "guns, and the western front is now secure, except from "an attack of cannon, which is intended. The enemy "attacked Fort Pommet yesterday and were repulsed, and "they have renewed their attack this morning; they have "likewise opened some of their batteries against the "positions with the guns and mortars, so that all this "morning there has been a heavy cannonade. We have "just received advice of the Neapolitans having been at " sea since the 14th, and some Piedmontese being ready "to embark on the 18th, so that we hope to see some of "them arrive every moment; and, meanwhile, every post "is much strengthened by new works and more artillery. "A Captain Collier, of the Artillery, is just arrived from "Florence, and will be very useful. But we long much to "hear from Gibraltar, as after all the decided superiority "British troops over all others is so manifest that we "would rather get these two battalions and some artillery "asked for from Sir R. Boyd than other more numerous "reinforcement. Adieu, I cannot get the plan. " bless you.

"Thursday, 26th.—As I found, on going on board the "Victory, there would be no opportunity before Admiral "Gell sails for Genoa, I have opened it to add that we "have now in sight two of our men-of-war, which we

"believe to contain troops. There has been more firing to-day between the ships and land batteries, which are again silenced, and Fort Pommet is plagued with a constant fusillade from a rocky woody height which looks down into it. Several men and the commanding officer there have been wounded.

"27th.—We have got 800 of the best troops from the "King of Sardinia in the two ships which came in last "night; and there are more ships now in the offing, which "may bring the Neapolitans, etc. I am disappointed of "the plan by the engineer after these three days' delay, "and must now shut my letter.

"Lord Mulgrave, I believe, has got a plan to send to "Dundas, which you will perhaps see at Windsor, as well "as his dispatch, which contains a very accurate account "of everything here.

"On the 27th, the first division of the Neapolitan troops "arrived, and soon after a detachment of the Piedmontese "contingent came into the harbour. As these reinforce-"ments successively joined, the real line of defence was "gradually taken up. The right of the line, resting on "the sea at Fort de la Malgue, was carried up by Fort "Artigues and Fort Faron to the summit of the mountain " of that name, where there was, at the eastern extremity, a " stone redoubt capable of containing two or three hundred "men. The line then ran due west along the rocky ridge " of Mount Faron. The whole front to the north, in extent "near three miles, was considered to be totally unattack-" able, the rocks falling down almost perpendicularly into " a deep ravine, which isolated this hill from the mountains " beyond it. At the western extremity unfinished redoubts " formed a chain of defence to the westward, ending in the "large but unfinished redoubt, or fort, as it was called, of "Malbousquet, situated at no great distance from the "shore of the inner harbour, and near to its north-western "extremity. The object of the French engineers in taking "up this extensive line of defence was to preserve the

"town, the arsenal, and the inner harbour from bombard"ment. The same considerations made it imperative on
"the allies to attempt to hold it. Great efforts were made
"to complete, in a temporary manner at least, the western
"front of Fort Malbousquet, and to strengthen the other
"still more unfinished works at this extremity of the line.
"This occasioned much harassing duty for the allied
"troops, as the French Royalists were very unwilling to
"work.

"The paramount importance of Mount Faron was so "obvious that it called for Lord Mulgrave's immediate "attention. Accordingly, accompanied by Captain El-"phinstone and an officer of Engineers, we rode up to "the fort, and thence proceeded on foot to the stone "redoubt, and then examined the whole line along the "top of the ridge, considered, as before mentioned, as "quite inaccessible, except at one place called "Le pas " de la Masque," where a zig-zag footpath was practicable "for a person on foot to gain the summit of the hill. As, "however, one man in front only could possibly scramble "up by this way, it was thought unnecessary to take any " other precaution than that of stationing a strong picquet " of 60 men, with two officers, every night. Proceeding "westward, there appeared to me (more accustomed to "climb mountains than any of the others) several places "where men unopposed might contrive to get up; and, "accordingly falling behind, I went down unobserved to "the foot of the steepest part of the rock, and then, moving "quickly along, I got up again in front of the party, thus " proving the correctness of my observations which had " been rather scouted.

"The enemy being duly reinforced at Ollioules gradu"ally advanced, occupying posts of observation in front
"of all the western face of our defensive lines. However,
"but little occurred of any consequence until the morning
"of the 1st of October, when the picquet on duty at the
"important pas de la masque was surprised just before

"daybreak by a considerable body of the enemy, who "being rapidly reinforced drove the picquet back in "disorder, and with some loss, upon the stone redoubt, at "the extremity of Mount Faron. The Spaniards, who "occupied it in very considerable force, panic-struck at "this sudden attack, shamefully abandoned it without any "resistance, and fled down the hill to Fort Faron. The "French having thus gained possession, without the loss " of a man, of the whole summit of this, of all others the "most important point of the defences of Toulon, lost "no time in reinforcing themselves with every man they "could spare from other points. I happened to be the "first to give Lord Mulgrave intelligence of this alarming "loss, and he immediately ordered me to go to the "British barracks, and direct Captain Moncrieff to get "the whole of the troops under arms with all expe-"dition. Similar orders were sent to Count de Revel, "commanding the Piedmontese troops. Lord Mulgrave "also despatched messengers to Admiral Gravina and "the officer commanding the Neapolitan contingent, "requesting that they would order their respective corps "under arms, and would meet him as soon as possible "to concert the plan of attack. Captain Elphinstone "had already repaired from Fort de la Malgue to Fort "Faron, in order that every means should be taken to "prevent the possibility of that fort falling into the "hands of the enemy.

"The fall of the hill towards Toulon, though every"where rugged, still can be ascended in many places;
"a deep ravine, which begins between the east front of
"the immediate walls of the town and Fort Artigues,
"runs perpendicularly up the mountain, separating the
"eastern extremity, about half-a-mile in extent, from the
"remainder of the ridge, the highest point of which lies
"to the west of the head of this ravine, which there ends,
"leaving a narrow pass of not more than 10 or 12 yards
"in breadth, between the perpendicular rocks at the back

"of the mountain and the head of the ravine. It was soon observed that the enemy concentrated his chief force beyond this ravine, merely occupying with posts the summit of the ridge as far as its western extremity, where the ascent was more gradual than opposite to the town. It was agreed that Admiral Gravina, in command of the Spanish and Neapolitan troops, should be ready to move by the most practicable paths up the mountain from the western extremity of the north front of the walls of the town, while Lord Mulgrave should lead the British and Piedmontese troops by the road which led up the western side of the hill; an intermediate column acting as light infantry, under the command of Captain Moncrieff, was ordered to keep up the communication between Admiral Gravina and Lord Mulgrave.

"On the first advance of Lord Mulgrave's column, the "enemy seemed inclined to unite his detached bodies of "troops towards the western extremity; but upon observing "the advance of Moncrieff's skirmishers, supported on "the right by the head of Admiral Gravina's column, they "became alarmed at the risk they ran of being cut off " entirely from the main body near the western extremity "of the mountain. They, therefore, gradually fell back "beyond the great ravine, leaving our troops a free access "to the summit of the ridge. Captain Moncreiff, with "great judgment, collected his light infantry at the pas de "la masque, sending forward towards the western edge "of the ravine a few skirmishers to cover his position. "Lord Mulgrave, in order to profit by this first success, "lost no time in urging on his men, and broke up his "column into small parties, giving orders to each to make "the best of their way to the pas de la masque, sending at "the same time to request Admiral Gravina to push up "the hill as quickly as possible. By these means the "whole of the combined force, amounting to about 1,250 "men, was assembled in a position parallel to the great "ravine, the left of the British resting upon the very

"summit of the rock, close to the perpendicular fall at the back of the mountain; the Piedmontese troops on the right united the line, by joining the left of Admiral Gravina's corps.

"The enemy had an advance guard of two or three "companies close to the western brow of the ravine, "while their main body, amounting in appearance to a "strong battalion, occupied the formidable position about "150 yards in the rear; their right resting on the summit " of the ridge, and their left somewhat thrown back to a "greater distance from the ravine, and having the stone "redoubt in their rear. On reconnoitring this formidable "position Admiral Gravina, with the commanding officers " of the Spanish and Neapolitan troops, was of opinion "that it would be necessary to wait for the arrival of some "small mountain field pieces; but, as it was evident the "enemy was gradually, though slowly, receiving reinforce-"ments by the eastern extremity of the mountain, it "became urgent that the attack should not be delayed; "and, on Lord Mulgrave's suggestion, it was finally agreed "that Admiral Gravina's column, filing from its right, "should descend the hill, and, crossing the ravine near "the base, should re-ascend on its western side, taking "care to keep under cover, both to conceal their move-"ments and to prevent their being exposed, under such "disadvantageous circumstances, to any attack from the "enemy. The advanced bodies of the French, which had "from the beginning endeavoured to annoy our line by "occasional shots, moving nearer to the ravine, opened a "heavy fire on Gravina's column which, either by order " or by accident, was returned; but the Admiral, aware " of the importance of not losing time, gave orders to the "men to cease firing, and press their march as quickly as "the nature of the ground would allow. This movement "necessarily took up much time, but as soon as the "column was seen ascending the mountain, Lord Mul-"grave prepared to attack by the narrow path afore"mentioned. The British on the left were formed in column of sections, left in front. The Piedmontese, in a similar formation, were drawn up on our right, right in front, thus forming a double column of sections.

"On moving down the steep and rugged descent their "progress was unavoidably slow, and about the time "when the head of the two columns had got to the "narrowest part of the pass the enemy opened from their "whole line a very heavy and concentrated fire on this "defile. Probably this fire fell heaviest on that part of "the column that was still on the rugged descent of the "hill, in rear of the head; for both Count de Revel and "Captain Moncrieff, with whom I was, perceived that "there was a check behind which separated the main "body of the force from the leading divisions. An acci-"dent in the formation of the ground afforded a temporary "shelter. On the left, next the perpendicular fall, and "almost opposite to the head of the ravine, three or four "feet below the surface, there was a natural shelf capable "of giving cover to a considerable number of men. "Advantage was taken of this at once, and the troops "from behind the natural breastwork kept up so well-"directed a fire against the enemy that they were "forced to turn their attention to these partly concealed " assailants.

"At this critical moment I observed that the head of "Admiral Gravina's column would very soon rise above "the brow of the ravine, and be thus exposed to the "attack of the enemy. I therefore strongly urged Captain "Moncrieff to hasten to attack the right of the French "line, and Count de Revel approving of this forward "movement, we pushed on at as quick a pace as was "possible over a rocky and broken surface, and were "rapidly followed by the remainder of the column. Both "flanks of the enemy's line being thus threatened by the "two columns of attack, they broke, and retired towards "the redoubt. Meanwhile, Captain Elphinstone, who had

"been watching the assault, sallied out of Fort Faron with a view to cut off their retreat, and by this judicious and well-timed movement prevented them from taking advantage of the redoubt, where they might have made a last and successful stand. However, attacked on all sides, they fled in disorder; many, in their eagerness to escape, falling over the cliffs."

In the following letter to Lord Cathcart he gives a fuller account of the action.

To Lord Cathcart.

" Toulon, 2nd Oct., 1793.

"Though I don't know when an opportunity of sending "my letter to you, my dear brother, may occur, I sit down "to give you an account of yesterday's business, which "was the most serious that has yet occurred here. At "daybreak, as I was getting up, I heard distinctly the fire " of musketry, and, stepping out of my window on the "ramparts of our fort, saw that Faron Hill was attacked "at the Pas de la Masque, and soon after perceived that a " party of the enemy, who had got up at those inaccessible " places I have always been so jealous of, came round and "attacked our people in the rear, and beat them off. "Elphinstone, on being told of this, ordered reinforce-"ments from all these forts under his command; and very "soon after, to our astonishment, we saw the Spaniards "ccme down from the redoubt and the lunette, without a "shot being fired, towards the Fort of Faron, leaving the "enemy in complete possession of the whole top of this "most important hill, which they had gained by surprise " and almost without resistance.

"Elphinstone galloped away to send men from St. Ca"tharine and Artigues to Fort Faron, and I went into town
"to tell Gravina and Lord Mulgrave. All the troops were
"immediately ordered under arms, but before the arrange"ments could be all made much time was lost, and they

"did not begin to march till about nine o'clock. A "column of 260 British and 300 Piedmontese went to the "Grand St. Antoine. 183 Spaniards, 450 Neapolitans, and " some 65 Piedmontese marched the same way but left the "fort on their left. Ours divided at St. Antoine, part "going up straight from the fort, others starting eastward, " so as to divide the attention of about 200 of the enemy, "who had already occupied the heights above St. Antoine "at the west end of Faron. Luckily, two guns from "St. Antoine were brought to bear upon these heights, "which obliged them to retire from the edge. The whole "ascent was rugged and steep, and in many places as "much so as the Cairns of Benigloe, and had these 200 "men kept their ground we could not have got up; but "either the fire of the cannon, or the fear of being cut off "by Captain Moncrieff's column-which was that I men-"tioned as having gone from St. Antoine-on our right, "fortunately had made them retire all together, though "we expected to have found them only far enough back to "be covered from the cannon shot. By two prisoners "taken there, and some near le Pas de la Masque, which "Moncrieff's party got to first, we understood their whole " force was about the east end of the hill, and amounted to " about 1500 men. We joined Moncrieff's column at the "Pas de la Masque and proceeded eastward to a rugged "height that rises between the Pas de la Masque and a deep "ravine that comes down the south side of the mountain, " and which ravine separates the before-mentioned height "from the height at the east end of the mountain, at the "eastern and highest point of which the redoubt of Faron "is situated. This ravine runs out near the top of the hill, "leaving a passage of from 10 to 15 yards tolerably flat, "which serves to give a communication between these "heights. We halted our men mostly out of sight and " went on within random shot to reconnoitre.

"The enemy were drawn up on the other side of the ravine in two lines facing westward to us, some other

"bodies facing southward-several corps de reserve about "half-way between the redoubt and their front, and all "the north side of the redoubt full of men; luckily, some "guns of Fort Faron were brought to bear on the south " edge of the redoubt, but could not sweep the south edge of "the hill further west. Seeing the enemy so very strongly " posted, and in such numbers, Lord Mulgrave determined "not to begin the attack till the arrival of the column of "foreigners under Admiral Gravina's command, which "had not yet got up the hill. They at last arrived and "took a position considerably on our right, occupying a "kind of valley which separated the hill we were on from "a lower one which projects southwards, and soon after "they marched and took possession of this southern hill; "this removed them further from us and from the ravine, "which, there, was very wide.

"An officer was sent, and then Lord Mulgrave went "himself to explain the mode of attack he proposed; to "facilitate which he wished this foreign column to cross "the ravine lower down, and return on the other side of "it, under cover of some projecting rocky knolls on the " shoulder that forms the east side of the ravine to within "random musket-shot of the advanced party of the "enemy. This was agreed to; they formed a long line " extending from the summit of their hill towards the foot " of ours, and when the first of them began to move "forwards towards the edge of the ravine the advanced "body of the enemy fired on them, which brought on "them a general fire from the whole line of our foreigners, "but at such a distance that little execution was done, "though the shot reached. This determined them to cross "the ravine still lower down. I must mention here, that "Lord Mulgrave had sent a note, on first gaining our hill, "to Elphinstone, who, though very weak from having " been ill, had gone up to Fort Faron, to beg that when he "heard the firing begin on our side, he would order a "sortie towards the redoubt to favour our attack. This,

"Elphinstone immediately complied with on hearing the "firing between the foreign column and the advanced body of the enemy. The consequences might have been unfortunate had he persevered, but his party were so warmly received that he saw no impression could at that time be made, and hearing the firing near the ravine cease, he ordered the party back.

"Lord M. on hearing Elphinstone's party engaged, and "knowing it was in consequence of his invitation, and "that if not supported by our attack he could not succeed "on that side where the steepness of the ascent makes "it almost inaccessible, was obliged to order our column "under arms and to advance, which drew on us some shots "from the enemy, which went over us. But, fortunately, "the firing towards Fort Faron ceasing, we were in time to "halt, and wait for the effects of the manœuvre of the "foreign column, which moved away slowly, as the ravine "was steep and rugged.

"An advance guard of Spaniards got very well up to "the point proposed, and produced the effect we expected by obliging the enemy to weaken their right and strengthen their left, which faced the south. We could take no advantage of them during this change of position without losing the benefit of the support of the foreign column, which did not close up with the Spanish advance guard for long after. Meanwhile, a Spanish serjeant with two or three soldiers (all excellent deer-stalkers) stole up the east side of the ravine, and keeping rocky knolls to cover them, got within pistol-shot of the most advanced part of the enemy unperceived.

"We immediately sent over an officer to beg M. Gravina "would order a part of his column to take the same route and gain that position, so as to be the sooner ready to act with us—the original position being at such a distance, and the ascent above so steep, that there was "little chance of their getting near enough to the enemy in time to give us any more support than what was derived

"from their appearance at that point. This last requi"sition was complied with, and the Neapolitan grenadiers
"were ordered to pursue the track pointed out by the
"Spanish serjeant; but before they could get near him he
"shewed himself, was fired on by two men, one of whom he
"shot, and then returned to his small party. This alarmed
"the enemy, who sent on a considerable part of their
"advanced party, and obliged the few Spaniards to quit
"their situation.

"The apprehension of their retreating in the face of the "Neapolitan grenadiers, whose forward march might have been stopped by them, determined Lord Mulgrave to begin the attack immediately. The enemy during this "time, on seeing the strength of our column (which was discovered by our first movement, mentioned before,) had brought forward from the redoubt a great number of men, and made a much more formidable line against us than they had when we first took our position opposite them, which they were enabled to do (as we since learnt from the prisoners) by having received reinforcements, after we were in their sight, from the eastward.

"Very soon after we began to descend our hill in two "columns (one of British, the other Piedmontese), the "enemy began a heavy fire, which at last was returned by "our columns, though the most positive orders had been "given against it. The two columns at this time, owing "to the narrowness of the ground, formed, in fact, but "one. You know well enough how difficult it is to get "men in column to advance after they have begun to fire, "and how very impossible, almost, it is to stop the fire. "The head of the column, exposed to a very severe fire "from the enemy, and to the risk of being shot by the "people behind, sheltered themselves in a bight of the " perpendicular rocks which were all the way on our left, "and which there had a shelf which served as a banquette, "and for some time could not be prevailed upon to stop "firing. The British and Piedmontese were quite mixed

"at this period, and the rear of the columns from the "higher ground still kept on firing. During this check, "the Neapolitan grenadiers advanced near the place where "the Spanish serjeant had been, and began to draw off "the attention of the left of the enemy's line, to which "the advanced guard had fallen back. At that critical "moment our people charged from behind the rocks, and "ran on without firing. The enemy began to give way, "and very soon took to their heels, and, being closely "pursued, never attempted to rally; but as it was up hill "and one continued bed of angular stones, it was "impossible for any of our troops, faint with hunger, "thirst, and fatigue, to get up close with them. The "Neapolitan grenadiers and the head of our columns of "British and Piedmontese entered the redoubt at the " same moment, where only three or four men attempted to "resist. The rest fled by the lunette towards La Vallette, "or tried to hide themselves among the perpendicular "rocks on the north side of the redoubt, from whence "many of them fell or were tumbled down by the "foreigners, especially the Spaniards, who had no notion "of giving quarter, as their great object seemed to be "to get possession of the spoils of the dead, for which "every consideration of humanity was laid aside; the "conduct of the British was strikingly different. From "the redoubt, the lunette, and rocks near both, a heavy "fire was kept up on the enemy, who could not get very "fast away as the descent was so rapid, and a party from "Fort Faron went much lower down the hill, and pursued "them closely, till brought up by the fire of some guns "they had on the side of Coudon. The success of this "attack was no doubt much owing to Elphinstone's attack, "originally intended as a diversion only; but when he "heard the firing become general in all the points to his "left, he left only 30 men in the fort, and went out with "460; of these the Spaniards and French hardly ever "came into action, but about 160 of the 30th and 69th

" regiments behaved with uncommon steadiness, climbing "up the face of an excessive rugged and steep hill "(exactly a cairn) without returning a shot till near the "top, though exposed to the enemy's fire from the moment "they left the fort, which is itself within musket-shot of "the top of the hill. No part of the operation on this "south side was exposed to our view, but I describe it "from Elphinstone's own account; he was quite unable "himself to get up the hill, but went as far as he could, "and waited there to see the success of his party. "they been numerous enough, and in time to have gained "the summit sooner, the enemy's retreat would have been "cut off entirely. But it was impossible to do more, for "they never could have forced their way up if the chief "attention of the main body of the enemy had not been " engaged on their west front, where our attack and that of "the centre column took place.

" As I write this long account entirely for your satisfac-"tion, and not to be made public, I have no scruple in "telling you, in very direct terms, that, of all our allies, "the Spaniards were the least meritorious. In the first " place, the rascally blue tropa de marina lost the post in "the morning, the only resistance that was made being at "the Pas de la Masque, by an officer and 11 British, and " 40 or 50 foreigners of some sort; and the redoubt having "been abandoned by about 150 of these scoundrels, not-"withstanding every effort of their officers, before the " party beaten from the Pas de la Masque got to it. In the "next place, they very reluctantly agreed to Lord Mul-"grave's plan, Gravina yielding, contrary to the opinion " of his officers, just because he is on every occasion so "anxious to act cordially with us; but in the execution of "the manœuvre they proceeded so unwillingly that the "Chevalier de Revel, who commanded the Piedmontese, "having been sent to press them, was obliged to propose " if they did not like to make the attack on the right that "they should change places with us. After all, they left

"a very strong corps de reserve on the top of their hill, "which, in the case of repulse, they never could have got "back to, or received assistance from, and therefore it was "a useless diminution of their strength; and lastly, the "only part of their column that ever came near the enemy, "before the route, was the Neapolitan Grenadiers, who "were detached to their left after the deerstalkers. They "indeed, especially Serjeant Moreno, have such infinite "merit, and were of such essential service, that we ought " to forgive them all. Poor Gravina himself was unluckily "shot in the leg just as he was ordering the Neapolitan "grenadiers to their new position, but as no bone is broke, "I hope he will soon recover; the ball is not, however, "extracted yet. The Neapolitan Genadiers deserve great "credit, not one (officer or soldier) having ever been "before in sight of an enemy; but in the opinion of all "spectators of this action, which was seen from part of "the town and from the ships, they appeared to advance "like demigods, as at that distance it could not be dis-"covered that they were not in sight of the enemy till "very near them, and that we had attracted the fire of all "the enemy in that quarter, who had called in all their "advance guards, and formed one long line opposed to us. "Though the loss of our British and Piedmontese column, "considering the circumstances is very small, yet com-" paring it with the numbers and loss of the other corps, "you will judge that my account is very impartial, if you " were not otherwise assured that I must mean to be com-" pletely so in writing to you. The Piedmontese with us " behaved perfectly well, but were unsteady in commencing "a fire without, or rather against, positive orders; and " being at the time close together, it was impossible to guess "whose fault it was. The loss of the enemy is variously "reported, about 100 have been buried by our people, "many more may be killed or much wounded in the woods "which surround the bottom of the hill. The commander, "a M. Victor, is said to have been killed. He was

"reckoned a good officer, and all his dispositions that day "were in the style of a man who understood his business. "One officer and 50 prisoners are in this fort, and some "wounded in the hospital; by the best information we can "get from them, their numbers were not less than 1,700, "some say 2,000, of their very best troops—all from the "army of Italy. The importance of the success of the "day is immense, in short, it is the keeping of Toulon; "for now that post never can be lost again, as we have " 500 of our best troops on the top of the hill, and every "inaccessible pass will be strictly guarded; besides that, "the treatment they met with in the afternoon will not "tempt them to hazard desperate attempts. We learn "from the prisoners that they scrambled up in three "different places to the westward of the Pas de la Masque, " and gained the summit at dawn of day, to the number of " between 200 and 300, then formed and marched eastward "unperceived, till they got near our post on the hill "adjoining the Pas de la Masque, which they attacked on "all sides at once. Had we been less fortunate, they "would have been able to have got guns up the next "morning, and to have poured in more men; and, though "we might have been able to have kept possession of the "west end of the hill till some guns had been brought up to " us, (indeed some people wished to have delayed the attack "in hopes of the arrival of one or two one-pounders that "were on there way up, and which certainly would have "made it a much easier affair), yet the whole business "would have been much more uncertain, and might have " produced bad consequences in the town.

"It was a day of great fatigue to every body, the "early alarm prevented any body from getting breakfast, "the men got their bread with them, but as the day (after some cold and stormy weather) was excessively sultry, the "want of a drop of liquor, of any kind, was severely felt. "I think I never was so thankful as for a little such "from a keg that had passed through the hands of the

"Neapolitan grenadiers after we got in the redoubt; after"wards in a little storehouse in the lunette, we found a
"very considerable quantity of bread and wine the enemy
had sent up from La Valette. We arrived on the hill,
where we halted so long, between twelve and one; I
suppose we attacked about three, and did not get home
till dusk, many of the men not so soon.

"I must not omit mentioning a circumstance (I thought "it foolish and imprudent at all events, and had on that "account strenuously opposed it), which was particularly " provoking at that moment. The sections of Toulon had "determined to shew their loyalty by proposing to change "the pavillon and cockade to the old white, and Lord Hood "had agreed to it (it is expressly contrary to his own "proclamations, and it will be said all over France that "he has now pulled off the mask, and that we are deter-"mined to re-establish the ancien régime, which will lose "us many friends, and which, in fact, I believe all Europe "is unable to effect). This important change had been "fixed for the 1st of October; the day certainly began "inauspiciously for us, and just as we were going to leave "St. Antoine, all the ships and the forts hoisted the white "flag, and saluted it when the enemy were in possession "of a post, from which, if they had kept it, they could "have destroyed the town in a few days. Since, you may "believe, the new fangled Royalists have paid many com-"pliments to the troops on the glory of the day, and the "favourable omens that may be drawn from the change "having been celebrated by victory. I think nobody seems " more delighted than Lord Hood, who has been on shore "every day since (this is now the 4th of October), and "seems quite glad that the post had been lost, since it "gave an opportunity to recover it so handsomely. "think this proves he must have had some anxiety, though "he concealed it amazingly, for I know he dined on board "the Britannia just at the time of the attack, and appeared "quite unconcerned about the event. With respect to the "foreign troops, it certainly has been very lucky; it has "entered the Neapolitans in a way that will encourage "them to go on, and it has united the British and Pied-"montese so entirely, that the common soldiers of each "nation have been heard to express their confidence in "one another; and I dare say they will act together in "future like troops of the same country. You must be "heartily tired of me by this time, so I bid you adieu, "begging you to forgive this long detail in favour of its being my first essay in the field. Adieu, my dear "brother.

"Ever affectionately yours,
"T. G.

"P.S.—I shall try to enclose a sketch to explain my description, which I have confused by wishing to be intelligible (I don't say to the meanest capacity) to anybody. I hope the sketch of the environs which I put up under cover to Mr. Dundas, to whom I had written a note and omitted enclosing it, will arrive safe at the same time with my long letter. It went to Genoa with Gell, who sailed on the morning of the 1st, and is gone, I believe, to correct the Genoese if they continue equally saucy. It cannot be in better hands.

"P.S.—I wrote two words to Lady Mansfield on the "2nd, and desired her to let my mother know of her "having heard of me. I believe this letter will go to-day. "5th.—No ship sailed, and I add another postscript to "say that the Colossus is arrived with about 400 more "Piedmontese, and says 700 more are following from "Sardinia. Spaniards from Carthagena are near, having been parted with yesterday in a gale of wind; but, what is best of all, we know by letters from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hood that Sir R. Boyd will send 1,200 British from his garrison, and I believe O'Hara will come with them, which will be very lucky, as, now that Gravina is "wounded, a Spanish brigadier and Lord M. would not

"agree; and, besides, another General is coming from "Spain, who will supersede Gravina, but is a much "younger officer than O'Hara.

"I left this letter yesterday wrapped up in a paper in "Lord Hood's cabin, where I had occasion to take out "some papers, and when I returned to dinner he asked "who it belonged to. I don't much care if his curiosity "prompted him to read it, but I think its length secures "me from that fear; but at first I felt uncomfortable. I "had not missed it, and ought to rejoice I received it so "well and so soon. Lord Mulgrave and Sir Hyde Parker "desired to be remembered to you. Adieu.

"I shall seal and direct it immediately for fear of accidents. Mulgrave has produced me to the public in his
orders in a way that, not being a military man, I was
sorry for, because I think it may offend officers. However, he was inexorable. Fourteen or fifteen ships are
in sight. Many deserters are coming in. They state
their loss at between 500 or 600."

General Orders.

" Oct. 6th, 1793.

"Lord Mulgrave begs leave on this occasion to express his grateful sense of the friendly and important assistance he has received in many difficult moments from Mr. Graham, and to add his tribute of praise to the general voice of all the British and Piedmontese officers of his column, who saw, with so much pleasure and applause, the gallant example which Mr. Graham set to the whole column in the foremost point of every attack...

"Signed, MULGRAVE."

"I have been thus particular and minute in endeavour-"ing to describe the situation and circumstances of this "action for several reasons. First, because it appeared "to me (a judgment I have never had reason to alter) that "Lord Mulgrave's conduct in the disposition of the attack of an enemy, equal, if not superior, in numbers to our combined force, so advantageously posted, was marked by the most consummate skill. The undertaking was arduous in the extreme, and success could scarcely have been expected by any other mode of attack than that which he at once decided on and carried out; for I well remember that, on the difficulty and risk of crossing the ravine towards the bottom being objected to by our allies on the right, he offered to exchange places with them, and leave them to make the attack by the narrow pass at the head of the ravine. This was so evidently the most exposed and dangerous point of attack that fortunately the offer was not accepted.

"Secondly, I have thought it necessary to be so circum-"stantial because it was the first opportunity that I had "ever had of being personally engaged in such a scene. "I had all along felt that, having anxiously wished for an "opportunity of seeing an action with the enemy, I could "not be a volunteer on such an occasion without becoming "in a great degree a conspicuous object in the attack. "This feeling induced me to ask Lord Mulgrave's leave to "put myself at the head of the column with Captain "Moncrieff, and on the occasion of the check above "described, and the discovery of the shelf in the rock "which offered so favourable a place both of security to "our men and for annoying the enemy, perceiving that "several of our men had advanced considerably beyond "this point, and who, had they remained where they were, "would have prevented the fire over the breastwork, I "ran forward and brought them all back. On this occa-" sion a man of the 11th Regiment received a shot which "disabled him; I assisted him back into shelter, and took "his musket and some of his cartridges. Soon after our " advance I was myself wounded in the inside of the right "arm, and dropped the musket; but finding that the bone "was not broken, I picked it up and carried it in my left

"hand, being fully aware that the advance under so heavy "a fire required all the encouragement of good example. "I thus had an opportunity of ascertaining what I believe "nobody can quite answer for themselves beforehand, "that the interest created by such a scene totally absorbed "all idea of personal danger; and that, therefore, I was "left in possession of the best judgment which a cool "observation of the circumstances might enable me to "form concerning the relative state of the contending "parties; and I shall not, I am sure, be accused of fan-"faronade when I solemnly assert that at no subsequent " period of my military career did I ever see with more "accurate and cool discrimination the moment when a "forward movement on our part was imperiously called "for in order to prevent the certain disaster that must "have followed the repulse of Admiral Gravina's column, "which I have no doubt would have happened but for our " well-timed attack on the right of the enemy's line.

"Thirdly, I have been thus minute because I wish to account for the resolution that I instantly took to follow the advice which Lord Mulgrave had repeatedly pressed upon me, viz., that of becoming a soldier, and taking an early opportunity of offering to raise a regiment which should serve under my command.

"I am satisfied myself that by the experience of this "day I might not unreasonably hope, even at an unusually "advanced period of life for entering on a new profession, "to be able to serve with credit and distinction, having "ascertained that the natural turn for accurate observation of ground, fostered by a constant enjoyment of field sports, would give me advantages which many who had entered the service at a very early age never could possess. Besides, I was aware that after a long peace I should be but little behindhand with most of the field officers of the army except in the mere knowledge of drill and what is termed 'field exercise.' Though I was aware that very considerable prejudice in the minds of

"such officers as had gone through the drudgery of the "inferior ranks and acquired a thorough knowledge of "the theory of their profession, would undoubtedly meet "me on occasions of service where a newly-acquired, but "superior, rank might bring such under my command; still I trusted that no real superiority from such habits need long exist, as there was nothing of difficulty or mystery in the theory of drill that might not by attention be quickly overcome. Indeed, great facility was offered to those who about this time entered the service from the establishment of those valuable regulations, which that distinguished officer, Sir David Dundas, had, with so much perseverance and final success, introduced from the Prussian system into our army under the sanction of H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"The known reluctance with which the study of this "new system was undertaken by those field officers of the "army who considered themselves too old and too wise "to go to school, gave great encouragement to those who, "like myself, began their military career at this period.

"My resolution once taken, I was glad to take an early opportunity of leaving Toulon. This was afforded by the news that Lord Mulgrave, whom I should not certainly have left, was to be immediately superseded in the command by Sir David Dundas, already on his way from England, and who was himself to be second in command under General O'Hara, who was ordered up from Gibraltar with a strong reinforcement. This news determined Lord Mulgrave to return to England."

From Lord Mulgrave.

"Genoa, Nov. 5th, 1793.

"Dear Graham,

"I feel the same retrospective attention to Toulon "that you describe yourself to have felt. I propose going "to-morrow to Milan where I shall stay a day or two, to

"press the march of the Austrian troops, which I think "infinitely essential to the preservation of Toulon. I "shall proceed from thence to Mantua and Verona, " pass the Tyrol, embark on the Rhine at Mayence, and go "to Bonn, from thence by Cologne to Juliers, and through "Aix la Chapelle, Bruxelles, etc., to Ostend. I hope you "will join me at Milan, and that we shall make the whole "journey together. I think three days a tedious voyage "from Toulon to Genoa; if you think so too, I hope with "my necessary delays here and at Milan that we shall " meet at that place. I will explain to you why I have "not remained at Toulon, though Lord Hood pressed me "to do so, and O'Hara appeared to wish it much; the "latter has behaved most handsomely and kindly to me, "..... and has taken Hill and Moncrieff for his "aides-de-camp. We shall have much to "talk about when we meet; in the meantime, believe me, " with the most sincere regard and esteem,

"Yours ever most faithfully,
"MULGRAVE."

"Lord Hood agreed to send a fire-ship with me to "Genoa, so after taking a cordial leave of all my friends "of both services at Toulon, and having settled with "Captains Moncrieff and Hill to be my two field officers if "I obtained a letter of service to raise a regiment, I em-"barked at Toulon, about the middle of November, and "after a voyage of two days I landed at Genoa. I there "purchased a carriage, and immediately set out for Turin. "I then went to Coni, where the court was, and where I "knew I should find some of my old friends of Nice-"Marquis de Châteauneuf, Monsieur and Madame de "St. Agathe, as also the British Minister, Mr. Trevor. 1 "remained with them for two days and then proceeded "with all possible despatch through the Tyrol, in the most "direct line to Hamburg, and, embarking in the packet, "I landed at Yarmouth in the beginning of December."

From Lord Winchelsea.

" Dec. 6th, 93.

" Dear Graham,

"I was very agreeably surprised this morning by hearing from L. Smith that you had returned to England, and that you intend being in Leicestershire as soon as Sunday. He desired me to inform you that the hounds meet at Brooksby, on Monday next, and he proposed (what I think is quite unreasonable) that he and I should dine with you after hunting; I will certainly be at the cover in the morning prepared either to dine with you or return. I long much to congratulate you on all the events at Toulon, and on the distinguished part you bore in them. I wrote you a letter to Toulon last week, but confess am very glad that you are not there to receive it, as you have done quite enough. I mentioned in it that I had seen all your horses in good condition.

"Yours faithfully and sincerely,
"WINCHELSEA."

From Lord Mulgrave.

"Harley Street, Saturday night, Dec. 7th.

" My dear Graham,

"I have just received from Lord Uxbridge "Messrs. Cox and Greenwood's account of the terms on "which Lord Paget raises his regiment, and the letter of "service from the War Office, which gives a more exact detail of the conditions. I need not tell you how much I wish (from my zeal for the good of the service) that the terms may meet with your approbation, and that I may soon see you at the head of a well-commanded regiment.

" Believe me,

"Very sincerely and faithfully yours, "MULGRAVE."

"The low state to which all the military and naval " establishments had been reduced previous to the declara-"tion of war with France, had determined the Government "to make use of extraordinary means for putting those "establishments on a war footing. The efforts to send " out a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, and prepare "another for the West Indies, to be also accompanied "by a considerable land force, under the command of "General Grey, had exhausted all the disposable force of "the country. Recourse had been had to partial new "levies of different descriptions, but all on the footing of "giving either temporary or permanent rank in the army "to those whose offers were accepted by the government " for raising corps on this principle. On enquiry, I found "that letters of service had been granted to several "persons, not previously in the army, to raise regiments "which they were either to command themselves, or to the "command of which they were to be at liberty to recom-"mend officers already in the service. And it was "generally understood that if this mode of increasing the "army were to be settled, it would probably be resorted "to on a much more extensive scale. Under these cir-"cumstances, in some respects very favourable to my "views, and in others quite the contrary, as increasing "the difficulties both of having one's offer attended to, or "in the power of carrying it into execution if accepted. "However, I felt that there was no time to be lost, and "though I should have been glad to have waited for "Lord Mulgrave's return to England, in order to have the "great advantage of his valuable advice as well as his "powerful assistance, I took an early opportunity of "having communication on the subject with Mr. Dundas "(Secretary of State for War), and was received in the "most cordial manner by that minister, who had some "time before married my first cousin, Lady Jane Hope. "Business and duty, however, called me into Scotland, "where I met with assurances of material assistance in

"the conduct of the levy, among some of my oldest and

"best friends in that country. Soon after my return to

"London, early in the spring of 1794, I obtained a letter

" of service from Lord Amherst, then Commander-in-chief,

"to raise a regiment, with the temporary rank of Colonel

"during its continuance on the establishment."

Colonel Graham's commission, dated the 10th of February, 1794, is worded as follows:—

"Greeting, We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant of our Ninetieth Regiment of Foot, or the Perthshire Volunteers, without permanent rank or half-pay, and likewise to be Captain of a company in our said regiment."

" Prees, Feb. 23rd, 1794.

"Sir,

"I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 19th inst., containing the terms on which you so obligingly offer me the Majority of your regiment. In answer to it I beg leave to inform you I agree to the proposals you mention, and shall do everything in my power to merit the confidence reposed in me. Wishing every success to you and your corps, I conclude with assuring you

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble,

and much obliged Servant,

ROWLAND HILL."

" To LT.-COLONEL GRAHAM."

"Some valuable time was lost before any final ar-"rangements could be taken for beginning the levy, in "consequence of the objections made to my nomination of "Major (late Captain) Moncrieff, of the 11th Regiment, "to Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, because he held only brevet rank as Major, a step of promotion that had been granted to him on his return from Toulon with the account of the ultimate evacuation of the place by the allies, in consequence of the successful attack by the French on Fort Mulgrave, on the Hauteurs de Grasse.

"The enemy's efforts were directed by Buonaparte, then "an officer of Artillery and chef de brigade. This was "the first service on which he was employed, and in it "he thus early evinced those great military talents which "afterwards conducted him, through a long career of "victories, to the wonderful elevation which he attained. "He acted not only as commanding the artillery against "this redoubt, but also directed the establishment of the "batteries close to the foot of the hill, and much nearer "than the engineers had proposed. By this means, a de-" structive fire of shot and shells having been opened in the " afternoon of the 18th of December, and having been con-"tinued, without interruption, during the succeeding night, "he directed a column of attack to proceed by a ravine, "which had been left unguarded on the right of the redoubt. "The French column was thus enabled to gain the rear of "the work unperceived. All the Spaniards who could not "escape laid down their arms, but the British troops, on "the left of the redoubt, made a gallant resistance, and " fell, almost to a man, in the defence of their post.

"It was generally believed that at one time it had been "in the contemplation of the Government to have sent "General Grey, with the whole force collected for the expe-"dition to the West Indies, to Toulon. Had this plan been carried into execution, and such a powerful reinforcement arrived in time, there can be no doubt but that the repub"lican army before Toulon would have been forced to fall back behind the Rhone. Unfortunately the war was carried on on the old principle of almost undivided attention to what was termed 'British Interests,' i.e. looking to,

" and preferring the protection of trade and the capture " of the enemy's colonial establishments, rather than to the " objects which had involved Great Britain in the contest "with France. The other powers of Europe had long " before taken up arms with a view to the re-establishment " of the ancient despotism, and consequent abuses which "weighed so heavily against France. That despotism, " by the excesses of the revolution had been converted into "a tyranny, upheld by the most atrocious cruelties, and a "general system of terror within the limits of France, and " of aggression against every established government in "Europe, either by open violence or the establishment of "clubs and societies in every country, which, under the " pretence of fraternization, and communication of the true " principles of liberty, was to revolutionize, and thus to " force on them a similar system of democratic tyranny, by "the overthrow of the constitution, however free, and "however agreeable to the great majority of the in-"habitants of those countries which were thus invaded. "Though much division of opinion took place in England "on the policy and justice of our declaration of war "against France, I heartily and honestly concurred with "those who considered that the war was a just and " necessary one for the defence of the British constitution, "for without it the small minority who openly supported "the most violent principles of the French revolution, "would have gradually gained strength and ascendency, "under the direction of those agitators who would soon "have carried corruption into the ranks of our army, " following the example of France.

"I am anxious to make this statement here, in order to "rescue myself from any charge of inconsistency, or of being biassed by any interested motive to have thus "enlisted myself as a soldier, in opposition to those general principles of freedom which I had ever possessed, and which I was known to entertain in favour of those

"necessary and unavoidable reforms, which the abuses and corruption of the old French Government so loudly called for.

"Having about this time, at last, succeeded in becoming "the representative in Parliament of my native country of Perth, I determined to support on every occasion this just and necessary war, into which, according to my view of the subject, the country was driven for the defence of their dearest rights; but at the same time never to abandon those true Whig principles which had brought about the revolution of 1688, and placed on the throne of these realms, a family which derived their right from the voice of the nation and not from the absurd and monstrous doctrine of 'divine right.'

"It was not until the end of March, that I was enabled to " commence the levy. I had been asked by Lord Amherst "whether I possessed that kind of interest in Scotland, "that gave me a kind of feudal right to expect success "in being able to raise men in the way that several of the "great families had already given examples of, and were "now again employed in exerting their influence among "what were still called their vassals. I assured him that "I pretended to no such family interest, but that I trusted "that the exertions I should make in every quarter of "Great Britain, would be such as would lead to a favour-"able result in as short a time, at least, as any of those "levies that were to be carried on by persons receiving "letters of service of the same date as mine. Having " settled with Messrs. Cox and Greenwood to become my "agents, and having been assured by them of the liberal "supply of those resources which such an undertaking "imperiously called for, I left London, Major Moncrieff "having undertaken for a little while to look after the " establishment of recruiting parties there, and I proceeded "northwards, through all the principal manufacturing "districts of Warwickshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, "into Scotland. On my arrival at Edinburgh, I found

"my friend Mr. Graham, of Fintry, had organised an "extensive system of recruiting in the principal towns of "Scotland, his son (John Graham) having the promise of "a company at the earliest possible period—for which "purpose his name was put down at the head of the list " of Lieutenants. In the course of the first visit which I "made to the parties established in the west of Scotland, "I made acquaintance at Glasgow with Lieutenant Keneth "Mackenzie, of the 14th foot. The character which my "friend Mr. Graham had given me of that officer, whom "he had known from a child, he having been born at "Dundee, had impressed me strongly in his favour. "had lately been sent home to recover from a grape-shot "wound in the shoulder, received before Dunkirk, and he "had charge of a recruiting party of his regiment at "Glasgow. Everything that I observed in conversation "with him during the short time I remained there, more "than justified all that Mr. Graham had said in his " praise; and, as the best means of securing to my regiment "the assistance of so valuable an officer, I promised him "the Captain-Lieutenancy of the regiment, which would " secure him the majority whenever an augmentation from "600 to 1,000 men was granted.

"By means of great personal exertion in going about through the great manufacturing towns in England, and thus stimulating the parties to carry on the levy with the utmost activity, and without regard to expense, I was enabled to ask the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland (Lord Adam Gordon), to name the 13th day of May for the first inspection of the regiment at Perth. Having found that there were already near 800 men collected at Head Quarters on the day preceeding that named for the inspection, there was no difficulty in securing Lord Adam Gordon's approbation of the 600 which were next morning paraded before him. I urged him to sign the return, and to write a few lines to Lord Amherst expressing his opinion of my exertions in the levy. On

"receiving this document, I requested him to excuse me if I left the care of entertaining him at our mess dinner to Lieutenant-Colonel Moncrieff and the other officers present. Taking my leave, I stepped into my carriage, and went to London as fast as four horses could take me. I immediately presented myself at Lord Amherst's office, and claimed that the regiment should be the 90th, no other new levy having been reported as complete, though the 80th Regiment was already on the establishment before the date of my letter of service. A regiment which had long been expected to be reported as complete, and for the inspection of which, a day had been appointed, stood somewhat in my way, and it was not without a struggle that my undoubted claim to priority was admitted."

On the 11th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham was unanimously elected Member of Parliament for Perthshire. An honour which was as gratifying as it was unexpected.

"Glasgow, 15th May, 1794.

"Sir,

"The magistrates and council having resolved to present you with the freedom of this city, I hoped to have had the pleasure of delivering it to you, but, since I find there is a probability of your not being here soon, I have thought it right to transmit it to you, and shall be happy to have an opportunity of paying my respects to you when you come to this part of the country.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,
"GILBD: HAMILTON."

"COL. GRAHAM."

Presentation of the Freedom of the City of Perth.

- "At Perth, on the seventeenth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four years.
 - "The Magistrates and Town Council of the City of

"Perth, at a meeting held by them, did, in testimony "of the merited regard they have for Colonel Thomas "Graham, of the 90th Regiment of Foot. Present him "with the Freedom of the City, and the privileges of the "Society and Fraternity of the Guildry, he taking upon "his admission, the customary oath of fealty as a citizen. " Extracted by me,

"PAT. DUNCAN."

"This first success gave great satisfaction to all the " officers of the regiment, and, was to me, an ample reward "for the exertions and expense which the levy had cost " me beyond what was necessary for the purpose of getting "the regiment brought upon the establishment pari passu "with my competitors, whose letters of service were issued "at the same time as mine. There was, therefore, no " relaxation of our exertions, and at a very early period of "the month of June, a day for the second inspection was "appointed at Perth, and thus the 90th Regiment became "a battalion of 1000 rank and file, with two Lieutenant-"Colonels, and two Majors. By this means Major Hill "was promoted to be second Lieutenant-Colonel, and was "succeeded in his majority by Captain Lieutenant Mac-"kenzie, while the second Captain (Houston) was promoted "to be second Major; the senior Lieutenant (McNair), who "was also paymaster, having succeeded to the vacant "Captain-Lieutenancy. As soon as the report of the com-" pletion of this levy was received in London, orders were " sent down to have the regiment embarked in transports "lying in Leith roads to be conveyed to Southampton; "Lord Moira having at my request desired that the 90th "Regiment should be joined to his corps assembled there, "with the professed object of forming an expeditionary " army in support of the Royalists of La Vendée.

"We marched from Perth in the evening of one of the "last days of June, and halted for two hours in the garden "of the 'New Inn,' in Fifeshire. Porter and bread and "cheese were provided for the men, and by eight o'clock

" on the following day, we arrived at Pettycur, the place "for embarkation, near Kinghorn; having made this "night's march of above 30 miles within fourteen hours, " and with only two men missing from fatigue. This was "the first and only march I ever made on foot with the "ooth Regiment. I proceeded by land to London in order "to procure camp equipage and other equipments; I was "was not a little surprised, and I must own a good deal "annoyed at learning from Mr. Secretary Dundas, that "Lord Moira's corps, having been suddenly embarked and "landed at Ostend, the 90th Regiment was ordered to be "also landed at that place. The port Admiral at Deal "being directed to intercept the transports in the narrow "seas, and to change their course. Luckily, however, "thick weather prevented the execution of this order, and "the transports were not observed by any of the cruisers "between Dover and Calais. They proceeded according "to orders, and the regiment was landed at Southampton, "and as soon as camp equipage was obtained, the regi-"ment was encamped on Netley Heath. This was a most "fortunate escape from being called into active service "without clothing or arms. Soon after, the greater part " of Lord Moira's corps returned from this little expedition. "No time was lost in endeavouring to carry on the drill " of the regiment, with the utmost possible speed, in order " to render it fit for service, on which, at that time, it was "expected that Lord Moira's corps would have been em-"ployed. Various circumstances, however, occurred to "render unadvisable any attempt on the coast of France "during that autumn. The camp broke up early in the "month of November, and the different regiments of the "corps went into winter quarters, in the most convenient "places along the Hampshire coast; the 90th was quar-"tered at Winchester, Southampton being considered as " Lord Moira's Head Quarters. "I lived there in great intimacy with the two branches "of the Ogle family (the Dean of Winchester) in the town, and his younger brother Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, at "Worthy, within a couple of miles of it, on the London side. Having in the early part of the year been elected Member of Parliament for the county of Perth, I made frequent excursions from Winchester to attend my duty in the House of Commons, generally stopping, both in going and coming, at Farnborough Lodge with Mr. Wilmot, who had married the eldest Miss Ogle, and which place was situated about half-way between Farnham and Bagshot.

" As I mean to confine these memoranda chiefly to the "circumstances attending my military career, I shall very "briefly pass over everything that occurred during the "winter of 1794-5, and the early part of the ensuing "summer. Lord Moira's corps having been considerably "increased in numbers, a more extensive encampment "became necessary, and Nursling Heath, on the right of "the road leading from Southampton to Redbridge, was "fixed on. We marched from Winchester about the middle " of July, and took up our ground in the new encampment "on the evening of the same day. Among the other "regiments in camp, was the 33rd Foot, commanded by "Lieutenant-Colonel the Honorable Arthur Wellesley, but " from some circumstances chiefly connected with the drill " of the 90th, which, being considered as a light infantry "battalion, had to be marched off the regimental parades " to more distant and wilder ground, it so happened that I " did not become acquainted with that officer.

"The unfortunate result of a hasty and ill-combined emigrant expedition to Quiberon Bay delayed, and finally suspended, any great attempt of a British force in that quarter. It was, however, determined to send a corps composed of four regiments of infantry under the command of Major-General Doyle, and Lord Moira was pleased to approve of my request that the 90th Regiment should be one of them.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Spithead, August 26th, 1795.

" My dear Brother,

"I did not answer your letter about the German "musicians in hopes of being able to tell you of their "arrival and of their talents. But, alas, no tidings of "them, and we are to sail to-day. We have been em-"barked these eight days-four regiments, 12th, 78th, 80th, " and 90th-under Doyle and Needham. We were to have "been made up to 1,000 each, but the fresh drafts sent us "were so execrable that more than one-half were rejected, " and we do not consist of more than 2,800 men. What "so small a force can accomplish I am at a loss to guess. "It is said we are to try to possess ourselves of Noir-"moutier, and keep it as a dépôt to supply Charette. If "they are in force the odds are against our attempting to "land; and, by what I hear, if we had it, of the extensive " posts, it will not be easily kept except with the constant "assistance of a fleet. At low water it is fordable to the "continent; but it is to be supposed, if we are to be of " any use, that Charette must keep possession of the oppo-"site coast. We have been waiting, I believe, for ships "from the Downs with emigrants, which are now coming "in with the easterly wind; and, as the signal to unmoor "is made, you may suppose these last moments are "precious, as I have so many things to do and write "about, but I shall let you hear from me frequently. I "cannot regret your not being with us now; had we gone "in force with Lord Moira, as I thought some weeks ago "would have been the case, I should have regretted much "your absence. The 90th is in very good order, but weak "in officers. I gave five subalterns to the 2nd battalion "when they embarked as marines, and I have never got "them supplied.

"God bless you my dear Cathcart.

"Ever most affectionately yours,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

On the 26th day of August, 1795, we embarked at "Southampton in transports and joined Admiral Harvey's "fleet at Spithead. The Count d'Artois, with a numerous "emigrant staff, was on board the Artois with General "Doyle. The professed object of the expedition was to "throw upon the coast of La Vendée a considerable supply " of field artillery, arms, and ammunition to Charette who, "bred in the Royal Naval Service of France, had for some "time carried on a successful warfare against the repub-"lican forces. The first rendezvous was in Quiberon Bay, "and the intention was to land the troops and stores in "the Presqu'ile of Noirmoutier; but the reports of the "strength of that position were exaggerated, and did not "correspond with the small number of troops employed "on this service. It was found that, generally speaking, "the tide which covered the sands connecting Noirmoutier "with the mainland did not bring in a depth of more than "two or three feet of water, while at low tide the com-"munication was uninterrupted for about a breadth of "three-quarters of a mile. No adequate security could "therefore be afforded for the protection of the stores, if " once landed there, against the overwhelming force which "it was in the power of the republican generals to bring "to the attack of so important a point with so tempting a " prize as these stores would have offered. A council of "war was held on board the Pomona, when it was "unanimously determined to give up the idea of Noir-"moutier unless Charette could undertake to be on the "opposite side of the strait on a fixed day, and ready to " receive and carry into the interior of the country all the "stores that we had brought out. A communication to "this effect was sent to General Charette; his reply, stating "the impossibility of his exposing himself on an open "beach to the attack of the superior force of the republi-" cans decided the question."

To Major-General Doyle.

" Pomona, Sep. 27th, 1795.

"Sir,

"Being called on by you to give our opinions " concerning the alternative of the propriety of an imme-"diate attack on Noirmoutier, or of taking possession of "L'Isle Dieu with a detachment, and having attentively "considered all the information you have laid before us, "we are unanimously of opinion that an immediate attack "is inexpedient, because it appears to us to be extremely "doubtful whether, with the troops under your command, "it would be possible to retain possession of the island "unless Charette occupied the opposite coast; and by his "letter to Monsieur it is evident that he thinks the attempt "to force the posts opposite to Noirmoutier would be "attended with much risk and uncertainty. He points "out in strong terms the impossibility, should he fail, " of afterwards establishing the communication, without " which the object of Government would be frustrated, and "possession of the island would become of little or no " value.

"Taking L'Isle Dieu without delay seems to be of much consequence for the reasons you have stated, and we think that it may not only serve as a place of temporary refreshment for the troops, but may ultimately prove of more value than Noirmoutier from the greater facility of defending it by a small force.

"We have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

(Signed) "NEEDHAM, M. G.

"T. GRAHAM, Col. 90th Regt.

" H. ASTON, Lt.-Col. 12th Regt.

"CHAMPAGNI, Lt.-Col. 8oth Regt.

"MALCOLM, Lt.-Col. 78th Regt.

"WILSON, Capt. R.A."

"To Major-General Doyle."

"It was then determined to move down the coast to "L'Isle Dieu, and to watch the opportunities of throwing "on shore partial supplies during the night time, agree-"able to signals that were fixed on for keeping up a "correspondence with General Charette. Besides these "means, the Count de la Rivière, a most daring and "interesting young man devoted to the Royalist cause, " having volunteered his services, was frequently employed "to have personal communications with Charette. In this "manner two months were spent at L'Isle Dieu without "anything material being effected towards the completion " of the object of the expedition. Colonel Harvey Aston, "commanding the 12th Regiment, and myself were put "in orders to act as Brigadiers. In December we were "at last happily relieved from this tiresome and inactive "state by an order to re-embark and return to England.

"Poole was the place appointed for the winter quarters " of the 90th Regiment, which then received orders to be "ready to go out to St. Domingo to join Sir Ralph Aber-"cromby, Lord Moira's expeditionary army being totally "broken up. As soon as I had made some arrangements "at Poole, I went to Bath to spend a few days with "my friends Sir Charles and Lady Asgill. Early in the "year 1796, the Government having determined to aban-"don the fatal expedition against St. Domingo, where so "many fell victims to the climate, the destination of the " goth was changed. It was ordered to embark for Gib-"raltar, where garrison duty, and consequent inactivity, "were the sad alternatives that presented themselves to "our most efficient corps, composed of an admirable set " of officers, with quite an élite of men. I omitted to "mention that I had been induced by my first success in "recruiting, and the wishes of the Government, and " particularly of my friend Mr. Dundas, to undertake "raising a second battalion of a thousand men. "circumstance giving promotion in the first battalion, had " enabled me to make the first battalion more select in all

"respects than it could otherways have been; but from "the number of new letters of service which were issued "by the Government for raising regiments to supply the "heavy loss sustained by disease in the West Indies, "commissions were becoming a drug, and the price of "enlistment enormously enhanced by the competition. "Owing to these circumstances, this second levy became "a very ruinous concern. Captain-Lieutenant Mark "Napier was, however, promoted to the rank of Major "in the second battalion, while Cholmondeley, my old "Leicestershire fox-hunting friend, having contrived to "pass rapidly through the inferior ranks, became second "Lieutenant-Colonel. The mentioning of Lieutenant-"Colonel Cholmondeley's rapid rise to permanent rank in "the British Army, in one of the battalions of my own "regiment, induces me to take this opportunity of re-"ferring to a subject connected with my new profession, "and which, though it was for a long period a source of "deep and poignant regret to me, I must freely confess I "had only myself to blame for it. I had been, on my "return from Toulon, strongly advised by my friend Lord "Mulgrave to follow the common example of others, and "to avail myself of the facility of passing through the "inferior ranks at hardly any expense-such was the "anxiety of the Government, and particularly of the "Commander-in-Chief, Lord Amherst, to grant to in-"dividuals every possible indulgence that could rapidly "procure men, either for new regiments, or to fill up the "ranks of the old. I can scarcely account to myself how "I came so long to neglect this friendly and wholesome "advice. I was justly punished, perhaps for my dilatori-"ness, for having at last made arrangements with Lord "Mulgrave to be gazetted to a Cornetcy in the Blues, and "then to a company of Infantry, I was employed in "looking out for a majority in a new levy (which would "thus have established my right to Lieutenant Colonel), "when the Duke of York's appointment to be Commander"in-Chief, and his Royal Highness' determination to put a stop to what he considered a great abuse in the administration of the army (I mean the facility with which the Government bartered rank for recruits), forced me to abandon the measures that I had prepared, and thus to give up, at that time, what was become the most favourite object of my ambition."

To the Duke of York.

"your Royal Highness' time by requesting your attention to any thing personal to myself, yet, I trust that the

"Though I feel very unwilling to trespass on

" 12, Stratton Street, Piccadilly.

" June 9th, 1795.

"Sir,

"circumstances I shall have the honour to state for your "consideration, will justify me for giving your Royal " Highness this trouble. "When I made an offer of raising a regiment for His "Majesty's service, I made it in consideration of the "emergency which called for the active exertions of every "loyal subject, and without any wish at my time of life " of becoming a soldier for the remainder of it. In my "letter to Mr. Dundas, I stated, that, in a business so "raw to me, I trusted the terms would be such as would "indemnify me for the expense of the levy, as my "private fortune could not allow of my gratifying my "desire of commanding a regiment on any other terms. "The terms were said to be liberal, and as I had no view "to emolument and was extremely anxious to have the "assistance of officers of merit, I made great sacrifices "(improvidently perhaps) in order to facilitate officers of "that description coming into the regiment on easy terms,

"The levy of the 1st battalion of the 90th, owing to my

"their circumstances not enabling them to pay the full

"value of their commissions.

"unremitted exertions, was so rapid, that I engaged to "raise a 2nd battalion before there was time to ascertain "the expense incurred by the first. My attendance on "my duty with the first necessarily prevented my giving "the same attention as formerly to the levy of the second. "This circumstance, and the excessive bounties which "rose ever day, occasioned very great loss to me by desertion, and while the expense was by these means "enormously increased, the fund was greatly diminished by the fall of the price of commissions.

"I was advised, as the best means of obtaining some "indemnification, to apply to His Majesty to have my " rank established, and accordingly wrote to Lord Amherst, "requesting he would lay before the King my wish to "obtain permanent rank in his service, and to have the "temporary rank of Colonel of the 90th Regiment, that "rank having been bestowed on others not in the army " before, and it being an object of importance to me during "the war, to hold a rank more suited to my time of life, "especially as so many young men had got rapidly for-"ward. I have reason to think Lord Amherst never "mentioned my request to His Majesty. I understood, "indeed, that the purchase of the different steps was still "open to me, but it could not be an object to me to "involve myself in greater embarrassments by purchasing, "after having incurred by the levy a much heavier loss "than would have covered all the expense necessary for "these purchases, at the most extravagant rates.

"Though the 90th Regiment has not been sent abroad, and, therefore, I cannot urge the claim of having had the honour of serving under your Royal Highness' command, yet I trust I may be allowed, without impropriety, to refer to the public testimony Lord Mulgrave gave of my conduct while I served at Toulon as a volunteer; it was entirely owing to his encouragement that I thought myself not unfit to command a regiment, which induced me to propose to raise one;

"I flatter myself, therefore, that your Royal Highness, whose goodness I have often experienced, will be inclined to mention me to the King for the same favour which has been shewn to Lord Paget, and to state to His Majesty that as I have raised two battalions for his service at a very great loss to my private fortune, occanisioned by my anxiety to fulfil, in the best manner, my engagements, and by the other circumstances above mentioned, I am now very desirous to indemnify myself by being allowed to dedicate the remainder of my life to a profession which I love, and for which, if not deceived by some of my friends, whose military talents might enable them to judge properly, I am not ill qualified.

"I shall only add that formerly I mentioned to Mr. "Dundas and Mr. Windham the application I had made to Lord Amherst. They expressed their surprise at my not having had from the beginning the temporary rank of Colonel, and they assured me that they thought that Lord Paget and myself, by our exertions, were entitled to distinction, and that they hoped His Majesty would agree to our request. I now trust entirely to your Royal Highness' interposition in my favour, and have the honour to be, Sir,

"With the greatest respect, etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, Lt.-Col.,
"Commr. 90th Regt."

"HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK."

From the Duke of York.

"Windsor, 15th June, 1795.

"Sir,

"I have been favoured with your letter of the 9th "instant, and although thoroughly sensible of your merits, "and satisfied as to the zeal you have shewn for His "Majesty's service, yet it is impossible for me to comply "with your request, it being His Majesty's intention not

"to make permanent the temporary rank an officer holds if he has not served regularly, and for a stipulated time, in the several ranks; nor will His Majesty permit an officer to purchase hastily through the different graduations.

"What may have passed in purchase before I was appointed to my present situation I do not feel myself accountable for, and must observe that had not a previous promise been made to Lord Paget, his obtaining permanent rank would not have been allowed.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours,
"(Signed) FREDERICK, F.M."

To H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"Winchester, July 8th, 1795.

"Sir,

"Not having had an opportunity of speaking to "your Royal Highness on Sunday morning, concerning "my former request, allow me again to solicit your attention to the subject of it. When it is considered that "many gentlemen, not before in the army, have got permanent rank by going quickly through the steps, and that some of these had no claim whatever for favour, and that others who were raising corps have scarcely performed their contracts with Government, "that I might have so easily established my rank in this way.

"That three gentlemen—Lord Paget and the Colonels "of the 78th and 79th Regiments (none of them before in "the regular service, nor having better claims than I "have)—have got permanent rank without purchase. "That scarcely any of the officers who got letters of service at the same time with me have completed their corps to the augmented establishment, while I have long ago completed both battalions to it, at a very severe loss

"to my private fortune. That extending to me the same "indulgence that has been granted to the three gentlemen " above mentioned cannot be attended with inconvenience "on account of precedent, as it is apprehended there is "hardly anybody else under similar circumstances. When "all these things are considered, I should hope that your "Royal Highness would not refuse to lay my request "before the King; and knowing how much His Majesty, "on all occasions, attends to the claims of those who "exert themselves in his service, I should flatter myself "that he would not think it inconsistent with the rules he "means to adopt, to admit me into his army as one of "those who might formerly have obtained that situation "without difficulty, and who may be thought rather "deserving of a distinction conferred on others, than of "being classed with those who have performed ill their " engagements with Government.

"I beg leave, likewise, to call to your Royal Highness' mind the other part of my request, as I trust there cannot be any objection to giving me the temporary rank of Colonel, which the Colonels of the 97th, 101st, and others of the regulars, and of all the fencibles, have got.

"I have, etc., etc.,

"(Signed) THOS. GRAHAM, Lt.-Col., "Commr. 90th Regt."

"H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK."

From H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"York House, 11th July, 1795.

"Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two "letters of the 8th instant, and in answer am to acquaint "you that, although it would give me great pleasure to "comply with any request you might make, yet I cannot "alter the opinion I communicated to you in my letter of the 15th ultimo. It was ever thoroughly contrary to His

"Majesty's intentions that any person raising a regiment, "not having been before in the army, should obtain "permanent rank. It is true that Lieutenant-Colonel "Mackenzie got permanent rank, but it was through an "omission in Lord Amherst's office which was not dis-"covered till near a year after he had received his "commission. But with respect to Lieutenant-Colonel "Cameron you are misinformed, as he has only temporary "rank. When Lord Amherst was at the head of the "army, officers were certainly allowed to go through the "different gradations in order to render their rank per-"manent; and Lord Paget, on raising his regiment, was "promised that indulgence, which promise I was obliged "to fulfil. But His Majesty having been pleased to "declare that it should never be allowed again, I cannot " propose that you should be considered an exception.

"As I see no objection to your having the temporary "rank of Colonel, I shall lay your name before the King "for that purpose, and you may be assured that I shall "be glad of an opportunity of attending to your re-"commendation of Lieutenant-Colonel Moncrieff and "Lieutenant Maxtone.

"I am, etc., etc.,
"(Signed) FREDERICK, F.M."
"Lieutenant-Colonel GRAHAM, 90th Regiment."

From Lord Mulgrave.

"Mulgrave Castle, Jan. 14th, 1796.

" My dear Graham,

"I have received your letter relative to the business of your temporary rank, and it would be superfluous
to tell you how seriously I regret any circumstance which
tends to give you any uneasiness and regret. With
respect to the testimony which I can give of your conduct and talents at Toulon, I can only say that I have
not waited for any call to do you every justice in my

"power; and that it will always be a pleasure to me to repeat the high opinion which it is every way so satisfactory to me to entertain of you.

"To your conduct on the heights of Mount Faron I "have in my public despatches borne testimony, and in "the same sentence expressed the many obligations which "I felt, and the many advantages which the public service "owed to your intelligence, activity, and zeal. I have " hardly one acquaintance to whom I have not stated your "conduct in various parts of the military transactions on "the 1st of October as being exemplary in point of spirit, "and with a degree of military judgment which I could " not have expected from a man not regularly bred to the "profession. The circumstances relative to the cannon at "the Hauteur de Thonars is not at present in my recollec-"tion, and I rather suppose it must have occurred at the "time your zeal and activity carried you across the vine-"yards to Pignatelli's Corps, or Villeneuf's Horse, which "occasioned so much ridiculous outcry about 'Mon "cheval;' but I well remember a much stronger proof of "your military judgment, which you have not touched "upon in your letter to me, but which you will recollect "from my anxiety to avoid discussing the point; it was "your observation upon a part of Mount Faron which had "been considered by the people of the country, and by "the French engineers, as inaccessible, but which you "contended might be passed, not by active individuals "only, but by a body of troops. I had some doubt "whether any considerable body could make their way "up in the course of one night of the length the nights "then were, but desired that you would say no more "about it, as I had no troops to place there, and must "rely upon the enemy entertaining the same opinion of "its inaccessibility as the country people and Toulon "engineers; your military judgment on this point was "justified by the enemy having gained the top of the "mountain on the night of the 30th of September by the

"very spot which you had pointed out as accessible, and in sufficient numbers to open the Pas de la Masque to the remainder of their force; in short, my dear Graham, if my testimony can be of any service to you, I should feel myself bound in justice to give it, if I had not the additional incitement to render you any service in my power which the real friendship and high esteem that has grown upon the knowledge I gained of you and your character on that service gives me.

"I should not have been so earnest in my endeavours "to confirm you in the idea of raising a regiment if I had "not been persuaded that your adoption of a professional "pursuit would conduce greatly to the public service and add much to your own reputation. Upon the regulations of army promotions it is unnecessary for me to give any opinion, but you will do me the justice to recollect how frequently I urged you to go through the ranks as others were doing, and to give up the idea of obtaining the rank by some action on service; and you will remember that I then told you it would be better to justify your promotion by your actions than to look for it from them.

"I shall now conclude with again assuring you that you will always give me pleasure when you afford me an opportunity of bearing testimony to every part of your conduct during my command at Toulon.

"Yours most sincerely,
"MULGRAVE."

From Mr. Henry Dundas.

"London, 20th Jan., 1796.

" Dear Sir,

"I have had more than one conversation with the Duke of York, since his return to town, which was delayed a week later than he originally intended, and I am sorry to say with little success. He says he thinks it hard, that having omitted to take the usual

"mode of attaining your wishes when it was in your " power, you and I should now press him to bring himself "into innumerable embarrassments by departing from a "rule which he has laid down with the King's perfect "approbation, and the departure from which, could not "fail to give much offence in different quarters. He said "he never supposed that in your situation, you would "think it necessary to attend your regiment. I sent "yesterday to the War Office for a copy of your com-"mission. If other commissions of temporary rank are "expressed 'during the war,' and yours while you con-"tinue in the command of the regiment, I think there is "still something to be said, and I have sent * * * * "this forenoon, to the War Office, to learn how that cir-"cumstance is, and shall be very glad if it furnishes "anything to enable me to make another trial with His " Royal Highness.

"Yours sincerely,
"HENRY DUNDAS."

From Sir Ralph Abercromby.

"Portsmouth, Feb. 10th, 96.

" Dear Sir,

"You are in the right, your case was the subject of conversation at York House, in presence of Mr. Dundas; I really would not advise you to push it further at present, because I can observe that it is a decided matter on general principles, and applicable to others as well as yourself.

"I have the honour to be,

"Dear Sir,
"Your faithful, etc.,
"RA. ABERCROMBY."

"In this dilemma, Mr. Secretary Dundas gave me a "very sincere and striking proof of his friendly considera-

"tion of the exertions I had made, in raising at so heavy "an expense, and in so short a period, two battalions of " 1000 men each, for the service of the country. He gave "me an unsolicited promise, that, if hereafter any one "under similar circumstances to myself obtained perma-"nent rank in the army, that I should also obtain it. "was not very long before I had to to call upon Mr. Dundas "for the performance of his promise. Lord Paget had, "like myself, raised a regiment of infantry, which his uncle, "Colonel Champagné, got the command of, he himself "holding the temporary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the "same. He afterwards determined to adopt the army as "his profession, and to make use of the powerful interest " of his family, to obtain the command of a regiment of "cavalry, which was wholly incompatible with temporary "rank in the army. When this transaction was completed, "Mr. Dundas endeavoured in vain to obtain from His "Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief, a similar "indulgence for me. I sincerely believe, that short of a "downright quarrel with the Duke of York, or a resignation " of his own situation as Secretary of State, he exerted "his utmost influence, joining that of Mr. Pitt, to get the "better of the Duke's obstinate adherence to what he "called the principle he had laid down on accepting the "appointment of Commander-in-Chief; and when pressed " on the subject of Lord Paget, he said that the King had "given his promise to Lord Uxbridge at an earlier period, " and that he had no concern in the matter.

"Under all the discouragement which this disappoint"ment was calculated to produce, I still felt that I had an
"imperious duty to perform, and to justify to the world
"my pretensions to the distinction which I solicited. I
"therefore determined to persevere in the conscientious
discharge of the duties I had undertaken, and to lose no
opportunity of acquiring such military knowledge and
character as it was possible to put myself in the way of
obtaining.

"Before resuming the thread of my narrative, it may "not be considered as going out of my way to leave this "memorial of my opinion on the general question of using "extraordinary means to increase on a sudden emergency "the military strength of the country. Economy during " peace necessarily calls for a great reduction of the mili-"tary establishments of the country. This principle had "induced Mr. Pitt to bring down the army to the lowest " possible scale. No attempt had been made to prepare for "war till it was actually declared. I had felt, in common "with many of countrymen equally ardent in the cause of "liberty, that the country was forced into the war by the "aggression of the democrats of France against our mo-" narchical constitution. Nothing but this conviction could "have made the war so popular as it soon became. It " required the utmost exertions of the Government, aided "by the spirit of the country, to increase as rapidly as " possible those military establishments on which success "alone could depend. Could any other possible means "have been adopted, short of that most powerful engine " of the French revolution-conscription, that could have " effected this object with equal rapidity and success as "that which has since been so loudly condemned, as "breaking down the right of the regular army of the "country? That there may have been abuses, I do not "deny. What new and great measure to produce at all "hazards a great and necessary object, is not liable to "abuse; but is there anything in the principle of rousing "the spirit of the country by the admission to high rank "in the army of a few individuals hostile to the constitu-"tion, or even hostile to the interests of the army itself? "I should say directly the contrary. The greatest mischief, "if mischief it is, is limited to the wounded pride of a few " of those officers who, without any other military experi-"ence except what had been acquired in barracks or on " parade, may have found themselves under the command " of the very few individuals who made great pecuniary

" sacrifices, and who underwent much personal fatigue and "exertion to raise men for the service of the country, and "thus raised themselves at once to considerable rank. "Has not the country a right to expect a greater degree " of enthusiasm in its service from individuals so placed " (objects I allow in some degree of envy in the profession), "than from others? And do not such examples serve "to foster that high military spirit which is a proud "characteristic of a British gentleman? Can the army "suffer in its interests from such rare examples? Do not "men so circumstanced pledge themselves to support with "all means in their power the claims and pretensions of " meritorious officers serving under their command? But "I have dwelt too long on this subject. To go back. " ooth Regiment was at Gibraltar; my parliamentary duty "excused me from accompanying it. The Continental "powers were making greater exertions than ever for the "ensuing campaign. A great Austrian force was stated "as preparing to defend Italy; and through the interest " of my friend George Damer [afterwards Earl of Dor-"chester], I was recommended to Lord Granville (the "Secretary of State for the Foreign Department), for the "appointment of the military mission to the Head Quarters " of the Austrian army in Italy, and I impatiently waited " for my final instructions."

From Lord Grenville.

"Downing Street, May 3rd, 1796.

"Sir,

"His Majesty having been pleased to appoint you to proceed on a special mission to the Austrian army in Italy, I have now to furnish you with such instructions for the regulation of your conduct as the nature of the mission requires, with the general object of which you are already acquainted.

"On delivering to General Beaulieu the letter with

"which you are furnished for him, you will probably find "that General ready to consider you upon the foot-"ing whereupon it is His Majesty's wish you should "be received; and although there is now no convention "existing in virtue of which a right is reserved to a "a person appointed by this country of anything like "inspection or control over the councils and conduct of "the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, he will, I doubt not, "be fully sensible of the great advantage to be derived "from the residence at his head-quarters of a person "accredited by the British Government properly qualified "to communicate with him upon the several points that "may arise in the course of the campaign in which the "assistance or co-operation of this country may be useful, "and expressly instructed to keep up a constant corre-"spondence between the Austrian army and the British "fleet in the Mediterranean, and to procure the co-ope-"rations of the latter, so far as the other services to which "it is destined may allow.

"Upon this point Sir John Jervis will receive instructions to correspond with you, and to consider with due attention any suggestions that you may communicate to him.

"You will correspond constantly with Mr. Drake, from whom you will learn on your arrival the general situation of affairs in the quarter in which he has resided, and the line of conduct which he has found it expedient to pursue during the time that he has been in the execution of a duty of the same nature with that which you are sent to undertake, and from his suggestions and occasional assistance, you will, I am persuaded, derive every possible advantage.

"You will correspond also occasionally with Mr. Trevor, with Sir Morton Eden, with Colonel Crawford, and generally with any of his Majesty's ministers or officers
abroad, whose mission is in any degree connected with
the business in which you are employed, and from whom

"you can obtain, or to whom you may have it in your power to communicate, any useful information.

"You will be careful to transmit to me, for His Majesty's "information, regular accounts of every thing that con"cerns the views and operations of the campaigns in Italy,
"and to furnish me with all intelligence that you may
"receive or can procure which regards, or may be made
"in any degree useful, to the interest of His Majesty and
"his allies, and you will lose no opportunity of promoting
"and maintaining, as far as you are able, the good under"standing between the allies, and more especially that
"between the courts of Vienna and Turin, which had been
"for a time interrupted, but is now happily re-established.

"I am, etc., etc.,
"(Signed) GRENVILLE."

"At last I set off on the 4th of May, 1796, and reached "Yarmouth that night, landed at Hamburgh, and pro-" ceeded by Brunswick and Hanover to pay my respect to "the Duchess of Brunswick and Duke of Cambridge, and " from thence to Mannheim, then the head-quarters of the "Archduke Charles, in order to communicate with Colonel "Crawford, who had a similar appointment to mine, at the "head-quarters of the army of the Rhine. He intro-"duced me to the Archduke, and I spent the remainder of "the day with him, getting all the information I could "concerning the best mode of performing the duties of "the mission. He particularly recommended my having "such an establishment as would enable me to give "dinners occasionally to the Staff officers at head-quarters. "I then proceeded by Ulm, Memming, and Innspruck, "through the Tyrol to Verona, without a halt. I arrived "there on the 21st day of May, having learned that the "Austrian army, under General Beaulieu, had been suc-"cessively driven from the positions occupied by them on "the mountains of the Rivière de Gênes, and across the "Po and the Adda at the Pont de Lodi. I determined to

"wait upon the General at his head-quarters at Valeggio, on the Mincio, having taken up a defensive position on that river, with his right at Peschiera on the Lago di Garda, and his left on Mantua.

"I delivered Lord Grenville's letter of recommendation "to him, stating at the same time that Sir Morton Eden, "British Ambassador at Vienna, had Lord Grenville's "directions to obtain the Emperor's leave for my residence "at the head-quarters of the Austrian army in Italy, and "that it was my intention, meanwhile, to return to Verona "to purchase horses and other equipments to enable me "to take the field in his suite. I remained to dine with "him, and was introduced to Colonel Zach, Quarter "Master General, Captain Count Radetsky, Deputy "Adjutant General, and some other of the staff officers. "I then returned in the evening to Verona, where "I remained till the 27th. I lost no time in writing to "Sir Morton Eden to urge him to expedite with the "Prime Minister all that was necessary for my being "received at the head-quarters of the army, as holding a "mission from the British Government for keeping it "informed of all that concerned the military operations of "the campaign.

"Having finished my equipment, I joined General Beaulieu at Valeggio, and had a quarter appointed for me a little way out of that small place, and immediately opposite to the bridge which crossed the river at the bottom of a steep bank. The General was confined to bed by a feverish cold, but I learnt that the outposts at some distance on the right bank of the river had been driven in that morning, and that it was expected that the enemy was advancing in force to attack the position. This information proved correct, for a reconnaissance of cavalry that was sent out early the next morning was driven back by a very superior force of French cavalry, supported by some light infantry and by a battery of horse artillery.

"As it was not General Beaulieu's intention to risk a general action with his diminished and dispirited troops in the defence of this position on the Mincio, orders had been sent to prepare for a retreat across the Adige by bridges established at Bossolengo, nearly opposite to Volargno, as soon as the enemy's approach in force was fully ascertained. It was, however, important to defend this bridge of Valeggio, a central point in the line, for some time, in order that the troops on the left at Goito might not be cut off. Accordingly one arch of the bridge had been broken down, and two battalions of the regiment of Trasoldo were posted for the purpose of defending it.

"About 9 o'clock in the morning of the 30th, the "advance guard of the enemy commenced an attack, "supported by a considerable fire of artillery, on the "bridge; but some of the light troops of the enemy having "found it practicable to ford the river lower down, the "alarm of being turned occasioned the two regiments of "Trasoldo to abandon their post in a way not very credit-"able to that corps. I rode up to head-quarters leaving " orders for my servants and baggage not to move till my "return, but after making enquiry about the General, who "was thus hastily forced to get from his bed into his car-"riage, I met my equipage making a hasty retreat, several " cannon shot having come into the courtyard before they "left it. I directed them to join General Beaulieu's "equipage, and I then endeavoured to find out Count "Radetsky, in order to keep company with him during the "remainder of the day. He had, however, been des-"patched to Goito to withdraw the troops from that post "by the way of Roverbella and Villafranca, directly on "Verona. The enemy's force employed in this attack, being "a small advance guard, were quite satisfied with their " success, and did not attempt to molest the retreat of the "Austrians. The troops at Peschiera and other points on "the Mincio all fell back and crossed the Adige by the

"bridges, without coming into contact with the enemy.

" Head-quarters were established at Volargno, and in the

" course of the next morning the whole of the troops compos-

"ing General Beaulieu's army had either fallen back upon

" Mantua to reinforce the garrison there, or had crossed the

"Adige at Verona and the above mentioned bridges; and

"the pontoons which formed these two bridges having

" been removed, the troops continued quietly at Volargno

"till the afternoon, when the retreat was continued up

"the valley by the great road to Trent.

"I communicated the event of this evacuation of the "Italian territory, and the retreat of the army into the

"Tyrol in a short despatch to Lord Grenville, which I sent

"open to Sir Morton Eden by my courier."

Colonel Graham to Lord Grenville.

" Peri, May 31st, 1796.

" My Lord,

"Yesterday morning the French army, under the "command of General Buonaparte, consisting of about " 22,000 men, forced the passage of the Mincio at Valeggio, " and got possession of the heights described in the last "despatch, which I had the honour of sending your "Lordship on the 29th instant. General Beaulieu ordered "the different corps of the army to retire on Castel "Nuovo, except the infantry at Goito, which, being part " of the garrison of Mantua, was sent back there, and "this was executed almost without any loss. "attempt to molest them in the retreat was not only im-"mediately checked by the distinguished gallantry of the "cavalry (Austrian and Neapolitan), but the right of the "French army was attacked with great success by eight " squadrons (Hulans and Neapolitan Régiment du Roi) "coming from Goito, who cut down a great many men "and took some prisoners (among them one of General "Buonaparte's aides-de-camp and three other officers), and "brought off about 150 horses.

"This morning the army with all the artillery, except two pieces of cannon lost at Valeggio, and with all the ammunition, stores, and baggage, passed the Adige in perfect order at Chiusa. In this affair the loss of the French must have been very considerable; that of the Austrians very trifling, and fell chiefly on one of the battalions of Trasoldo posted at the bridge at Valeggio, but in all does not exceed 300 men, many of whom, being wounded, could not be brought off for want of waggons.

"The French, therefore, have not much cause of triumph in having forced Monsieur de Beaulieu to make this retreat towards the Tyrol a day or two sooner than he intended, considering it was executed with such order in the face of their army, the infantry of which was twice as numerous as his, and not till his object in supplying Mantua with stores and provisions was fulfilled. This afternoon, while the bridge was removing, the French appeared on the right bank of the Adige, and began a cannonade which was returned; it has continued during the evening with scarcely any loss to the Austrians.

"I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, Col."

"As there was a good deal of firing towards evening on the Adige, I rode out from Ala (the head-quarters) to ascertain what was going on. Some French sharp-shooters, concealed by the bushes at the edge of the river on the right bank, kept up a very constant and annoying fire on the fine regiment of Keil, consisting of three battalions, which were very absurdly drawn up on the top of a dyke forming the great road on the left bank of the river, occasionally making discharges to drive away their invisible enemies. By stepping back six or eight yards, and lying down on the reverse bank of the dyke, not a shot from the enemy could have told; whereas a loss of nearly 150 men killed and wounded

"was the consequence of this stupid bravado; as if the "honour of such a regiment under such circumstances "could be affected by the men being placed in a position "of security. Colonel St. Julien, a good and gallant "officer, the senior Colonel of the regiment and acting "as Brigadier-General, was unluckily absent, other-"ways this loss would have been avoided. It is to be "observed that the Adige at this time was perfectly "unfordable, the river full, and the stream very rapid, so "much so that several French soldiers, either drunk or "from foolish bravado, who came from the bushes and "entered the river, were carried down the stream. Next "day the retreat was continued to Roveredo, where the "head-quarters remained for some time; it was subse-"quently removed to Trent. The Austrian outposts "remaining at or near Ala, and then crossing over Monte "Baldo and the Lago di Garda, on which both parties "soon established a flotilla, were continued across the "ridge of high ground to the westward of that lake into "the territory of Brescia. Having had an opportunity " of becoming acquainted with Colonel St. Julien, and "being asked by him to make him a visit, I took this "opportunity of inaction to cross, in a bad ferry boat, the "Lago di Garda at some distance from the upper end, "and thus by a mountain path to shorten the road by "several leagues to . . . , where I found Colonel St. "Julien established. I remained two days with him, "visiting his outposts, and I returned by Riva, a beautiful "village at the head of the lake, not choosing to risk a "second embarcation in the awkward and frail boats " employed.

"We soon afterwards learnt that Field-Marshal "Wurmser (a veteran of high reputation as a commander "of a small corps, such as an advance guard), a General "of cavalry, and employed in the army of the Rhine "under the Archduke Charles, was appointed to supersede "General Beaulieu in the command of the army of Italy,

"and that he was to bring with him a powerful detach-" ment of about 30,000 men-the Austrians having a great " superiority of force on that frontier over the enemy, but "not intending, as it would seem, to carry offensive "operations across that frontier. Every exertion, too, "was made to replenish the ranks of the army that had "been forced to evacuate Italy by sending up recruits "from the several dépôts, and bringing back many hun-"dreds of the Croats, who, on all occasions of disaster, "went off in crowds towards their own country. But "nothing showed more the dreadful state of disorganisa-"tion and want of discipline in this originally ill-composed "army than the almost incredible fact that about 400 "different officers belonging to the different corps were " found in Trent, having, like the Croats, abandoned their "corps during the preceding part of the campaign. I " believe some severe examples were made with a view to "check this disgraceful conduct. The mischief, however, "lay deep in the bad system of admitting to the subaltern "ranks private soldiers, or men of inferior birth and edu-" cation, who were contented to enter the service with the "foreknowledge of passing their lives in those subaltern "ranks with scarce a chance of promotion even on account " of the most distinguished service.

"Colonel Zach, the most able theoretical tactician, but "little accustomed to active operations in the field, busily "employed himself during this interval with forming a plan of operations on the re-opening of the campaign, when the new Commander-in-chief was expected to re-enter Italy, at the head of a well-composed army of above 50,000 men, with a well-grounded hope of brilliant success, as it was pretty accurately ascertained that the total of the French force in Italy did not exceed 35,000 men. It is true that General Buonaparte by his admirable combinations, wonderful activity, and extraordinary talents, had already, in the course of a very few months, raised the spirits of the French troops to the highest pitch of confi-

"dence in them and their leaders. Colonel Zach, justly "impressed with the advantage of keeping together, under "the immediate command of the General-in-chief, such an "imposing force as could scarcely fail in the great object " of relieving Mantua, formed his plan on this principle. "He proposed that an army of 40,000 men should march "by the Adige directly on Mantua; that only small "detachments, showing heads of columns on the moun-"tains on the side of Brescia, and by the Val Lugano " on that of Brenta and Bassano, should be employed to "attract the enemy's notice to both flanks, and thus to " create a jealousy and uncertainty of the real point upon "which the main attack was to be made. I think from "what I know of the country and saw afterwards of the "misfortunes of the disjointed operations of Marshal "Wurmser's army, that this plan could not have failed to "be attended with signal success. Unfortunately, Colonel "Duka, attached to the Marshal's corps in the army of " of the Rhine, and possessing great influence with him, "had formed another plan to which the Marshal gave the " preference.

"Meanwhile we had waited, with great impatience, "nearly two months in the valleys of Tyrol, when at last "Marshal Wurmser arrived, and was soon afterwards "followed by a part of the troops from the Rhine army. "These were successively directed to take up their ground "so as to be able, with the least possible delay, to carry "into execution the dispositions adopted by the Marshal. "Accordingly a division of not less than 6,000 or 7,000 "men, was advanced on the left by the line of the Brenta, "on the road to Bassano. General Melas, second in com-" mand, was appointed to march by Monte Baldo, which "occupies the whole narrow space between the valley of the "Adige and the Lago di Garda, and thus force the enemy's "fortified post on the ravine by Ferrara, which beginning " near the summit of the mountain runs down into the valley " of the Adige, nearly at right angles with that river, thus

"cutting the mountain, as it were, into two. The Marshal "himself was to march by the high road, with all the "cavalry, artillery, and such of the infantry of the centre " of the army as was not placed at General Melas' "disposal. On the right a great corps, of not less than "from 16,000 to 18,000 men, under the command of "General Quasdanowich, and attended by Colonel Duka "(the author of this ill-fated movement), was to march "directly on Brescia and the enemy's posts on the right of "the Lago di Garda, at Salo, etc. I asked the Marshal's "leave to accompany General Melas, and got a letter of "introduction from the Marshal to that officer; and "leaving Trent the evening before, I joined his corps " on the 28th of July. The enemy's outposts having been "driven in, the General was enabled to make a recon-"naissance of the formidable position which he had to "attack. It was determined to turn it by both flanks, "and accordingly while a kind of attack was made by a "small battery of mountain guns, that had been carried "on mules across the ravine in the centre of the position, "one or two battalions of Croats were employed to gain "the rocky and narrow ridge forming the summit of the "mountain. The enemy seemed little prepared for this "attack, having only a small picquet there, which was "easily driven in, and thus the left of the enemy's position "was fairly turned. The troops detached from our left "descended by a rugged path into the bottom of the "ravine, which they crossed without opposition, and they "nearly gained the top of the steep and broken rocks, " forming the right bank of the ravine, before they met with "any opposition. At this important moment the columns " of attack from the centre were ordered to advance as "rapidly as possible by the road or path that led across "the ravine; and this movement was well seconded by the "Croats on the top of the mountain, who immediately "began to descend, always gaining ground to their right, "and thus threatening to intercept the retreat of the

"enemy. By these well-combined movements this for-"midable position, held by the advance guard of the "division defending Rivoli, was thus gained with very "little loss. Proceeding on in pursuit of the enemy, down "the southern slope of the mountain, our attention was "drawn to a report from the high point of the Madonna "della Corona (a small chapel on the highest pinnacle " of the rocks which bound the right bank of the Adige), " of some of the enemy's troops appearing there. It was "evident to those acquainted with the locale of this "intricate country, that these could only be some de-"tachments that had no other means of escape from the "Marshal's attack on the enemy's posts on the great road "in the valley of the Adige. Four companies of French "infantry thus fell into our hands, an event equally un-"expected by both parties, for though the distance from "the valley of the river to the summit of the mountain "was very inconsiderable, such was the state of the air " on that day, that we did not hear the report of a single "shot being fired in the valley; though, as we afterwards "heard, a sharp cannonade had taken place between the " Marshal's advance guard and the French redoubt on the "great road; and it is probable that the firing on the "mountain from our side attack, had not been heard by "the four companies above mentioned. Such was the "want of discipline in the Austrian army, that though "these troops having surrendered themselves at discretion "without any resistance, were undoubtedly entitled to " protection according to the custom of civilized war, one "unfortunate young officer was positively stripped to the "skin, and came up to the head-quarters to complain of "the treatment he had met with, without any covering "whatever but a tattered great-coat that some of the "Austrian soldiers had given him to cover his nakedness. "I must mention another episode, that, at the time, "seemed to me very ridiculous. General Melas disliked

"so much my being in a scarlet coat, that, at last, he sent

"a staff officer to me, to beg that I would not keep in his "suite. On receiving this message, I pulled off my coat, " and ever afterwards, while with the Austrian army, wore "a great coat with my sash over it, which, more than " once, made me run some risk by being taken for a French "officer. General Melas continued his march in two or "three columns, without further opposition, and took up a "position about a mile, or a mile and a half, in front of "Rivoli, upon a low ridge of little hills which ran out at right "angles from the reverse slope of the high and rocky hill "forming the right bank of the valley of the Adige. Next "morning, it was ascertained that General Jourdan, having "only one small division, had abandoned the position of "Rivoli during the night, and thus the junction between " the troops under the Marshal's own command and General " Melas's corps was formed, without any more difficulty than "that caused by throwing one or two bridges across the "Adige, by which the cavalry and artillery on the great "road were brought over to the right bank. The enemy "was seen posted on an isolated hill beyond the village " of Rivoli, and commanding the road by which it was "intended to march towards Peschiera and the Mincio. "A reconnaissance was made during the morning, without "any other consequence than a pretty heavy cannonade " being kept up for some time.

"Orders were issued for the army to be ready to march at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, but owing to the delays that took place in getting over the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, it was almost dusk before this forward movement took place. The enemy profited by this circumstance, to withdraw from their position on the hill without loss of time, and thus avoided an attack which they could not have resisted, owing to the inferiority of their numbers. Their knowledge of the country enabled them, however, to leave parties that harassed the flanks of the column of march, and this determined the Marshal to halt for the night, instead of pushing on to Castel

" Nuovo, as intended. We marched early the next morning "without seeing a man in French uniform, and on our ' arrival at Castel Nuovo, we were not a little surprised to "hear that Buonaparte himself had slept that night in the "very house that Marshal Wurmser had meant to occupy. "It was ascertained that he was attended only by his staff " and a small escort of cavalry, and that before daylight he "had taken the road to Peschiera, in order to carry on his "operations against the corps of Quasdanowich. Indeed, "we were aware that that corps was severely engaged "during all that morning, as we distinctly heard heavy "discharges of cannon and musketry at several points "towards Salo and Lonato, beyond the Mincio; and a not. "very favourable omen was drawn from the circumstance " of its being evident that this firing, gradually, in the "course of the morning, appeared to be more distant.

"A strong brigade was detached to the right, with "orders to take post opposite to the French entrenched "camp at Peschiera; for, aware of the importance of that "small post, they had extended works on both sides of "the Mincio, so as to secure it from any attempt by a "coup-de-main, and at the same time to make it capable " of receiving a large force. The Austrians had orders to " construct redoubts, to be armed with guns, and capable " of holding several hundred men, so as to protect their "line from any attack that the enemy might have been "inclined to make from Peschiera. It had been understood "that the head-quarters were to remain, all this day, at "Castel Nuovo; but some intelligence received, determined "the Marshal to send a reconnaissance in the afternoon "towards Valeggio; and Colonel Vincent (A.D.C. to the "Emperor, and a confidential agent of the minister who "had sent him to reside at head-quarters), having "proposed to me to ride that way, we accompanied the "party of cavalry employed on this service, and found "the place unoccupied. We were preparing to return to "Castel Nuovo, when a staff officer arrived, announcing

"that the Marshal was approaching the next morning; it
"was reported by some postillions belonging to the post of
Desenzano, that, during the preceeding night, they had
"driven General Buonaparte by Goito to Roverbella, the
"head-quarters of the corps employed to carry on the
"siege of Mantua; and that immediately on his arrival
"there, orders had been issued for raising the siege, and
"the whole of the French corps to retire by Goito to the
"right bank of the Mincio. This news was further con"firmed by the appearance of a small body of French
"cavalry taking post at a village opposite to Valeggio;
"and in the course of the morning, reports to the same
"effect were brought in by peasants.

"On this, General Liptay, with a corps of light infantry, "cavalry, and artillery, was ordered to hold himself in "readiness to make a reconnaissance on Roverbella. "Colonel Vincent having told me of this, and that he "intended to be of the party, I asked the Marshal's leave, "while we were sitting at dinner, to go also. Every " precaution was taken in approaching Roverbella, but no "enemy remained, nor was even a straggling prisoner "taken on the occasion. Authentic information having "been obtained there that the whole French force had " evacuated the lines of investment round Mantua, Colonel "Vincent and I determined to push on without any escort, " to ascertain what state the place was in. We found no "appearance of an enemy there either, so we rode into the "town, and called on the Governor, General Conto d'Isles. "We were first to give them positive information "concerning what had occasioned this very unexpected "movement, and the sacrifice of all the heavy artillery, "amounting to above 200 pieces of cannon, which were " about to be placed in the batteries, then nearly ready for "their reception. We returned immediately to Valeggio, "Marshal Wurmser having succeeded in one great object " of this expedition, viz., the relief of Mantua, which had "been represented to him by the Governor, as being in a "deplorable condition, with almost exhausted magazines, " "(an assertion which, by the way, did not prove to be "founded on fact); it seemed to be of the utmost im-" portance, that after issuing the necessary orders for the "immediate supply of the place, not a moment should be "lost in sending across the Mincio the greatest possible "force which the Marshal had it in his power to collect, " in order to give assistance to the corps of Quasdanowich, "which there was but too much reason to apprehend had "been forced to retire towards the mountains. Instead, "however, of these decided steps being taken, the head-"quarters remained all next day at Valeggio, and on the "following day they were transferred to Goito, thus "making one day's march in a contrary direction. On "the third day the army had orders to march early on "Castiglione; Colonel Zach having proceeded to that place "with a small escort, for the purpose of marking out the "encampment of the troop, found the place occupied by "the enemy, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. "I remained that morning in my quarters at Goito, in "order to have time to write an account of all that had "taken place during the last few days; and having sent on "my equipage, I started about 7 o'clock in the morning, "to follow the army. I had not proceeded far when I "heard a heavy fire in my front. I galloped on, a little "encumbered with my letter-case, until I met my courier, "who was waiting for me on the high road, in rear of the "reserves. I pushed on, and soon found myself with the "Marshal, who had established a battery on a small "height commanding the plain, and about a mile from "Castiglione. A narrow ridge of low hills ran parallel to "the great road on our right, and closed in very near to "the village on its left, thus giving the enemy an oppor-"tunity of readily feeding from the village, the great "body of infantry which occupied this ridge. At a place "where a small brook cut through this ridge and formed "a kind of ravine, the contest was kept up during the

"remainder of the day by a fire of musketry across the gap, without either party attempting to force, either by direct attack or by a circuitous movement on the flank, the position occupied by the other. On the great road and in the plain, cavalry was in like manner engaged in skirmishing, and in some occasional charges, supported by the artillery. Towards dusk the firing ceased, without any advantage having been gained by either side. The loss of the Austrians, however, amounted to about 1500 men, killed and wounded. It was understood that General Augereau commanded the enemy's corps.

"The advantage of the day was undoubtedly all on his "side, his object being to prevent our advance, and thus "to secure the rear of the active army under Buonaparte. "Though no positive and direct account had been received "from Quasdanowich, it was but too evident that his corps "must have suffered a severe defeat. The Marshal, acting " on this belief, had despatched an officer with orders to "hasten his march round the upper end of the Lago di "Garda (thus abandoning all hopes of any advantage "from this great diversion on the side of Brescia), and he "determined to remain in the accidental position which "circumstances had obliged him to take up, on finding "Castiglione occupied in force by the enemy, with "the intention of renewing the battle as soon as "Quasdanowich's corps joined him. A strange expecta-"tion, considering that such a junction could not take "place under four days. The day after this first action "all was quiet on both sides; scarce a musket-shot was "exchanged between the advanced sentries. This calm, "however, was not of long duration. At day-break on "the succeeding day, the 5th of August, the enemy com-"menced a vigorous attack at every point of the line. It "was soon evident that their numbers had been greatly "increased. A very formidable artillery was brought to "bear against the little height where the Marshal had "collected twelve or fourteen pieces of cannon. The

"contending parties occupied the ground much in the "same way as in the preceding fight. The French "cavalry made several violent attacks, but were always "checked, either by the fire of grape from our batteries "or by successful charges of the Austrian cavalry. A " severe action had been carried on for some hours in this "way, when a report was brought to the Marshal that "a large French force had been discovered marching "directly on the rear of our left. It was conjectured that "this could be no other than General Serrurier's division, "which had been sent towards the lower Adige to oppose "the Austrian corps that had marched by the Val Lugano " on Bassano, and which, re-crossing that river at Legnano, "had marched through the Seraglio, leaving Mantua on "its right. It became of the utmost importance to "ascertain the truth of this report, and accordingly an "intelligent officer, with two squadrons of hussars, was "immediately detached, with orders to attack whatever "he met with and make some prisoners, and then hasten "back with them to the point where the Marshal re-"mained constantly exposed to a heavy cannonade. On "the return of this officer with several prisoners, there "remained no doubt of the fact, and it became evident "that this great reinforcement must be decisive in favour " of the enemy, especially coming in rear of our left as it "did. It was determined to throw back the infantry that "extended across the plain, and so placing them en potence " on the ridge above mentioned, show a front to this new "enemy, and subsequently to give an opportunity of "withdrawing the troops with the least disorder possible, "towards Valeggio. This hazardous movement, however, "in face of an enemy, and during the heat of an action, "required a greater degree of discipline and steadiness "than these battalions were capable of exhibiting. In-"stead of each battalion marching in succession by its "left on its proper point in the new alignment, the move-"ment was made simultaneously by all the five battalions

"at once, and the heads of these different columns, "pressing upon each other, became mixed into a confused "mass, which never allowed of the intended disposition "taking place. An attempt to save the guns, by with-"drawing them from the height where they had been so "advantageously posted, and where that distinguished "corps of artillery, under the command of General Fincke, "had so long and so gallantly sustained the attack of the "French artillery, consisting of more than double their "number of guns, increased the confusion, as there was "no regular road by which they could be conducted "towards the new position. Unfortunately, too, the right " of the army, observing from its elevated situation this "change of position, and considering it to be a signal o "retreat, began to break from the position which they had "so long defended, and a scene of confusion and route "ensued, which must have been attended with the almost "total destruction of the whole army, had the enemy "profited by their advantage. They contented themselves, "however, with harassing the rear, by some small parties " of cavalry and light infantry, probably occupied a good "deal with the plunder of the baggage, which, with most "of the guns, fell into their hands. Thus ended the " battle of Castiglione.

"In some printed account (I think in French) of this "action, I am stated to have advised Marshal Wurmser to save his army by an immediate retreat, on its being "ascertained that Serrurier's corps was coming up in our "rear. I remember well that, having been for some time "absent towards the right of the line, I heard this alarming "intelligence on my return to the Marshal's station, and, "moreover, several of the staff officers assured me that he "seemed determined on no account to take any step that "should look like retiring; but, however fatal I might "have considered such a determination, it never entered "my head, circumstanced as I was, to think myself entitled "to volunteer giving any advice on any such occasion.

"The fact was that the near approach of Serrurier's corps, having rendered it absolutely necessary to despatch some troops to retard their march, the firing of guns in our rear became distinctly audible, and thus forced on the Marshal the necessity of attending to General Zach's remonstrance, on the risk of delaying to make some new disposition, in consequence of this unexpected addition to the enemy's forces, and that, too, from a quarter so hazardous to the left of the army. It proved also that this was a combined movement of the enemy, who had made the attack early in the morning, both to divert the Marshal's attention from what was passing in his rear, and also to convey to General Serrurier, the earliest notice of the importance of his speedy co-operation in the action of the day.

"The nature of the country between Castiglione and "Valeggio, there being but one road, and that a very " indifferent one, through a woody and rather hilly country, "was very favourable to the retreat of the Austrians, for "once having abandoned their artillery and baggage, there "was nothing to impede the rapid march of troops by "the road, while small detachments of infantry occupying "the covered ground on both flanks, checked the advance " of the enemy, who soon afterwards gave up the pursuit, "leaving the discomfited army to retire, without further " molestation behind the Mincio. It was felt, however, "that there was no time to lose in making the necessary "dispositions for the effectual relief of Mantua, by throwing "in a large re-inforcement to the garrison, which, in the " short space of two months, had suffered so severely from "the effect of the climate, as scarcely to be able to afford "the necessary daily guards on the extensive line of "outworks of the place. The most sickly troops were "withdrawn, and were replaced by fresh regiments, while "the greatest exertions had been made, and were still "continued, to obtain the greatest possible supply of "bread and corn. The redoubts in front of Peschiera were

"strongly occupied. Bridges of boats were re-constructed "on the Adige, opposite to Volargno, to which place the "Head Quarters moved next day; and what remained of "the army was withdrawn to the left bank, and the bridges "having been broken up, there was no further risk of any "impediment to the retreat of the army back into the Tyrol. "Thus, in the course of little more than a week, the great "expectations formed from having placed a formidable "body of above 50,000 men under the command of Marshal "Wurmser, were entirely destroyed by the superior military "talents of his adversary, General Buonaparte. The whole "French force in Italy, as has before been observed, did "not exceed 35,000 men, of whom, not more than 25,000 "were probably ever brought together to act against the "Marshal. Yet, it is notorious, that the French in every "action that took place during this short campaign, were "greatly superior in numbers to the Austrian corps with " which they had to deal.

"The Marshal considering himself in perfect safety at "Volargno, spent all the succeeding morning in making "the necessary arrangements for the distribution of the "troops, and it was not till one o'clock, p.m., that orders "were issued for the removal of the head-quarters to Ala. "Rather a ridiculous scene, however, occurred just as we had all mounted our horses and were preparing to move on by the great road into the Tyrol on the left bank of the Adige.

"Intelligence was brought of some light troops of the enemy having taken possession of two or three houses close to the water's edge on the right bank, and just where the pass of La Chiusa, opposite to Rivoli, confines the valley to the breath of the river and of the road, which is there cut out of the high and perpendicular rocks, and that it might be difficult to pass in that direction. It was determined then to move back towards Verona, and take a mountain path which leads from that place into the valley of the Adige. Before we had gone

" a hundred yards in this direction we were met by Colonel "Duka, who informed the Marshal that the enemy had "forced the gate of Verona, and had driven out the few "remaining troops that had been left there as a rear "guard, and that the enemy was probably in possession " of the road by which the Marshal meant to retire. No " alternative being left, the original plan of retiring by La "Chiusa was decided on; and in order to prevent unneces-"sary loss, all the attendants were ordered to proceed as "they chose, keeping only two or three together. "consequence of these instructions, an officer of the staff, "Monsieur de Vérac, a French émigré, and I rode on, " determining to stop under cover of some projecting rocks "which stood between the road and the river within the "pass. Accordingly, having escaped unhurt, we took up "our station there for half-an-hour, during which time, the "whole of the head-quarters passed by in this straggling "and irregular order. Some walking their horses slowly, "while others more prudent, or less ostentatious, galloped "past. Last of all came the good old Marshal mounted " on a common hussar horse, his own equipage not having "yet arrived from the Rhine. He was the more con-"spicuous, as he was closely followed by a favourite "footman in yellow livery, who always accompanied him "in the field; this man not wishing that the Marshal "should be exposed more than necessary to the fire, kept " on flogging the Marshal's horse so as to quicken its pace "as much as possible. The distance was very inconsider-"able, not more than forty or fifty yards across; the whole " party got past unhurt, a few horses only being wounded. "The next day the army moved to Roveredo, and the same "line of outposts on both sides which had been re-"spectively occupied after General Beaulieu's retreat " was again taken up.

"Colonel Vincent had been sent from Valeggio to Vienna "with the glad tidings of the successful relief of Mantua; but these subsequent and fatal events had succeeded one

"another so rapidly that the news of our defeat at "Castiglione, and of the total failure of Quasdanowich" on the side of Brescia, must have been the most severely "felt from being so little expected.

"As it was anticipated that there would be a suspension " of military operations for some time, Monsieur de Vérac " and I, having obtained leave of absence, proceeded by "the Val Lugano and Bassano to Venice. In the begin-"ning of September it was determined by Marshal "Wurmser, seemingly without any other object but that " of changing the scene, to move the greater part of his "army to the south side of the Alps. Leaving the ad-"vanced posts at, and in front of, Roveredo, he marched "on the 4th of September from Trent to Bassano, where "probably he intended to remain in tolerable security, "having his front towards Verona covered by the Brenta, "while his rear seemed to be protected by Primolano and "the extremely narrow pass where the rocks on the left "bank of the river close in upon it, having merely a " narrow passage cut through them for the road.

"Unfortunately for the Marshal's calculations, Buona-" parte, having finished all necessary arrangements in the "Milanese, and before resuming any active operations "against Mantua, had at this very period, and in total "ignorance of Marshal Wurmser's movement, determined "to attack the Austrian army in the valley of the Adige, "and to drive it towards Innspruck. We had scarcely "reached Bassano when news was brought of the success " of this offensive operation of the enemy. He had on "the morning of the 4th stormed the advanced works that "had been constructed to cover Roveredo, and then, "pushing rapidly forward, surprised the corps in that " place, taking the greater part prisoners. He had also, "in the confidence of the success of the direct attack by "the Adige, sent General Augereau across the mountains " from Vicenza to cut off the Marshal's retreat from Trent "by the Val Lugano. The previous move of the Austrian

"army having defeated this part of the plan, Augereau could only follow and harass the rear guard, occasioning much astonishment as to how and whence a French force could so suddenly have made its appearance in the valley of the Brenta.

"The French attack having been so little expected, "great quantities of stores, ammunition, etc., with the "convalescents and hospitals, fell into their hands; the "trifling force left for their protection at Trent, with those "who had escaped from the rout of Roveredo, having "saved themselves by flight towards Brixen. We had "not occupied our new quarters at Bassano for more than "two days, during which time accounts of the French "invasion having reached the Marshal might have pre-" pared him, considering the persevering character of his "adversary, for not being left long unmolested, when an "officer arrived with the information that the enemy, "having crossed the Brenta above the narrow pass before "mentioned, had pushed on beyond it on the right bank, " and thus induced the Austrians to abandon that impor-"tant post. There was no doubt, then, that the village of "Primolano would soon be carried, and thus it may be fairly " stated that the Austrian chiefs were completely surprised "before any line of retreat had been determined on.

"I received a little note of advice while Mr. Drake (our "Minister at Venice) and Monsieur de Suza (Portuguese "Minister) were with me at dinner. I at once recommended them to make the best of their way back to "Venice, whither I also directed Maxtone* to go with my "carriage and heavy baggage, giving my courier orders "to join the Marshal's equipage and servants with my horses and light kit, and accompany them wherever "they went.

"On arriving at the front I soon found that the first idea of attempting to defend Bassano by attacking the

^{*} Anthony Maxtone, his relative, afterwards of Cultoquhey, Perthshire.

"enemy as he debouched from the valley had been given "up, and that a retreat had been already begun by posting "troops to cover in succession the corps that fell back, "and so to prevent as much as possible the confusion "consequent on a surprise. I confess it was not without " astonishment that I heard that the line of retreat adopted "was that across the Brenta by Cittadella towards Vicenza, "instead of going to the eastward, and thus keeping open "the communication with Goritz and the whole resources "of the Austrian Empire. I had heard the day before "that my friend Captain Count Neipert had been detached "with a small corps of cavalry, and this makes me pre-"sume that at that time it had been in contemplation to "fall back into the Friuli behind the Piave and Taglia-"mento. This determination of the Marshal was too "delicate a subject for me to discuss with any of those " confidential staff officers who might have had it in their "power, if willing, to give me a satisfactory explanation " of the motives which induced him to prefer retiring on " Mantua.

"The French cavalry pushed on and attacked the "Austrian rear-guard of infantry posted in the square of "the town of Bassano, several individuals riding into the "Austrian ranks and being there cut down. We kept on " our retreat to Vicenza, where a short halt was made, and "the march was again resumed in the direction of Legnano "through a marshy and intricate country with many turns "in the road, which made it extremely difficult to keep "the columns in the right direction during the night, "notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the staff "officers. A small French garrison at Legnano had been "attacked, and had hastily evacuated the place, leaving "the bridge over the Adige in possession of the Austrians. "This important pass having been secured, the army was "halted for some hours in order to give time for the rear "of the columns to close up. The march was again "resumed in the afternoon, and the advance guard, com"posed of light infantry, hussars, and a brigade or two of horse artillery, was soon after briskly attacked in debouching from the village of Cerea by a large body of the enemy; however, on the guns being brought for ward they were soon repulsed, and, our cavalry pursuing eagerly, a good many prisoners were taken. They reported that Buonaparte himself was with this reconnaises ance. We met with no further molestation, and the head of the column arrived early in the morning at Borgo San Georgio, a kind of tete de pont to the bridge and dam which separates the Lago di Mezzo from the Inferiore, on the eastern side of Mantua.

"The army took up a position extending its left towards "the citadel, the right resting on San Georgio, which at "that time presented no formidable obstacle to a vigorous "attack. The next morning (the 14th of September) re-" ports were brought in that heads of columns of the enemy "were seen advancing on different roads leading from "Verona on Mantua. A sharp action took place before "mid-day on the left of our very unfavourable position, " and the enemy either purposely retired in order to draw "a considerable part of the Austrians in pursuit, or were "driven back. However, towards the afternoon, it was " evident that the enemy, having strengthened his left, was "determined to attack San Georgio. Our advance posts, "nearest the course of the Mincio, were rapidly driven "back by a fresh division of the enemy (Augereau). "There was no adequate force on the right of the Borgo "San Georgio, to resist the impetuous attack, and a retreat "into Mantua was immediately ordered for all that part " of the army which had not advanced in pursuit of the "enemy's right. This retreat was not affected without "much confusion and considerable loss. Augereau thus "gained this important post with little difficulty, and "immediately established himself there, bringing on all "his field artillery to fire upon the bridge, still crowded "with the retiring troops who were thus forced back into "Mantua, more like a mob than part of a well-disciplined "army. This event necessarily obliged the left of the "Marshal's army to stop the pursuit of the enemy, and "fall rapidly back on the citadel, thus leaving them to "establish the blockade on the north and east sides of "Mantua with very little trouble. They immediately "began fortifying La Favorita, and cutting across all the "roads near it, with strong redoubts on which guns were " mounted to enfilade the lines of approach, the intermediate "country being everywhere intersected with wide and wet "ditches which greatly facilitated the complete establish-"ment of the blockade on that side of Mantua. Buonaparte "no doubt employed the following days in taking every "possible precaution to prevent the Marshal attempting " to escape with the cavalry, at least by the roads leading " south from the Porta Ceresa towards the Po, and eastward "from the Porta Pradella. During these days of repose, "every effort was made to collect forage, parties being "employed in all that part of the country lying to the S.E., "between the Mincio and the Po, as far as Governolo, "which was occupied in some force. It did not appear "that the Marshal, at that period, contemplated to retire. "The only hostile measure taken, was an attempt to "surprise a regiment of the enemy's cavalry posted in "observation, at a village some six miles to the westward "of Porta Pradella. For this purpose, Colonel Klenau "marched in the night of with a strong body "of cavalry, some horse artillery, and light infantry, " and having halted about two miles short of the enemy's "camp, we moved on a little before daybreak, but our "advance falling in with strong patrol of the enemy, their "grand guard had time to mount and support it. This "skirmish gave time to the whole regiment to make good "their retreat, leaving everything in the camp, which were "the only fruits of our expedition. The pursuit was con-"tinued for a mile or two, but the enemy had got such a " start, that they could not be overtaken.

"Some days after our post at Governolo was attacked "by the enemy in great force; some troops were sent to "cover their retreat, but there was so thick a fog, that it "was difficult to know how to act against an enemy who "was evidently advancing with an overpowering force to "establish the blockade on the right bank of the Mincio "and the lakes it forms above and below the town. On " every point where the Austrian corps attempted resistance "they were driven back with considerable loss, and in the "course of that evening, and of the following morning, "the French had established themselves on the heights "which bound the Pajola, now a deep and rapid branch of "the Mincio, drawn from the Lago Superiore, between the " Porta Pradella and Belfiore, and which was the old course " of the river itself, down as far as Pictole, a small village "a little below where the Mincio now issues from the "Lago Inferiore. They soon occupied with formidable "intrenchments and redoubts the very favourable position " of Belfiore, which had a great command over the works " on the outside of the Porta Pradella, and in like manner "cut off the communication by the road leading from the "Porta Ceresa, towards Borgoforte, thus completing the "investment on the west and south sides of Mantua as "completely as had taken place on the left bank of the " lake.

"They formed a bridge across the Mincio below Pictole, thus enabling them to support the corps on either side by this important communication, holding the line of the Pajola with many small posts of observation between Belfiore and Pictole.

"The Marshal having thus been shut in within the walls of Mantua, and the flat marshy ground on the south side of the town which lies between the above mentioned Pajola and the Lago Inferiore, it became an object of consequence to prevent the enemy from attempting to force by the Borgoforte road, across the Pajola, and establishing themselves on the dry ground immediately

"adjoining the works that cover the Porta Ceresa. This "slight elevation was the only place where batteries could "be erected against that gate. Accordingly a redoubt "was formed and armed with several guns very near the "bridge over the Pajola on the Borgoforte road. The "bridge itself had been blown up by the enemy. On the "inside, or left bank of the Pajola, there existed an old "dyke, which had in former times served as a line of "intrenchment to defend the passage of this branch of "the Mincio. The covered way was everywhere restored "on the top of this dyke so as to serve as a breastwork "for musketry, and not less than 1,500 men were sent out "every evening to occupy these lines, a duty which was "most severely felt by the garrison, from the malaria "which prevailed on the south side of the town, occasioned "by the vapour arising from the swamp before mentioned. "It will be remembered that a strong garrison of from "15,000 to 17,000 men had been left in Mantua, in the "beginning of August, by the Marshal. These troops "had already suffered much from the intermittent fever "that Mantua is annually exposed to during the autumn. "The additional infantry which the Marshal brought into "the place no doubt served considerably to lighten the "duty which bore heavily on the sickly garrison. It was " estimated at about 12,000 men, and it was said that the "cavalry amounted to 7000; the additional numbers, "however, soon exhausted the small stock of cattle, and it "was found necessary very soon to reserve for the use of "the hospitals all that remained of fresh beef or of wine, "the army only then receiving bread as their rations. It "was soon evident that the quantity of forage was very "inadequate to the support of such a great number of "horses. An inspection, therefore, took place twice a "week, and all those horses that seemed sinking under "the scanty allowance of hay, were condemned to be "slaughtered, and a distribution of a quarter-of-a-pound " of horseflesh was daily made to all those soldiers who

"chose to accept of it. Many at first declined, and particularly the corps of artillery, but by degrees all became willing competitors for this allowance.

"Meanwhile the want of hospital stores, and particularly "of bark, increased the mortality in an alarming degree; "some days the deaths accumulated to 150, and were "scarcely ever under half that number. So few men sent "into hospital ever rejoined their corps, that at last the "soldiers actually died at their posts, having preferred "concealment of their complaints, in order to avoid being "condemned to go into hospital, which they considered as " a warrant of death. In this melancholy state of affairs "the spirits of all were much depressed, and the greatest "impatience prevailed to hear of some attempt being "made for the relief of this most important fortress. "Occasionally some men came in who had escaped the "vigilance of the enemy's night patrols, and it was thus "known that General Alvintzy had been appointed to the " command of an army, collecting at Goritz, avowedly for "the purpose of making an attempt to relieve Mantua. "At last, on the 18th of November, a heavy cannonade "was distinctly heard in the direction of the lower Adige, "somewhere above Legnano. This was continued for "three successive days, and occasionally a considerable "firing had been heard towards Monte Baldo. The "utmost anxiety prevailed during these days, and every "night a signal of the relief having forced the passage " of the Adige was watched for with the greatest im-" patience. This signal was to have been made with three "discharges or volleys of ten or twelve heavy guns, fired "at intervals of two minutes, exactly at midnight; and "many of us, especially Colonel Zach, Colonel Klenau, "Major Count Radetzky, Count Antoine Hardegg, and "occasionally some others with whom I lived in intimacy, "spent a couple of hours every night on the edge of the "Lago Inferiore, in hopes of hearing this joyful signal. "The Marshal, at last, determined to try to gain some

"intelligence by making a considerable sortie from the "citadel. I think this took place on the third morning, "after all firing had ceased. It certainly ought to have "been made on the second day of the firing being heard, "as it was naturally to be supposed that the enemy must "have weakened all the posts of the blockading force, to "oppose the passage of the Adige. This had actually "taken place to so great a degree, that there was very "little trouble in storming the works of La Favorita, and "thus opening the roads to Roverbella and Goito, but "towards the afternoon all our advanced posts were "rapidly driven in, thus proving that the enemy were " returning in force to resume the strict blockade, which "was sure to lead to ultimate success. Before dusk the "whole of the troops of this sortie, which was directed "by General Ott, were forced back into the citadel, not "without experiencing some loss. I for some time "entertained thoughts of attempting to gain the Tyrol by "the way of Goito and the right bank of Lago di Garda, "but not having made any previous preparation for such "an attempt, I considered it better to retire into the town "again, but with the firm determination of making an " attempt to escape at some near date.

"The winter set in about this time very severely, inso"much that the lake in some parts, and particularly the
ditches on the side of the Porta Ceresa, were entirely
frozen over, and pains were taken to break the ice
wherever the enemy might have had an opportunity of
gaining an easy access to the weak ramparts that form
the defences of the south side. This hard frost was
followed by a pretty heavy fall of snow, which continued to cover the ground for some time—a very unusual
circumstance in this part of Italy. The marshy edges
of the lake were now rendered capable of bearing horses,
and in concert with my friend Radetzky, I formed the
plan of making my escape across the lake, between
Borgo San Georgio and the bridge of communication

"before mentioned, which the enemy had below Pictole. "A considerable platform, laid across two large flat"bottomed boats, was prepared, capable of containing
"12 or 14 horses. The Marshal approved of my request,
"and Colonel Klenau promised to give me an escort of
"eight or ten of Wurmser's hussars, under an intelligent
"officer. Colonel Radetzky was, at my request, appointed
"to be the bearer of despatches from the Marshal to the
"Court of Vienna.

"Two companies of chasseurs were to be employed to "clear the way for our debarkation, in case of obstruction " from any of the enemy's picquets on the east side of the "Lago Inferiore, and we hoped to elude all pursuit by a "rapid movement on the road leading to where, it was " stated, we could pass the Adige without opposition, and so "get into the Venetian territory. This plan was frustrated " by the jealousy of one of the Marshal's aides-de-camp, who " resented the choice I had made of Radetzky as my com-"panion. Two nights before the intended execution of "our sortie, I received notice from the Marshal that my "attempt was unnecessary, as by intelligence he had just " received from a spy he had every reason to expect that "Alvintzy, strongly reinforced, would in the course of a "very few days relieve Mantua, This news was formally "announced, and created great joy in the garrison. We "were not, however, long the dupes of this fabricated tale, " for we positively ascertained that no spy had entered "the town. This almost incredible instance of weakness " in the Marshal might certainly have been avoided, for he " might have been well assured that I should at once have "given up the plan if he had signified to me that he "thought it was an ineligible mode of attempting to escape. "Of course neither Colonel Radetzky nor I ever betrayed "our knowledge of the fraud practised on the whole " garrison to defeat our project.

"I immediately turned my thoughts to making the "attempt alone, being more than ever determined not to

"remain in Mantua, as it were a prisoner. Accordingly, "having gone in the evening to make a visit to the "Governor, I next proceeded to the Marshal, and begging "to speak to him in private, I requested him to sign an "order to the officer commanding the pontoniers to fur-"nish me with a boat for the purpose of being landed " near Pictole. He warmly remonstrated with me against "the imprudence of the attempt, but finding me deter-" mined, he very kindly took leave of me, wishing me all "success. I next called on Colonel Zach, the Quarter-"master-General, who countersigned the Marshal's order "for the boat. It was then about 11 o'clock at night, and "I found my friend Radetzky waiting for me in my "quarters, as he had insisted on seeing me to the last "moment. I had at first intended to have no other "attendant but the Pictole guide, a very intelligent car-" penter lad, who had assisted my courier in getting into "the town some weeks before, but by Radetzky's advice "I determined to take the courier with me too, leaving "behind, however, Mr. Russell, Surgeon of the 90th Regi-"ment, who had, a very short time before we were shut "up in Mantua, joined me from Gibraltar, having got "some weeks' leave of absence. Exactly at midnight I "embarked on board one of the Austrian gunboats, and "accompanied by Radetzky, proceeded a little way down "the lake, and, having anchored, an intelligent serjeant " of pontoniers was sent on in a small boat to reconnoitre. "He soon returned with the disagreeable news that a "French guard-boat was lying just where the Mincio runs "out of the lake a little above Pictole. The serjeant was "then sent down with orders to watch, and as soon as the "French gunboat moved down the river to her station at "the bridge, he had orders to return. It was not till four "o'clock in the morning that he brought intelligence that "the coast was clear; I lost not a moment; having taken "leave of my friend Radetzky, I got into the small boat, "accompanied by the courier and guide. As there were

"French sentries not only on the side of the lake, but all " along the top of the bank down as far as Pictole, whose "challenges we distinctly heard, it was necessary to use "the utmost precaution to avoid discovery. The serjeant "having directed the boat into the middle of the stream, "took in the oars and glided down with the current till "the guide pointed out a wet ditch that, branching off "from the river, afforded the means of getting close "under the steep bank on which his father's house stood "alone, and retired from the street or roadway of the "village. We landed and took shelter in this house, " while the guide proceeding up a little lane examined the "roadway, and soon returning with an assurance that all "was quiet, we immediately left the house, crossed the " roadway, and went up another lane, on the opposite side, "which led into the vineyards. I was not a little alarmed, "however, at seeing the light of a fire on the left of this "lane; but the guide assuring me that he had often gone "up and down that way without ever seeing a sentry "posted in the lane, I ordered him to go quickly and "quietly forward; he stopped short opposite to the light "in the adjoining ground, and pointing over the wall "whispered to me, 'ecco i Francesi,' I pushed him on, and we "all bent down not to overtop the wall, and so got safely "past this picquet. We then took a direction parallel to "the Borgoforte road for fear of meeting any cavalry " patrols; but, impeded by the vines and the half-melted " snow, for a thaw had begun two days before and it was "then raining hard, we ventured into the road in order to "get on faster. We were still more than a mile from the "Po when the morning began to dawn, and, after holding "a consultation with the guide, I determined on taking "shelter in a lone farm house, the owner of which was his

"As, however, all these farm houses were likely to be "visited by marauders, I took the precaution of sending him forward to see that all was quiet in the house, and

"the landlord willing to give me shelter for the day. "Nothing could be more hospitable and kind than his "conduct. His son, well acquainted with Borgoforte, "agreed to go there with my guide for the purpose of "getting a boat to come up about a mile above that ferry "to the nearest point where I could embark without going on the high road. Meanwhile, the farmer pre"pared me an excellent bed, and said that I should have "a boiled fowl and rice at any hour I chose.

"Towards the afternoon I became very impatient for "the return of the two young men, but they had purposely "delayed till after night closed in, when they brought a "four-oared boat up with them. I received this joyful "news about 7 o'clock in the evening, and taking leave " of my hospitable landlord, I proceeded with these men, "and in half-an-hour more, having embarked, began to "fall down the river. I then became acquainted for the "first time with a new difficulty and, I may say, danger. "At this ferry of Borgoforte, as well as at four other "ferries lower down the Po, the passage boat, or ponte " volante, swings from side to side of the river like a pen-"dulum, the great boat having a very long chain attached "to its bow, the upper end of the chain being fastened "to a heavy anchor, and the chain supported by several "small boats, the uppermost, or anchor, boat being of " considerable size, on board of which there was a corporal "and two men as a post of observation in order to com-"mand the navigation of the river during the night. "Fortunately for me, there was heavy rain and thick and "cold weather, and all these men were snug under the "awning. It happened, however, that out of these five "passage boats two were close to the right or southern "shore of the river, and we found ourselves on two occa-"sions caught between the bank and the floated chain. "There was no getting out of this without rowing up "against the stream, and then crossing above the anchor-"boat to go down by the opposite side. On one of these "occasions, whether from the darkness of the night or the "rapidity of the stream, our boat had the greatest difficulty to cross the bow of the anchor-boat without running foul of it. The noise of our oars was fortunately drowned by the water breaking against the chain of the anchor. The instant we had got to the other side of this obstacle the men took in their oars and allowed the boat to glide down the stream close alongside the anchor-boat.

"I had a double-barrelled pistol in my waist-band, and "had determined, in case of discovery, to threaten our "boatmen with instantly using it against them to prevent "their obeying any summons to surrender which might "have been made by the small party in the anchor-boat. "One more danger awaited us however. I had urged the "boatmen on almost beyond their strength, aware that if "day broke upon us before passing the lowest ferry boat " a discovery was inevitable. We were but just in time at "the last ferry boat; the day was beginning to dawn, as "we could plainly distinguish the houses of the village "as we passed. It was lucky, on the whole, that I knew "nothing of these five formidable impediments, as I really "believe I should not have ventured to encounter them. "We had not proceeded far down the river, and at a "slackened pace, as there was now no occasion to press "the boatmen to greater exertion than was necessary, "when, the rain ceasing with the sunrise, there came on "a dense fog, that created a new and unexpected peril. "In that part of the river which is extremely rapid, there "are frequent mills, the wheels of which are impelled "merely by the force of the current passing between the "boats, which are for that purpose anchored or fastened " to great piles driven into the bed of the river, projecting "at right angles to the shore, and always in places where "there is a bend of the river inways, so as to insure in "those sites the greatest rapidity and the deepest water. "As it was quite impossible to see the situation of those "mills, I agreed to the proposal the boatmen made of

"landing on the dyke, on the right bank of the river, where they assured me there were no other habitations near than an occasional fisherman's hut. Chance led us on shore very near a lone hut of this kind, and I gave my courier strict orders to employ by turns some of the boatmen to keep watch to prevent any inhabitants of the hut from leaving it. This was no difficult task, as there was only one man, with his wife and two or three children.

"We remained there nearly two hours before the fog "cleared off; then re-embarking, in an hour more we "landed safely at Policella, the first village on the left "bank belonging to the States of Venice. It is impossible "for me to describe the satisfaction I felt on finding myself in safety on a friendly shore. Besides the disappointment "I should have experienced had I not been able to fulfil "the object of my mission, I was aware that I should have "met with sympathy in my captivity, had I fallen into "the enemy's hands, from only a very few of those I left behind in Mantua. I had risked the adventure from a "sense of duty, but had I failed I would only have been "laughed at.

"I felt benumbed by the cold and wet, having been cramped up in the boat for fifteen hours; but thanks to repeated draughts of Tokay, of which I had a flask with me, I experienced no after ill-effects. At Policella I wrapped myself up in a blanket, and sat by a great fire while my clothes were being dried—my luggage consisting of one shirt. I paid my boatmen liberally for their job and for the value of their boat, which I recommended them by no means to think of taking back to Borgoforte, as it would be the means of their being discovered.

"I hired another boat, in which I embarked with my "Pictole guide, and proceeding down the Po and some "way up the Adige, I got into a line of canals that led me by an inland navigation all the way to Padua, where

"I arrived about midnight, twenty-eight hours after I first "embarked on the Po.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Upon the Po, below Policella, Dec. 27th, 1796. "My dear Brother,

"Though I have not slept these two nights, I "am too much enlivened by breathing a free air to be "able to close my eyes. I cannot, therefore, employ my "time in this gondola more properly than by resuming "our long-interrupted correspondence. After, just by the "way, saying that the fate of Mantua is not yet decided, "I must satisfy your curiosity, for I flatter myself that my "being here will excite some interest among my friends, "and I wish them to approve of my conduct. You may "imagine I felt my confinement very irksome from the " beginning, but I was prevented from leaving the Marshal "at first by the hopes that some of the various projects "that were talked of would have afforded me a good "opportunity of getting out of that detestable fortress; " and, after the blockade became complete, I was constantly " dissuaded from any attempt of this kind by the assurances " of speedy relief. As those hopes vanished, my uneasiness "at being so long absent from the head-quarters of the "active army of Italy increased, and determined me to try "to get into my place. I thought I should have persuaded "the Marshal to send out a good detachment of cavalry, "with an intelligent officer who would have explained the "real state of things to Alvintzy, and when I saw that "would not do, I asked for a small escort of hussars, which "was granted; but, without a sortie on purpose, I found "the attempt impracticable, on account of the marshy "edges of the lake. A severe frost at last afforded an "opportunity of debarking where we should only have "to do, at most, with a small picket. Everything was " arranged for the 18th; Colonel Klenau had picked eight

" of the best men and horses of the Régiment de Wurmser, "and I had contrived to get Major Radetzky, a most " excellent cavalry officer, and my most intimate friend, ap-" pointed to go with me. In short, we considered our success "infallible, as we should have been twelve or fourteen "determined to make a rush, so that great was our "disappointment when the evening before a change of "sentiment was announced from head-quarters. As I "found out that this was owing to a jealousy concerning "Radetzky being sent, I meant to have gone with a single "orderly a few days after, but a decided thaw made it "necessary to abandon my favourite plan of being on "horseback as affording more opportunities of resource "in difficulties, and a handsome way of being made "prisoner if such was to be my fate. I then made a new "disposition, and to prevent disappointment, kept my inten-"tion quite secret, and only asked leave the same evening. "Everything has succeeded to my wish; I embarked on "Sunday night after midnight, but owing to unexpected "difficulties, did not get on shore, near Pictole, on the "right bank of the Mincio, a little below the south "end of the lake, till past four yesterday morning. We "got between the sentries and pickets undiscovered, "crossing the main street of the village and through the "back yards into the fields. My guides were excellent, "and conducted me by lanes (deeper than any in Leices-"tershire) to a lone farm house near the Po, where, after "a most fatiguing march of eight or ten miles, I arrived "before daybreak. I passed the day there with much "anxiety about the success of the messenger I despatched "to procure a four-oared boat. He returned about dusk, and "I immediately set out, and as the boat was to meet us at "some distance down the river, and the great road was "exposed to horse patrol from Governolo, we were again "obliged to wade through those bottomless lanes. "first I thought all our hazards were over, looking on " passing some batteries on a dark night as without any

"risk, but at all those places and at all the ferries there "were guard-boats moored in the channel. Fortunately "the men were not vigilant, and had sheltered themselves "from the violent rain under cover, otherwise we must "have been nabbed, for owing to the extreme darkness " and force of the current, we were several times almost "foul of them. Before daybreak, we had passed the last "at the ferry of Francolino, on the road from Ferrara, and "soon after we landed at the first Venetian town, Policella, "having gone about 52 miles in 13 hours. The weather "has favoured my enterprise amazingly, for ever since I "left Mantua, it has poured torrents of rain till now that "the sun shines, and it was very dark, without the common "fogs, which puzzle the most expert guides and boatmen. "I embarked last night drenched in mud, rain, and per-" spiration, and, though it was impossible to keep up the "external heat, lying soaking in the bottom of an open "boat, yet by means of a large bottle of Tokay, which I "emptied during the night, I so warmed the inside that "now that I am dressed in dried clothes I never felt more "comfortable, and have not the slightest symptom of cold. "On the contrary, I am free of a little rheumatism I had "in my hip joint—I don't recommend this method of cure "however.

"I cannot sufficiently admire the address and sang-froid of all my Italian friends, both guides and boatmen, who performed their parts admirably, nor must I omit their disinterestedness, for they undertook these services which exposed them to much more risk than I ran (as I was in correct uniform), without any hesitation or bargain whatever. The boatmen, too, submitted with much patience to their unremitting labour, and to my positive determination (if possible) not to land among the Ferrarese republicans, which they proposed in the night at one or two Osterias which we passed. I had a provision of wine, etc., for them, and the loss of half-an-hour, even supposing no risk in landing, would have been fatal to

"our passing safely at Francolino. As I hear there are "French at Rovigo I shall keep on towards the sea, so as "to give them a good wide berth in passing the Adige, "which I hope to do this evening. I shall then go in the "quickest way towards the Austrian army of which I "know nothing as yet, except that a good deal of can-"nonading was heard at . . . , on the Adige, two or "three days ago. I hope to God they will succeed; but "they failed before, and it must be soon. I should then " see Mantua again with pleasure, the only circumstance "that could make me wish to revisit the scene of such " misery as cannot be forgotten, and which the Imperial "soldiers bore with most unexampled resignation. For "my own part I never had my health better anywhere. I "took a great deal of exercise on horseback and shooting " (snipes and ducks), and ate and drank more than usual, "to which system I attribute my not having suffered the "least indisposition while such numbers were daily swept "off. In short, if one could have been quite hardened to "the distresses of the soldiers, and that my sense of duty "had not disturbed my mind, I should not have wished to "quit a very pleasant society in which I lived. We felt "little of the hardships of the blockade, and only ate "horseflesh by the way of example. I left a fat cow alive, "having reprieved her from day to day on account of " getting a little milk to breakfast, and I hope to hear that "I have made a great deal of money by her, as at the time "I paid an extravagant price which afforded conversation " to the inhabitants for some days; the price of everything "there is quadrupled. As the most trifling event there "made news, I have no doubt that my expedition has "furnished employ to the Gazette; probably the politicians "will suppose it a confirmation of a report of some French " prisoners that there was a separate peace between France " and England.

"I am in the most complete ignorance of all that has "passed in the world for these three months, and that "circumstance added much to my uneasiness, for the 90th

"may be ordered on some service, and I have always "reserved myself to go with it in preference to all other "destinations of service. In short I trust you will not " condemn the feeling as any refinement of military ardour, "for it is not that, but merely that I thought I might be " condemned, all circumstances considered, for putting my-"self into a situation where I could be of no use whatever " in the line of my duty and in obedience to the instructions "I received. I repent much not having sooner executed "my intention, but I was so universally dissuaded from "any attempt on foot, for fear of being treated as a spy if "taken, that I never entertained the thought of it till I "found there was total impossibility of making the trial "on horseback; and to justify myself to you from any "charge of rashness, I did not determine on this till "Colonel Zach assured me that, selon toutes les regles de la "guerre, my attempting to escape from a blockaded town "in uniform could not subject me to the smallest risk of "being treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. So "that I merely ran that risk and the chance of an unlucky " shot from a sentry, which were trifling compared to the " object of having la conscience nelte. Adieu. I shall add " a postscript when in perfect security.

"Left bank of the Adige, Cavarella Vecchia.—I am stopped here by a stupid Venetian officer who has not sense to know when an exception ought to be made relative to passports, and I must wait the return of his messenger from Bundelo. I shall occupy myself with writing some notes to my friends, that I may not fret or quarrel with the fellow, which I was much inclined to do for something he said in answer to my observing that my uniform ought to be a passport. Pray make somebody write a note to my mother least the one I shall send should miscarry, and I trust to you telling Lady Mansfield and Archy about me. I shall send to Venice, as there must be quantities of letters there for me—I hope from you among others. I shall go on to Padua from here, as I shall not know sooner where Alvintzy is. I have heard

"nothing, and therefore can know nothing, but I am very apprehensive that it will not do, and that Mantua will fall after all. Adieu, mon cher frère. Remember me most kindly to Lady Cathcart, and when you happen to meet any of my friends, Winchelsea, etc., tell them not to forget me. If A. Hope is in town, send to let him know that I am still in this world; we were in great correspondence some time ago. I am afraid he is not much better.

"I once intended not to write to Lord Grenville, having "nothing to say, but I believe it is right that I should "announce myself, so that I will not trouble you with that "commission. *Encore adieu*. Je vous embrasse."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Brentonico, 11th Jan., 97.

"I write you two lines, my dear brother, from the last "village in going up Monte Baldo. We go to the top "this afternoon, and I have undertaken to give a ponche " à ces messieurs à la belle étoile at Madonna della Neve, by "way of preparation for the proceedings next morning "against the advanced posts of Corona, etc. It freezes, " but is clear—the best weather we can have. We are all "in spirits; j'en augure bien, for the first time. Alvintzy "goes this way himself, and on the 13th, if we carry the "heights of Rivoli, the bridge will be established for our " artillery, etc., and we shall push on for Mantua without "any regard to the other columns from Bassano and "Padua, which are marching on Verona and Legnano in "order to occupy a part of the enemy's attention. "B. Parte will not quit his hold without a violent struggle "at the moment the garrison is at the last gasp, but still I "flatter myself I shall have the happiness of writing from " Mantua in a few days.

"God bless you, my dearest brother,

"Ever yours,

"T. G."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Alla, 16th Jan., 1797.

"My dearest Brother,

"I am excédé with disappointment, mortification, "and fatigue, and after the volume I have written to Lord "Grenville, I can only tell you that with half our army "we had beaten B. Parte, and must have destroyed him "with the other half, but for the damnable stupidity of our Generals, and the disgraceful and unaccountable terror that seized our men, and though this singular opportunity was lost, we should not have been so shamefully licked at last had any decision been taken in time. "But, perhaps you will contrive to see my dispatch, which I wish you may on many accounts. Adieu, my dearest brother, I have not the power of adding a "word more. God bless you all.

"Ever affectionately yours,
"T. G."

"The arrival of my mule with my canteen, which were said to be in the enemies' hands, is some comfort."

Colonel Graham's memoranda end with the description of his successful escape from Mantua, and although they enter more fully than necessary, for a mere biography, into the movements of the Austrian armies at that date, still his ideas of those stirring times, given in his own words, must be more acceptable than any short account.

On arriving at Padua, he found that General Alvintzy was at Bassano, whither he at once proceeded. His description of Marshal Wurmser's condition proved the necessity for immediate action; a plan of operations was decided upon, and, strange to say, was put into execution at once. General Alvintzy was to descend the Adige, along the valley between the Lago di Garda and the mountains with about 35,000 men, while General Provera

with 9,000 was to advance on Mantua by way of Padua and Legnano. On the 7th of January, the Austrian army was in motion, and on the 8th, General Provera met General Duphot at Bevilacqua, and forced him to retire on Legnano. Buonaparte heard of this attack on the 10th when at Bologna; he immediately repaired to Verona, where he made his arrangements with his usual promptitude, and on the 14th, defeated Alvintzy at Rivoli. On the 16th, General Provera surrendered to Augereau outside the walls of San Georgio. So ended the last attempt to relieve Mantua.

The Archduke Charles was then ordered to take command of the Austrian forces in Italy, and Colonel Graham remained attached to his Staff until the armistice, which was arranged at Leoben, and which was a forerunner of the treaty of Campo Formio.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Head Qrs., Clagenfurt, 28th March, 97. "My dear Brother,

"I have not time, nor should scarcely know how, "to write of our sad state. You will probably know what "I have said in my dispatches; if you know Canning he "will show you them at the office. I have no doubt of "Buonaparte's having much merit, but he is undoubtedly, "by the circumstances of war, the most fortunate man "existing. Having escaped destruction so narrowly at "Rivoli, he has, by the wonderful exertions of his Govern-"ment, been enabled to take the field with an immense "army, before we had received any reinforcements to make "up for the severe losses in January. He will now have the " credit of beating the Archduke everywhere, where, in fact, " resistance was impossible. Some attempts to maintain "posts in the mountains have failed and been attended "with loss, as there is always a way to get round them "with such numbers of active and enterprizing men as

"the French army possesses. The Archduke, I dare say, "will soon get quit of some of the vieilles péruques, but "meanwhile the mischief goes on. Should these fellows "land in England in any force, I should dread the "manœuvres of some of our veteran Generals, supported in command by political interest. But this is no time to "court favour at such risk, and I hope to God the example of other countries will not be lost on us, and that, "without regard to politics, the most esteemed officers will be employed. Among those I cannot but reckon Lord Moira, and I should have much more confidence in his dispositions near Bantry Bay than those of Agamemnon, and on our own coasts the same observations will hold equally good.

"I don't know how I have got into this subject; I took "up my pen merely to beg of you, if you should be applied "to by Captain Graham of my regiment, or his father for "him, to obtain the Duke of York's and the King's leave "for him to come to me. Lord Grenville gave me leave "to have a secretary, but I could not in conscience keep "Maxtone any longer, as his views are to push his fortune "in India. If he (Graham) is still in Britain, he will be "ready at a moment's warning, having been formerly "very anxious to come, and I wrote to his father on "getting out of Mantua. I should think Lord G., on "being applied to, would send him with dispatches, at "least as far as Vienna. If he is gone to Gib. I should "wish, if possible, to have leave for him to come. He " might come up the Mediterranean to Naples, cross over "to Ragusa, and so work his way on to the army. If he "is otherwise disposed of, I should wish to try to get "Captain Napier or Lieutenant Preedy, whoever O'Hara "would spare; in my next I will send you a letter for "O'Hara.

"God bless you, my dear brother,

"Ever yours,

Lord Grenville to Colonel Graham.

"Downing Street, May 16th, 1797.

"Sir,

"In the present situation of affairs I have no further instructions to give you relative to the object of your mission, but to express to you His Majesty's satisfaction at the manner in which you have conducted yourself during its continuance, and to inform you that you are at liberty to return as soon as it may suit your convenience after you have arranged those matters which, as you mentioned in your last dispatch, would render it necessary for you to go to Venice.

"I am, with great truth and regard,

"etc., etc.,

"GRENVILLE."

About the middle of the year Colonel Graham returned to England, and after a short visit to his home in the north, went to Ireland, where he served under General Fox and Lord Cathcart, as an Assistant Quarter-Master General. In the autumn of 1798, an expedition was organized, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Stuart, for active service in the Mediterranean; but its real destination was kept secret. Hearing that his regiment, then at Gibraltar, was to form part of the force to be employed, Colonel Graham at once threw up his staff appointment, and proceeded to Spain to re-assume the command of the 90th. On arrival he found that the island of Minorca was the objective, it having been thought necessary to have a good harbour near the arsenals of Toulon and Marseilles.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Gibraltar Bay, 'Calcutta' transport,
"28th October, 1798.

"I can only scrawl you two lines, my dearest brother, to tell you that we arrived here on the 16th,

"having had a very tedious passage from Lisbon, and are "already embarked again to sail to-morrow on a secret "expedition under General Stuart. The 28th, 42nd, 58th, "and goth, Artillery, Artificers, etc.; it is a very small "but good corps. He has just appointed me to command "the reserve, consisting of detachments from all but the "58th, making about 800 rank and file. I suppose, for its "number, there cannot be a finer corps; I wish only I "could have seen them together, and had them all on "board this ship, in which there is about that number of "the 90th, but the embarkation was pressed on before the "arrangements could be made. This is a very pleasing "one to me as it came very unexpectedly; if the 90th " could have been considered as a flank battalion I should "have liked it better, but I should have been wrong in so "doing, as the flank companies of the 28th and 42nd are, " probably, better men than our equalized companies, and "have the advantage of having seen service, as you know. "I wish I had heard something of the officers of the 28th "from you, for I don't know the names of any but of my "own regiment, and I have none fit to be an adjutant. I "wished to have got Mackenzie of my own regiment, but "I doubt I shall not get any field officer as there are so "many absent, so that I must do the best I can; with "such fellows it ought not to be difficult. Sir J. Sinclair "is the Major General; Stewart, of the Guards, and Oakes "the brigadiers. But I must reserve details till I can "write you from some quarter of the globe of our success. "We had the enjoyment yesterday of seeing Sir James "Saumarez bring in Nelson's prizes, a most glorious and "interesting sight. The Bellerophon and Majestic have "been terribly mauled by L'Orient and the Tonnant, and all "the French ships are hulled in an astonishing manner; "their loss altogether must have been immense. " Alcmene is in despair at not having been there; she had "been cruizing off Alexandria, and was gone to look for "the fleet. Hope gets the Majestic, so that you should

" consider whether you will have William follow him or go "into a frigate. The Alemene is still with Hood off the "mouth of the Nile. I send you enclosed (if you can "read it it will entertain you) orders that were printed on "board L'Orient and distributed in the fleet, just in time "to prepare them for their victory. I copied it to-day at "table, with my silver pen, in a great hurry. B. Parte's "proclamation, which is long, and on the whole bad-" perhaps you may have got these papers. They mean to "keep Egypt, and have no thoughts of India immediately. "Pray let Grenville see this. Love to Lady Cathcart; God "bless you all. Write and tell me all the news; the only "direction I can give is Mr. Dundas' office, for I suppose "nobody else knows where we are going. The specula-"tions here and at Lisbon were very interesting; the " secret has been admirably kept.

"Ever most affectly yours,
"T. G."

The squadron, with the troops on board, sailed on the 7th of November, and anchored in the Bay of Addaya on the 9th. The different regiments were landed at once, and by the 15th the whole island was in possession of the English, without the loss of a single man. In this undertaking Colonel Graham had command of one of the columns, which proceeded into the interior of the island, and drove the Spaniards from Mercadel to Ciudadella, where they surrendered.

Great numbers of prisoners were taken, among which were about 1,000 Swiss, who all volunteered to enter the British service. Their offer was taken into consideration, and Colonel Graham was desired by Sir C. Stuart to write to Sir William Hamilton and Sir Morton Eden, to try and arrange with the Austrian Court for the loan of some officers to command in this Swiss battalion, of which Count Radetzky was to be the Lieutenant-Colonel.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Ciudadella, Minorca, 18th Nov., 98.

"Though I am really excédé I cannot let Gifford go without sending you a note, my dearest brother.

"I have no military exploits to recount, the gazette will " probably explain how much the General has done by his "decision, celerity, and prudence, all highly conspicuous in "the conduct of this little army, too little indeed for almost "any enterprise, because any check or considerable loss "at first would have been irrecoverable. Half the troops "were not landed when the enemy appeared; it was " material to gain a height almost surrounded by a ravine " before them, and this was effected by marching off those "that were ready. Two companies of the 90th, I believe, "were all that exchanged a few shots which checked their " attempt to cross the ravine to attack our left; it was not "our business to pursue, and the landing was then made "with perfect security. I happened to be with these two "companies and had only to complain of their too great "eagerness, and I have no doubt the regiment would have "justified my expectations had it been put to the trial. "The caution of the enemy, whose plan seemed to be to "hang on our march and harass us in a prodigiously strong "country, and the account of their force, determined the "General to give up his intention of detaching me im-"mediately to Mercadel, a determination which I could "but applaud, though it disappointed me of a detached "command. But I had seen in a large army too much of "the fatal effects of separation, and under the circum-"stances of the movement think it would have been im-"prudent. Though from observations of the subsequent "conduct of the enemy, I have no doubt that I should "have had complete success, and that I should have "dispersed the Swiss who only wished for a favour-"able opportunity of deserting. Intelligence received the " next day, determined the General to leave Mahon on the "left and go with his whole force to Mercadel, and afterwards to follow up the enemy to this place so as to
prevent their having time to make preparations of
defence. We took all means of imposing on them, too,
with regard to our numbers, and I believe successfully.

"This is a very bad place, and in some places I think "accessible to attack by storm without any batteries, but "such an attempt against a superior force behind walls "could only have been made in a case of necessity. Delay "at this season might have produced that necessity, as we "had no shelter but stone walls; luckily, the weather, " usually rainy at this time, favoured us, and we were only "twice exposed to rain in the night. The men are healthy, " and on all occasions gay and good humoured to the great-"est degree, and only disappointed at not having had a "brush with these fellows. They do not consider how "much all the Spaniards like us and detest the French, "and for the Swiss I should have been quite hurt at "destroying them, many of them my friends of the Aust-"Italian army in the very clothes they wore when I saw "them taken, afterwards basely sold for two hard dollars "a-piece to the Spaniards by these rascally French. My "servant Charles, who was with me in Italy, has met " several of his friends.

"As I command here, I think it is probable some of these honest fellows will find their way out at the gate this evening; at least, I shall not bring any of the High-landers on guard to trial if they let them pass. There is a corporal of the Hussars of Erdodi whom I am particularly interested in, as I have been often with the regiment. My situation is singular enough, I have the flank companies of three regiments, 28th, 42nd, and 90th, about 400 men, and near 4000 Spaniards and Swiss in the town. The camp breaks up in front of the town tomorrow and then I shall be left to myself, but there is no risk, for if there was to be any unaccountable alarm I could get all the Swiss on my side. However, while they remain ashore I shall be plagued to death.

"I have been interrupted, it is now very late and I must conclude. I can give no guess about myself. Till more officers join the different regiments, the General will not let anybody stir.

"I am afraid some of these Highlanders have been "remiss at the gate, for Charles grinned when I asked him "whether any of his friends had slipped out this evening. "I am glad of it with all my heart, and only regret the

" impossibility of my letting them all go.

"Pray write; tell me everything interesting, public and "private. Remember me kindly to all, and believe me, "Ever most true and affectly yours,

" T. G."

To Sir William Hamilton.

"Ciudadella, Nov. 26th, 1798.

" My dear Sir William,

"I hope my note from Gibraltar, given to "Lord St. Vincent, has reached you. I am very happy "to tell you that the secret expedition I mentioned we "were going on has been attended with the most extra-"ordinary success, owing to the decided, bold, and judicious "conduct of the General, which awed the enemy, much superior in numbers, compelled them to retreat into this "place, and to surrender it almost immediately.

"We must now look to the preservation of this valuable conquest. The importance of so excellent a harbour as Mahon, opposite to Toulon, in our hands, must be sufficiently obvious to the Court of Naples, and the circumstance of this expedition having been planned long before the news of Sir H. Nelson's success could reach England, is the best earnest of the firm determination of our Government to give the Mediterranean States the constant protection of our naval force, and which, since that glorious event, has become so much within our power that I have little doubts of your having

"already received instructions authorising you to make
"the most positive assurances to that effect. This belief
"might have superseded the necessity for my saying all
"this, but it is meant as an introduction to a request
"which the General, who is overpowered with business,
"has charged me to make.

"I must first explain the circumstances that give rise "to it. A considerable part of the force on this island "was composed of Swiss. We have got 1,000 of them "as prisoners and deserters-to a man anxious to enter "into the King's service. To make them soon into a "useful battalion there must be a few good officers, who "can speak German, mixed with ours. The best and "quickest way of obtaining such is to borrow them from "the Emperor's army in Italy, and dispatch in this busi-"ness is of the greatest consequence. However, as the "Court of Vienna has so much jealousy about officers "entering into any other service, that they require an "obligation on oath from all officers receiving their first "commission that they will never go into any other "service, even after quitting the Emperor's, without "special leave, there may be much objection made, and "much delay occasioned, to Sir Morton Eden's request of "having the services of a certain number of officers for a "limited time, unless it is backed by such influence as it "may be in your power to obtain-you will guess I mean "the Queen's. I am, therefore, my dear Sir, to request " of you, in the General's name, to try to get Her Majesty "to write to the Emperor, or the Empress, desiring it as "a personal favour that the officers asked for may imme-"diately get a congé for eight or twelve months, with "permission to serve here, and an assurance that their "acceptance of this offer will not be prejudicial, but, on "the contrary, to their interests in the Imperial service. "I cannot impress too strongly on your mind the value of "dispatch on this occasion.

"There are delays of form at Vienna which frequently

"retard orders of moment in the service. These may be "got the better of by the Emperor's mandate, and this "should be insisted on in the Queen's letter, otherwise "there will be a six weeks' correspondence between the "Conseil de Guerre in Vienna and the General in Italy "about granting the congés.

"Adieu, my dear Sir William, with my best respects to Lady Hamilton.

"I am, yours, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lady Hamilton.

" Naples, Nov. 29th, 1798.

"Will you forgive me, my dear Sir, for the imperti-"nence in writing to you and not having the honour of "being personally known to you; but I cannot resist this "opportunity of congratulating you on your success at "Minorca, and also on our late glorious victory by our "immortal Nelson. We are here in the midst of war, and, "I hope, with the hatred of the Neapolitans to , "a fine army, the example of Nelson, and the active "energy of Mack, that we shall be, though last, not least "successful; but as women have nothing to do with " politics, and Sir William has fully informed you of what "is going forward here, I will only say how happy and "rejoiced I shall be in making your acquaintance. I hope "you will not find me unworthy of what my dear Sir "William has raised me to; and although I feel the "honour was above my merit, yet I feel happy in being "able to show my gratitude to him, and making him as "comfortable and content as it is in my power so to do. "Therefore, you must love me for this, and yet something "else that I love myself for, which is having the honour "of being like a person that was very dear to you and "Sir William, as everybody tells me I am. This makes "me very proud, and I shall always try to gain the good

"opinion of all that are dear to Sir William and those belonging to him. I beg, therefore, you will make us "a visit when you can, that I may have the honour of assuring you, Sir, in person how much I am,

"Your ever obliged and grateful,
"EMMA HAMILTON."

From Lady Hamilton.

"On board the Vanguard, Bay of Naples, "Dec. 22nd, 1798.

" Dear Sir,

"You will be informed of our situation here, and "that will be an apology for my not executing your commissions, which I should have done with pleasure, but "we have been in such disorder and anxiety for several days on account of this unfortunate august family that "we have on board. Captain Richardson will tell you all. "Thank God we have them safe; but my attendance on them, and my sufferings at the distress of the Queen renders me incapable of doing anything. Five nights I have not been abed, for I cannot get the dear, suffering Queen to bed; all her children weeping about her—such a scene! We are going to Palermo. God knows how we shall be received. If I could see the Queen happy "for one day I should be content.

"God bless you. Sir William, thank God, continues well. Lord Nelson is everything that's great and good on this trying occasion. If I can be of any use at Palermo let me know, and believe me, dear Sir,

"Your ever obliged,
"EMMA HAMILTON."

Colonel Graham during his stay with the Austrian army had noted all those officers who seemed earnest in their work and showed any marked capacity as leaders. These were the officers he wished to have in the English service; but, considering the desperate state of the Emperor's forces in Italy, it is hardly to be wondered at that their services were refused.

Minorca was now sufficiently garrisoned to withstand any attack, and, protected as it was by the fleets in the Mediterranean, no fear was entertained of its recapture. Active work being then over in that part, Colonel Graham gladly accepted the command of the citadel of Messina, which was occupied by the 30th and 89th British Regiments and some Neapolitan troops. Sir Charles Stuart, before leaving Naples, had left distinct orders relative to the strengthening and general improvement of the fortifications of Messina, which, owing to the indolence of the native chiefs and the want of money, were not performed. The new Governor, on his arrival on the 2nd of May, set to work with his accustomed energy to carry out fully the instructions he had received on leaving Minorca; and, thanks to his assiduity, some salutary changes were made, but not without much passive resistance from General Danero, commanding the Neapolitan forces in that district.

On the 7th, the little garrison was reduced by 150 men whose services were required by the Queen of Naples.

"Palermo, May 7th, 1799.

" My dear Sir,

"Lieut.-Colonel Scipione la Maria is charged by the Queen with the letters, colours, etc., for the Calabrize Volunteers. The Queen begs that if you can spare for the present 150 of the Calabrize from the Citadel of Messina that you will be so good as to let the Lieut.-Colonel have them, for which she will be much obliged to you. We have been anxious to hear of your safe arrival at Messina, and hope you have found things as well as you expected. As good Sir William writes to you, I shall only say that we are tolerable; the good news from the north of Italy has

"cheered us a good deal, and that we often talk of you as "(without a compliment) one of the most respectable "characters in the world.

"Believe me, dear Sir,
"Your obliged and faithful servant,
"NELSON."

" COL. GRAHAM."

The good results of Colonel Graham's efforts to render the citadel capable of defence were so evident, and his manly confidence was so comforting to the bewildered Court of Naples, that towards the end of May the King offered him a seat in the Council of the Government of Messina, which, however, he did not consider himself at liberty to accept.

To His Excellency Prince Trabia.

" Citadel of Messina, 2nd June, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have this morning had the honour of receiving "your Excellency's letter, inclosing a copy of the decree "of His Sicilian Majesty, by which I am honoured, as "Governor of the Citadel of Messina, with a seat in the "Council of Government of Messina.

"I must request your Excellency to state to His Majesty that, though equally sensible of the honour conferred on me as anxious to exert myself in any way that can be useful to His Majesty's service, I am under the necessity of declining to act in the distinguished situation proposed to me.

"Placed here by General Sir Charles Stuart in virtue of the powers vested in him by His Sicilian Majesty, I cannot consider myself as authorised to undertake any other functions but those purely military, and relative to the command of his fortress.

"Permit me, Sir, to return you my best thanks for the obliging manner in which you have been pleased to communicate to me His Sicilian Majesty's decree, and to assure you that I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

"Your Excellency's most

"Obedient and most humble servant,

"THOMAS GRAHAM,

"Governor of the Citadel of Messina."

In July, Colonel Graham received from Lord Haddington the sad news of his mother's death, which had happened on the 31st of May, 1799. Lady Christian had been one of the first to recommend to her son, on the death of his wife, that active life which necessarily deprived her of his society, and when he offered to quit a career to which he was becoming more and more attached, in order to reside with her and tend her declining years, she resolutely refused the sacrifice, and to the end continued to watch over his interests at home in his absence.

The Russians, under Suwarrow, having now wrested Italy from the hands of the French, no fear was entertained of an attack on Sicily from that quarter, the only point from which it could be invaded being Malta, then garrisoned by a French force under General Vaubois. The position of that island, with its magnificent harbour, made its capture an object of great importance to the allies, and offered to Colonel Graham an opportunity for still further distinguishing himself and obtaining his heart's wish—a permanent rank in the army. Seeing that for the present there was no chance of active service in the neighbourhood of Messina, he wrote to General St. Clair Erskine, and requested permission to give up his command of the citadel, and, leaving a small garrison therein, move with the remainder of the troops against Malta.

From General St. Clair Erskine to Col. Graham.

" Mahon, Sept. 24th, 1799.

" My dear Colonel,

"I have received both your letters, and have read "them exactly in the way you desired, and considered "them with a great deal of attention.

"For the defence of Minorca your garrison is now not "required, and therefore will not be removed for that "object; but as I cannot see much danger of the French "reinforcing Malta sufficiently to invade Sicily, I do not "think the danger of employing that force otherwise would "be very great. To tell you the truth, I think no expedition "can be formed either against Malta or any other object "without taking them as part of the force, or to replace "the regiments drawn from here. I will add that if any "force was to be sent against Malta, I should choose to "make it so respectable, and send it provided with artillery "and stores, as to be able to undertake an active and "vigorous attack, and afford a reasonable expectation of "reducing the place without putting the least confidence " in the reports of M. Vaubois' readiness to surrender. "that view I should think not less than 1,500 men, and all "your garrison added, about the proper proportion com-" pared with our means.

"I have thought well upon the subject, and should cer"tainly be happy to profit by a favourable opportunity to
"secure a place which may be very important, but it could
"not be risked without a considerable naval force were
"attached to this island for its security, and at present we
"have nothing but the Bellerophon. Duckworth, with five
"ships, and reinforced, as I am told, lately by two more, is
"gone down to Cadiz, whence I do not believe his force
"will return. I will also add in confidence to you that
"Lord Nelson and your friends in Palermo have proposed
"other far different objects to me, which, under the cir"cumstances, I have thought it my duty to decline.

"If a squadron was left for Minorca, and a sufficient "support given in the operation, I agree with you in "thinking the garrison of Messina would be more usefully "employed in Malta, and that we might have a chance of "succeeding in such an attack as I describe, but I do think "a weak or unsuccessful attempt would be attended with "very disagreeable consequences. I wrote to you before "that I expected General Fox, and I now know that there "is considerable reason to suppose that he would have " sailed from England at the end of August, or, at latest, "the beginning of this. As he will certainly come fur-"nished with full instructions respecting the intentions " and wishes of His Majesty's ministers in respect to the "Mediterranean, and as he may be daily expected, I will "not embark in any measure before his arrival, but I am " always extremely glad to obtain every information that "may eventually be of use, and I shall take care that every "thing necessary is in such a state as that no delay will "take place if any plan should be adopted by him upon " his arrival.

"I should be extremely glad to do anything that can "assist you in obtaining your rank, or afford you an "opportunity of distinguishing yourself, and if I have "anything to do I shall desire to have you with me.

"Believe me to be,

"Yours most faithfully,
"J. St. CLAIR ERSKINE."

From the following letters it would seem that General Erskine had misunderstood Lord Nelson's intentions with regard to the capture of Malta, which he evidently looked upon as the most important duty left to the British troops to accomplish.

From Lord Nelson.

" Palermo, Sept. 28th, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

" Pray do not think that it is neglect or inattention

"my not answering myself all your truly kind and very interesting letters, but absolutely that I am unable with one hand to write everything which my duty and friend-ship require of me. Your letter of the 23rd is just arrived; your history of the Russian Admiral is the same as that I have heard at this place from some of his own officers.

"Respecting Malta I am so anxious to get possession " of it that I have again wrote to Sir James St. Clair to "think seriously of it; I know how anxious the people at "home are for its being reduced. The order (Knights " of Malta) will be restored under such terms as Russia, "England, and Naples may think proper. I have pressed "the Russian Admiral, when he can leave Naples, to help "us in the reduction. Lord Blaney is confident that at "one particular place a breach might be made, and that " part carried which would give us the ships. Vaubois "has information of the plan of the French to send vessels " for its relief, and I know that the two old Venetian ships " of the line are loaded for that purpose, and five other "vessels; but if Sir James or General Fox will give us "troops, and some of yours from Messina, we shall soon "have it. My secretary tells me that newspapers are gone " to you in the Benjamin, or I would have sent you mine. "I do not like your news from Syria-it smells as if true. "As good Sir William will write you, I shall not say any-".thing more than that, yesterday being my birthday, he "and Lady Hamilton gave a magnificent entertainment " to several hundred of the nobles, etc.

" 1st Oct.—I congratulate you most heartily on the sur"render of Civita Vecchia and Rome, the French general
"would not make any terms with any power but Great
"Britain, and came from Rome to the Culloden off Civita
"Vecchia, and there signed the terms of evacuation—the
"Pope is dead. No news from Suwarrow.

" Ever yours most faithfully,

"NELSON."

[&]quot; COLONEL GRAHAM."

From Lord Nelson.

" Palermo, Oct. 3rd, 1799.

" My dear Sir,

"You will most likely have an application from "His Sicilian Majesty to go with a part of your garrison "to Malta, which is an object now of the very greatest "importance to the two Sicilies, and also what our Govern-" ment has much at heart to finish. The Russian Admiral "will be wrote to in the same manner to go to Malta with "what troops it is thought proper to withdraw from Naples; "some Russians are also expected at Leghorn destined "for the service of Malta. I know what a jumble all this "is, but the very great importance of getting immediate " possession of Malta, makes me recommend it to you in "the strongest manner. We have 500 men landed from "our ships, and I send you a letter and plan of Lord "Blaney's. The French intend trying to relieve it; let us "try and get it in any way. My orders are to co-operate " most cordially with the Russians in the reduction of it, " and when taken, the Order is to be restored; it is the "hobby-horse of the Emperor of Russia, and England "wishes of all things to please him. I shall send you the " Alliance with some shells, carcasses, etc. She can carry "all your troops for such a short voyage, but the Alceste " will be with you in a few days, and her captain will have "orders to attend to your desires on that head. I must " now tell you, to complete the glorious jumble, that, except "the Russian troops before mentioned, not one is in Italy. "Suwarrow, in consequence of the Archduke's going to "the Rhine, is gone into Switzerland, and, as finish to all "this, thirteen sail of the line, French and Spaniards, were " on the 18th of September laying to off Ortegal-whether "they are bound this way, time will show. In the mean-"time, I am getting ten sail of the line together, and, if "they venture into the Mediterranean, I will endeavour to "get hold of them all. These events will but rouse us to

"greater exertions; not a ship shall be drawn from Malta—
"and, respecting commands on shore, there can be no diffi"culty. Ball is chief of the Maltese; you will command
"all the British; a Russian army will also I hope soon be
"on shore, and two admirals will be afloat. I can only
"recommend acting as brothers. I sail to-morrow for
"Mahon; and General Fox, I hope, is arrived; I shall try
"him hard, for nothing at this moment is equal to our getting
"the French out of Malta. Lord Elgin is just arrived on
"his way to Constantinople—left London September 3rd.
"Our troops had made good their landing with some loss,
"and it was thought all would go well—pray God it may.
"Ever believe me,

"Dear Sir, your obliged Servant,
"NELSON."

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL GRAHAM."

Notwithstanding the recognised importance of the undertaking, no orders came for Brigadier Graham to quit his post, and his annoyance was very greatly increased by the arrival of the *Alceste*, without his being able to avail himself of her services.

From Lord Elgin.

" Messina, Oct. 18th, 1799.

" My dear Sir,

"I am sorry that my uneasiness about Lady "Elgin put it out of my head to mention to you before "you left us, that on thinking of the embarrassment which "Captain Dixon's arrival has brought on you to-day, I "recollect the extreme eagerness which Lord Nelson ex- "pressed to me, on the occasion at Palermo, and that in "forming his decision about your moving to Malta, he "seemed, at least from his conversation with me, to cal- "culate that the capture of Rome left no operation open "in Italy for a partial corps of troops, now that Suwarrow

"had transferred the main attack to Switzerland. That "Malta itself was at all times very dangerous in the hands "of the French, and that nothing effective could be at-"tempted against it, nor the evil of the reinforcement to "the garrison prevented, otherwise than by the English "showing the example of sending there a small body of men, which the Russians (certainly) and the Neapolitans "would not leave unassisted.

"Nothing but feeling the extreme difficulty of your position could induce me to use the freedom of this interference. But as I know from Lord Nelson the importance he affixes to the conquest of Malta, and to its effectual blockade, and how much the Government in England are interested in these operations, I do feel that, Lord Nelson's having engaged the Neapolitan government to agree to your quitting these kingdoms, and having gone himself to plead the cause with Sir Jas. St. Clair, you have both a great latitude and great inducements to comply with the strong and repeated solicitations made to you from Palermo and from Malta. Pardon me, my dear Sir, for adding that it were a false delicacy to decline a proposition because it may afford a brilliant prospect to your brigade.

"I hope I need no further apologise to you for making "these remarks, nor ask any more attention on your part "to them than as they come from one who is with perfect "sincerity,

"My dear Sir,

"Your faithful humble servant, "ELGIN."

"Brigadier-General Graham."

Such advice, however well meant, could not be followed, and the Brigadier had to bear his enforced idleness until the 28th of November, when Sir Thomas Troubridge arrived from Minorca, with General Fox's orders for him to go to Malta, if Lord Nelson desired it. On the 6th of

December, the 30th and 89th Regiments marched from the citadel at 9 a.m., and embarked from Marino on board the *Culloden* and *Northumberland*—the strength of each regiment being about 400 men.

" Palermo, Nov. 25th, 1799.

" My dear Sir,

"Sir Thos. Troubridge is this moment arrived, "and I have General Fox's orders to you to proceed to "Malta, which Sir Thomas will deliver. He sails this "evening, but I send this line by express that you may be "prepared, and no time be lost, which at this moment is "so precious. The King's orders to Prince Cuto are for "you to take what you please from the citadel of Messina, "and our ships Culloden, Foudroyant, and Northumberland" will carry them.

"Ever your obliged and faithful servant,
"BRONTE NELSON."

"BRIGR.-GEN. GRAHAM."

From Lord Nelson.

" Palermo, Novr. 25th, 1799.

" My dear Sir,

"Commodore Sir Thomas Troubridge is the officer destined by me to co-operate with you for the reduction of Malta. One more able and active could not be selected from our service, and as the Commodore is in full posession of my sentiments on every point, there can no doubts arise on any subject which he cannot immediately clear up. Ball has been by His Sicilian Majesty, the legitimate sovereign of the island, placed at the head of the Maltese in both a civil and, as I understand, military capacity. His conciliatory manners will overcome all difficulty with the inhabitants, they adore him; therefore I think in any capitulation he should sign. I will not state the necessity of a

"most cordial co-operation with the Russian General; it " is the desire of our Government to gratify the Emperor "in every wish about the Order of Malta. The Chevalier "Italinski, the Minister of War for the navy and army in "Italy, is just going to Malta to concert measures with "the allied forces for the government of the Order, when-" ever La Valette shall fall to our exertions. He is a very "amiable, good man, and a perfect man of business. "The inhabitants of Malta may, till the Order has got "back its wealth, want some little help in corn; it has "been agreed, in that case, by the ministers of Russia, "Naples, and England, that the expense should be "defrayed by the three Courts. Wishing you, from my "soul, a speedy termination of this tedious business, and "assuring you of my firm and cordial support in every " respect, I have only to beg that you will believe me, with " truest regard,

"Your faithful and obedient "BRONTE NELSON."

"BRIGADIER-GENL, GRAHAM,"

From Sir William Hamilton.

" Palermo, 27th Nov., 1799.

" My dear Graham,

"I give this letter to the Chevalier Italinski, with whom I have lived in the strictest friendship for many years at Naples. He is the Minister of Confidence of the Emperor of Russia, in correspondence with His Imperial Majesty. You will find him an honest fair man, and I am sure you will be happy in his acquaintance. I have recommended to him to cultivate your friendship, and I am convinced that it will turn out to your mutual satisfaction.

"I am glad that you will have such an important command, but wish your numbers had been greater; however, it will certainly save Malta from the danger

"that threatens the Island, and there is every reason to expect that you will have a reinforcement from Minorca.

"Adieu, my dear Graham; may every success attend "you. I shall have many opportunities of writing to you, "as no doubt Lord Nelson will have a cutter always going "between Malta and Palermo.

"Your sincerely attached friend

and humble servant,

WM. HAMILTON."

From Lord Nelson.

"Palermo, Decr. 1st, 1799,

" My dear Sir,

"Your letter of the 28th did not get to me till "several hours after its arrival at Palermo, as it was "directed to Mr. Scaron; in fact it was lying in my "Secretary's office unheeded. I only mention this to "guard the future.

"Whatever you do about the leaving Major Lockhart, "I am sure His Sicilian Majesty will approve. If Prince "Cuto does not like that arrangement, at all events you " are right to leave all your baggages, convalescents, etc., "but, I am sure it is better to have the name of a British "garrison. I have this moment General Acton's order to "Prince Cuto. I observe what General Fox says in his "orders about expense. I wonder not a little at it. How " can you get stores without paying for them; and will it "not be necessary to hire many people to work at the "batteries-everything we receive from Sicily must one "day be accounted for. Who is to pay? It cannot be ex-" pected that the poorest of the three powers is to pay what " is jointly undertaken. I shall, my dear Sir, afford you every "support and assistance in money as well as in all other "things. Could General Fox, or any other General, carry "on a siege without some money. Two days ago I sent "you twenty-two fine English artillerymen from the

" Perseus; and to Ball, 8000 ounces for the poor Maltese!

"England and Russia are now to do the same, and when

"Malta is taken the three Powers must balance their

"accounts. The Northumberland is not yet arrived, nor

"the transport with tents and blankets; if the wind is

"westerly she shall come by Messina, but if easterly, as I

"shall be sure you will be gone, she will go round

"Maritino, for I want you to have your blankets."

"I have only again to say you are sure of my exertions "in every way which can bring our Maltese matters to a "close, and wishing you from my heart every success,

"Believe me, with the truest regard,

"Your most faithful and obliged,
"BRONTE NELSON."

"BRIGR.-GENL. GRAHAM."

From Lieutenant-General Fox.

"Citadel of Messina, 4th Dec., 1799.

"Sir,

"I had the honour of receiving your Excellency's "dispatch of the 12th of November on the 28th ult., at "the same time that Sir T. Troubridge brought me a "letter from Lord Nelson, desiring me to lose no time in "going to Malta.

"The weather has been extremely unfavourable ever since. Heavy gales of wind with much rain from the S.E. This has given time for an answer from Palermo, where I thought it of consequence to send an express, in order to know from Lord Nelson, to whose requisitions you referred me, whether the whole of the British troops were to go, and whether, if any part were left under the care of a field officer, the command here would be entrusted to him, and I shall now carry the arrangements I wished to make into execution, an arrangement which, under all the contingent circumstances (provided for the

"instructions contained in the Adjutant-General's letter to me) that may make it necessary to return, I hope you will approve of.

"I shall embark about 800 rank and file, leaving Major "Lockhart of the 30th Regiment, one Captain and three "Subalterns, and the remainder of the men in this fortress, by which means, without any diminution of our force worth consideration, we shall move free from much incumbrance. The sick and convalescents will be much better cared for, and quarters in good order will be secured for the men should we return here.

"We have experienced considerable difficulty on ac-"count of money, the English merchants here not being "able to supply us as formerly, on account of the low "course of exchange at Leghorn, where bills on London "cannot be negociated, owing to failures at Hamburgh "and Amsterdam. The Governor of Messina, Prince "Cuto, at my request, obligingly interfered, and a sum "equal to the pay of the troops and their supply in "the most material articles of provisions for two months "has been raised by way of loans for three months on my "bills. I have availed myself of the power granted me "by His Sicilian Majesty of taking ordnance stores from "hence, and I hope we shall have one of the companies of "Neapolitan artillery, which will be a great addition to "our force in every case, as they, meanwhile, would be "useful in securing our post from insult. But I sincerely "wish a considerable reinforcement may soon arrive from "Minorca, under the command of an officer better able "than I am to judge of the expediency of adopting " offensive operations, and more capable of directing their "execution properly. Should all the Russian troops "talked of arrive, the regular force will not be equal in "numbers to the garrison, so that unless some very favour-"able circumstances occur, there can be little hope of "reducing one of the strongest fortresses in Europe with "so small a force by any other means than by blockade.

"You may be assured, however, Sir, that nothing in my power shall be wanting to endeavour to justify the favourable opinion you are pleased to express; but I beg leave to mention that it would be of material assistance if you could spare me any officers of engineers and artillery.

"I imagine, notwithstanding the bad weather, the "embarkation of all the stores and provisions will be "completed to-morrow. The only delay then will arise "from the state of the weather and the want of the "blankets and camp equipage, which are expected in the "Northumberland, not yet arrived.

"I have the honour to be,

"etc., etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FOX."

For more than a year the French garrison, amounting to 4,500 men, had been shut up in Valetta, the fortress being closely blockaded on land by the Maltese, directed by Captain Ball, R. N., and armed by the English. They had gallantly repulsed every sortic made by the French, and anxiously looked forward to help from the allied powers to enable them to retake the stronghold which had been so unjustifiably snatched from them.

About 2 p.m. on the 6th of December, the Culloden, with the small British force under Brigadier Graham on board, got under way, and, early on the 9th, entered St. Paul's Bay. Governor Ball immediately went on board, and arrangements were made for landing the troops next morning, after which the ships were to go round to Marsa Sirocco. On the 10th, the two regiments disembarked; the 30th being quartered pro tem. in Bicarcara, and the 89th in Nasciar and Cazal Lia. Brigadier-General Graham, on his arrival, carefully inspected the posts occupied by the Maltese and the country surrounding Valetta, and seeing the necessity for a secure dépôt of stores he

determined to establish and fortify one at Marsa Sirocco. Towards the end of the month the inhabitants began to suffer severely from the want of corn; and, as no heed was paid to the urgent messages sent to the Court of Naples, the situation became more and more critical.

To Lord Cathcart.

" Malta, 14th Dec., 1799.

"Having been here only a few days, my dearest "brother, I have too many cares on my shoulders to be "able to give much time for correspondence, but I cannot "let a good opportunity of a man-of-war going to Lisbon "go by without telling you that here I am by good luck " and God's will, in the command of His Majesty's troops "employed in the blockade of La Valette, very much to "my own astonishment. I cannot enter into details and "dispositions. I have not listened to what is affirmed "here, that there is no risk of a sortie because they have "never made one for this last year, and I have taken all "the precautionary measures I can for our security, and "when the Russians come we must retrieve our characters "by a little dash. At present I do nothing to irritate "M. Vaubois I don't know that I shall get any "credit for it, but I think I deserve some for having "written to urge General Fox to send more troops and, " of course, a senior officer as quickly as possible. It is "our best chance for success to be able to do something " offensive, and the moment I think it can be done with-"out risk of being driven back by a serious sortie I shall "be very anxious to second the impatience of the navy. " Adieu, my dearest brother.

"Believe me, ever most truly and affectly yours, "THOS. GRAHAM."

On the 30th of the month, Brigadier Graham sent a very full description of the state of affairs to the Duke of

York, and explained clearly his views and hopes for the coming year. The following is from a copy of the letter:—

"Gudia, Malta, 30th Dec., 1799.

"Sir,

"I did not think the command of the Citadel of "Messina, in which Sir C. Stuart placed me, justified my "taking the liberty of troubling your Royal Highness "with any letters, as, about the time I got there, the "success of the Imperial army in Italy deprived it of the "interest which its importance attached to it while there "was any chance of attack. I had only to attend to the "necessary reparations of a long-neglected fortress; but, "desirous of being more actively employed, I wrote to "Mr. Dundas to request that he would use his interest "with your Royal Highness to allow me to serve with "the 90th Regiment, or in any other way under your " command abroad, a situation I should have preferred to "all others had circumstances permitted the army to reap "the fruits of their distinguished gallantry, and to have "continued on the Continent. Should I be allowed to "retain this unexpected command, I may confidently "assure your Royal Highness that nothing that zeal for "His Majesty's service can do shall be wanting on my "part to fulfil the object of our destination. But I was "so aware of the difficulties and importance of it that I "earnestly pressed General Fox from Messina to send, if "possible, a considerable force under the command of an "abler officer; and since my arrival I have informed him "of the necessity of a reinforcement by stating how " critical our situation must be until it arrives.

"Though your Royal Highness will be officially in"formed of every circumstance, yet, conceiving it to be my
"duty to have the honour of mentioning directly some of
"the most material points that there may be as little
"delay as possible in your knowing our real situation and

"prospects as far as I am enabled as yet to judge of them, I take the liberty of stating them in this way.

"The French garrison in the almost impregnable fortress of La Valette, and the other works belonging to it, consists of about 4,500 men, including sailors. It is stated that they have corn only for three months, but there are still from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants within the walls. They have not turned any out, but have sold the privilege of getting away to some hundreds lately. The garrison is healthy, not having more than 200 in hospital.

"There are above 2,000 Maltese regularly paid and "employed by Governor Ball in the blockade, and about "as many more in the villages have arms, and are ready "to come out in case of alarm. The whole country is "highly cultivated and divided into very small fields by "dry stone walls, frequently very high, which the bare-"footed inhabitants get over with great agility, and "behind which they are excellent tirailleurs. "walls everywhere go to the foot of the glacis, and round "the Cotonera, which has none, they run close to the "works. Under their cover the Maltese frequently fire "on the French sentries on the ramparts, showing great "address in avoiding the return of musketry and grape-"shot by shifting their places after firing; by these means "they have made themselves very formidable to the "French as marksmen. The enemy have no outposts, " nor do they show themselves outside their works.

"At first I was very uneasy at being obliged to occupy so extensive a line with so small a force, but since more marines have been landed, and all of them put under my command, I have been enabled to draw the two regi ments nearer together; they are cantoned in the villages of Zeitun, Gudia, and Luca, on a ridge opposite to the Cotonera, having their advance posts in the villages of Zabbar and Tarscien, and the batteries near them. The Marines occupy San Giuseppe, and the advanced post

"and battery of Samra, opposite to Floriana, and on the great road from the town to San Antonio and Civita "Vecchia. The Maltese of all these villages do duty constantly on the most advanced line, and have, besides, entire charge of the left opposite to Fort Manoel and Fort Tigni. The Marines and the 89th Regiment communicate by patrols in the night across the valley at the head of the great harbour which lies between Tarscien and the heights of Samra.

"When the plan of the environs of La Valette, which "Colonel Lindenthal has sent to General Fox, gets home, "it will explain fully our position. I was extremely happy to find Colonel Lindenthal here, knowing how valuable his assistance would be in all respects, and especially as there is no officer of engineers with me. Our first care was to consider of the means of making a strong post near the harbour of Marsa Sirocco, which is about a mile and a-half behind the ridge of Gudia and Zeitun, to serve as a place of retreat and communication with the ships and stores, in case of necessity. This is nearly completed, and being supported by some of the high towers on the coast, will be capable of affording protection for some days.

"The next object is to secure the right by a strong "redoubt on a commanding height, near the Torre di "Grazia, and to open a communication to it directly from "Zeitun, by which the men on the advanced post of the "battery of San Roque, opposite to Ricasoli, might "retreat, should the enemy get possession of Zabbar, "which almost joins their works.

"I consider these measures of precaution as indis"pensably necessary, in our present situation, against the
"garrison, and eventually proper even when our numbers
"became respectable, in case the enemy should receive
"reinforcements. At the same time I am glad to be able
"to adopt the general opinion that this garrison will not
"venture on any sortie of consequence. They certainly

"think the armed Maltese much more numerous, as at "first the whole country rose against them; and these may "be reasons for Vaubois' not placing much confidence in "his troops-probably they were not of the best of "Buonaparte's army, and they may be already disgusted "with their confinement; however, it is astonishing that "they should not attempt to destroy the batteries erected "chiefly against the ships in the harbour. They are very "near the works, do not support one another, and are in-"capable of being defended at present. Three of the "Irish drafts have deserted lately, and as they will give "them information, I still expect them to try to spike the "guns; indeed, I would much rather that the battery of "San Roque had not been made, or, at least, had not been "opened, for it has made them increase the garrison of "Ricasoli from 250 to 350, and no doubt they take more "precaution on that side, where it would be of much "consequence to attempt something; and our gaining "possession of Ricasoli, having great command of the "harbour, would dispirit the garrison more than anything "else. If we remain quiet, the surrender of the place "cannot be expected for many months-till the means of "subsistence is totally expended. If, on the contrary, an "important detached post is taken (to save their honour), "and the garrison much harrassed by alarms and false " attacks, there is a great probability of the men insisting "on the surrender, and of Vaubois not being unwilling " to give it up.

"It is said 4,000 Russians will come from Naples as "soon as the weather permits them; and if more British troops are sent from Minorca, so as to make up a regular force of about 6,000 men, with the necessary artillery, etc., I should entertain sanguine hopes of the surrender of La Valette very soon. But, at the same time, your Royal Highness will see that I ground my opinion on probabilities, for certainly La Valette may hold out as long as it has provisions, unless regularly

"beseiged, even if all the other works round the harbour were taken.

"It is, however, of infinite consequence to profit by the present conjuncture, and to wrest this important place and most valuable island from the French; I sincerely hope, therefore, that we shall be enabled to make the trial before they receive succours. Several thousand men, perfectly well inclined to His Majesty's Government, might be raised here to remain in the island; they do not at present like the idea of entering into the British regiments, because they have other resources just now, and all above 15 or 16 years of age are married. I have no doubt, however, that many valuable soldiers and sailors might afterwards be got here; on the arrival of the Russians I shall try to bring all the British on to the ridge between Gudia and the sea.

"N.B. This is the substance of my letter which I sent to Mr. Dundas open, that he might deliver it or not.

"31st.—Wrote to him and stated how much I was ham"pered by my instructions, especially with regard to
"expense, and that without active operations, which must
be attended with great expense, there was no hope of
this business being ended."

Had Colonel Graham been left to himself, operations would have been carried on with all the energy and dash which distinguished him. But, however eager he was to second the daring hopes of his friend Lord Nelson, he was compelled to restrain his impatient longing for action, and act in accordance with instructions sent from Mahon and Palermo.

On the 19th of January, 1800, the blockading force was reinforced by a company of Neapolitan artillery, whose services were urgently required in many batteries, as yet unserviceable for want of gunners.

Despairing of getting any considerable reinforcement for some time, Colonel Graham at length determined to publish an address to the Maltese, in the hope of inducing more men to come forward and take a more active share in the operations.

Brigadier-General Graham to the Maltese.

" Brave Maltese,

"You have rendered yourselves interesting and conspicuous to the world. History affords no more striking example.

"Betrayed to your invaders, deprived of the means of resistance, eternal slavery seemed to be your inevitable doom. The oppression, the sacrilege of your tyrants became intolerable. Regardless of consequences, you determined at every hazard to vindicate your wrongs. "Without arms, without the resources of war, you broke asunder your chains. Your patriotism, your courage, your religion supplied all deficiencies. Your energy commanded victory, and an enemy, formidable to the best disciplined armies of Europe, yielded in every point to your unexampled efforts, and hid their disgrace behind the ramparts.

"The gallant battalions of Cazals have ever since con-"fined them there, with a vigilance and patience worthy "of the cause of freedom. You called for assistance; the "powers acting in alliance for the support of civil society "and of religion hastened to your relief; arms, ammu-"nition, money, and corn have been supplied to you. "Their ships have intercepted the succours of the enemy.

"My master, the sovereign of a free and generous people, sent me with a handful of men to assist you, till a powerful force could be prepared for the reduction of La Valette. The circumstances of the war have hitherto retarded it, but this is a precious moment and ought not to be lost. What is to be done to profit by this favourable conjuncture? I anticipate your answer. You are ready again to unite in a mass, to complete the glorious work

"you began. To arms, then, Maltese! let the universal cry through the island be: 'For God and our country!' Who is there deaf to every sense of duty and of honour, that will not gladly obey such a call? none, none, but traitors, or time-serving cowards! We do not wish for such among our ranks. That unerring voice which will distinguish with the title of 'Hero' every man who exposes himself for his country, will equally stamp their names with indelible infamy.

"Quit then your habits of industry for a few weeks; "dedicate yourselves under the immediate direction of your own officers, and under the guidance of those whose professional skill and experience will direct your labours most beneficially to the great and important object of the final conquest of your enemies.

"A weak and dispirited garrison, unequal to the defence of such extensive works, cannot withstand your efforts. Success will reward your toil, and you will soon return to the bosoms of your families, proud, justly proud, of having saved your country."

Shortly after his arrival in the island, Colonel Graham received some horses from Sicily, and was, by their means, enabled to visit the whole of his extensive line of outposts daily. As he was returning from one of these tours of inspection, on the 7th of February, the mare he was riding started suddenly, and ran his knee violently against the corner of a stone wall, causing an injury which confined him to his quarters for several days. Some Neapolitan troops were landed by Lord Keith at Marsa Scala, on the 17th, and the admiral came on shore intending to remain with his old Toulon comrade for a few days, but in the evening, news having been received that the enemy was in the W.N.W. quarter, he started in chase. The batteries near the entrance of the harbour were manned, and both regiments held in readiness against a sortie which it was imagined might be attempted against the battery of

San Roque, in consequence of the numerous ships in sight, several of which were French. The same precautions were taken on the following night, but no attack was made by the enemy; that such measures were not necessary, was, however, clearly proved on the 19th, when the news of capture of the Généreux, with 1,700 troops on board, was brought to the island by Lord Nelson. The French squadron intended for the relief of La Valette, consisted of the Généreux, the Badine, and two corvettes, with 4,000 troops on board—the three last escaped, but were chased by some of our frigates. This fortunate event altered the aspect of affairs considerably, almost half of the relieving force was captured, and there was no likelihood of a second attempt being made for some time. The news of this event was sent to General Vaubois, and Admiral Villeneuve on the 20th, and on the 24th it appeared as if the ships in the harbour were preparing to move, consequently, the batteries at once opened fire on them. The Foudroyant anchored off the island on the 28th, and on the 1st March, the guns of St. Elmo opened upon her, the French having discovered that she was within range. Colonel Graham immediately ordered two of the masked 32-pounders at San Roque to open upon the fort, and the first shot went into the barbette battery, the ship hauled off, and about 9 o'clock the firing ceased.

A corvette got into the harbour of La Valette on the 5th, notwithstanding that she was fired at some time before nearing the land, but she was too small to have brought much more than news. Notwithstanding the fire which was frequently directed against the ships in the harbour, the enemy was observed to be preparing them for sea, with a view to sending information of their distressing position to France. That such was their intention was confirmed by a deserter, a seaman who escaped by Fort Tigni; he stated that the *Guillaume Tell* was ready for sea, and only waited for an opportunity to escape. The batteries commanding the mouth of the harbour were got ready, but

no attempt was made for some days, owing to the wind blowing right into the harbour. On the 29th, a heavy fire from the batteries of Borge and San Roque was opened on the shipping; and about midnight, the Guillaume Tell passed out, fired at from all the batteries. Soon after her escape, she was engaged by the English cruisers, and firing was seen till past four in the morning in the direction of Cape Passaro. Great anxiety was felt as to her fate, which was relieved on the arrival of the Vincejo with the news of her capture, after an action which reflected the greatest credit on her officers and crew. The only important paper found on board, was one relating to the quantity of corn remaining to the garrison, by which it was estimated that they had sufficient to last them until the end of August.

From Governor Ball.

"Malta, 31st March, 1800.

"Sir,

"I do most sincerely congratulate you on the "capture of *Le Guillaume Tell*, and I feel great joy in the "reflection that your ordering so heavy a fire of shot "and shell at her, occasioned her departure at the most "unfavourable time for her escape.

"Ever yours,
"ALEX. BALL."

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL GRAHAM."

As General Fox considered that he had no power to detach troops from Minorca, and stated to Brigadier Graham that he could send him no relief, the latter determined to raise a battalion of Maltese in British pay, to serve only in Malta and Gozo. His wishes on the subject were communicated by Captain Ball to the representatives of the people, who at once gave their assent to the levy being commenced. By the second of April, two companies were completed with the exception of the officers whom the

Brigadier had no power to appoint. Officers from the 30th and 89th Regiments were, therefore, temporarily attached to the companies as they were formed. For some time past small supplies had been arriving in the island, and on the 12th, several vessels laden with corn came in, to the great joy of the half-starved inhabitants, numbers of whom were daily enlisting in the new battalion.

To Sir William Hamilton.

"Head Qrs., Gudia, 19th May, 1800.

"My dear Sir William,

"As I see the *Foudroyant* is not under way, I "hope I shall have time to write you some memoranda "about our situation here, which will enable you to explain "your plan more satisfactorily to my friends at home. "Every operation of war is as uncertain as the fate of "those concerned, so that I am glad of this opportunity, "whatever may happen.

"Though the name of such a command as this was "much beyond my expectations, yet from the first I have "strongly felt the disadvantage of being employed, where "such sanguine hopes had been so unaccountably raised, "with a force not only totally inadequate to any exertion "that could contribute to realize them, but, which in "strictness, according to my instructions, scarcely justified "my remaining here. For, in my mind, nothing can be "more fallacious than the argument commonly used, that "since the enemy never made a sortie last summer when "there were no regular troops on the island, there is no " probability of their making one at all. There was no " reason then for their losing a man; there was nothing to "be gained. On the contrary, complete success would "have imposed on them the burden of maintaining the "whole island. They had then a large stock of the "necessaries of life, and they had every reason to hope "for effectual relief long before it was near exhausted.

"The batteries erected against them might be said to be "insulting to them under such circumstances, but they "knew they could not be annoying, and must have felt it "was in their power to destroy them whenever they chose "to risk the loss of a few men; but above all, the town "was then full of inhabitants, many of whom had con-"spired against them, and who might rise against the "guards left in the town were a sortie, with considerable "force, undertaken. How different is their situation now; "they have turned out all the inhabitants they wished to "get rid of, those that remain add strength to the garrison, "their resources are much diminished, their expectations " of relief till after the summer must become every day " less and less. Whenever the combination of these circum-"stances shall render their situation desperate, then they "must make a sortie. It is impossible the place should "ever surrender to our force without their making an "effort to drive us off the island, or at least, to seize on "our magazines, and attempt to supply themselves from "the nearest villages with the means of subsistence for "some weeks longer. They are sensible of the value " of Malta, and know how much importance Buonaparte "attaches to it; all the intercepted correspondence proves "this, and every hour's delay of surrender becomes to "them a matter of consequence, as relief may come in "some shape or other. They probably know very accu-" rately the state of our force; they may have been deceived "formerly with regard to the number of the armed " peasants, but they must know that the enthusiasm which "at first raised the whole country and rendered the in-"habitants formidable is over, and there is every reason "to suppose, from the impossibility of watching such an " immense extent, that they have frequent intercourse with "people without the walls, and must be in possession of "accurate information. Now to enable you to judge of "my real situation, compare the state of their force and " of ours; from undoubted information they have 3,000

"regular troops, about 1,000 sailors, about 600 national "guards, besides many cannoniers and other Maltese, "formerly soldiers or sailors of the order employed on "the batteries and in the Arsenal. The last weekly state, "which I enclose, will show you that I have under my "command only 2,092 rank and file fit for duty, of whom "400 are new-raised Maltese, and above 700 are Nea-"politans on whom I cannot place much dependence; "there are besides about 2,000 armed peasants under the "Governor's command; half of these at least are allowed "to go to work during the day, so that they are dispersed "and of course useless on a sudden emergency, and are "tired and sleepy at night. They have no other officers "but serjeants, and though active brave hardy fellows, "under no discipline nor restraint. It is a matter of doubt "and accident whether they would act in case of a sortie "so as to be of use even in the day time; during the night "I am sure they would only create confusion. You have "only to look at your plan to see what an extent of line is "to be guarded by this trifling force. Beginning on the "right, opposite to Ricasoli, and going round again to the "sea on the left, opposite to Fort Tigni, the distance "cannot be less than about 8 miles, were the best com-"munications established, which we have not had time to "do. Fortunately, the country presents great obstacles, " every field is an intrenchment, and it is only by the roads "that an enemy could advance with any rapidity; and on "the left, opposite to Ligni and Manoel, they are very "narrow and bad; besides that, these two forts cannot " afford to send out many men without receiving reinforce-"ments, which must pass the harbour of Marsamuret. "There can never, therefore, be a sortie on that side for "any other purpose but diversion or spiking our guns. "It is necessary, however, to cover the great road from "La Valette to St. Antonio and Civita Vecchia, which "obliges me to leave at Samra and San Giuseppe the "whole of the Marines for duty on shore—a very small

"detachment it is true, but a very valuable one from being "admirably commanded, and more aguerri than any other "troops here. There is, besides, on that side at Bircarcara "all the Neapolitan Infantry, who detach posts to assist "the Maltese peasants opposite to Tigni and Manoel. The " post of the battery at the head of the great harbour is "left to the Maltese peasants entirely, the marsh air ren-"dered it so unhealthy for our people that I was obliged. " to remove them, and though by that the communication " with the marines is interrupted, I was not sorry to be forced "to concentrate the two regiments towards the point of the "greatest risk and importance, opposite to the Cotonera "and Fort Ricasoli, from which the enemy could have " such facility of coming out in force in several columns, "though direct roads have been blocked up and destroyed "as much as possible. The batteries formerly erected, "which cannot be defended from themselves, are in some "degree protected by stone block houses in their rear. "The very exposed and important village of Zabbar, "within musket-shot of the Cotonera, has been strength-"ened the same way; all the duty of the advanced part " of this line is done by the Maltese, assisted during the "night by some piquets and patrols of ours, these are "merely for the purpose of alarm, for it is impossible to "think of attempting to support any of these advanced "posts, or the batteries, if vigorously attacked; our stand "must be made at Zeitun, on which every thing depends. "I have strengthened it in such a way that it will cost the "enemy dear if they attempt it; and if all the troops "behave well I should not be apprehensive of the issue "of an attack by day. Were we to lose Zeitun, our "intrenchments near Marsa Sirocco would only serve to "cover our embarkation. After this faithful account of "our relative situation, you will not wonder at my anxiety. "I have every reason to hope for a reinforcement of one " regiment, at least, from Minorca, besides the expectation " of positive security from the arrival of the Russians.

"Disappointed of these, the urgency of the case made me "undertake a levy of Maltese independent companies, "entirely at my own risk for the expense of raising, " clothing, and arming them-four are completed, and four "more are going on. I have written privately to Mr. Dun-"das on this subject, and hope the measure will be "approved of; they are only to serve in the island, and I "have no doubt of their doing well, as they will be much "more manageable than the peasants, having British " officers to command them. Under these very discourag-"ing circumstances, my command is far from an enviable "one-no chance of gaining any credit, many of losing "character, and increasing responsibility. At first I felt "supported by Colonel Lindenthal's opinion (a con-"fidential Staff officer, sent here by General Fox to report "to him his opinion concerning this place) in fixing the "troops on shore, and stating that I should be able to "maintain myself. General Fox has since been alarmed, "and has repeatedly called on me not to risk the troops " beyond what discretion and prudence would justify. "answer has been, that, as no advantage can be obtained "without some risk, I never could think of abandoning "the island and losing all the fruits of the blockade on "the bare apprehension of eventual danger, and that I "was in hopes nothing sinister could happen but by the "arrival of a considerable reinforcement to the enemy, "an event which I could not foresee, and which, therefore, "might unavoidably prove fatal to us. My conduct in "the management of our force has been guided by what "I conceived the circumstances above described rendered "not only prominent, but necessary. To save as much as "possible from unnecessary fatigue or danger the troops, " every individual being of so much value to us and to keep "them disposed so as to be able to unite quickly in the "material points at all times. To increase, as much as "possible, by works the defence of the most important "posts, to go on with the construction of several new

" batteries in the best situation for effectually annoying the "enemy whenever any increase of force would enable us "to do so with propriety; but, meanwhile, to confine our "firing to such objects as the common practice of war "justify during a mere blockade, without exposing our-"selves to the ridicule of making puny efforts of a mock "siege. We have, therefore, seldom or ever fired but at "their ships and fishing boats. Against the works we " could erect no battery which they might not immediately "overpower by a tenfold fire, though we might do some "damage to the town by throwing shells. To make our-"selves respected by the enemy as a blockade force by "showing a readiness to resist any aggression of theirs, " such as firing on them when they fire at the ships, but "without wantonly irritating them so as to make it "necessary for them to come out to attack our batteries, " sensible we durst not risk defending them. To keep up "the spirits of the Maltese by an equal attention to the " security of their posts as of our own—such have been the "constant objects I have held in view. Placed as I have " said in a situation of great and unfounded expectations, "and of course exposed to all the censure of disappoint-"ment. Should it ever happen that the enemy choose to " make a well-connected attack on any of our batteries or "advanced posts, or even on the village of Zabbar, from "which formerly the inhabitants repulsed them, I am "much afraid an unpleasant discovery will be made.

"The Maltese will see that it is not my intention to commit the whole in defence of these advanced posts, and the enemy will find out that they may make such attacks without much risk, as the opposition will be feeble, and this may encourage them to attempt something more important when the assistance to be expected from the Maltese will be less in proportion to what they conceive our neglect of their interests to have been. Adieu, my dear Sir William, I did not mean to have detained you so long, but I have been led on by

"this subject which gives me many sleepless nights. One "regiment more would have put us in security, and might "have even afforded opportunities of successful enterprise, "which my weakness precludes all thoughts of profiting "by, let the opportunities appear ever so tempting—for a "check would be fatal indeed to us. Thank God this "cannot last much longer; another month will clear the "horizon of the mists that cover the seas, the squadrons, and the plans of our friends and foes. I beg to recommend to your care some more letters, and, wishing you a "happy voyage, remain,

"Ever most truly and affecly yours,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

Nothing of importance occurred until the 8th of June, when a small French brig succeeded in running the gaunt-let of our cruisers, and entered the harbour, followed by the *Penelope* which ran in to within musket-shot of Fort St. Elmo. On the following day Brigadier-General Moncrieff (90th Regt.) arrived, on leave from Minorca. He was offered the command of the Maltese regiment, and accepted it, pending instructions from Minorca, to which place Brigadier Graham at once wrote.

To General Stewart.

" Malta, 10th June, 1800.

"Sir,

"Supposing that your Excellency is by this time arrived at Mahon, I take the liberty of requesting that you will recommend Brigadier-General Moncrieff, for the command of a regiment of Maltese fencible light infantry, if you approve of the measure of levy and have no other officer in view for that appointment. My letters to the Lieutenant-Governor will fully explain the motives which determined me to take upon myself the responsibility of this measure, and the reasons for

" making it only a fencible corps, for his Majesty's service "in the islands of Malta and Gozo. I need not here "repeat what I have before stated, that I certainly was " never in any degree actuated by the expectation of any " patronage, which (however I might have wished to serve "the very deserving officers under my command) I was "well aware I could pretend no title to. It is true that on "first entertaining this idea, I was desirous of Colonel "Stewart's undertaking the levy, from thinking that it "was necessary for its success that some one officer " should have been at the head of it. But neither Colonel "Stewart not Lieut.-Colonel Wilkinson, then or since, "wishing to quit their present situations for one of such "uncertainty, I had not thought of taking any other step "than appointing Captain Weir of the marines (a most "deserving officer, to whom the Admiral gave the rank of "Major in his own corps) to take the temporary command " of this battalion.

"The Lieutenant-Governor will inform your Excellency on what grounds I make this request. His private letter of the 6th ult. authorises me, if I propose recommending Brigadier-General Moncrieff, to retain him here under my command. I need scarcely add that the acquisition of the service of so valuable an officer, and one of so much experience, would be sufficient inducement for my giving him a preference on this occasion.

"Allow me to add my hope that if Brigadier-General "Moncrieff is recommended for this command, Lieutenant-"Colonel McKenzie (first Major of the 90th) may be "recommended to succeed to his Lieutenant-Colonelcy in "that regiment, which might secure to it the infinite "advantage of being under his management.

"I have the honor to remain, with the greatest regard, "Sir, your Excellency's

" most obedient and most humble servant,
"THOS. GRAHAM.
"A.B.G."

"P.S. Though, owing to circumstances, this levy has "met with more difficulties than I expected, I have no "scruple in pledging myself to be able to carry it to a "much greater extent were La Valette to fall, and were it "His Majesty's wish to increase this kind of force on this "island."

As food became scarcer in the town, General Vaubois began to turn out large parties of the inhabitants, who, without homes and means of subsistence, had to be provided for by their countrymen, who were themselves in very straitened circumstances. Had this practice been allowed to continue, the whole of the Maltese in La Valette would have been turned adrift, and the garrison would thus have had means to protract their defence. After several hundred people had been sent out, Brigadier Graham determined that this crafty proceeding should be stopped, and sent word to that effect to General Vaubois.

"Malta, June 17th, 1800.

" Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you that hence"forward it is my determination to prevent any intercourse
"with La Valette, for the purpose of any more of the
"inhabitants coming out."

"This measure, sanctioned and recommended to me by "the Governor and the Congress of Malta, is so strictly "conformable to the rules of war, that the consequences "resulting from it can never be reckoned severe by those "who, having neglected the opportunities of such unusual "indulgence, have shewn their attachment to the French "interest.

" I have the honour,

" etc., etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"To H.E. GENERAL VAUBOIS, etc., etc."

"Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 2me Messidor, au 8 de "la République Française, une et indivisible.

" Vaubois, Général de Division;

"Commandant-en-chef dans les Isles de Malte, et du Goze.

" A Monsieur le Général Graham,

"Je ne peux me persuader, Monsieur, que vous " ayez pris la résolution de ne point recevoir à la campagne "les habitans qui désirent retrouver leurs parens, leurs "amis. Si des affaires particuliers à regler les ont retenu "jusqu'à ce moment ils ont toujours crû que la liberté "de sortir existerait jusqu'à l'instant où ils pourraient " effectuer leur rapprochement. Tout devait les en "persuader, et j'ai l'honneur de vous observer qu'ils " seraient seuls victimes de ce changement; ma consoma-"tion est reglée, et je ne m'en départirai pas. Dans tous " les cas la dureté ne retombera pas sur moi. Si le congres " de l'île est composé au moins en partie de Maltais j'ai "lieu d'être bien surpris de ce manque de bienveillance "pour leur concitoyens, dont un grand nombre a été retenu " ici pas mes ordres. Au reste leurs réflexions ne se portent "pas bien avant dans l'avenir. Étant donc convaincu, "Monsieur, que vous ne persisterez pas dans ce parti " je fais sortir bien persuadé que vous ne ferez pas tirer "dessus; ce serait réduire au désespoir leurs parens et "leurs amis du dehors; je me trouverai parfaitement à "l'abri du reproche d'inhumanité, et deux nations civilisées " comme la vôtre et la mienne étant incapable de toute "espèce de barbarie, je ne doute nullement qu'ils ne " puissent se rende tranquillement auprès de leurs proches. "Il s'est commis, Monsieur, auprès du Cazal Zabbar une " atrocité qui surement a excité votre indignation si elle "vous est parvenue. Des soldats étaient descendus du " rempart et s'étaient mis dans le cas de recevoir des coups " de fusils ou d'être pris, mais un d'eux entouré se rendant "a été massacré inhumainement. Vous sentez combien " cette infame action excite le courroux du soldat.

"je me promettre de regler sa fureur si l'occasion d'action extérieure se présente. Cet homme était sans armes et sans aucun moyen de défense.

" J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec estime, Monsieur,
" Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur,
" VAUBOIS."

To General Vaubois.

"Head-Quarters, Gudia, 21st June, 1800.

"Sir,

"Without entering further into any reasoning "concerning the duties of our respective situations than " simply to state that the rules of war justify my resolution, " and oblige you to provide for the inhabitants, I may be " allowed to make one observation on your own statement. "Surely, Sir, those whom you have detained have an un-"questionable right to your protection, and those who "have chosen to remain so long within the walls can have "none to any indulgence from me. But I revert to the "general principle of the rules of war as the only one by "which the conduct of an officer can be judged. If any "inhumanity should result from this measure, the severe "responsibility will fall on either of us, who, departing "from that principle, and acting in an arbitrary manner, "shall break through those rules of war which civilized " nations have established.

"With regard, Sir, to the complaint you make against the Maltese for murdering a prisoner, I can only assure you that it was reported at the time that the French soldier was killed by the discharge of several muskets fired at him and his companions from a very considerable distance; and I am inclined to believe this to be the truth, as I have not heard any instance since my arrival of prisoners or deserters having been treated with inhumanity by the Maltese. As they act under the orders of Governor Ball, I shall lose no time in informing him

"of your complaint, and I am sure he will not be less anxious than I am to prevent every wanton cruelty or excess.

"I have the honour to be, "Sir,

"With due respect,
"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"P.S.—From the report which I have just received "from the post of Samra, you will not be surprised at my declaring that all intercourse by means of flags of truce

"between the town and the country is at an end."

The latter part of the preceding letter was due to the fact that while it was being penned, news was brought in to head-quarters, that, notwithstanding the Brigadier's first letter, a large party of the inhabitants had been turned out opposite to the post of Samra. They were fired upon and not allowed to come out of the ditch, and ultimately returned into the town. In the afternoon, all the old and new batteries fired shot and shell at different parts of the town, particularly at M. Vaubois' house. On the 22nd, the batteries continued their fire, and one shell, which fell in a very crowded part of the town, in exploding fired some ammunition, and must have destroyed a number of people. Later in the day, a deserter brought the news that the expelled townspeople had been taken in during the night, and that a speronera had got into the harbour. After this interchange of civilities, the firing on both sides became more frequent; whenever a ship approached the harbour she was fired at from Ricasoli and St. Elmo, both of which were promptly answered by the battery at San Roque.

Three small prizes were brought in on the 1st of July, laden with brandy, wine, and flour; they had left Bastia on the 1st of June, in company with a speronera, on board of which was an officer with despatches, which is supposed to be the one which got in on the 22nd of June.

Brigadier-General Graham's responsibilities were now about to end; Sir Ralph Abercromby who had arrived at Minorca, on the 22nd of June, had received orders from home to supersede him, and on the 23rd he sent Major-General Pigot to assume the command of the whole of the forces in the island of Malta. Brigadier Graham had had the hardest work to do and had done it. He had planned most of the batteries by which the enemy was incessantly harassed, and had for a second time raised a regiment for His Majesty's service, and now that the end was drawing near, another was sent to receive the keys of that fortress he had done so much to win.

" Mahon, June 23rd, 1800.

"Sir,

"I send, in compliance with my instructions, "Major-General Pigot, with a reinforcement of 1,500 men "for the blockade of Malta, which you have hitherto "carried on, with a much inferior force, with great per-"verance and credit to yourself. I am convinced that you will not feel your zeal in any degree abated, and that you will continue to act with the same degree of spirit as hitherto, and, that you will afford General Pigot all "the assistance which you have it so much in your power to give.

"Believe me to be,
"Dear Sir,
"With great regard,
"Your faithful and obedient Servant,
"RA. ABERCROMBY."

Galling as this supersession must have been, Brigadier Graham shewed no sign of his disappointment, and continued to evince the same zeal as second in command which had rendered him so conspicuous while at the head of affairs.

Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived in the island on the 17th

of July, accompanied by General Hutchinson, and minutely inspected the whole place. He expressed himself well pleased with the Malta Regiment, and complimented the Brigadier on his arrangements and disposition of the troops. On the following day, the 2nd battalion of the 35th arrived, and was followed on the 28th by part of the 48th Regiment from Leghorn. The enemy was now reduced to the greatest extremities for want of food, but continued to hold out with great determination, and from time to time shelled the batteries and outposts. Of the ships remaining in the harbour they had prepared the Diane and the Justice frigates, and at midnight on the 24th of August they sailed but not without having been observed by the Success, which followed them, and returned on the 27th, having taken the Diane-the Justice escaped. The people, and some letters found on board, stated that the place was to surrender in a fortnight, but from Admiral Villeneuve's instructions to Captain Soleil of the Diane, which were taken with him, there was every reason to expect that General Vaubois intended to treat for the surrender of the place after the 2nd of September. Every precaution was taken against sorties on the 1st; and on the 2nd, the anniversary of the Maltese counter-revolution two years before, the expected proposals were anxiously awaited, but were not sent. However, on the 4th of September, Brigadier Graham was sent for by General Pigot, and on his arrival at head-quarters found a letter from General Vaubois, proposing to treat. He immediately went into La Valette with Captain Martin, R.N., and found the articles of capitulation prepared, and, after a short discussion with General Vaubois, returned to head-quarters.

[&]quot;Instructions to Brigadier General Graham in treating with General Vaubois for the surrender of La Valette.

[&]quot;You are to insist as long as possible upon the garrison remaining prisoners of war until regularly exchanged, and

"not to give up this point unless it should finally appear to you that no capitulation will be acceeded to on that condition, in which case you may agree to their being at once transported to France, giving their parole, however, not to bear arms against His Majesty, or his allies, until they shall be exchanged for an equal number of such prisoners as may be in possession of the French.

"Should the garrison surrender on the last-mentioned conditions, such a number are to be immediately put on board ship as Captain Martin may judge proper or has room for; the remainder will be accommodated on shore in what may be considered the most convenient situation; but you will endeavour to stipulate that their arms should be given up, on a promise on our part to restore them when they are to sail for France.

"Those on shore will receive provisions from us for the first few days till an arrangement can be made for their supplying themselves. Those on board will receive the ship's provisions.

"If the French General should wish to stipulate that "no Maltese should be allowed to enter the place till the "French are gone, it should be confined to no armed

"Maltese, and the Maltese corps should be excepted-

"which being a regular corps is under military discipline.

"If medicines or medical assistance is required, it will

" of course be granted to them.

"No arrangement is to be entered into with the enemy's garrison that can in any manner prove an obstacle to the re-establishment of the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem as Sovereigns of the island.

"Should the French General wish to stipulate for the three Langues of the Order formerly belonging to his nation not being abolished, it must be answered that no instructions having been received on that head, it is a matter that must be left for future consideration.

"All plans and writings which have any relation to the place and its fortifications to be faithfully delivered up.

"All the cannon, ammunition, and public property of every kind must be given up without reserve.

" H. PIGOT,
" M. Gen'l."

"B. GEN'L. GRAHAM, "etc., etc., etc."

The terms of the surrender were at length agreed to and were signed the next day, when forts Ricasoli, Tigni, and Florianne were occupied by our troops, and several of our ships went into the harbour. Early on the 8th the French troops embarked with great regularity, and left the town they had so long and so gallantly defended.

Now that La Valette had fallen there was no longer any necessity for Brigadier Graham to remain in the island which had been won to Great Britain mainly through his instrumentality.

Before giving up the command of the brigade to which he was appointed on General Pigot's arrival he published in orders the following short address:—

" Malta, 5th Sept., 1800.

"As probably by the arrangement of the troops in occupying Valette and its dependencies some change will take place in the brigade which Brigadier General Graham has had the honor of commanding, he cannot omit this opportunity of congratulating them on the success which has crowned their perseverance and attention to discipline.

"THOS. GRAHAM, "A.B.G."

Had he been left in sole command he would have found ample occupation in aiding Governor Ball to arrange the government, but the hour of active duty being over, he applied for and obtained leave to return to Messina, the *Vincejo* being placed at his disposal for that purpose. After arranging with the general and commanding officers

for the nomination of prize agents, he left Malta on the 15th of September, and arrived at Messina on the 21st.

From Sir Sydney Smith.

" Tigre, off Alexandria,
" Sept. 28th, 1800.

" My dear Sir,

"You will naturally be impatient to know what " is become of the horse I had destined for you, and I am "sorry to say I have now no hopes of recovering him from "Cairo. My Mameluke friend, who was there lately as " interpreter with a flag of truce to announce the ratification " of the convention which the renegade colonist Menou " will not execute, having obtained the certainty of all the "horses left at Cairo in the wreck of the Turkish army "having been appropriated as lawful plunder by the " several possessors. If Kleber was alive, I should be sure " of either my own or the best of his stud, for he was a "gentleman-at present it is out of the question. I send " you the Mameluke's report of his progress in his enquiries " as a specimen of what a ferret a Mameluke is. He speaks " of the loss of his own favourite horse, the best I ever "saw, in terms of regret which shew what stuff these "modern centaurs are made of. I shall employ him to "get you one that will suit you if possible, and likewise "one for my friend General Doyle, to whom I beg my "kindest compliments if he is with you. The Ottoman " camp is a sort of horse-fair, and indeed is nothing else, "but I am apprehensive every animal there is completely "ruined by starvation and ill-usage. I have another string " to my bow for you by my intimacy with the princes and "sheiks of the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and you may "depend upon it I will not lose sight of your commission, "although it is not easily executed from a ship whose "station is off Alexandria, without direct intercourse with "the ports of Syria, otherwise than by very small vessels

"which would cramp and ruin any horse in a long voyage. "I would not scruple to ask old Herod Gezzar for one or "two of his very excellent stud, but he is such an old rebel "that I am obliged to carry on a correspondence with him " of a nature that does not allow of one's accepting favours "from him at at a time when we can't get him to do his "duty. Such is the disjointed state of this empire, the "indiscipline of the army, and the want of finance, that "nothing can be done by the Turks to recover Egypt "without British battalions to urge, drag, and goad them "on. I thought I had precluded the necessity of any "sacrifice from us by the conclusion of a convention by "which the enemy voluntarily relinquished a prize we "shall find it hard to wrest from them; it must, however, "be done, and I take for granted you will be soon ordered "up here. At least as soon as you have got possession of "Malta, which, by the bye, Kleber said would have fallen " of course by the garrison requesting to join him as he "sailed by, their further stay there having no longer the "same object. I write fully to Lord Keith for Sir Ralph "Abercromby's information by way of accompaniment to "General Hochler's report of his side of the question.

"Yours ever most faithfully,
"W. S. S."

Shortly after leaving Malta, Colonel Graham applied to Sir Ralph Abercromby for the command of a brigade in his army, and was told that the only way he could continue to serve in the Mediterranean would be as Colonel of the 90th. He would thus have to serve as junior to some of those he had but lately commanded, and proud as he was of his regiment, his high spirit could not brook such treatment; he therefore applied for and obtained six months' leave of absence to return home. After a rough passage of five days' duration, he arrived at Naples on the 15th of October, and remained there until the 30th, when he left for Rome, arriving there late on the 31st, owing to

the carriage having broken down twice on the road. On the 7th of November, Colonel Graham left Rome en route to Ancona, where he expected to find the Pigmy cutter to take him to Venice, but, on arrival, found that it had not come in. While waiting at Ancona, he wrote to Mr. Dundas on the subject of his permanent rank, to which, after his services in Malta, he considered he had a just claim.

"Ancona, 20th Nov., 1800.

" My dear Sir,

"Mr. Wyndham has just heard that Lord Keith "was off Orbitello on the 16th inst., and it is supposed "Sir R. Abercromby is with him. This intelligence makes "me regret the less having been detained so long here, as "I should certainly go to Sir Ralph if he landed on the "Continent of Italy, to see whether he thought I could be "useful to His Majesty's service in any way which my "knowledge of the languages might, perhaps, enable me "to be. But after the situation I held in Malta, and from "which I am absent on six months' leave from General "Pigot, I am persuaded you will not think me in the "wrong if I decline serving there with merely the command " of the 90th, and being under younger Colonels, who per-"haps may have been under my command elsewhere. In "this predicament let me intreat you to attend to my former "requests, and, at least, if nothing else can be obtained, "let me be allowed to serve as Brigadier-General in this "army. If this is too much to expect, I must consider "myself as stigmatized undeservedly, for I am satisfied "in my own mind that I did my duty with zeal for His " Majesty's service in Malta.

"I send you such letters from the commanding officers of the corps which I commanded there as would afford satisfactory proof of their opinion, and of their wish to be again under my command. But I do not believe this to be necessary to convince His Majesty's ministers that I might be of some use in the service. I have formerly

"said so much on the subject, that I will not add more than to express my hope that it is possible His Majesty may be induced to make an exception in favour of one who is always ready to make every sacrifice of private

" comfort for the interest of his service.

"I wrote lately to request you would send to Lord Wm.
Bentinck the necessary permission for me to go through
France in case of my obtaining passports, which I have
applied for. I would much rather, however, receive leave
to stay in the way I wish. I think if Sir R. Abercromby
lands on the continent (which, however, I suppose will
depend entirely upon the determination of the cabinet of
Vienna with regard to renewing hostilities), I might be
usefully employed in forming and commanding a considerable corps of Italian auxiliary troops. I have no
doubt several thousands might be got immediately. I
would rather command a British brigade, but anything
to be employed in a becoming manner. Adieu, my dear
Sir, ever sincerely yours,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

The *Pigmy* cutter arrived on the 24th, and Colonel Graham started at once with two or three friends. When off the coast of Istria it came on to blow very hard, and rapidly increased to so heavy a gale that, instead of going on to Venice, they were forced to shape course for Trieste, where they arrived on the 27th.

To Mr. Henry Dundas.

"Trieste, 28th Nov., 1800.

" My dear Sir,

"The *Pigmy* cutter having been obliged by bad weather to land me here instead of Venice, I have the opportunity of writing by Captain Roche, who is going home on leave from Malta; and, as circumstances

"may detain me some time, I think it best to take this "safe conveyance to send you several letters which I "meant to have shown you on my arrival. I will not "detain you with a repetition of what I have formerly "stated with regard to my wishes or claims to be em-"ployed as Brigadier-General, in which capacity I have "General Pigot's leave of absence for six months from "Malta. I wrote you about a week ago from Ancona, "and I have since written to Sir R. Abercromby to say "that if he lands on the continent of Italy I shall go to "him to know whether I can be useful in any other way "than merely in the command of the 90th Regiment, "under the command of younger Colonels, which, as I "said, after the situation I held in Malta, would be an "avowal on my part that my conduct there was deserving " of the censure which a refusal to allow me to serve in "the same rank must imply. I hinted to Sir Ralph at "the advantage of an Italian corps in British pay, and " mentioned my readiness to assist in it.

"Among the letters I send you will observe a public "and a private one from General Acton, in which the "honour intended me by His Sicilian Majesty is explained "in very flattering terms. In the private letter he men-"tions that the same acknowledgment will be made of my " services to His Majesty. I fear, however, this recom-"mendation does not come from a quarter that will carry " much weight with it; and, though it might serve for a "very good excuse of an exception in my favour, more "cannot be expected from it. By a private letter to "General Acton in answer, I declined the honour intended " me by His Sicilian Majesty, and that I would at meeting "explain to you my reasons; they are very shortly:-"that I would not accept of any other favour whatever "from my own Sovereign but the one I so earnestly wish "for; and, of course, I cannot even think of accepting "one from the Sovereign of another country; add to "which, I confess my utter dislike to such a decoration. I

"therefore most anxiously entreat you to make my excuses to the Neapolitan Minister, or ask Lord Granville to be kind enough to do it, so as to get me handsomely out of the scrape, being most firmly resolved to persist in my refusal, at the same time very anxious not to be guilty of any disrespect to His Sicilian Majesty.

"With regard to Malta, I am well convinced, from all "I have heard since I left, that my opinion of the benefits "to be derived from such a levy as I made was well "founded. I therefore hope that that battalion will be "confirmed, and that the officers I appointed will keep "their situations and rank which their exertions entitle "them to. They should be considered (though in a "fencible corps for the service of Malta) in all respects "as officers of the line; and I confess I was astonished "when Sir R. Abercromby seemed to doubt of the pro-" priety of their being so looked on, as officers of provincial "corps in America and the W. Indies were not. But that "difference could only relate to inhabitants who enter "into them, and never can apply to officers who leave "regular regiments to serve in a new levy such as that I " made at Malta.

"The European officers in the Sepoy battalions rank, "I imagine, with the other officers in the E. Indies, and "these Maltese should be looked on in the same light. "If Maltese officers are appointed on a different establish-"ment the service will be neglected; and, however popular the measure may be at first in the island, His Majesty's interests will suffer from it. On the contrary, if British officers are properly chosen and allowed to go on in their rank in the army, I am certain the Maltese soldiers will do their duty faithfully and well; there will be a great saving to Government, and it will be the means of attaching the lower classes to the British interest. A penal code, less rigorous than our military law, should be established for them. The officers have had no bât or forage money, which is very hard, considering that

"they did more and harder duty than any others. I "cannot close my letter without expressing my hope that "on this renewal of hostilities proper measures will be "taken, in concert with the Court of Vienna, for employ-"ing a useful (that is a large) force on the south side of "the Po. I am confident if Sir R. Abercromby should "land with the whole force that was off Cadiz on the coast of Tuscany, and should unite the Neapolitans and "Tuscans under his standard, that the French would be infallibly driven out of Italy in the course of a few weeks. "Adieu, my dear Sir. If you write to me, direct under "cover to Lord Minto, whom I shall inform of my motions, "which at present I can say nothing of.

"I remain, very truly and obediently, yours,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"To the RT. HONBLE HY. DUNDAS, etc., etc."

"Trieste, 28th Nov., 1800.

" My dear Sir,

"I am obliged to trouble you with two lines "more, having forgot to say that General Pigot was "anxious I should explain verbally to you, on my arrival, "why the French troops were sent back to France. It was " for the best of all reasons, that we did not know what "else to do with them. He desired me, too, to say that "the directions of the instructions about their engaging " not to serve against the Royalists was overlooked in the "hurry of business. For my own part, as far as I am "concerned, I am ready to take the blame of intentionally "forbearing to mention such an article to Vaubois. The "Chouan business was at an end, and I always felt that "one day's delay in getting possession of Valette by "cavilling concerning the articles of the capitulation "might have occasioned the total disappointment of "our hopes, and I constantly objected to all idea of "not closing with them on almost any terms whenever

"they shewed a willingness to treat; but I am well per-"suaded you will not have been dissatisfied with the "capitulation.

"My dear Sir, I am, ever sincerely
"and obediently yours,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"RT. HON. HY. DUNDAS."

"etc., etc., etc."

The following letters are some of those mentioned by Colonel Graham as having been sent to Mr. Dundas by Captain Roche;—

. "Malta, October 4th, 1800.

"Dear General,

"I cannot omit the opportunity that offers to "express my regret at losing the happiness of your " society and the advantage of being under your command. "Though apprehensive that this would be the case I still "hoped some fortunate accident would occur to detain you "where your influence and advice, if followed, could not "fail of being most useful in thoroughly establishing us in "this island. Our popularity does not I believe increase, " and I fear it will be found very difficult to satisfy a fickle " people, who value their services and sufferings at so high "a rate. The Governor finds already that the distribution " of those good things so eagerly looked forward to, has "made many discontented, and I fear it will be proved "also that he has made 'des ingrats.' The bigotry of the "common people here will always afford to their chiefs a " sufficient pretext to create disturbance and to complain " of the government of damnable heretics. You will be " surprised to hear that this and other inflammatory topics "have been made use of by people who heretofore ap-"peared most friendly to us. On the extensive works on "our side, it is inconceivable the mischief that has been

"done to the guns; where there has been no sentries to protect them, many have been rendered unserviceable— and one howitzer carried away. When such dispositions exist, and when the nature of the people is considered, it will require much vigilance and prudence in our chiefs to retain a quiet possession of the island.

"I beg you to accept of my best wishes for your success "on the more active service in which I understand you propose to engage, and at the same time assure you it "will afford me much satisfaction at any future period to serve under your command. With every sentiment of "respect and esteem,

"I remain, dear General,
"Your very obliged Servant,
"JON. OSWALD."

"Colonel commanding 35th Regiment."

"Malta, October 4th, 1800.

"Dear General,

"Amidst the universal regret here at your "leaving this place, I much fear there will be more cause "to regret your quitting Malta in regard to the interests "of the island. I must confess I am a little doubtful "myself how we shall go on. I rather believe the General "will find he has given up more of his authority than is "convenient, with the civil power; he certainly will find "himself under the necessity of doing for the support of "the garrison more than he at first would take any re-"sponsibility upon himself for, if he had even been the "principal person; at any rate he must guarantee and "support the measures necessary for the supply of the "island; while at the same time doing it with Captain "Ball's pressing instances and against his own inclination, "no credit will accrue to the British Government; and "every succour appears to be the work of Governor Ball " individually-struggled hard for by him.

"There is no doubt but this island under a nation like "ours is capable of doing a great deal towards its own "support. The government in our hands being capable " of providing beforehand for its wants, as here it is the " principal contractor or agent for the whole of the indis-"pensable necessities of the island. In the mean time it "will be a great pleasure to me to assist Fernandes in "taking care of the least of your concerns, but as you do " not further stay with us or cannot much further benefit "us upon the spot, I am not without hopes that in the "event of your going to England soon it will be in your " power to inform the Minister of the real interests of the "island as connected with Great Britain, and how much "more easily, by an open, generous, and conciliatory "policy, this island may be connected more securely to us "than any other possession of much less intrinsical value. "I am sorry to say that I think the proper person for "such a charge is not every day to be found, requiring "such an attention to the interests of the country with "disinterestedness and a clear understanding. But on this " subject, knowing how well it is understood by you, I take "the liberty of saying no more than is necessary, and yet "if I thought I could thereby do any good I would put "more of the particulars together, as a little time may "show them, and write the whole to your address to meet "you in London, if any memoranda collected could be

"agreeable to you or assist your memory.

"We have received the demand of 24-pounders, mortars,

etc., which you applied for, and although it was not at

first known what was to be done with them, it soon

appeared that though the bronze guns are good in them
selves, there is not a serviceable carriage in the island,

a shot or a shell, or anything to be depended upon of

artillery if we were attacked to-morrow, except that very

supply and the 18-pounders we were in possession of

before. Indeed, the interior defences of this place would

be altogether very uncomfortable and exposed, and the

"losses of a full garrison in the circumstances of a brisk siege must be prodigious. However things fall out here, I have no doubt but it will ultimately appear, if this island is worth retaining, to the British Government, that it is to Lord Keith and to you that we are indebted for the possession of it, while cold water was thrown upon the idea by every person who could assist.

"I hope you will, if you go upon service again, find it "such as may be to your satisfaction. I need not say "how happy all here that were once under your command "would be to serve under it again; but if you should find "that about our Commander-in-chief it is a greater re-"commendation to have partaken of his reverses than "in another part of the world to have been of any use, "I hope you will not be in the least hurt at such a "circumstance.

"Most truly yours,
"WILLIAM GORDON, Capt. R.E."
"BRIGR.-GENL. GRAHAM,
"etc., etc."

"Palermo, Oct. 5th, 1800.

"Sir,

"I have received your favour of the 30th Sepr., and I send you in another paper the declarations and thanks of His Sicilian Majesty for your good services, zeal, and attention in the common cause, constantly paid, but especially in what regards His Majesty's particular concern and service. By a courier going to London in a short time the same acknowledgments shall be properly presented on the same account to His Britannic Majesty.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,
"J. ACTON."

[&]quot;BRIGADIER-GENERAL GRAHAM."

From Lieutenant-General Fox.

"Government House, Mahon, gth November, 1800.

" Dear Sir,

"I had the honour to receive your letter of the "1st October, and, as the late events in Italy will have "prevented your returning to England the way you in-"tended, I think it probable this may find you at Messina. "Sir Ralph Abercromby is expected here every day with "the whole of the force he took away with him, and a "considerable part of what came out with Sir James "Pulteney, who is himself, with about 4,500 of limited " service troops, gone to Lisbon. You will easily imagine "that Sir Ralph and his force are not to remain here, "which is all I at present can tell you of their destination. "It gives me the most sincere gratification that my con-"duct has been acceptable to you, and I have only to "regret that the respect I wish to show to your character, "conduct, and abilities, have not been more successful. "Believe me, dear Sir, I shall ever retain in my memory "the satisfaction I felt in carrying on the public duty with "you while under my command, and with the most sincere "good wishes for your health and happiness, I remain, " Dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant, "FOX."

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL GRAHAM."

From Trieste Colonel Graham went to Udine where he was seriously indisposed, and had to delay his journey for some days. He was well enough, however, to move on the 10th of December, and proceeded by Castelfranco and Cittadella to Verona, where he was met by Lord William Bentinck, with whom he at once called on General Bellegarde, the Commander-in-chief of the Austrian army,

which was posted on the ground he knew so well in 1796. At head-quarters he met several of his old friends, amongst others General Zach, the Quarter-Master General, who gave him quarters, and arranged everything for his comfort. Mantua was revisited, and Colonel Graham also went to see the spot where he had landed on the occasion of his escape from the city. There he found his Pictole guide, in whose company he went over the ground, and saw with astonishment the positions of the French sentries and picquets whose vigilance it seemed incredible he could have baffled.

General Bellegarde on the 17th made a reconnaissance towards Sonato with no particular result; and on the 21st, the French attacked and forced Count Hohenzollern to recross the Mincio. Lord W. Bentinck and Colonel Graham having left early on that day on their way to Venice were, to their great sorrow, absent from the fray, as well as from the hard-fought battles of Pozzolo and Mozambano. After a short stay at Venice, Colonel Graham returned to the Austrian army, and was with it at the time of the signing of the peace of Luneville, about which time he received a letter from Sir Ralph Abercromby, which decided him to go to England. After a stay of about ten days at Vienna, where he received as a souvenir from the Queen of Naples an enamelled box with her cipher in brilliants on the lid,* he set out for Cuxhaven, where he arrived on the 29th of March, 1801, and landed at Yarmouth on the 2nd of April, whence he went at once to London.

To Sir Ralph Abercromby.

" Ancona, 23rd Novr., 1800.

" My dear Sir,

"On receiving your letter of the 30th August, "I asked General Pigot for six months' leave of absence,

^{*} In the collection of Mr. Maxtone-Graham.

"in order to go home on private business, and I have been for some time waiting here for a safe conveyance to Venice.

"I am confident you will not suspect me either of want of zeal or of not being most sincerely desirous of serving under your orders, if I do not immediately join the 90th Regiment.

"I wrote some time ago very fully to Mr. Dundas, in "the hopes that His Majesty's Ministers will think it "right, in consideration of the situation they allowed me "to hold so long in Malta, to represent to His Majesty "that my being denied the privilege of serving with the "same rank must appear to the whole army as a strong "mark of disapprobation of my conduct there. And I freely "confess that my feelings are such as cannot incline me "to submit tamely to a stigma which I am conscious I do "not deserve. But if you think that I can be useful in any "other capacity than in that of merely serving with my "regiment (probably under the command of younger "Colonels) I shall have great satisfaction in joining you.

"Should the recommencement of hostilities determine "you to land on the continent of Italy, there might be a "very considerable additional force obtained, by taking "into British pay a body of Italians. The animosity of "the Tuscan peasants is now little less against the Aus-"trians than against the French, as they think they have "been betrayed; but they would gladly join your "standard, and though it would not be a very pleasant "sort of service, yet I am very willing to undertake it if "you should approve of the plan, and think me fit to be "employed in it. The advantage of numbers in such a " war as this, even though the quality of all should not be "the best, is too obvious to be insisted on. I shall mean-"while endeavour to get to Monsieur de Bellegarde's "head-quarters. If he is successful at first, the French " must evacuate Tuscany at all events.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"La Valette, Dec. 15th, 1800.

" Dear Sir,

"I have the honor of your letter of the 23rd ult., "from Ancona. Your zeal for the service is superior to "every difficulty, and I should truly wish you at the head " of the 90th Regiment, but you know that it would only "embarrass me, and would not be gratifying to yourself. "Your rank I apprehend you will never get, and your " friends could not wish to see you without it. The affairs " of Italy seem unsettled. The poor Tuscans have been "ill-used, their spirit is superior to their strength; a small "body may do wonders for a moment, but cannot resist "long a contest with so superior a force. The best advice "their friends can give them is to be quiet; to encourage "them to come forward at present would lead them into a "serious scrape. You see in the Tuscans the effect of good "government, they have long had princes who regarded "the right of the people, and the people have acquired " sentiments which even their enemies ought to respect.

"I take it for granted that your present affairs will lead you to England. Wishing you everything that is good, "I have the honor to be, dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"RA. ABERCROMBY."

When he arrived in London, Colonel Graham found a letter from the Neapolitan Minister, conveying to him the insignia of the order of St. Ferdinand, which he had refused when in Italy.

"Le Prince de Castelcicala a l'honneur de présenter ses "complimens à Monsieur le Général Graham, et il a celui de "lui remettre les deux Paquets relatifs à l'ordre de St. Ferdi-"nand et du mérite, avec la croix, et la ruban de l'ordre.* "Wimpole Street,

" ce 18 Févr., 1801."

^{*} In the collection of Mr. Maxtone Graham.

"General Graham, recevez mes sincères remercimens pour avoir voulu attendre la lettre qui j'ai écrite au Ministre du Roi, mon épouse, un parfait honnête homme, et auquel je vous prie de vive voix de faire mes sincères complimens et assurances d'amitié. Veuillez bien accepter un très petit souvenir, pour vous rapeller le nom de celle qui n'oublira jamais que votre présence et prudence à Messine lui a sauvé la Sicile, et aidé à reprendre le royaume de Naples. De pareils services ne peuvent se payer que par une éternelle reconnaissance, aussi je la ressens bien entièrement, et vous prie seulement d'accepter mon nom pour ne point oublier celle, que quelconque sera mon sort, sera toujours votre reconnaissante,

"CHARLOTTE."

" Vienne, le 14 Mars, " 1801."

" Madame,

"Milord Minto vient de me remettre la lettre et "le magnifique présent, avec le précieux chiffre de votre "Majesté, dont vous voulez m'honorer.

"J'aurais désiré avoir eu l'occasion d'avoir mérité une grace si distinguée. Mais ce témoignage flatteur de l'ap- probation de votre Majesté m'est cher au dela de toute expression. J'en suis pénétré, et je ne cesserai de former de vœux pour le bonheur de votre Majesté.

"J'aurai soin de remettre entre les mains du Prince "Castelcicala la lettre de votre Majesté, et j'ai l'honneur "de prier votre Majesté d'agréer l'hommage des sentimens "du profond respect et de la vive reconnaissance avec "lesquels je serai toujours,

" Madame,

"Votre très humble et très dévoué serviteur, "THOS. GRAHAM."

" Vienne, 14 Mars, 1801."

Colonel Graham remained in London until the 27th of April, when he went to Scotland, where he visited his

numerous friends, and looked over his estates, though he stayed but little at Balgowan, as he could not bear to reside alone in a place so endeared to him by past memories. While in the north he received the news of the actions of the 8th and 13th of March in Egypt, and at once determined to rejoin the 9oth. Before leaving England, however, hearing that the Duke of York had expressed some surprise at his being absent from his regiment, he wrote and explained his reasons for being at home, and received a most courteous reply.

To H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"12, Stratton Street, 25th May, 1801.

"Sir,

"I beg leave to state to your Royal Highness" that I asked for leave to come home on private business from Malta, in consequence of having received a letter from Sir Ralph Abercromby, dated Mahon, 30th August, 1800, in answer to my request to be employed more immediately under his command, in which he says 'a sudden order has been received to withdraw the troops from hence, leaving a competent garrison under General Fox, who will have the command in the Mediterranean; we sail to-morrow.'

"I concluded from this communication that there was "no intention of carrying on active operations in that "quarter, otherwise I should undoubtedly have waited to "accompany the expedition to Egypt.

"Having lately had access to know your Royal High"ness' opinion on the appointment Lieutenant General
"Fox gave me in Malta, and from which situation I got
"my leave of absence from Major General Pigot, I can"not doubt but that I may consider myself as free from
"any tie on that account, and having been informed that
"reinforcements are going to Egypt, which makes me
"presume that the war there may be protracted, I am

"extremely anxious to serve with the army there by im"mediately joining the 90th Regiment, which I am more
than ever proud of having raised for His Majesty's
service since it has gained such distinction.

"I mean to go out by the first opportunity, but I con"sidered it as my duty to trouble your Royal Highness
"with this letter to explain the circumstances of my
"absence from the regiment, to ask your commands, and
"above all to have the opportunity of deprecating the
"idea that it was possible for me, at any moment of my
"life, so far to have forgotten the respect due to the son of
"my Sovereign, and my Commander-in-Chief, as so have
"intended in any instance to have given your Royal
"Highness the slightest cause of offence.

"I have the honour to remain, with sentiments of the "greatest respect,

"Your Royal Highness'

"etc., etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM.

"Col. 90th Regt."

"HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK, etc., etc., etc."

From H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"Horse Guards, May 29th, 1801.

"Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th inst. in which you acquaint me with your intention of proceeding immediately to Egypt to join the of 90th Regiment.

"I can not but highly applaud the zeal which you show upon this occasion, particularly as I should have felt a delicacy in giving you any orders to that purpose, being aware that it might be unpleasant to you to be under the necessity of serving under junior Colonels who are Brigadier-Generals in that army.

"I take this opportunity of assuring you that the whole "of my conduct towards you has been influenced solely by "a sense of my public duty, and that I shall be happy at "all times to attend to any wish of yours that does not "interfere with it.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours most sincerely,
"FREDERICK."

"COLONEL GRAHAM,
" goth Regiment."

The gallantry displayed by his regiment in Egypt, made Colonel Graham very anxious to rejoin it before a termination of hostilities should put an end to its opportunities of still further distinguishing itself. Having now no ties to keep him at home, his preparations for departure were soon made, and on the 30th of May he embarked on board the Agincourt, which sailed at 5 o'clock on the following morning. Gibraltar was reached on the 18th of June, and on the 1st of July he was received in a most flattering manner by his friends in Malta. After a very brief stay off the island, the Agincourt again proceeded on her way, and on the 9th was in sight of the French and English camps near Alexandria. In the evening, she entered the bay of Aboukir and anchored near the Foudroyant, from which ship information was obtained that the French had agreed to evacuate Cairo, and were to be embarked at Rosetta and Aboukir. Colonel Graham was much disappointed at this good news, and started at once for Gizeh, where he arrived on the 13th, two days before the army commenced its march to the coast. The appearance of the 90th, and the praise bestowed upon it by General Hutchinson, gratified him exceedingly. He accompanied it to the coast, and was present at the surrender of Alexandria; after which, all chance of active service being at an end, he applied for leave to visit Constantinople in company with Mr. Hutchinson, the General's brother.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Camp on the Nile, five days from Cairo, "22nd July, 1801.

" My dear Brother,

"After a very pleasant and favourable voyage of less than six weeks, I arrived in the famous bay of Aboukir, and immediately proceeded up this river in an Arab boat, and joined the camp, opposite to Cairo, on the 14th. The army marched the next morning, preceded by a Turkish corps under the Captain Pacha, and followed

" by the French, who had delivered up Cairo.

"I was glad to see so extraordinary a scene as this "assemblage of people of such different countries pre-"sented, forming, as it were, only one column. I stayed " some days to see the Pyramids, Cairo, etc., and followed "down in one of our gunboats, and only arrived in the "camp yesterday. You must not, therefore, expect me to "give you any account of the operations of the army. "Should there still be anything important of which I am "an eye-witness, I shall not fail to communicate. The "regret of the army for the loss of their General, Sir R. "Abercromby, is as universal as it is just. The only " point to which my enquiries have been very particularly "directed, is the conduct of the 90th on the 13th of March, " and I will venture to assert that it was an example of the " most perfect discipline and intrepidity under the most "trying circumstances.

"Marched back to camp from the picquet duty of the "night (owing to a mistake of the orders not being com-"municated)—the army gone. Galloped back again to "form the advanced guard of the first line; light infantry "just thrown out, and the regiment in the act of counter-"marching, saluted with a violent fire of grape and mus-"ketry, and immediately charged by cavalry when nobody

" suspected an enemy was near. They repulsed the cavalry,

"and formed under a renewal of such a fire as made it "impossible to stand still. They ceased firing, advanced, "corrected their line, fired, ceased, advanced again, driving "a far superior enemy from two successive heights covered "with bush, and there waited for the advance of the brigade. "No other regiment that day was at all in similar circum-"stances, as they were always formed before they came "into action, and never were attempted by cavalry, which "got enough from the 90th to satisfy them for the remainder "of the day. By all accounts, nothing could exceed the "conduct of the troops in the different actions; but their bravery has been more conspicuous than their order, for "there has been frequent instances of confusion, but none "of consequent dismay.

"3rd August in camp, seven miles from Rosetta. Two"thirds of the French from Cairo are to our great joy
"embarked; their numbers, far beyond belief, made it an
"anxious time. I hope we shall very soon join the corps
"before Alexandria, and be actively employed in reducing
"that only remaining hold the enemy have in Egypt. I
"believe Abdallah is our old friend the Bâaron Menou.
"I hope so, that I might laugh at him by and bye, for he
"is extremely insolent. God bless you all, remember me
"to all, and believe me ever most affecly yours,

"T. G."

"I grieve for McKenzie being taken from us, as he "wishes so much to stay; for certainly we owe it to him to be so perfect as everybody now must allow us, and "do here."

They left Alexandria in a Turkish corvette on the 7th of September, and on the 13th landed at the town of Atalia, situated in a deep bay surrounded by very high mountains, and at once proceeded to the Governor's house, in order, by his help, to obtain horses to enable them to proceed on their journey. On the following day they crossed the mountains, and after a short halt at Atalia, arrived at

Stanaz, a large and populous village, where the inhabitants received them with great cordiality. After partaking of a meal à la Turque, with the brother of the Governor of Atalia, the journey was resumed, and after passing through very varied scenery, the party arrived at Bonour, a large village surrounded by poplars and walnut-trees.

The trip was nearly stopped at this place owing to the behaviour of some of the retainers, who forcibly seized on a man's horse, a riot ensued, and the horse was recovered by its owner, and an appeal to the Cadi resulted in their procuring some sorry beasts, with which they were, under the circumstances, willing to be contented. The town of Seihant was reached on the 18th, and the next day on leaving it, the road ran through a broken country highly cultivated, bordered on each side by high mountains; the scenery was most charming, but was completely eclipsed by the view of Constantinople, which they neared on the 20th. Colonel Graham in a letter to a friend mentions the scene as it appeared to him: -" It is next to im-"possible to form an idea of any thing more beautiful "and magnificent than this approach to Constantinople, "along a fine terrace sometimes higher, and sometimes "lower, but always sufficiently elevated to command "the whole prospect of the sea of Marmora, with its "islands, and the entrance to the Straits of the Bos-"phorus by a wooded point on the east or Asiatic side, " and that of the seraglio on the other. The town appears "to be of vast extent, and is shown on the hanging banks " of the different hills which border the harbour and the "canal to great advantage from the Asiatic side, and the "number of mosques, with their minarets, give it an "appearance of great grandeur. The mixture of the foliage " of the gardens with the cypress-trees of the burying "grounds adds also greatly to its beauty."

At Scutari, Colonel Graham left Mr. Hutchinson, and pushed on to Pera, where he heard that Lord Elgin was

in the country, at Buyuckdere, whither he proceeded, and where he was most kindly received. His time was now occupied in seeing all the curiosities of this city, in company with his host and hostess, at whose request he remained some days, to be present at the christening of their infant child.

To Lord Cathcart.

" 21st Sept., 1801.

"I have but a moment to be in time for Lord "Elgin's courier. I am very comfortable in his house on "the Hellespont, after riding post across Asia Minor with "Mr. Hutchinson (the General's brother), who brought "despatches here. I return to Malta, viâ Trieste, crossing "the country somewhere so as to avoid , probably "by Vienna. Lord Elgin proposed to me to-day to go by "Moscow for the Emperor's coronation, which at first I "thought (if not a persiflage) was at least a plaisanterie, "but he urged it so seriously as a proper thing for an "officer from the Egyptian army to do, that I should have "felt tempted but for two important considerations, one "that I should never choose to volunteer on such a kind " of service without any authority whatever, and the other "that I would not on any account run the risk of not being "back at Malta in time to go with my regiment, should "any other active service occur. Besides, I don't feel I "have a right to call myself belonging to the Egyptian "army, of whose exploits I have no right to speak but "by hearsay. If this is illegible I can't help it, for I am "hurried to death, and my hand not steadied yet; we only "arrived yesterday. This canal is by far the most magni-"ficent and beautiful scene in the world; we have just "seen this morning a Gerita which the Grand Seignior "ordered on purpose for Hutchinson (which was never "done before, I believe, for any stranger), at which he "assisted himself. In case you should be so ignorant as "not to know, it is a mock fight on horseback, with rods by way of lances, which they throw at one another with astonishing dexterity. It was the prettiest spectacle imaginable, and but one tumble, with 60 or 70 horsemen in the same space and going at the same pace. In England 30 at least would have been down at once. God bless you all.

" Ever yours,

" T. G."

At length, on the 11th of October, as Mr. Hutchinson was anxious to proceed, they crossed from Pera to Stamboul, and moved on to Ponte Piccolo, where they remained that night. After a ride through a most beautiful country and passing by Adrianople, they arrived at Sophia on the 19th, where they rested for some days. Their route afterwards was somewhat devious being by Hermanstadt to Buda, near which town Colonel Radetzky was stationed, and with whom Colonel Graham stayed for some time. He arrived in England at the end of the year, and received the following a few days after landing:—

"Mulgrave Castle, Whitby,
"Jany. 3rd, 1802.

" Dear Graham,

"I have just read in the newspaper of your arrival in London—I hope in good health. I shall be anxious to know whether there is any gleam of hope that you may establish a permanent rank in the service; pray give me notice if anything favourable should occur.

"Ever yours sincerely,
"MULGRAVE."

He stayed in town for some time, using his best endeavours to get his rank made permanent, and awaiting the arrival of his regiment which had returned to Malta from Egypt, and was expected in England daily. His time was also occupied with his parliamentary duties, which from his absence from England now became imperative; and letters which he from time to time received necessitated his looking after the requirements of the 90th, which after the late campaign were naturally urgent.

" Malta, Feby. 23rd, 1802.

" My dear Sir,

"I do not know that you are yet arrived in "England, but in case you should be there I beg to inform "you that we are ordered to embark the day after to-"morrow, and General Fox tells me that our destination "is Portsmouth, so you may expect us very soon after you "receive this, as I understand we sail immediately. The "Mercury is ordered off in a hurry, and I have not many "minutes to write. The conduct of the regiment at Malta "has been in every respect most correct. General Fox and "General Villette have on many occasions expressed their "approbation of the regiment. I am now just returned "from General Villette, he in the strongest manner spoke "of the orderly good conduct of the 90th since it has been "in his garrison.

"The new clothing has not been put on—it is ready "to land in. No gaiters were sent out, consequently we "are in great want of them, and if you should receive this "before the regiment arrives, I know you will have the "goodness to order sufficient for the whole regiment to "be ready. We are to embark in three ships, the "Alexandria, Ranger, and Orpheus; the two latter are "excellent transports.

"I am, my dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and sincere,

"R. HILL."

The peace of Amiens, signed on the 25th of March, caused great anxiety to the Colonel of the 90th, whose

position in the army depended entirely on its existence, and who now foresaw, as a necessary adjunct to the conclusion of hostilities, a general disbanding of those corps which, raised in 1794, had so materially aided to save England from serious disaster. Impelled by his strong desire to adhere to the profession he had adopted, Colonel Graham again besought the Duke of York to renew his commission, in a letter dated

To H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"Stratton Street, 30th March, 1802.

"I am so much aware that your Royal Highness "may accuse me at once of disrespectful perseverance, "that I must begin by entreating you to read my letter, "and not condemn me (unheard, for the last time) for

"once more troubling your Royal Highness about myself.

"I earnestly hope and trust that the explanation which "I was permitted to make last year through Mr. Adam, "removed from your Royal Highness' breast those un-"favourable impressions which unfortunately you had so "long entertained, owing to my conduct having been "misunderstood.

"I trust, too, that my immediate determination at that "time to join the 90th Regiment in Egypt must have "satisfied you that I never had at any period entertained an "idea of declining any service whatever as commanding "officer of it, and that you will believe me in declaring "that I was resolved to continue during the war to serve with it, agreeable to the true spirit of my offer when I "undertook the levy for His Majesty's service, and without "ever troubling your Royal Highness with any further application about my rank.

"The circumstance of the conclusion of the treaty of peace could alone induce me to break through that determination, and when your Royal Highness has read what I shall take the liberty of stating for your con-

"sideration, I flatter myself you will not judge of my motives otherwise than as they are. I mean that my excuse for again_intruding myself on your Royal High-ness rests on the excess of my anxiety to devote my life to His Majesty's service, and from knowing that this is, perhaps, the only moment when anything I can urge can be of any avail.

"In doing this I do not mean to trespass on your Royal "Highness's patience by entering into any details, except "just solemnly to declare that, though I never was actually "gazetted for any of the subaltern commissions, yet the "plan was arranged and a negotiation was begun that "would have established my rank by purchase as others "had done.

"Lord Harrington and Lord Mulgrave, who kindly " offered me assistance in passing through commissions "in their respective regiments, are well acquainted with "this fact. I here must add that the only reason why I "had delayed so long coming to that resolution was a "promise which Mr. Dundas had made me in consider-"ation of the enormous expense of the levy, to exert his "influence to get the rank confirmed without further "expense. Confiding, unfortunately, in this promise, I "lost the opportunity. Comparing the successful exertions "I made to complete in so short a time a regiment of two "battalions, and my uniform zeal to be employed on "active service, with the conduct of most of those who "established their rank by rapid purchase, I may be "allowed to lament as a hardship being just excluded by "the regulation your Royal Highness made to put an "end to the abuse at the moment I was employed in "looking out for a majority in Ireland.

"Without any prejudice to the principle of such a "necessary regulation, some few exceptions seem to have been made to it since, and in the course of a long war circumstances may arise to justify occasional exceptions, which cannot be the ground of just complaint, as

"probably it was not your Royal Highness's intention to make any pledge to the army in His Majesty's name of the sacrifice of any part of the prerogative of the Crown, and more especially never can have that effect while the army has the happiness of being under your command. I may, without presumption, declare my firm conviction, from the flattering manner the officers with whom I have served have expressed themselves, that no such feeling would be raised in the army by any mark of Royal favour that would establish me in the service. But it is not for me to enter into a detail of any particular services which might seem to justify my asking for such a distinction.

"I beg leave only once more to deprecate the idea of "my ever having for a moment lost sight of that respect "towards your Royal Highness which my duty and my "inclination equally bind me to.

"I wish, too, to disclaim any idea of emolument in this "application. Should your Royal Highness, on a review of the whole subject, and from all the tenor of my "conduct, be inclined to recommend my case to His "Majesty's gracious consideration as one that might be excepted from the general rule, any appointment, such as extra aide-de-camp to the King, that had no pay, but "which, admitting me to permanent rank, might, perhaps, give me an opportunity of serving in another war in a "superior rank, would be received with the most sincere gratitude by one whose heart bleeds at the thoughts of being dismissed from a profession which he is so much devoted to.

"Allow me to add, Sir, that, though pressed since my return by many of my friends to take some steps towards the attainment of this favourite object of my ambition, I constantly declined it, conceiving it might give offence to your Royal Highness.

"No one knows of this application, which the pressure of this crisis and my extreme anxiety force me to make

"in the confidence of forgiveness, if not of favour, from your Royal Highness's goodness, and I preferred doing so in writing that your Royal Highness might give the subject a more deliberate consideration under circumstances different from those which, perhaps, guided your judgment formerly. But at all events, I beg to be permitted to assure your Royal Highness of the unalterable sentiments of respect and attachment with which I have the honour to be,

"etc., etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK."

From H.R.H. the Duke of York.

" Horse Guards, April 2nd, 1802.

"Sir,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, "and cannot but lament that I do not feel myself at "liberty to recommend to His Majesty any desertion from "the established rules of the service in your instance. "I can assure you that I am only influenced by what I "consider to be a due sense of my public duty in making "this determination, being convinced that it would be "highly detrimental to His Majesty's service ever to "recommend to His Majesty to admit into His service "officers who have not regularly risen in the army.

"I am fully sensible of the zeal which prompted you in the first instance to raise a regiment, and which equally influenced you to proceed to Egypt, when you were fully apprised of the impossibility of your rank in the service being made permanent.

"I am, Sir,
"Yours,
"FREDERICK.
"Commander-in-Chief."

"COLONEL GRAHAM, 90th Regt."

The first division of the 90th Regiment arrived in England on the 1st of April, 1802, having served with marked distinction wherever its services had been required. It was no longer a new levy of untried material. The men who had been so rapidly brought together eight years before, had been nearly the whole of that time on foreign service, and had, but lately, conquered the tried troops of France, and earned the approbation of the veteran chief Sir R. Abercromby, whose death a few days after their début in the field, made his praises more than doubly valued.

From Colonel R. Hill.

"Spithead, H.M.S. Alexandria, "1st April, 1802.

" My dear Sir,

"I beg to inform you, that I arrived here this "morning with part of your regiment, the remainder is in "transports, and I imagine will be here in the course of "this day or to-morrow.

"If you received a letter I sent by the Mercury you "would know that we were to embark on the 25th of "February, which we did, and were weighing the next day when the capstern of this ship broke and detained us two days, and was the cause of our sailing without convoy and arriving here before it; we saw some of them off Cape Finisterre, and I hope they will not be many hours after us. In my letter to you I requested you would order gaiters for the whole regiment, which the regiment is in the greatest want of, and I hope they will reach Portsmouth before we go on shore, for the men have none. I hope I shall hear from you by return of post, we are all very anxious to know our destination.

"I do not know how many days we shall form quaran-

"tine, we are free from plague and sickness, and I hope "we shall not be kept very long.

"Your sincere and faithful, "R. HILL."

"P.S.—The Alexandria is the first ship from Malta. "We sailed on the 28th Febry. General Fox and Lord "Keith were there. General Moncrieff is at Minorca."

Rumour was rife at this time that the 90th was to be disbanded, and its being ordered to Scotland seemed to confirm the news, as the majority of the men would then be near their homes. Colonel Graham immediately communicated with the Duke of York on the subject, as some junior regiments were, it was understood, going to be retained.

To H.R:H. the Duke of York.

"Stratton Street, 10th May, 1802,

"Sir,

"Colonel Browning delivered your Royal "Highness' message to me, and I beg leave shortly to "recapitulate the heads of it that I may not be supposed "to have misunderstood it.

"He stated that your Royal Highness had His "Majesty's commands to inform officers with temporary "rank that His Majesty had no further occasion for their services. That it was not your Royal Highness' intention to recommend the reduction of the 90th regiment. "That you were aware that my letter of service gave me a right to command it while it continued on the establishment. That your Royal Highness would feel great compunction at being obliged to recommend the reduction of a regiment which had so eminently distinguished itself, and that as my rank could not be made

" permanent, this communication was made to me to give me an opportunity of saving the regiment from reduction

" by resigning the command of it.

"Allow me, Sir, to state to your Royal Highness that "the nature of my contract with Government seems to have been lost sight of, or misunderstood.

"The pressure of the war obliged Government in 1794" to hold out the strongest temptations to great exertions in raising and completing the new levies rapidly. The contingent advantages held out by my letter of service were:—the probability of the regiment being included in a peace establishment, and the certainty in that event of my retaining the command, not indeed with permanent rank, but with a species of temporary rank not depending on nor connected with the duration of the war.

"Reasons of policy oblige His Majesty to keep up a "high military peace establishment, and I am thereby brought within the letter and spirit of the contract on the faith of which I acted. The 89th regiment was already established, many other letters of service had been previously granted for raising regiments then in great forwardness, five others were issued at the same date with mine, yet, notwithstanding, my levy became the 90th regiment, and the next of the others bearing the same date of the letters of service became only the 98th; these circumstances and the high character of the regiment are indisputable proofs of my having fulfilled the obligations of the contract to the utmost possible extent.

"I cannot therefore resign the command of the regi-"ment, but I trust with confidence for the preservation of "my own and the regiment's interests in His Majesty's "justice.

"I have the honor to be,

"etc., etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

From H.R.H. the Duke of York.

" Horse Guards, 13th May, 1802.

"Sir,

"I take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge "the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, written in "consequence of the message which I sent to you through "Major-General Brownrigg, but which I imagine you did "not thoroughly comprehend.

"It was my intention in the general arrangement of the army, to recommend to His Majesty to retain, at least for the present, the services of the 90th regiment, considering your situation as the Colonel of it, with temforary rank only, as ceasing of course with the war. Finding, however, to my great surprise, an extraordinary clause in your letter of service, which stipulates, 'that if the person recommended for the command of the regiment was not in the army, he was to have temporary rank during the continuance of the regiment upon the establishment,' and feeling reluctant that this error in the letter of service, which was not adverted to till lately, should so materially affect a regiment which had distinguished itself during the war, I desired Major-General Brownrigg to state the case to you.

"Not having been in the situation which I now hold at "the time of the issuing of the letter of service for raising "the 90th Regiment, I cannot account for the motives "that produced the particular clause alluded to; but it is "impossible for me to suppose that it could enter into the "imagination of anybody that a person who is expressly "mentioned as holding only temporary rank in the army "should at a peace remain in the command of a permanent "regiment.

"It has already been my duty to explain to you the im-"possibility of your obtaining permanency in the service, "and should it be thought expedient to adhere strictly to "the letter of the particular condition alluded to, you must " necessarily return to the situation of Lieutenant-Colonel

"Commandant, that being the temporary rank granted to

"you by His Majesty on the raising of the regiment, with-

"out any prospect of future advancement, a predicament

"in which I conclude you cannot desire to be placed.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours,

"FREDERICK,
"Commander-in-Chief."

"COLONEL GRAHAM, "etc., etc."

To H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"Stratton Street, 18th May, 1802.

" Sir,

"If I take the liberty of writing again, it is rather "out of respect than with the hope of being able to add "anything material to what I had the honour of stating "to your Royal Highness.

"It is impossible for me to doubt of the intention of Government having been such as I represented.

"It was universally understood that the clause alluded "to in my letter of service, and which I believe was in "others of that date, was inserted for the purpose of "holding out a great contingent advantage to those who "hastened to complete the levies. I acted on it in the "belief that my own interest and that of the regiment "might eventually be equally benefited by my exertions.

" might eventually be equally benefited by my exertions.

"I must consider myself as indeed particularly unfor"tunate, if, after having missed the opportunity of es"tablishing my rank permanently (first owing to my
"confidence in Mr. Dundas's promise, and then owing to
"my never having received any notice of your Highness
having fixed a period for allowing officers to pass through
the subordinate ranks), my services should become so

"obnoxious as that so meritorious a regiment should be exposed to suffer on my account.

"I formerly explained to your Royal Highness how "little I was actuated by any view to emolument, and how anxious I was not to be entirely dismissed the service. "Having now no other chance whatever of keeping my "footing, that may enable me in the event of another war, to serve with such a command as that of a regiment of established reputation, I trust I shall stand excused for not voluntarily relinquishing the command of it. But conscious of having endeavoured to behave so as not to incur censure or disgrace, I submit myself to that justice which guides your Royal Highness in the administration of the army, and which His Majesty shows on all occa-

"I have the honour to be,

" etc., etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"To HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK."

After the eminent services he had performed, and the distinguished conduct of the regiment he had raised, the treatment he was now receiving naturally fully roused the anger of Colonel Graham, who determined that he would not give up the command of the 90th as long as it existed. His feelings were very little against the Government which had promised much, but when the hour of danger was seemingly passed, refused everything, and his opinion on the subject is very clearly given in a letter to Mr. Greenwood.

" 15th July, 1802.

"I certainly rejoice to hear of the promotion going in the regiment, and especially as it is meant as a public testimony of approbation of their behaviour. It may help to do away with the impression made (unintentionally I dare say) by the manner in which the Secretary of War explained the establishment of the army to the House.

"For after stating that four young British regiments were to be reduced, he accounted for keeping up two foreign regiments by dwelling on their distinguished services during the campaign in Egypt, of course the natural inference was that those British regiments were destined to be reduced as not entitled to favour from the same plea of merit.

"Captain ———— is a lucky man to have got this step "for staying at home. Lord Hutchinson very properly "considered the eldest Captain present with the regiment "as the most deserving of promotion, and recommended "poor Napier for the purchase of Vigoreux's majority. "The case of the Serjeant-Major is still harder, as he "might have been Adjutant to an old regiment more than "area"

"once. "As to my interference in favour of anybody, it is entirely "out of the question, for even supposing that there was "any chance of success, it is impossible for me ever to ask "a favour of a Government which has marked me for an " object of persecution, and has loaded me with the eternal " regret of having occasioned the ruin of the officers whom "it was my duty to protect to the utmost. It is some "comfort to reflect that I acted by the judgment of others, "to whose decision I left the question. I have only to " reproach myself with having acquiesced in their opinion. "As a sincere and zealous friend to my King and "country, I regret, too, that I should be placed as a beacon " to warn men of honour from standing forward in a moment " of emergency. Had I acted like a scoundrel throughout "the whole business, I should probably have made eight "or ten thousand pounds by the levy instead of losing "that sum, and have had permanent rank in the army, and "Government would have kept faith with me by continuing "me in the command of the regiment, instead of thinking "it necessary to reduce three regiments in order to reduce "me. Would to God the vengeance had only extended to " me by dismissing me the service, and retaining a regiment

"which had gained completely that invaluable principle of esprit de corps which secured its good behaviour on every occasion. It may not be long before the country has to regret the loss of such a corps for such a cause; I did not mean to say all this, and especially to you, my dear Greenwood, whose kind friendship I have had so many proofs of, that I know you will feel for my feeling so strongly on this subject. But though these are my unalterable sentiments, it is for the last time that I express them to you—the occasion was too tempting, and you must excuse me. Adieu.

"Yours sincerely,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

In the autumn he went to Scotland, where the cordial manner in which he was received by all ranks served to soothe his ruffled feelings, and in Perth he obtained the thanks of his constituency at a full meeting of the county.

"At Perth, the fifth day of October, eighteen hundred "and two years.

"In a General Meeting of the Noblemen, Freeholders, "Justices of the Peace, and Commissioners of Supply for the County of Perth, Sederunt:—

- " His Grace the Duke of Athole.
- "The Earl of Kinnoul.
- "The Earl of Mansfield.
- "The Earl of Breadalbane.
- " Lord Dunsinnan.
- " Lord Methven.
- "Colonel Graham, of Balgowan.
- "Sir Patrick Murray, of Ochtertyre, Bart.
- "Sir George Stewart, of Grandtully.
- "Sir Robert Menzies, of that Ilk, Bart.
- "M. Kinloch, of Gourdie.
- " Mungo Murray, of Lintrose.
- " James Rutherford, of Glendovan.

- " William McDonald, of St. Martins.
- "Lt.-Col. Jas. Sharp, of Kincarrachy.
- " Archibald Campbell, of Clathic.
- "Alexander Muir McKenzie, of Delvin.
- " Major John Murray, yr., of Lintrose.
- "Thomas Hunter, of Glencarse.
- " James Keay, of Sueago.
- " James -, of Milnearn.
- " John Smith, of Balharry.
- "Lieut.-General Drummond, of Strathallan.
- "Col. Allan McPherson, of Blairgowrie.
- " Major John Drummond, of Gairdrum.
- " Archibald McDuff, of Springfield.
- " Capt. James Rattray, of Arthurstone.
- " James Stewart Oliphant, of Rossie.
- " James Hay, of Seggieden.
- "George Kinloch, of Kinloch.
- "Ebenezer Marshal, of Kilcairney.
- " James Mylne, of Mylnefield.
- "George Greenlaw, of Hilton.
- " John Drummond, of Lonoch.
- "The Revd. James Beatron.
- "John Lee Allan, of Errol.
- " James Paterson, of Carpow.
- "The Provost of Perth.
- "Charles Hay, of Beechhill.
- "Major McGlashan, of Eastertyre.
- " Mr. Kinnaird, of Kinnaird.
- "John Richardson, of Pitfour.
- " Patrick Murray, of Simpson.
- " Francis Grant, of Kilgraston.
- "John Jobson, of Rosemount.
- " Alexander Moncrieff, of Barnhill.
- "Patrick Campbell, of Auchalader.
- " James Johnstone, of Kincardine.
- " James Richardson, of Kinnaird.
- "Lieut.-Gen'l Alex. Campbell, of Monzie.

- " Alexander Murray, of Ayton.
- " John Haggart, of Cairmunn.
- "John Ross, of Balgersho.
- " James Chalmers, of Grangemount.
- "John Gloag, of Greenhill.
- "His Grace the Duke of Athole chosen Preses:
- "It was unanimously resolved that the thanks of this meeting be given to Colonel Thomas Graham, of Bal-
- "gowan, the representative in Parliament for this County,
- " for his steady and uniform attention to its interest when
- "in Parliament, and for his gallant and able conduct as
- "an officer in the service of his King and country, from
- "the period of his having joined the army as a volunteer
- "at the taking of Toulon to the conclusion of the late war,
- " particularly while in command at Malta.
- "Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to
- "the Ninetieth Regiment of Foot, or Perthshire Volun-
- "teers, raised and commanded by Colonel Graham, for
- "their gallant conduct in the service of their country, and
- "that Colonel Graham be requested to communicate to
- "them the sense which this County entertains of their
- "meritorious services. Resolved, also, that the above
- "resolutions be inserted in the London and Edinburgh
- " newspapers, and in the Perthshire Intelligencer.

" (Signed) ATHOLE."

The British Government evidently knew very little of the character of the First Consul, otherwise they never would have dreamt of reducing an army, which was at no time over strong in numbers, the moment peace was proclaimed. Having proved his military genius by saving France when surrounded by enemies, and, as a natural result, holding the supreme place in the country he had redeemed, it cannot be a matter for wonder that his ambition, ever great, became, fostered by success, unbounded. When, therefore, the momentary rest afforded by the peace of Amiens was becoming irksome, he gladly seized upon the insolent expressions of the English press as a pretext for resuming a war which, early in 1803, once more convulsed Europe.

The augmentation of the naval and military forces was now the topic of the day, and the 90th, instead of being reduced, was strengthened and ordered to Ireland, where discontent, promoted by French influences, was showing itself. Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in Ireland, Colonel Graham was made Assistant Quarter Master General, and while serving in that capacity he saw Colonel Hill, whose promotion he had assisted, raised to the rank of Brigadier-General. Far from feeling any jealousy at being thus passed over, he was among the first to congratulate the new Brigadier on his well-earned advancement.

To Lord Cathcart.

" 28th Sept., 1803.

" My dear Brother,

"Finding the mail goes out late to-night I prefer "making this a long letter that I may not trouble you "again, but I wish to tell you of what has passed here "about me and my regiment; but first let me add what I "meant to have told you when I began writing, * * "tolerable horses are extremely scarce, and of course very "dear. Now for my story: on my arrival I told the "General that I knew I could not avoid serving under "younger Colonels than myself, but that I trusted he "would not disapprove of my wish to avoid doing so "when there appeared to be no occasion. That I con-"sidered myself, in some degree, as a volunteer, and that I "should not have come over at a season when the enemy "could not attempt an invasion, but for the opportunity

"I might have of seeing a great part of the country which "might become the scene of war, and because I had "friends here with whom I liked living. That, therefore, "I was desirous of avoiding doing mere garrison or regi-"mental duty for some time. He perfectly entered into "my feelings, and it was settled more in a friendly manner "than as between a Commander-in-chief and me, that he "would let me know where he wished me to join the "regiment. I then proceeded to ask him to recommend to "His Royal Highness to restore the 90th to what it "originally was, a light infantry battalion, stating that it "would be a very flattering and agreeable circumstance to "the regiment, and particularly so to me, as it might give "me a chance on service of being employed more inde-" pendently than if it remained in the line. His answer " was truly kind, for with expressions of approbation to me "and the regiment, he said that the system of making a "particular regiment a light infantry battalion was one "which he in his own mind had strong objections to, both " on account of the composition of the battalion, and on "account of its taking away from the General the oppor-"tunity of selecting an officer for that kind of service, but "that as it had been adopted in England in the case of "the 52nd, he certainly would recommend the 90th, satis-"fied that none of his general objections could refer to it. "He did so accordingly, and in course of post received "an answer from Clinton, to say that H.R.H. would take "His Majesty's pleasure on it; this is considerably more "than two months ago, and no further notice has been "taken. I have mentioned it to Greenwood, desiring him "to remind Colonel Clinton, with whom I was in good "habits when he was with Doyle, and who in some corre-"spondence we have had appears not to have forgot me. "Meanwhile, General Fox has left the light infantry "company with the regiment, and has ordered it to be "occasionally practised in light infantry movements. "Indeed, he intended to put it with two battalions of " militia light infantry at Loughrea, where I was to have "been senior officer, but on account of some doubt from "an expression in the act of parliament, of any officer "under the rank of a Brigadier-General having authority "to order Courts Martial on militia, he was obliged to " alter his intentions and to send a General Officer there. "The regiment is, therefore, halted now at Athlone, till "the temporary barracks at Ballinasloe are ready, and is "considered as in the brigade of Major-General Duncan "Campbell, who is at Athlone. It is the intermediate "stage between Loughrea and Athlone, which I mention, "as you may not yet have had time to study the map of "Ireland. Galway, indeed, was my first destination, but " on the tour Anstruther and I made, I prefered Loughrea "infinitely, for however important Galway is, it is totally "untenable. Anstruther and I were to have gone soon "into the south, and I believe the General meant to come, "but now I suppose he will not stir till your arrival. I "must just add that Captains Napier and St. George of "the 90th (on the staff at the peace) are again employed "as brigade-majors, and now the two Lieutenant-Colonels "(Moncrieff and Hill), become brigadiers, have asked for "two more, which I think too much to spare, but feel "great awkwardness in resisting. Adieu.

" Yours,
" T. G."

"P.S. If you want to have light infantry well instructed you should bring McKenzie with you from Sandgate camp."

In 1804 Napoleon became emperor, and determined to carry out his threat of chastising the English. An army of 160,000 men was assembled at Boulogne, and preparations were made for transporting it across the channel. At home 50,000 men were added to the regular forces, and measures were taken for giving the enemy a warm reception, should they ever attempt to land. To some, Ireland

seemed the most likely place for the French to disembark, as a large proportion of the population would be in their favour.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Dublin, 4th August, 1804.

"As I was not here at the time of the insurrection, "my dear brother, and, therefore, could not send you such "early, nor more authentic, information than what you "would have otherwise. Anstruther and I were at Ennis-"killen, going on to Ballyshannon, when we were called "back by an express, by this disagreeable intelligence. "As 40 men of the light company of the 21st regiment, " sent from the barracks as an escort to bring poor Colonel "Browne from his lodgings, at some distance (he had "gone out on the first alarm and was already murdered, "after having surrendered himself a prisoner), had de-"feated and dispersed the whole of the rebels whoever "showed themselves, I was much inclined to think it was "a very partial and feeble effort of a few desperate men, "determining, at all hazards, to feel the pulse of the "country and invite invasion, and this I was the more "confirmed in, from hearing that the Government were "in a manner surprised by this unexpected attack. But "many circumstances make me doubt; it has taken deep "root, and astonishing as it may appear that any con-"siderable preparation and extensive combination should "have escaped notice, yet there is every reason to fear "that the wonderful secrecy is rather a proof of the dis-"cretion and ability of the conductors, than of the want of "coadjutors in many parts of the country. The import-"ance of getting hold of Dublin, which they could only "hope to do by surprise, determined them to begin by that "attempt, and no doubt numbers of their party came from "the country to assist, but fortunately the discomfiture of "those who commenced the operation, prevented these

"other columns who had assembled on the skirts of the "town in the evening from moving. What the plan was "it is difficult to guess; the violent people say, to massacre "all protestants, and by creating terror and dismay to " prevent any successful resistance till they had forced the "whole town to join them. There does not, however, appear to have been any plan to attack the great "barracks, where two or three regiments are collected, "and which, if not dispersed on different duties, would " always have been able to have overpowered any body of "the rebels. On the Tuesday following there was an "alarm in the afternoon which created much bustle, just "as we came back to town, but for which there was not "the slightest cause, since all remains quiet here and in "the country-indeed, there was no movement in the "country of any consequence. Some people assembled "that same evening near Belfast, but made no attack. "This circumstance recalled the 90th, which had already "begun to march towards Galway. I shall go there in a "day or two to see them, and if all is tranquil shall pro-"ceed to Perthshire for ten days, from whence I shall "write to you. I believe the 90th will now be quartered "at Loughrea instead of Galway, short of it about 14 " miles, which I shall like much better, for nothing would "be more unpleasant than having, instantly on landing, "to evacuate Galway (wholly untenable however impor-"tant), though in appearance sent there to defend it.

"Adieu, my dear brother, God bless you and yours.

" T. G."

Towards the end of the year, on its being rumoured that the 90th was shortly to proceed on foreign service, Colonel Graham wrote to his cousin, General Hope, enquiring whether, in the event of his accompanying his regiment, he might hope for a permanent commission. The following reply decided him to remain in Ireland.

From General Alex. Hope.

" Octr. 21st, 1804.

" My dear Graham,

"It seemed necessary before I could answer your "letter, or indeed write upon the subject at all, that I "should ascertain:—

" 1st.—Under what circumstances the 90th were ordered "for foreign service.

" 2nd.—What the nature of that service was.

"3rd.—Whether any opportunity was thereby offered of gaining, by temporary rank or otherwise, a step towards your being established in the Army.

"The regiment goes in consequence of its having been

"determined to send the first regiment whose turn it was, " and two other regiments which have not yet been in the "West Indies. The regiments are for no particular ser-"vice, but go out as a relief or reinforcement. As to your "rank, I am sorry to observe, no consequence can follow "your accompanying the regiment, as I have sufficient "evidence to induce me to believe that the K-g has "declared that he never will grant you rank in the army. "You have sufficiently multiplied proofs of meritorious "service, and a trip to the W. Indies, without materially "adding to the catalogue, will also be of no avail. " most Quixote mind cannot suppose a point of honour to "satisfy in your situation, and your friends, therefore, are " decidedly of opinion that you should not accompany the " 90th Regiment. But as it may be material this should "not be your act, Mr. Pitt has, or immediately will, "intimate a wish to the Commander-in-Chief (for political "reasons) that you should be present at the meeting of "Parliament, and requesting that an order may be sent to "Lord Cathcart dispensing you from attending the regi-"ment. When you mention an expectation that Mr. Pitt "might now urge your claims, I am sure that you do so "without being aware that nothing can result but a per-"sonal quarrel betwixt him and the king. It has already

" produced the most decided difference which Lord Mel-

"ville as a minister ever had with the King and Comman-

"der-in-Chief, which went so far that Lord M. intimated

"that he should always consider the treatment offered to

"you as a personal incivility to himself.

"I should leave this subject incomplete if I omitted to "add that you are not considered, at the Horse Guards,

" on the King's Staff as an A.Q.M.G. in Ireland, but only

"acting under Lord Cathcart's authority; and further, if

"he proposes you as such, that he may bring on some

"unpleasant circumstance to himself.

"I sum up the whole:-

"1st.—By a decided opinion of your friends that you ought not to accompany the 90th to the West Indies.

"2nd.—I offer to your private consideration whether, "viewing the tenure of your staff situation, it would not be better to relinquish it, and either remain serving as a volunteer with Lord Cathcart, or come over and seek other pursuits in this country.

"Ever, my dear Fellow,

"Affectly yours,

"ALEX. HOPE."

From the Duke of Montrose.

"London, 3rd Dec., 1804.

" Dear Graham,

"I have received your letter and should have been "very happy to have seen you in London, had circum"stances not prevented me from that satisfaction. Had
"you thought it necessary to go to the West Indies, I
"should have regretted it much, but I am persuaded if
"you err, it will be by exposing yourself more than is
"absolutely necessary, and it cannot be expected that a
"field for military exploits such as would feed your
appetite for glory is likely there to take place, and where
you are great events may take place—events capable of
turning the scale of politics and the tide of French
preponderance in Europe.

"Pray remember me to your Commander-in-Chief, who stands in a high situation for distinction, and just at a moment of life when experience unites with the vigour necessary for military operations. Every soldier in Ireland should think that he will have to contend for the fate of his own country and of the world, as certainly there is more chance of the great fight being there contested than upon any given spot. I really think from the force now at sea, the nature of the difficulties which the French have to struggle with, and the force we can now bring against them in Kent, Essex, and Sussex, that the day for the narrow sea attack is passed.

"Yours sincerely,
"MONTROSE."

If the day for an attack on England had passed, still more remote was the opportunity for a descent being made in Ireland. The British Navy blockaded the whole of the north-western coast of France, and consequently not one of the numerous transports sheltered in the northern ports could move out from fear of certain capture. The futility of the attempt was soon perceived by Napoleon who withdrew his army from its somewhat ridiculous position on the declaration of war by Austria in August, 1805.

Colonel Graham retained his appointment on the Staff in Ireland for some months after the departure of the 90th Regiment for the West Indies. In September he was offered a confidential post with the Austrian army, which he refused, and in November, Lord Cathcart, who was about to proceed as Ambassador to Russia, begged him to accept the Secretaryship to the Embassy.

From Lord Mulgrave.

" Most Secret.

"Downing Street, Sepr. 7th, 1805.

" My dear Graham,

"I wish to employ you in a most confidential and

"active situation connected with military operations, and as there is now no danger of a descent of the French in Ireland, I make no doubt that you would rather be in the neighbourhood of an Austrian camp than of the Curragh. I need not enter into more detail to you—
"verbum sat. That there is nobody in whose zeal and talents I can have more confidence it would be most superfluous to say.

"Ever yours most truly,

"MULGRAVE."

To Lord Mulgrave.

" Private.

"Dublin, Friday, 14th Sepr., 1805.

" My dear Lord,

"I am just arrived du fond de Tipperary, where "your messenger found me on Wednesday, having been "unavoidably delayed on a road where there is not a "regular supply of post horses, and which was encumbered with the baggage of a corps of 12 battalions that are marched from the Curragh. But for this march I should have been gone into Scotland on very urgent business.

"I own I do not feel now the same zeal as formerly, and I fear, indeed, I should be considered in an Austrian camp as a degraded officer unworthy of much respect, appearing there in a stationary, or rather retrograde rank. However, I owe so much to you, my dear Lord, that I cannot hesitate in obeying your summons, and I hope to wait on you on Wednesday morning, being forced to give 48 hours to business here.

"Yours, etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Cathcart.

"Gloucester place, 21st Novr., 1805.

" My dearest Graham,

"My immediate destination has this moment "undergone a change, I may probably go to the Court " of the Russias in the spring, but I am going immediately " on an embassy, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Pleni-" potentiary to the Court of Vienna. Under these circum-"stances I am authorized by Lord Mulgrave to offer you "to accompany me on the Vienna extraordinary mission, "as secretary to the embassy, your accepting which would "give me most extraordinary delight, and I think would "not be uncomfortable to you. My departure, from the "position of affairs, cannot be long delayed, and as my "things are ready I may be obliged to set out in the end " of the next week, but if that should happen, and that I "should go without hearing from you, you would, perhaps, "overtake me at Berlin, where I may stop a day or two. "I at present think of taking with me Holland, if I can, "Lord Portarlington as A.D.C. and chevalier d'ambassade, "Frederick and one or two persons from the office.

"God bless you, ever your most affectionate
"Brother C."

"I believe if the things can be got ready I shall have "the riband this day, and I have my brevet of General "on the Continent."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Dublin, Sunday, 24th Novr., 1805."
Being on the eve of my departure I have

"been all the morning making visits of congé, and shall therefore have but a moment to answer your's just come into my hands.

"I need not say that I receive it from you and Lord "Mulgrave as an additional and flattering mark of confidence and regard, and could anything tempt me at this period of life to begin a new career, this proposal would be most joyfully accepted. But I had long made up my mind (and indeed said) that unless thought deserving of permanent military rank I never would accept of any other distinction or employment whatever, and to this resolution I can have no hesitation in adhering, however tempting this situation might be, as giving me an opportunity of being with you. I know, however, the turn of my mind is so little adapted to diplomacy, that I should only fill ill a place that requires different abilities than any I can pretend to. I am, therefore, satisfied I could be of no real use.

"Should you remain any time on this embassy, it will be a great temptation to me to endeavour to make such arrangements at home as might enable me to pay you a visit, and be for some time one of your suite, which might at the same time give me an opportunity of seeing some of my old friends in the Austrian army. I set out tomorrow, but I shall try to write to Weyrothen, Radetzky, and one or two others, to whom I owe answers, which the difficulty of finding a safe conveyance has prevented me from risking to send. God bless you."

In January, 1806, Colonel Graham visited Perth, where at a public meeting he moved an address to the King on the recent naval victories.

"At Perth the sixteenth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and six years.

"In a General Meeting of the Noblemen, Freeholders, "Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of Supply, and "Heritors of the County of Perth, called by the Conveners

- "by public advertisement in the newspapers, for the pur-
- "pose of addressing His Majesty on the lately signal
- "naval victories, and on the present most important crisis
- " of public affairs, convened:-
 - " His Grace the Duke of Athole.
 - "Rt. Honble Earl of Breadalbane.
 - "Sir Patrick Murray, of Ochtertyre.
 - "Sir Alexander McKenzie, of Delvine.
 - "Colonel Graham, of Balgowan.
 - "Alexander Murray, of Aytoun.
 - "Brigr. Genl. Wm. Robertson, of Lude.
 - " Francis Macnab, of Macnab.
 - " Captain Menzies, of Weem.
 - "James Hay, of Seggieden.
 - "Patrick Campbell, of Auchalader.
 - "Captain Robt. Drummund, of Megginch.
 - " John Murray, of Murrayshall.
 - "Colonel John Murray, of Lintrose.
 - "Alexr. Fechney, of Ardargie.
 - "John Ross, of Balgershol.
 - "John Young, of Bellwood.
 - "The Provost of Perth.
 - "Donald McIntyre, of Pitnacree.
 - " John Gloag, of Greenhill.
 - "Dr. Alexr. Stewart, of Bonskeid.
 - "William Marshall, of Grange.
 - " Charles Clarke, yr. of Princelands.
 - "Edmund Fergusson, of Balledmund.
 - "Robert Graham, of Feddal.
 - "Col. Robert Smyth, yr. of Methven.
 - "Charles Campbell, of Lochdochart.
 - "Robert Rovertson, of Auchleeks.
 - "William Dickson, of Barnhill.
 - " John Rutherford, of Newton.
 - " Charles Moray, of Abercairney.
 - "John Robertson, of Tuliebelton.
 - "Captain Campbell, of Borland.
 - " James Chalmers, of Grangemount.

"Who unanimously made choice of His Grace the Duke " of Athole to be Preses.

"Colonel Thomas Graham, of Balgowan, moved that an "address to His Majesty of the following tenor, which he "had prepared for the consideration of the meeting, and

"and which he produced and read, might be approved of " and adopted by the meeting, viz.:-

"Unto the King's Most Excellent Majesty. We, the "Noblemen, Freeholders, Justices of the Peace, Com-

"missioners of Supply, and Heritors of the County of "Perth, assembled in a General County Meeting, called

"by the Conveners, beg leave humbly to approach your

" Majesty's throne with the most fervent and sincere con-

"gratulations on the occasion of the late splendid and

"important victories, which, under the blessing of Provi-"dence, have crowned the skill and courage of your

" Majesty's navy.

"While we lament the success of insatiable ambition "on the continent which may again expose these United "Kingdoms to the hazard of an invasion, we trust there

"can be but one sentiment in the breasts of all your

" Majesty's subjects.

"Who that values the inestimable blessings of his proud "birth-right, can hesitate to risk his life and fortune to " save his country from slavery?

"Our military history affords the satisfactory reflection "that many instances are to be found in every branch of "the service, of those distinguished abilities and that "devoted patriotism which characterised the illustrious "chief, Lord Nelson, whose loss we now deplore, and "whose heroic achievements must consecrate his memory " for ever in the hearts of his countrymen.

"Should it, therefore, become necessary to fight our "enemy within these United Kingdoms, we can entertain "no doubt of the issue of the contest-certain that so "numerous and so brave a people while united and true to "themselves are invincible, and confident that the wisdom "and vigour of your Majesty's councils will direct the "energy of your people in the best manner; we look

"forward to a glorious example being set to the world by

"the triumph of the freemen in defence of their king and

" country.

"Prepared for every sacrifice that such a contest may demand, we consider ourselves as particularly called on

"to take this opportunity to renew those assurances of

" determined zeal and unalterable attachment and devotion,

"which your Majesty has a right to expect of us on so important a crisis.

"Which motion was unanimously carried.

"The meeting appoint the address prepared and produced by Colonel Graham, and now unanimously approved of, to be signed by the Preses, and by His Grace transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department to be by him laid before His Majesty.

"SIR PATRICK MURRAY."

"It was then moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to the Conveners for their attention in calling the present meeting, and to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, for his attention in preparing the address this day approved of and adopted."

From Captain Alex. Ball, R.N., Governor of Malta.

" Malta, 14th Sepr., 1806.

" My dear Sir,

"I am very much flattered by your friendly note which you sent by Sir John Moore. The recollections of past times always bring to my mind your able conduct during the trying time of the siege of La Valette, and will ever make me take a lively interest in your happiness. I had the pleasure of writing to you about two years since, and I sent to you at the same time a box of oranges which you never acknowledged the receipt of. I confess that I ascribed it to an idea that you might suppose I had

"not acted towards you with candour in not acquainting you with the complaints of the Maltese deputies against the terms of the capitulation of La Valette, as I received about this period a letter from General Pigot on the subject, which I answered—I hope he shewed it to you. I will not renew it now, but you shall soon be convinced that I acted towards you as a warm friend, and that I have always spoken of your military conduct in high terms of praise, and extolled your conciliatory manners and munificence to the Maltese.

"I read with great satisfaction your opinion on Sicily." That it will be uphill work to protect a country that will "do nothing for itself. That if Sicily is to be defended "for the king of Naples, it can only be done by a con-"stant naval superiority; but under another system, the "Sicilians might be brought to assist in the defence of "their valuable island.

"I have had conferences within these eight years with "some of the principal inhabitants of Sicily, and I could "adduce proofs that your opinion is well founded. I only " regret that if Ministers were made sensible of the justness " of your opinion, that they did not induce you to go as "envoy extraordinary to Sicily, with such powers as would "enable you to meet the wishes of the inhabitants. "John Stuart will be in England by the time this letter "reaches you, from whom you will have an account of "what is doing in Sicily; and from his description of the "state of Calabria, there is reason to think that if this "part of Italy (called the heel) were well managed, it " might acquire sufficient strength to kick the French out " of the Neapolitan dominions. Unfortunately we have " an ally in the Russians, whose ministers and chiefs seem " more desirous to counteract our operations in this quarter "than to assist us. They are so jealous of our garrisoning "Sicily, that they lately offered to send seven thousand "troops to assist in its defence, which was declined on the " ground that there were sufficient English troops to defend

"the island. But they were requested to land that number of men on the Adriatic side of the Neapolitan coast to co-operate with our troops, or to make a diversion, which they declined doing.

"We offered the Russians a small squadron to co-operate "with them in the Adriatic, which they refused. Their "misconduct in that quarter has been such as to give "strong suspicion that it is caused by something worse "than ignorance. They had a sufficient naval force to "have completely blockaded Venice, and have prevented "the French sending their ordnance and provisions from "thence to Dalmatia, but they managed so badly as to "allow the enemy to transport their ordnance and pro-"visions by water. I am informed by one of our best sea " officers that the Russians began their operations where "they should have terminated. Their jealousy of Admiral "Greig (one of their best sea officers) made them leave "him at Corfu to carry on the post duty while their active "operations were carried on by a junior officer scarcely "possessing common sense. It is suspected that the "Russian chiefs are too much influenced by their Minister "at Corfu, who seems by no means favourable to the "government he ought to serve. He has amassed much "wealth in a short space of time, which he has invested in "lands near Florence, that he may retire to the territories " of the enemy of his Sovereign, there, out of the reach of "the sword of justice, to enjoy his ill-gotten riches. I will "mention two circumstances that will enable you to form "an opinion of his character. At the time that our "negotiations with Russia were pending, this minister "seemed desirous of sending a complaint against us for "violating neutral rights and insulting the Russian flag. "He had a long conference with our Minister on the subject " of a vessel detained by an English privateer, which he "threatened to write to his court about, and he should at "the same time represent a violent insult offered to a "Russian vessel which was supposed to have sailed that

"day from Corfu. Fortunately she was still at anchor; our Minister suspected foul play in the business, and he requested Admiral Greig would enquire into it, when it was detected that the master and crew were desired to depone that they were met at sea by an English frigate who examined their papers which they found regular, and allowed them to proceed on their voyage, but that the frigate fired a broadside at her when she made sail. A story of this nature, well worked up, might have some effect on the jealous cabinet of Petersburg, and cause a delay in the execution of a treaty. One of our frigates sent very lately thirty-six French prisoners to Corfu; our Minister was told that they could not be received there, or at any of the islands of that Republic.

"I think it would be policy in us, by presents, to gain "over the Russian chiefs, with whom we expect a co"operation, and likewise the Russian Ministers at Sicily "and Corfu.

"and Corfu.
"Our little island enjoys great prosperity, its commerce
is increasing fast, and our agriculture is much improved.
The farmer gets a crop of potatoes and cotton from the
same field annually, and the former article pays him at
present more than the latter one. We have likewise
succeeded in cultivating indigo, but we shall never make
this an article of transportation.

"If the negotiations for peace should be broken off, and "I can obtain the command in the East Indies, or at "Jamaica, I shall probably resume my naval career next "year, and in that event, I should be glad to know if you "would accept of the civil government here. I mention "this in great confidence to you.

"I am ever, with the highest esteem, my dear Sir,
"Very sincerely yours,
"ALEX. M. BALL."

At the general election which, consequent on the death of Mr. Fox, took place in November, 1806, Colonel

Graham was re-elected Member for the county of Perth, and retained his seat until the dissolution of Parliament in May, 1807.

He watched with eager anxiety the stirring events which were passing on the continent, and pined for the glorious excitement of a career which he had so well begun, and which now to his great grief he was compelled, temporarily, to abandon. This wearying state of inactivity lasted until May, 1808, when, on his friend Sir John Moore being ordered home from Sicily to take command of an expedition destined to co-operate with the Swedish forces, he solicited and obtained permission to accompany him as aide-de-camp, being willing to serve in any capacity so long as he was actively employed.

General Order.

" H.M.S. Mars,

" 20th May, 1808.

"No. 1.—Colonel Graham of the 90th Regiment has "received His Majesty's permission to serve as a volunteer "with this army, and is appointed to act as aide-de-camp "to the Commander of the Forces."

The fleet arrived at Gottenburg about the 22nd of May, but the troops were not landed in consequence of the impracticable plans submitted by the King of Sweden, who finding that the English Commander was not likely to risk his small force in any foolish enterprise, had the temerity to threaten him with arrest. Sir John Moore, with admirable tact, withdrew from the neighbourhood of the Swedish Monarch, and on the 4th of July set sail with his whole force for England. During the stay of the army off Gottenburg, Colonel Graham visited as many parts of the country as he was able, and thoroughly enjoyed the feeling of being in harness once more.

On his return from Sweden, Sir John Moore was super-

seded by Sir Harry Burrard, being ordered to serve in Portugal as third in command. He at once proceeded to obey his orders, and then protested against his unworthy treatment. Colonel Graham in this second expedition retained his appointment near his friend, and in his journal briefly describes the campaign which followed.

"July 21st.—Left London, dined at Hampton Court. "22nd.—Got to Portsmouth early. 23rd.—Dined with "Genl. Whetham. The re-victualling of the ships con-"tinued busily, and being completed, on Wednesday "morning the 27th we embarked on board the Audacious "at St. Helens. During our stay at Portsmouth a mes-"senger came down with a letter from Lord C to "Sir John Moore, written on purpose to draw him into an "altercation. He asserted it to be the opinion of his "colleagues that his charge of unworthy treatment was "unfounded; that, but for arrangements which could not "be altered without impeding the public service, he "should have been relieved from a situation which he " seemed to be dissatisfied with, and that they thought it "necessary to lay the matter before the King. He (Sir "John) wrote in answer, that having before fully ex-"plained his understanding and sense of the matter, he "had nothing further to add. That he was happy to know "that his conduct was to be submitted to the King, for "having always served him faithfully and zealously, that "he could not doubt of his honour, character, and fortune "being under the best protection; at the same time he " said that he was going to serve with as much satisfaction " and with the same zeal as he had ever done.

"The substance of this correspondence with a detail of all that passed, establishing, by proof of intended neglect, his assertion of unworthy treatment, was sent to the King, who expressing a wish that Sir J. M. had not used such strong language, very graciously said that a stop must be put to this persecution, and that he (Sir J. M.) must not be plagued any more. July 31st.—The wind came

"fair on this morning early (Sunday). The fleet, 83 sail, "weighed and went to sea, but the wind soon changed, "alternately blowing fresh, or light and almost calm; "we were baffled for many days in the Channel, but "persevered, though three ships disabled were obliged to bear up.

"9th.—It come on to blow fresh and from the northward, "so that we got off Ushant before it failed on the 10th; "the 12th, 13th, and 14th, were foul. On the 15th, it "came round to the N.W., North, and N.E., blowing "fresh and very fine, which carried us well across the "Bay. On Tuesday 16th, Sir H. Burrard shifted to the "Brazen with his Staff (B. Genl. Clinton, Adjt. Genl.; "Lt.-Col. Murray, Qr. Mr. Genl.; Lieut.-Col. Carey, A. A. "G.; Col. Donkin, A. Qr. Mr. Genl.; Captains Wheatley "and Burrard—Aides-de-camp), and went on to gain in-"telligence, ordering Sir J. Moore to lay to off Vigo till "he should receive further orders.

" 17th.-We lay to, accordingly, all day off the Bayonne "islands, with the finest N.E. breeze imaginable. Not "finding anything, Sir John determined to bear up in the "evening and call at Oporto. We had spoken the Phanix, "Captain Mudge, the night before, who spoke positively " of Sir Arthur Wellesley being landed at Figueras. " 18th.—Passed Oporto without gaining more intelligence. "Light airs and fog prevented our anchoring off the "Mondego river till Saturday night. 20th.-Only about "20 transports got in. 21st.-Landed at Figueras, and "rode up to where Sir Arthur Wellesley's camp at "Mortemoro Velho had been. Many transports arrived. "22nd.—Began to disembark. Remaining transports " arrived, just as Sir John Moore was leaving the ship for "good. Captain Shepherd, of the Brazen, brought orders "from Sir H. Burrard to proceed along the coast to dis-"embark where the Alfred lay, 10 miles south of Peniche. "Frazer's division, much artillery, stores, and horses "that were on shore, were immediately re-embarked, and

"the fleet got under way in the evening. Sir J. Moore shifted with Colborne, Percy, and myself to the *Brazen*, and proceeded.

"On the 17th a body of 3,500 of the enemy, under "Laborde, had opposed the passage of a ravine beyond "Obidos. We lost many officers—Colonels Lake and "Stewart, of the 29th and 9th, and about 500 killed and "wounded.

"23rd.—Very calm; afternoon met *Blossom*, and heard from Captain Pigot that the enemy had attacked Sir A. Wellesley at 9 on Sunday morning, the 21st, and had been repulsed with much loss. Wind came fair; passed Peniche in the night, and overshot the *Alfred*.

"24th.—Got up to Captain Bligh in the morning, and "went on shore with him, through a heavy surf, to Briga-"dier-General Crauford's quarters, near Vimiera, where "the action of the 21st had been fought. The position, "a very extended one, over very broken ground in a cres-"cent from the sea. The enemy attacked the centre and "left only, having one column on their right that was "never engaged. They protected their retreat with a "numerous cavalry, and were not pursued. Their force is " estimated at 13,000 men, divided into two divisions of "five battalions each, with six and seven pieces of cannon, "under Laborde and Loison; a reserve of two regiments " of the line, with voltigeurs, etc., under Kellerman, with "eight pieces of cannon; and the cavalry, under Margaron, "with two pieces. They lost 15 pieces of cannon and 800 "prisoners, and 2,000 supposed in killed and wounded. "Our loss amounted to about 800 killed and wounded, no " officer of rank but Lieut.-Col. Taylor, of the 20th Light "Dragoons, and he lost about 80 men out of his detach-" ment of 200. Sir H. Burrard joined during the action, "Brigadier-General Ackland's brigade joined that morn-"ing, and Brig.-Gen. Anstruther's only two days before; "none of the right of the line, supposed about 7,000 "strong, was engaged; all the troops behaved admirably. "Fane and Anstruther's brigades, that were placed forward to cover the village of Vimiera, were severely
attacked; the 43rd distinguished themselves much—in
other quarters the 50th Regiment. Brigadier-Genl.
Fergusson's brigade was equally conspicuous; the 36th
and 71st particularly.

"On Monday, the 22nd, General Sir Hew Dalrymple "joined, from Gibraltar, and that day General Kellerman "was sent in by Junot to treat about a capitulation, and "at night Lieut.-Col. Murray went with him through the "French posts, in order to communicate with Sir C. Cotton. "We returned on board the Alfred with some difficulty; after "dinner, Sir J. Moore returned to the Audacious—I remained "on board the Alfred. All the convoy almost arrived.

"25th.—Though the weather is uncommonly fine and "calm, the surf is so heavy on the beach that no disem-"barkation can take place. It is much to be regretted "that Sir H. Burrard should have stopped the disem-"barkation at Mondego river, for though the bar is "dangerous, troops could always be carried in in large " vessels, and be landed at Figueras outside in the country "fishing boats with safety; this and the opportunity of "fair wind lost off Vigo are unfortunate circumstances. "Sir H's caution is said to have prevented Sir A. Wellesley "attacking the enemy on the 21st, and his pursuing him "after his defeat. In the afternoon at high water the surf "having abated the disembarkation began. The 4th and "some detachments of different regiments landed. Sir " J. Moore and General Hope with their staffs landed; the "two Generals proceeded to head-quarters, the rest of us " remained at Lourinka in the rear of Vimiera, where the " action was fought.

"It is understood that Sir C. Cotton positively refused his consent to letting the Russian ships come out under the protection of the neutrality of the Port; a strange proposition ever to have been listened to for a moment. 26th.—Fine calm morning, surf rather less, the 28th

"landed and some staff horses. A breakwater was made

"by sinking two old transports, which enabled the whole

"to be landed expeditiously and safely. The Dispatch

" arrived, and my horses landed safely.

"27th.—Bought two mules, five and six years old, one "at 135 dollars—about £30:7:6, the other at 120, £27.

"Heavy rain in the night.

"28th.—Heavy showers through the day. Rode to head-quarters at Romalha. Nothing known yet about

"the treaty. Returned across the open heath and by

"Villa Facaza, by which the enemy marched on the road

"from Torres Vedras to Peniche to turn Sir A. Wellesley's

"position at Vimiera, an excellent road for guns to the very point of attack.

very point of attack.

"29th.—Marched from Maceira to Torres Vedras. At "10 o'clock the convention agreed on.

" 30th.—Halted at Torres Vedras.

"1st September.—Marched from Torres Vedras at "12 o'clock; halted in echellon of divisions, the Light

"Brigade being in the ravine of Mafra Park. The

"German brigade, which had not landed when we left

"Maceira, had marched by a parallel road near the sea

"from Vimiera, and were now on our right. Sir A.

"Wellesley had moved on the 30th to the left of the

"Bucellas road. No troops marched from Torres Vedras

" by the great Lisbon road of Cabeca de Monte Chique, a

"strong pass which it is said the enemy had fortified.

"2nd.—Marched at 6, passed Mafra and the ravine of Chilleros; very strong, country quite bare, mostly

"arable, inclosed with stone walls. Halted again in

"echellon; the Light Brigade, Major-Genl. Paget, near

"Cintra (Hd. Qrs.). Hope's division near the separation

"of the Cintra and Lisbon roads. Frazer's at Chilleros,

"Murray's German Brigade at Mafra. Ratifications

"Murray's German Brigade at Maira. Ratification exchanged.

"3rd.—Halted. Forts St. Julien and Bugio delivered "up; the 42nd and men from the fleet took possession.

"4th.—Halted. Rode to Cintra and up to the Convent of Las Pinas. In the evening rode with Sir J. Moore across from one Lisbon road to the other.

"5th.—Marched at 5 towards Olyras. The army divided as intended to remain in divisions; Sir J. Moore's, consisting of Lord Wm. Bentinck's and Brigadier-General Stewart's brigades, on the right bank of the . . . rivulet. 6th.—Having got leave to go to Lisbon went with

"Lord Paget. Saw Beresford and Lord Proby, sent as "commissioners for the execution of the treaty, about the

"interpretation of which there seems to be much dispute,

"the French continuing to act with great rapacity since the armistice was asked for Called at Junot's (the

"the armistice was asked for. Called at Junot's (the

"Duke d'Abrantes) whom I had known at Paris. We dined there at 6.

" 9th.—Rode to Lisbon with Sir J. Moore.

"10th.—With Sir J. Moore on board Audacious and "Hibernia.

"IIth.—Rode to the palace of Quelus, fitted up by "Junot for Beauharnais, the intended King of Portugal.

"12th.—Russian ships went out. They are to be con-"voyed to Portsmouth by Admiral Tyler and six line-ofbattle ships.

"13th.—Went to Lisbon by water. First French" division dropped down towards St. Julien.

"14th.—Lord Wm. Bentinck sent by Sir Hew Dalrymple "to Madrid, by the way of Cadiz; Sir A. Wellesley "having made such demands of powers as could not be "acceded to.

"15th.—Plover arrived from England with letters of the 4th. They had heard of the action of the 21st and "rumours of the convention.

"23rd.—Went to Lisbon, having got a commission to Badajos.

"24th.—Received from Mr. Setarno £50 in Portuguese "money, and gave him a draft on Harris and Farquhar for £200 to pay Sir J. M. 300 dollars and sundry other

"things. Set out at 2 p.m. with Major Colburne and a "Spanish courier. Crossed in a very small boat to Aldea "Gallega; waited some time for post horses. Flat, sandy

"country, covered chiefly with stunted pines. Travelled

"all night, but met with considerable delays at every post. "25th.—Want of horses obliged us to stop at Estremoz. " Set out at about 4 a.m. "26th.—Excellent breakfast from the post-mistress at "Elvas, where from the old castle there is a most extensive "view over to La Guarda and towards Mafra. Arrived "at Badajos very wet at 2 p.m.; saw Gen'l. Galuzzo. "Returned in the evening and settled the business of " Elvas, after hearing from Galuzzo the most absurd and "violent language on the subject of his pretensions as a " besieger which l'onore de las armas obliged him to support. "27th.—Returned to Elvas; saw General Arée, and "then went to Fort de la Lippe. The fort is very com-" plete on the summit of a hill which commands the town; "it has four bastions with excellent casemates; the glacis "is excessively steep, the angles being built up with "masonry. On the N.E. side only a ridge rises gradually "at some four hundred yards' distance, where batteries " might be erected. There are no other hills within 1,400 "yards, yet Galuzzo talked of taking it in three days by "assault!!! Returned to Badajos, rode to the camp and

"round the ramparts.

"28th.—Set off about 6 a.m., riding post as before; fine
day, and good road. Flat fine vale to Merida, with the
exception of some rising ground on the right, over which
the road passes.

"29th.—Arrived at Truxillo; stopped there a few hours and set out at 5 a.m. Stopped all night at Talavera la Reyna; left it at 4 a.m. 30th.—Rode an excellent horse. Cultivated, though poorish, soil approaching Madrid. Arrived there at 4 p.m. at Lord Wm. Bentinck's at the Casa d'Ossuna near the gate of Segovia. Lord Wm. returned from Aranjuez late."

From Sir John Moore.

" Quelus, 29th Septr., 1808.

" My dear Colonel,

"General Beresford has undertaken to forward "to you the parcels of letters which came for you under "cover to me from England. If they contain letters or "papers as late as we have them here, viz., to the 20th "and 21st, you will see what a ferment our convention "has made in England (Convention of Cintra); it is "stated to be beyond even that which was occasioned "by the misconduct at Buenos Ayres. Sir Hew is re-"called in order to explain his conduct, and is directed "to resign the command to the officer next in rank "to him. Sir Harry himself, although that officer, is "not named, nor has he received a single official letter "upon the subject; this cannot therefore be intended "for a permanent appointment, as he considers himself "implicated in the convention as much as Sir Hew, "and really is so, and must at all events go home "ultimately, if any investigation is commenced. "leaving him here at present, can only be in order to "keep from the command a certain friend of yours, like "yourself a bad subject. Sir A., I understand now, gave " out before his departure, that he had always opposed the "convention. His name, however, to the preliminaries "cannot be denied, and there is plenty of proof, if proof " is wanting, that he not only approved but recommended "it. He was not a man to put his name to a paper he "disapproved, nor was Sir Hew a man to adopt such a "measure in opposition to him. Sir A. has nothing left, "but, with Sir Hew, to defend the measure; it will be "unwise in him, and he will lose his character if he " attempts to disown it.

"I never could account for his signing the preliminaries, but from his eagerness to have the business concluded

"before we landed. We have in the mean time no orders from home, and we are at the end of September. They are perplexed what to do. I am, perhaps, in their way, and they may find it most convenient to make friends with me. I have had a conversation with Chas. S., the same as with Sir A., but he (Chas. S.) is a very silly fellow. Present my best respects to Lord William. I shall be anxious until I hear from him and from you. I beg to be remembered to Mr. Stuart.

"Believe me, yours always sincerely,
"JOHN MOORE."

"My interest with the 18th Drs. has got your horse shot. I wish you had not been so very honest about your 300 dollars, but had allowed me to continue your banker until we met. Hunt has got a majority in the 52nd, and leaves me. He is succeeded by a son of Lady "Sarah Napier, a Captain in the 52nd. Adieu."

The following note was sent by Colonel Graham to Sir John Moore, from Madrid, as containing Sir Arthur Wellesley's reasoning about the Cintra Convention as extracted from a letter of his to C. S.:—

"That as far as he knows of the convention and the suspension, he had great objections to both, which it is unnecessary to trouble him with. But that as far as regarded the principal point, 'the evacuation of all Portugal,' he approved of it, and thought it necessary under the circumstances. That the opportunity of following up his victory of the 21st having been lost, the enemy had had time to strengthen the passes on the roads to Lisbon. That since the Commander-in-Chief did not choose to send your corps to take up a position that should cut off Junot's retreat, he had the roads to Elvas and Almeyda open to him, whence he might make a protracted defence. That the season of the year im-

"periously called for the opening of the Tagus, to give a safe and ready communication with the shipping for the supply of the army, and to afford safety to the transports, already exposed to much danger on the coast. That for all these reasons he thought the agreement for the evacuation proper and necessary, but that the mode in which the details of the suspension and convention were settled was a question of a very different nature, to which he had great objections."

"1st Oct.—Went to Aranjuez to deliver my letter to "General Castaños; found C. Stuart there, stayed at his "house.

"2nd.—Returned to Madrid in a coach, with Major "Roche and the President of the Junta of Valladolid, a "great friend of Cuesta, a clever animated man. The "Junta have chosen Blanca president, and committees for "the various departments, choosing one of each committee "to exercise the functions of Minister of the department, but to report to his committee. That of war not being "composed of military men, have named a military coun-"cil and made Castaños head of it, as president; it is "composed of Morla, Pallacio, and Llanas.

"3rd.—Dined at the Duchess d'Ossuna's, and went to a "bull-fight.

"4th.—Wrote to Lisbon to Sir Hew Dalrymple and to "Sir John Moore, and notes to Beresford, Murray, and "Colburne.

"5th.—From Lisbon we understand that the convention "(of Cintra) is as much disliked in England as it is here. "All the people here are anxious for the assistance of the "British army.

"8th.—Saw the Count Altemira's horses, rode one in "the manège. Wrote to Lisbon by courier, who set "out at 8 p.m., to Sir J. Moore, J. Hope, Murray, and "C. Stewart."

" Lisbon, 11th Oct., 1808.

" My dear Graham,

"I have only time to tell you I have received your letter of the 4th, for which I thank you. It is a most satisfactory performance. They have given me, bon gré, mal gré, the greatest command that any English general has had this century. I hope I may be able to acquit myself as becomes me. We have till now made no preparation, nor procured any information to enable us to move. I am, however, making every effort, and am sending the corps out of this neighbourhood on their different lines as fast as possible; but our commissariat have no experience of operations of this magnitude: short littoral expeditions do not give it to them. We must have aid from the Spaniards or we shall not get on.

"My object is to get over the Portuguese frontier before the rains, and I shall do it, and hope to show you after its march a good army.

"Your ever sincerely,
"JOHN MOORE."

From General Anstruther.

"Almeida, 15th Octr., 1808.

"I could not conceive what had become of you, "my dear Graham, only took it for granted you had too "much of the old spirit to remain at Lisbon whilst scenes of "so much interest were passing elsewhere, and, in the idea "that you might be projecting a journey into Spain, had "actually written to you to beg you would take this place on your way; your letter of the 10th clears up all my doubts.

"What have the Spaniards been about these two months past, and what have the French been about? It is difficult to say whether the non-arrival of reinforcements to the one, or the supineness of the other party in not availing themselves of such an advantage, is most unaccountable.

"The moment is now passed however, the army now about Vittoria will fall back on their reinforcements, and the struggle will be with numbers nearly equal.

"As a defensive position, that of the Spaniards generally speaking is good, they outflank the enemy on both wings, and if they act with intelligence and concert, they will render it hazardous for him to advance. My old friend Jourdan is certainly not a very great performer, nor have I heard much of the others, excepting Ney, who they say is a good officer.

"I conclude Lord Wm. B. sent immediately to Lisbon "the account of the expected reinforcements of the French " of which his Lordship appears to have been in possession "previous to the 4th inst. I also conclude that Leith sent "the intelligence directly home, and it may have reached "London almost as soon as it did Madrid. This, I think, "must produce orders of some sort, and they can hardly "fail to be to march into Spain. Murray is trying all he "can to have things ready for it, and went to prevail on "the commander (I am ashamed to say I do not at this "moment know who he is) to take up an advanced line of "cantonments; this is wise, and perhaps may be done, "because it commits us to nothing. I have sent a scheme " of cantonments within three or four days' march of this "place, and propose Hope to approach Alcantara, to pro-"ceed from thence on Valladolid. A few days must now "determine it; it is quite clear we should either advance "into Spain or re-embark.

"I have nothing from head-quarters later than the 1st, "nor have I seen English papers since the convention was "known at home. I am told their violence is excessive, "and the general clamour loud. This, with other cir-"cumstances, will lead to a change in command, and, to "say the truth, it is to be desired.

"I have a letter from the Marescal di Campo, Don "Carlos Doyle, which I keep as a curiosity, and antidote "to melancholy should I ever be inclined that way.

"Farewell, my dear Graham, let me hear from you by the

"bearer, Captain McBean of the 60th, for whom, during

" his stay with the army, I beg your protection.

"Ever truly yours, "ROBERT ANSTRUTHER."

"16th.—C. Stuart came to reside in Madrid. Ministers are named by the Junta.

"21st.—Left about half-past three, got to Alcala, six "leagues, about half-past nine.

"22nd.—Set out about seven, beyond Hontenara lost our way, crossed the Henares by a boat, and stopped at Heras, a league short of Hita.

"28th.—Got to Calahorra, waited on General Castaños, and dined with him. Whittingham gave me a letter from Anstruther, brought by Captain McBean; gone on to Saragossa.

"29th.—Walked with Birch round the town; alarm during dinner owing to a few dragoons having crossed at a ford near St. Andrea. The troops were put under arms, and marched out. A battalion, and the Pavia dragoons, went down to the river with two guns. There were 50 or 60 infantry on the opposite side who retired on seeing the guns come down; there were a few shots exchanged. Some dragoons and a boat full of infantry were sent over. The surrender of Colonel Cruz of the Voluntarios de Cadiz, with about 600 men at Lerim, is quite confirmed. It was to be expected by establishing a post at such a distance; General Grimarest is much blamed, General Lapena having repeatedly advised his withdrawing it. On the side of Sanguesa, General O'Neil has had some advantage.

"30th.—Wrote two letters to Lord Wm. B., giving him a full account of the army and the intended movements, likewise to Anstruther.

"The whole of the two Andalusian divisions, with the two battalions of another division arrived from Madrid,

"do not exceed 14,000 men; the Valencian division about 5,000, making about 19,000 good troops. The Castille division which has evacuated Logrono in a panic, consists of 11,000, about 3,000 of which, being old regulars, are good; all the others are to be drafted into the Andalusian battalion, being the only means of making them useful.

"This army, then, will amount to about 30,000, one-"third not much to be depended on; too weak an army "either to defend or attack the line of the Ebro. It has "been determined, in a conference with Palafox at "Saragossa, that the line of the Aragon from Caparoso "to Sanguesa shall be taken up, he (Palafox) furnishing "13,000 men on the right towards Sanguesa. "troops combined, exceeding 40,000 men on a concen-"trated line, will cover Aragon, and be ready to act as "circumstances may render advisable. There is a wild " project talked of re-establishing the communication with "Blake's Galician army in the rear of the enemy by "Roncesvalles, so cutting off his communication with "France. I should have preferred a movement by the "left up the Ebro, so as to cover Blake's right, now quite "exposed, because, considering the ultimate success of "the cause to depend in a great measure on Sir J. M.'s "coming into action properly supported, the safety of "Blake's army, which would be exposed to the greatest "risk by attempting to penetrate into Biscay, becomes "in that view doubly important. Should any misfortune "befall it, Sir John Moore's advance would probably be "considered as too hazardous, as both his flanks would " be en l'air.

"31st.—Having ascertained that the conference between "Palafox and the General had produced no change, "Captain Birch determined to return to Blake's army, "and I came on to Tudela with the intention of proceeding by the canal to Saragossa. But at Tudela a messenger from Lord Wm. Bentinck came to melate in the evening, and obliged me to delay this jaunt.

"Nov. 1st.—Expecting General Castaños I remained here. The position he intends taking up will make it impossible for Sir J. M. to have any direct communication with him, at least for some time, so that the communication with the Junta (as authorised by Escano's answer to Lord Wm. Bentinck's note) must be transferred meanwhile, I should think, to the commander of the Galician army. The General did not arrive.

"2nd.—In mentioning the force that will be on the new line of the Aragon it was omitted to state that different detachments of light troops under good officers were to be left along the edge of the mountains bounding on the south the plain of the Ebro. This will make a deduction of nearly 10,000 men, so that there will not be more than 32,000 on the Aragon. The General came in the afternoon, had some conversation with him, and the thinks his new position will not render more difficult the communication with Sir John Moore.

"3rd.—Wrote in continuation to Lord Wm. Bentinck, "and despatched the courier at 5 p.m.; another courier "from Lord William arrived in the evening, and brought "me a letter from Sir J. M. and Murray."

From Sir John Moore.

" Lisbon, 24th Octr., 1808.

" My dear Colonel,

"Your friend Colonel Lopez has been with us "these two days; he returns to-day to Elvas and Badajos "to make arrangements for Hope's movement, who will "march with the artillery, cavalry, one division of "infantry, or perhaps two, by the great road leading to "Madrid, which he will not enter, but turn to the left and "proceed by Espinar to Valladolid. Everything else is "marching on Almeida and Castel Rodrigo. It will be "the end of November before we shall all meet.

"I think I have not been dilatory, for when I succeeded

"to the command on the 6th of October not a mule had "been bought, not a road correctly ascertained, and not "a single commissariat arrangement made. I hope the "Spaniards are making preparations that we may not "want when we get altogether. Upon this confidence "I am advancing without the knowledge of a single "magazine being made, or that we may not starve "when we arrive. I trust that by the time we get together, "a chief commander may be appointed, otherwise we "must get into confusion, and if the French get much "reinforcements, as enable them to act offensively, "they would have beau jeu, against a parcel of inde-"pendent generals. This is so plain that the Junta "must get over their scruples. Castaños seems to unite "the most voices, and on him, therefore, will fall the " election.

"I wrote a short letter to him, merely as an opening to further intercourse, and I hope my having done so has not been displeasing to him. I can perceive from Lopez that Don Carlos Doyle is duly estimated, and does not impose, although respect to the English makes them appear to attend to him. I shall be off in two or three days; let me hear from you. Lord William will generally know where to find me.

"Believe me sincerely yours,
"JOHN MOORE."

"5th.—J. Palafox and Doyle came from Saragossa, and a council of war was held in the evening—at which for some time I was accidentally present—consisting of the vocal Palafox and his brother, the Marquis de Coupigni, Montijo, and Castaños, the latter, at least, shewed much good humour. But it is impossible things should prosper under such management. An attack on Caparosa de-termined on for Tuesday, in order to take up the new line of the Aragon. About 6,000 men are to be left at Calahorra to observe; the Aragon Contingent is

"to amount to 18,000, so that the whole should be near

"40,000. The Estremadura army, already near Burgos, is ordered to join Blake's right at Frias; I wish it may arrive in time; by all accounts the enemy has carried more than two-thirds of their reinforcements that way. It is not improbable but that they may anticipate our movement by coming across the Aragon to oppose the débouche over this bridge.

"7th.—Rode to Bocal del Rey, entrance of Canal of "Aragon, a magnificent work; four double sluices inside "of a very large building admit the water at pleasure. "Dam of masonry across the river, not less than 500

" feet broad.

"8th.—The General received news of Blake's having been attacked at Zornoza on the 31st, and forced back; no details in his letter, dated 3rd, at Valmaseda, eight leagues from Zornoza. The intelligence from Navarre and Biscay lead to a belief of an intended attack on the right bank of the Ebro from Logrono and Lodoza; in consequence the movement across the Ebro to the position on the left bank of the Aragon given up. Palafox went this morning to Exca; he is sent for in order that he may, in the name of the Junta, direct General O'Neil to move immediately from Sanguesa to this place, in order to reinforce this army.

"order to reinforce this army.

"9th.—Troops marched back to Calahorra and Arnedo;

"the second line of cantonments from Alfaro to Fitero.

"Palafox returned and sent the order. His brother,

"furious at the determination of the council to cross the

"Ebro not having been executed, wrote by a courier of the

"General (Castaños) to Sir J. M. confidentially, concerning

"the General's wish to meet him.

" roth.—Moved with head-quarters to Cintruenigo; rode "along the hills behind Alfaro and Corella; no good "position.

"11th.—Rode back to Tudela to see Whittingham.
"Last night the General received a letter from Blake, of

"the 7th, giving a satisfactory account of his having got out of the scrape, the result of the action of the 31st, by which a division and a-half were cut off, but the French corps was beaten and the position forced; he talks of attacking in his turn. The defensive should be the plan on that side. Accounts were likewise received, that the head of the Estremadura division had arrived on the 7th at Burgos, and the cavalry had had advantage over the enemy. In the evening reports came in stating that the French were mounting up the Ebro, and had evacuated. If so Blake is calling their attention, and we ought to call theirs back.

"12th.—General ill of rheumatism, in bed. Rode up "the valley of this river to Fitero, prettily situated in a "deep valley; the hills close it soon to the westward into "a glen. In returning, rode over the top of the hill to the "N.E., and had an extensive view of the valley of the "Ebro."

" Madrid, Novr. 10th, 1808.

" My dear Sir,

"I have received your letters down to the 4th. "Pray have the goodness, and it will save both you and " me time, either to write to me such letters as I may send "on to Sir J. Moore, or to write to him directly, leaving "open such as contain accounts of what passes with you. "Pray believe on my part the most perfect indifference "on this subject, and I hope the total absence of very "common but most nonsensical feelings about these sorts " of forms. After much consideration, I sent your first "letters to Sir John; your ideas in those papers were too "valuable not to be seen by him, and it was not possible "for me to offer the same in any other manner so advan-"tageously as in your own words. I have heard nothing "since from Sir John Moore. From Hope I have; he "will be at Talavera la Reyna on the 14th, and the "head of his column-no difficulty of supply obliging

"him to halt on the 16th. He marches, in two divisions, 6,800 men.

"Ever, my dear Colonel Graham,
"Sincerely yours,
"W. BENTINCK."

"13th.—Sent Whittingham a letter from Lord Wm. "Bentinck, brought by his courier at 4 p.m. yesterday. I "delayed re-dispatching him, wishing to hear concerning "the attack on Caparosa by the Aragonese division. This "day the troops from Tudela were to move on to assist. "I rode to Calahorra in consequence of what I heard "last night of the vocal Palafox's intended movement "against Lodoza. It had been arranged that a demon-"stration was to be made towards Milagro, to call the "enemy's attention there from Caparosa. But Palafox "having gone on to Calahorra, undertook, with Grimarest's "division, to cross the Ebro in boats, and therefore ordered, "in the name of the Junta, that Lapena's division should "be ready to co-operate. This of course created confusion "and dissatisfaction. The General has sent an account to "the Junta desiring to know who commands the army. "The plan, however, was laid aside on hearing that the "enemy had reinforced Lodoza considerably with men and "guns. I rode very much across the country, the finest "imaginable for cavalry, except at some Barancas where "the water runs are very deep, and the ground cut into "deep holes and almost impassable gullies. The attack " on Caparosa did not take place owing to the orders not "reaching St. Marc in time. Wrote to Lord Wm. Bentinck. "14th.-Nothing new at head-quarters, rode to Tudela "to see Whittingham. General Rocca who went from "Tudela with a corps to co-operate against Caparosa, "moved on this morning. The enemy evacuated it. St. "Marc did not make his appearance. But for the con-"tretemps about his orders and march, and the impatience " of Palafox who heard musketry firing between St. Marc

"and the garrison, and therefore ordered Rocca on, probably the garrison might have been cut off. I entered
fully into the subject of interference in my letters to
Lord William.

"15th.—Caparosa was evacuated by the enemy the night "before last, probably on hearing of the march of the "Aragonese division, which arrived there about 10 a.m. "yesterday. Rocca moved to Villafranca. A movement "into Navarre on Estella is projected. Without a per-"manent communication by a bridge of boats across the "Ebro about Calahorra, or getting possession of the bridge "at Lodosa, it seems rather a hazardous undertaking, " affording the enemy an opportunity of attacking, on either "side of the river he chooses, with superior force. If the "army is strong enough to fight a battle, the best way "would be to begin by that; if not, it may be a dangerous "experiment to begin a movement of no consequence that "may be the cause of a general action, at the same time "as a reconnaisance of their strength; and to draw some "attention from Blake, it may be advisable to make this " movement.

"I7th.—Courier brought letters from Lord Wm. B. and General Moore, and from both to the General, with the account of the Junta having deprived him of the command, and given it to the Marquis de la Romana."

From Sir John Moore.

Almeida, 10th Novr., 1808.

" My dear Colonel,

"You of course know that I have been directed by the Supreme Junta to correspond with General Castaños on the subject of our operations. This is tantamount to saying they consider him as chief commander of the army, and it is a pity they have not had the good sense at once to declare him such. I write to him by this opportunity to state to him the situation of the troops I command, and the probable time of their union, which I am sorry to say cannot be

"looked to much before the first week in December. The "corps from Lisbon are now passing the frontier, and will, "to the amount of 15,000 infantry, be in the course of a "few days collected in Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. "Baird's head will be at Astorga on the 14th. Hope's "near Madrid on the 22nd; and in the present situation of "the Spanish and French armies, you may believe I shall "not think of passing Salamanca until Baird and Hope are "more advanced. The letter I have written to Castaños "will naturally draw from him an explanation of his "views, his own operations, and those he expects from us. "When I know these, I shall have some data to go upon. "Hitherto we have been miserably deceived in the respect "to the Spanish force, both as to number, and description. "Affairs certainly appear at present bad enough, but we "must hope that by our assistance, when we are able to "tender it, they will brighten up. If you are sufficiently " in Castaños' confidence, he will shew you my letter, and "I trust you will send me all the information you think "may be useful. I should have wished to have begun by "a personal interview with him, but that, at present, is "quite out of the question. I have begged of him to write "to me in French, and to send me, with his letter, a trans-"lation of it in English by Captain Whittingham, this "because I have no person about me who understands "Spanish, and his letters will be too interesting to trust "to an ordinary translator. I have excused myself to him " for writing to him in English, as I am not sufficiently in "the habit of writing French to do it with facility, and I "am ignorant of Spanish; you will tell me in what light "he appears to you; I shall not forget your friend Donald "Campbell. Many thanks for the trouble you have taken " to mount me. Your horses were well when I saw them " at Abrantes, they are with my baggage and yours which "is coming on with head-quarters. I am here en courier.

"Believe me, ever sincerely,

"JOHN MOORE."

[&]quot;I leave this to-morrow for Salamanca."

"18th Novr.-Wrote to Sir J. M. and Lord Wm. B. all "that the General said of his inability to form or com-"municate any plan. Their army being now in a corner "must watch the enemy, defend Aragon if attempted, or "act on the flank and rear if they penetrate into Castille. "19th.-Rode to Tudela. Blake has been totally de-"feated, his army routed and divided, part at St. Andero, "part at Reynosa. The Junta now writes expressing "confidence in Castaños for the conduct of this army. "The enemy had pushed on to Valladolid about the 14th, "according to Sir J. M.'s letter to Lord Wm. B. of the 15th, "from Salamanca; much doubt of being able to unite "his corps; preparations made for retreat if necessary. "Castaños means to call the Generals together to-morrow "to decide what is to be done; the enemy will undoubtedly "come with his whole force against this army as soon as " possible; meanwhile, the disputes and delays about the " attack of Lodoza make it very doubtful whether it should "be made, though a successful operation of that kind, "previous to a retreat, would have a good effect on the " minds of the soldiers. The Captain-General of Aragon " and Don Carlos are now at Caparosa, and they insist on " more troops being sent over.

"20th.—Wrote to Lord William a private letter mentioning my determination to move on Madrid whenever a retreat begins.

"21st.—The General told me this morning that it was determined to defend the line of Calahorra in case the enemy should come on to attack. That the attack on Lodoza was given up owing to the intelligence that Soult's division had arrived from Lerma, near Aranda de Duero, to reinforce Logrono, which made it unavoidable. That the Palafox's wanted all the army, but Lapena's division, to cross the Ebro to the position of the Aragon, and with some wild project of Doyle's of penetrating by the foot of the Pyrenees. That this was positively resisted, and, on the contrary, the Aragonese

"invited to come over to unite in the defence of the line " of Calahorra, otherwise, the armies must separate and "act independently. Thus the Junta continue every hour "to sacrifice the interest of the country, which I fear now "nothing can save. The vocal Palafox, who came yester-"day from Caparosa to assist at the council, went off to "Montijo this morning en courier, without any communi-"cation with the General at Madrid. Rode to Tudela, "while there, accounts came of La Sollie's division being "at Osma, on its way to Almazan and Soria; this has "determined a retreat from position at Calahorra to "Tarazona, and towards Tudela (too extensive a line), "and the vocal Palafox has sent an order to his "brother's division to come to Tudela. Query whether "an immediate movement on Soria, with a view to "attack and destroy La Sollie's division, would not "have been best? A good pretence for retiring by the " Madrid road, at least behind the Douro.

"22nd.—The enemy (said to be Moncey's division, or "rather advanced guard) showed themselves en bataille "before Calahorra yesterday evening. The troops of that "line retired during the night. Head-quarters moved to "Tudela. At a meeting at Coupigni's heard such non-"sense concerning the practicability of cutting off the "French by a movement behind Pampeluna, as under the "present circumstances ought only to have come from "madmen. It seemed to be Palafox's determination not "to come across the Ebro; however, late at night all the "troops came over, making with this army, according to "Doyle's estimate, 45,000 men; a few days ago he wrote " 55,000, and formerly carried them infinitely higher. He "called here, but did not say a word of the mad plan of "which I understand he was, if not the author, the great " supporter.

"23rd.—The enemy came with a party of cavalry close to the town about nine, creating great alarm. Troops got under arms and all went behind the town. About 11

"the enemy began to attack, having come on to the plain

"beyond the olives; they were in several lines and columns

"with much cavalry on the flanks. They attacked both

"flanks, and being well supported carried both points.

"The retreat was a flight. The French had some cavalry

"and infantry in the plain to their right to watch Cascante,

"where Lapena's division was. Two regiments were sent

"from thence into the plain, and behaved uncommonly " well. Got to Borja.

"24th.—After 12, set out and continued in the night by "a very bad mountain road on to Illueca, found some "troops there, and heard of Lapena's division coming by "Borja, having gone the Saragossa road.

"25th.—Set out from Illueca about 12, and got to "Calatayud before dark.

"26th.—Took leave of the General, and set out about "11 to go to Daroca. At Malvenda was stopped, and with

"difficulty escaped being made prisoner by the Alcalde's

"myrmidons. Was obliged to make my way through

"them sword in hand, and not without danger from great "stones, one of which wounded my horse severely. I

"crossed the river Calon and took to the mountains.

"Passing another village a good deal to the right, was

"again pursued. I continued in a S.W. course, over

"rugged hills and across valleys, always avoiding the

"villages, and after a march of 10 hours got to Toralba de

"los Frayloas, where luckily I met a party of the Spanish

"Guards. Sent a man back with an account of all

" this to Giron.

"27th.—Got a guide to come on to Molina, where the "Corregidor received me hospitably.

"20th.—Bay horse foundered with cold, got a guide to "Cifuentes where I left the horse.

"30th.—Got to Madrid at 5, went to C. Stuart's. The "Duke of Infantado came to tell him of the post of " ---- being forced.

"Decr. 1st.-Great ferment in the town, people arming,

"determined to resist. I was taken prisoner as a French"man, and conducted to C. Stuart's. At 12, set out with
"post-horses. At Guadarama met General...re"turning from Segovia, he gave me a dragoon horse
"(there being no post-horses) to Ildefonso, where I met
"St. Juan with the debris of his corps.

"2nd.—Left the great road and crossed the Adaja by a ford. Found Brigadier-General Stewart at Fonteveros, and General Hope at Penaranda; got to Salamanca at 8 p.m.

"3rd.—Found that on hearing of Castaños' defeat, the "General, considering the junction of his corps would be "prevented, had ordered Sir D. Baird to retreat. The "news of the resistance intended at Madrid, and the "certainty that the enemy had carried his force that way "and towards Saragossa, determined him to stop the "retreat, and afterwards to order them back to Astorga.

"6th.—The General, wishing to be correctly informed of the state of things at Madrid, of the means and probability of defence for any time, of the force of the enemy there and elsewhere, and of the resources of the Spaniards, charged me with a commission to try to get into the town, and return with authentic information. Set out, and went to Alba de los Tormes with General Hope, and waited there for the General's despatches to the Madrid Junta."

From Sir John Moore.

"Salamanca, 6th December, 1808.

" My dear Colonel,

"I send under a flying seal my answer to the Junta.

"You will explain to them that hurried and much occupied

"it may be informal, but that I trust they will excuse it.

"You may explain that I have only 17,000 men here, the

"rest are at Astorga, or behind it; that the passes between

"this and Madrid being in the possession of the enemy, I

"cannot move direct on Madrid, but that I shall concert with De la Romana what is best for the common cause, and do what I can. Assure them of my zeal, that my retreat was forced, finding myself insulated, without connection with the Spanish forces, and unequal to encounter the whole forces of the enemy, which might, after Castaños' defeat, be turned against me.

"Send me true statements, and prevent them from making me absurd proposals.

"God bless you, sincerely yours,
"JOHN MOORE."

From Sir John Moore to the Junta.

"Salamanca, 6th December, 1808.

"I had the honour to receive last night a letter "signed by the Duke of Castelfranco and Mr. de Morla in "the name of the Junta, military and civil, established "at Madrid.

"Hitherto I have been left without communication or support from any of the Spanish armies, and as the army I command was separated at Astorga and Salamanca, at which places it had been ordered to collect at the time when the army under General Castaños was defeated, it became necessary for me to consider what steps were necessary for the security of the British army, which was helpless from its separation, and when united, not sufficiently strong to encounter the whole French force, which was about to be turned against it. I had therefore ordered the corps at Astorga to fall back on Corunna, and was about to retire with the corps from this to some place of greater security, from whence I might return to the assistance of Spain when a more favourable opportunity offered.

"Those measures I have not stopped, the corps under "Sir David Baird shall return to Astorga. I have put "myself in communication with the Marquis de la Romana

"at Leon, and I shall, in concert with him, undertake such operations as are deemed best for the interests of Spain, and for the relief and assistance of Madrid. I should hope that the example of patriotism given by the capital, will be followed by the provinces, and that the people will flock up to its assistance—when headed by the armies the best results may be expected. The Junta may rest assured that everything shall be done by me that can be expected from such a corps as I command. This will be delivered by Colonel Graham, who I send to the Junta that he may explain the particulars of my situation, and communicate to me the wishes of the Junta, and the relative positions and strength of the people of Madrid, and the French opposed to them.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Excellencies"

" Most obedient humble Servant,
" JOHN MOORE."

"THE DUKE OF CASTELFRANCO AND MR. DE MORLA."

"7th.—Found at Talavera two of the deputies of the "Junta, waited on them and learnt that Madrid had "capitulated on the 3rd.

"8th.—Despatched my letters by a courier forwarded by the deputies. Met Lopez. Set out at 9, and went by Placencia.

To Sir John Moore.

"Talavera de la Reyna,
"Wednesday night, late, 7-8th Decr., 1808.
"My dear General,

"Owing to the extreme difficulty in getting horses, I did not get here till past eleven to-night, and hearing there was part of the Junta Central still in this place, I immediately waited on them to obtain information, the amount of which I send by an ex-

"traordinary courier, as the most likely means of its "reaching you soon, as he will get on much faster than I "could, requiring fewer horses.

"It seems, on the 3rd, Castelfranco and Morla made "some sort of agreement with the French, who, on the "day before, got possession of the Retiro and Prado of "Madrid. They are suspected of treason in this proceed-"ing, having refused to admit the troops under St. Juan "and Heredia, who were at the gates on this side, and "whose presence, it is asserted, would have enabled the "the citizens to have defended the town. Castellar, the "Captain-General, and all the military officers of rank, "refused to ratify the agreement, left the town, and "brought away 16 guns; and the inhabitants refuse to "deliver up their arms. In this state of things the enemy "remain in the Retiro, without having taken possession " of the different posts within, and they (the two deputies "here) do not think there is any chance of any part of "the French force (between 20 and 30,000 men) being " detached from Madrid.

"Castaños' army, meanwhile, commanded by General "Lapena, second in command, is at Guadalaxara, and "they say amounts to about 30,000 men, There are about "12,000 of the remains of St. Juan and Heredia's army "here, going to occupy the bridge of Almaraz, where "great exertions are making by the Junta to assemble a "large force. Meanwhile, St. Juan has been sacrificed to "the popular fury for retreating from Madrid, and was "this morning murdered here. One of the members now "here is to proceed immediately to Leon, to concert "measures with the M. de la Romana, whose force they " state, by the accounts received this day, to exceed 30,000 "men; and everywhere, where the country is not occupied "by the enemy, they say the most active measures are "taking to increase the military force of the country. "They state the whole of the French force in Spain not "to exceed from 70 to 80,000 men, a part of which is

"before Saragossa. They deny any more reinforcements being on their way to join the enemy. They are most anxious that you should join Romana. I shortly explained to them the divided state of your army, and the necessity you were under to begin a retreat, instead of completing the junction, on hearing of Castaños' defeat. I assured them that whatever might be your determination from circumstances, you have nothing more at heart than to serve effectually the cause of Spain, but that the British auxiliary army could do little in that by itself, and that everything depended on their being able to bring forward a powerful Spanish army that could unite with it. I mean to return by the Placencia road. I am afraid I shall not be able to get the courier to send this till to-morrow morning.

"I remain,

"Ever most truly yours,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

"P.S.—I think they mean that Lapena should retire on Andalusia, though they do not seem to have quite given up hopes of the people of Madrid resisting, should they be able to introduce a few thousand men. The Junta is at Truxillo. You see that all I can do is to repeat what I have heard, for I have no means, at this moment, of judging for myself."

(Paper inclosed.)

"In the morning of the 8th.

"I have just heard, from good authority, that the "enemy have gone towards Saragossa with a large force, "and that that and Madrid are their objects.

"P.S.—Official accounts are just come that they at-"tacked Saragossa on the 1st, and were repulsed with "great loss."

" 10th.—My letter, by the courier, only arrived this "morning, though my road was 10 or 12 leagues longer.

"11th.—Rode with the General to where General Hope was.

"13th.—Head-quarters moved from Salamanca to "Alaejos. Brigadier-General Stewart last night sur-"rounded and took some prisoners at Breda.

"14th.—Alaejos. Hard frost, clear, such as it has been "for a long while.

"15th.—Marched to Toro, where, or near it, the army is to assemble in consequence of intercepted despatches.

16th.—Hard frost continues.

"17th.—Marched. Took a very long ride round to the "right by Chedras and across by Villapando, and back to "head-quarters at Castro Nuevo—a miserable village.

"18th.—Head-quarters remained; rode with the General" to Villapando and back.

"19th.—Marched. Head-quarters moved to Valderas. "Rode with the General to Mayorga and back. Violent wind, extremely cold. Snow in the evening.

"20th.—Snow all over the country, three inches deep. "Marched. Head-quarters moved to Mayorga. Rode "from thence along the line to the right, and on to Lord "Paget's quarters. Sir D. Baird joined with the Guards "and Crauford's Light Brigade.

"21st.—Marched. Head-quarters moved to Sahagun, "where Lord Paget had a brilliant affair with the French cavalry, which he had nearly surprised and surrounded, but they were prepared outside of the town. After some manœuvring in column of divisions, Lord Paget charged with 400 of the 15th. The enemy received them stationary, but was broke and thrown into confusion; 12 officers and 150 prisoners taken. Rode round on the hills in front towards Saldana.

"22nd.—Head-quarters remained in the convent at "Sahagun. Rode on the hills with the General." Brigadier-General Stewart has had some further success "against the French cavalry near Palencia.

"23rd.—Frost in the morning. Tossed by a bullock in

"the convent yard. Orders to march at 8 p.m. in two "columns on Carrion. In the afternoon a despatch from "Romana with the intelligence of the enemy marching by "the Escurial, determined the General to abandon the " attack of Soult's corps at Saldana, which, if weak, would "have fallen back; the operation, in any event, must have "occupied at least four days to bring the army back here, "and nothing more than éclat could be expected from it. "A retreat on Astorga would have been equally necessary; "now it becomes imperiously so to prevent the enemy "from cutting in on the communications with Galicia. "There is not a man in the whole army who will not feel "mortified and disappointed at the counter orders just "issued.

"24th.—After the thaw of yesterday night the weather "has cleared gradually to extreme hard frost; the roads "are covered with ice. Rode with the General to Frazer "and Hope's quarter. They begin the retreat to-day to "Mayorga and Castro Gonzales. Reports from Carrion " state the enemy to be in force there since last night, and "that he had marched this morning from Saldana to " Carrion.

"25th.—Marched. Head-quarters to Mayorga, with the "reserve and Crauford's brigade. Baird marched on "Valencia. Lord Paget remained with the cavalry, the "7th and 18th, on the right in front of Palencia, where "Laborde, with 6,000 men, has arrived. Junot expected. "At Mayorga heard that a corps of cavalry (1,500) had "passed Avila, and would be at Salamanca on the 23rd. "26th.-Marched. Hope and Frazer to Benavente

"the stragglers of these divisions. Paget at Fuentes de "Ropel. Allan and Crauford at Castro Gonzales. Cavalry " at Valderas.

"where head-quarters moved to. Much disorder among

" 27th.—Head-quarters remained at Benavente. Paget " came in. Frazer marched to Olija on Astorga road.

" 28th.-Head-quarters remained. Hope marched. Lord

"Paget, with three regiments of cavalry, came in last night, as did the reserve.

" 29th.—Marched. Head-quarters moved to La Baneza.

"The cavalry had a brilliant affair with the Chasseurs à

"cheval of the Imperial Guard, their Colonel-General of

"division, Lefebvre, and two other officers taken, and

"about 60 men, besides as many killed and wounded.

"C. Stewart distinguished himself.

"30th.—Marched. Head-quarters to Astorga. Baird and the reserve came in. Frazer and Hope moved.

"31st.—The enemy having passed above the bridge of "Manzilla, surprised and took the regiment of Leon yesterday afternoon. Romana evacuated Leon, and, "contrary to his promise, came with great part of his "troops yesterday morning to Astorga, which created much confusion. Head-quarters and the reserve moved; and, on receiving a message from Lord Paget of the picquets being driven in, we marched at night, followed by the cavalry, from Astorga.

"Ist January, 1809. Arrived about 10 o'clock at Bembibre. Much disorder among the soldiers. 2nd.—
"The enemy entered the town with a small body of cavalry about 2 p.m., and followed our rear guard. Some skirmishing. Head-quarters at Villafranca.

"3rd.—Head-quarters remained, disorder still prevail"ing; some examples became necessary; one man ordered
"to be shot and another hanged. All stragglers stopped
"and shut up; several came in maimed by the French
"cavalry. About noon a report of the enemy advancing
"in force with infantry. Went forward in front of
"Cacabelos. The column of cavalry advanced rapidly,
"and occasioned some confusion among two companies
"of the Rifle Corps, some of whom were taken in the
"village. The 52nd and other troops were withdrawn,
"and the Rifle Corps only left to retire skirmishing and
"delay the enemy till night. This service was effectually
"done. We evacuated Villafranca after dark, the cavalry

"having all filed up the defile before. I met with an "accident from which I escaped providentially; my horse going over the precipice on the left, I saved myself by

"throwing myself to the off-side and clinging to the

"bushes. I afterwards recovered my horse but little hurt.

" Marched to Castro.

"4th.—The weather very bad. Much snow encumbered "the roads; the whole a scene of desolation; so many "horses and carriages and some dead bodies remaining "on the road. Arrived at Nogales about 4. Head-quarters "remained there all night. Reports of the enemy's patrols "touching ours in the night.

"5th.—Marched about half-past eight, enemy advanced and skirmished with the rear guard. Obliged to throw away many casks of dollars and destroy much ammunition for want of carriage. Halted on the summit of a hill, and with a couple of guns made a demonstration which stopped the enemy's advance till the column got down the hill to the valley of Constantino; beyond that took up a position for the enemy, where the troops bivouacked. Head-quarters a league further at So-

"6th.—Marched about midnight, and arrived undis"turbed at Lugo in the morning, taking a position in front
"of it for Baird's division and the reserve, which has had
"such severe duty to pass to the rear. About 12 the
"enemy's cavalry appeared, and some skirmishing took
"place for the rest of the day. They have brought
"forward six pieces of cannon, but only fired two.
"Hope's division, which had arrived here two days ago,
"went forward in the evening. All quiet during the
"night.

"7th.—Went out very early. Enemy collected to march, but, finding we maintained our position, they took up their ground on the other side of the road in a more sheltered situation. We reconnoitred all the ground on our left.

"8th.—Having passed the night at the first bridge after "all the arrangements had been made for the disposition "of the army, we firmly expected to be attacked this "morning, and waited with much impatience for an oppor-"tunity of beating the enemy-the confident expectation of "every man in the army, which was in the highest spirits. "The enemy, seeing we waited to be attacked, satisfied "themselves with measures of precaution. They sent a "patrol of 1500 cavalry on their right, seeing we had "cavalry on our left. The day passed quietly, and after "dark we withdrew from the position, a most difficult and "tedious operation, considering how near the armies were "to one another. The troops, owing to the badness of the " communication to the rear, did not get into the Corunna "road till about six or seven hours after getting under " arms, though the distance is not a league.

"oth.—Marched and halted at Astariz, behind the "little river. Dreadful weather. Marched again at seven "in the evening; the enemy's patrols of cavalry appeared. "The bridge over the Minho was attempted to be de-"stroyed, but it was not done effectually.

"noth.—Continued a most unpleasant and harassing march in the worst of weather. The soldiers very discretely, the officers negligent; the whole army, with few exceptions, such as the reserve, disorganized in the most disgraceful manner. Arrived at Betanzos at 10.

"Inth.—Marched at eight; the troops were in some degree collected, but still some thousand stragglers were on the road to Corunna, many committing great excesses. The army was halted to witness the execution of some of them, but on investigation their cases did not seem to justify such severity, no plunder being found in their possession. The rear guard skirmished with the advance of the cavalry in Betanzos, and halted at a bridge over the river running down into the harbour, which was blown up effectually; that at Betanzos failed. Arrived at Corunna about 3 p.m.; the positions outside all ex-

"tensive and unfavourable, yet some effort must be made "to keep the enemy at a distance. The ships from Vigo "not yet arrived; the weather very bad, blowing hard.

"12th.—Troops moved in support of the reserve left at "the bridge over the harbour river; the works of the town repairing; patrols of the enemy's cavalry appeared on the right bank of the river.

"13th.—The enemy appearing on the St. Jago Road, "the reserve was withdrawn from the most forward position at the bridge. Hope's division taking up one on the furthest part of the ridge which bounds the harbour on the south, supported by Sir T. Baird. Frazer and Paget in the suburbs.

"14th.—Fleet from Vigo appeared after 12 at noon. "Enemy quiet.

"15th—Ships all come in. Enemy moved across the harbour river to occupy the position of the hill looking this way. Tiraillerie and cannon shots occasionally all day. Embarkation of sick and wounded.

"16th.—Embarkation of horses, baggage, etc., going "on. Out early with the General-all quiet. I rode out "again about 10, and found the enemy had brought up "four guns to the edge of the wood on the left of their "position, which I reported on my return to the town. "Our horses were embarked; rode out with the General "about 2 p.m., and just as we got to camp found the "enemy prepared to begin a very vigorous attack on our "right. They had a large body in column of reserve in "the centre, and had moved from the right to the left, and "formed four columns of attack near the wood. About 3 "they began to descend the hill, driving in our picquets, " and opening a heavy fire from their guns, which entirely " commanded the right occupied by Lord Wm. Bentinck's "brigade-4th, 50th, and 42nd. The Guards and General "Manningham's brigade in reserve in second line; our "tirailleurs kept the walls and lanes in front of the line "and near the village as long as possible. When the

"enemy gained the village and advanced they fell back, "and the line was ordered by Sir D. B. to advance (rather too soon). The enemy gave way without being charged, and were pursued into the village by the 50th, and into the hollow near it by the 42nd, by which regiment the General had remained, occasionally speaking to and encouraging the men much exposed to and suffering from the enemy's guns.

"I was sent several messages, and on my return always. "found him where the fire was hottest. General Paget "was directed to support the Rifle Corps; obliged to "yield ground to the westward of the valley; the Guards "were ordered up to take up the ground where the 42nd " and 50th had stood; the 4th, thrown back from the first, "was protected by a deep hollow way and a garden wall, " and kept up a heavy fire on the column which remained "crowded in the village, where the enemy must have lost a "great number of men. About this time the sun was setting, "and the smoke hung entirely to our right." A report " prevailed that the enemy had pushed a column round that "way, and as nothing was heard from General Paget, the "General wished to make a diversion by an attack on their "centre at the bottom of the hill, where, at the White "House and Oak Wood, they were in considerable force. "The left battalion of the Guards was advanced for this "purpose, but owing to an improper formation, got into "some confusion which obliged them to fall back and "form behind a wall; at the same time the left company " of the 42nd conceiving they were to be relieved by the "Guards, retired up a narrow lane. The General, owing "to these circumstances, remained sometimes stationary "at the cross at these roads. The enemy, whose artillery "all day had been directed with much precision and "rapidity against groups of mounted officers, continued "firing at this spot, when at last a fatal ball took the "General under the left arm, shattering the ribs and "almost severing the arm from his body; he fell at my

"horse's feet; but such was the invariable firmness of his "mind, such the consciousness of his rectitude, that he "bore this pain without an altered feature. I scarcely "thought him wounded till I saw the state of his arm; we "lifted him against a bank. I sent Percy for a surgeon, "though it seemed quite a hopeless case, and by Lord "Wm. Bentinck's advice I rode to tell General Hope that "the command had devolved on him, Sir B. Baird having "left the field early in consequence of a wound in his arm. "When we returned to the right, Sir J. Moore was carried "off the field towards Corunna.

"The firing had abated much in that quarter, the enemy "being completely beaten, and Paget having advanced " far round on their left flank. Had there been daylight, "this advantage might have been pushed far by support-"ing Paget's attack by Frazer's reserve posted on the "windmill-hill in front of the town. As it was, the enemy, "apprehensive of that, made attacks from their centre and "right, merely to draw attention. The attack of their "centre by the brigade of Guards did not take place, they "got possession of the village on the great road in front " of our left, from which they were driven, as it grew dark, "by Colonel Nichols with three companies of the 2nd-14th. "One brigade of Frazer's division was brought over to "the great road in support of our left, where General "Hill had the command of Hope's division. About six "p.m., the firing ceased, the enemy having everywhere "beat the retreat. It was a puzzling question what was "to be done—to remain to attack, or be attacked next day, "or to proceed with the embarkation during the night " according to the arrangement made by the General and "Admiral. General Hope came into town, when, after " seeing the navy people, he determined to withdraw the "troops and go on with the embarkation. I found the "General dying; he expired about two hours after he was "wounded, his face still unaltered. He had at different "times spoken to Anderson, who having written down

"what he said has promised me a copy; never fell a more perfect soldier and gentleman. At night we removed his body to my quarters in the Citadel, there it remained until morning, and fatigue had so far overcome me, that I slept for some hours near the corpse of my friend as if I had been insensible of the blow.

"17th.—A grave was dug in the centre of the flat bastion of the citadel where poor Anstruther lay, and there, at eight o'clock in the morning, the General's body, without a coffin, was interred. Anderson, Colburne, Percy, and Stanhope were present only, Napier and I being joined to General Hope's Staff; and some firing from the point having taken place, they hurried it over.

"I went immediately after to the spot, and saw the place were so much worth and talent lie buried. During the rest of this melancholy day, I wandered about the streets, and in the evening, embarked with General Hope on board the Audacious; General Beresford remaining in charge of the rear-guard. The enemy took possession of the hill commanding the harbour about noon, and by two p.m., opened a fire from two or three guns, which occasioned great confusion amongst the transports that had unfortunately been allowed to remain at their anchorage after being filled, and several, by the rascality and cowardice of the masters, were lost. It unluckily blew quite a gale of wind the greatest part of the morning, but towards the afternoon it lulled.

"18th.—Off the light-house. Signal made that General Beresford and all the men had been embarked safely during the night. Made sail with a fair wind; I suffered much from an attack of opthalmia, brought on by splinters of stones from a shot striking my right eye—this affected my left, too, by sympathy.

"19th.—Wind continued fair, blowing fresh at times, "and a heavy sea.

" 20th.—Fair wind—about 185 miles from the Lizard.

"21st.—Heavy squalls in the night. Poor

"wounded in the thigh, died in the morning, much and justly regretted. Signal to collect the transports and go to Spithead.

"22nd.—At two p.m., saw the land, having passed the Lizard; ships much scattered.

"23rd.—Came up Channel, and got to Spithead about five p.m. Landed with General Hope.

"24th.—Remained at Portsmouth; several transports came in.

"25th.—Set out at two with General Hope, slept at Liphook.

" 27th.-Went to London.

When assured that the victory was his, Sir John Moore prepared himself for the end, which he felt was rapidly approaching, and passed his last moments on earth in wishing those friends, who were present, a long farewell, and in sending affectionate messages to the absent. Convinced that he had done his duty throughout the campaign, he felt sure that any recommendations from him would be attended to by a sorrowing and grateful Sovereign, and, therefore, with his latest breath, he charged Colonel Anderson to bring to the King's notice those officers whose services he deemed worthy of reward.

Amongst others, whom their dying chief wished to honour, was Colonel Graham, who, on the 4th of March, received a letter from the Horse Guards, which put an end to all his anxieties on the score of promotion and a recognised position in the army.

From H.R.H. the Duke of York.

"Horse Guards,
"4th March, 1809.

" Sir,

"I have not failed to submit to the King the communication made to me by Lieutenant-General the Honourable John Hope, at the dying request of the late

"Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, upon the subject of "the eminent and important services performed by you during the campaign in Spain, and His Majesty, in consideration of the earnest and last solicitation of that gallant officer, and in testimony of the zeal which you have upon several occasions manifested for His Majesty's service, has been graciously pleased to direct that, in your particular case, the established custom of the army may be departed from by your being promoted to the rank of "Major-General.

"I am further to acquaint you that your appointment as "Major-General in the army has accordingly taken place, "and that you stand amongst the Major-Generals in the situation you would have held had the Lieut.-Colonelcy to which you were appointed in February, 1794, been a "permanent commission.

"I am,
"Sir,
"FREDERICK.
"Commander-in-Chief."

"MAJOR-GENERAL GRAHAM, "etc., etc., etc."

Colonel Graham in writing on the subject of his unexpected promotion some years later, says:—

"It is quite impossible that I should ever find language "to express the feelings which were excited in my breast on this occasion. To have merited in so high a degree the approbation of so distinguished an officer, whose loss was deplored by the whole army, and felt by me as having deprived me of the best of friends, and, at last, to have gained this distinction by such a recommendation, was, indeed, ample compensation for the bitter disappointment I had so many years laboured under."

In July, 1809, Major-General Graham was appointed to the command of the right wing of the force, which, under Sir Eyre Coote, was to take part in the attack upon

Antwerp, and embarked on the 20th of the month on board the *Eagle*. The fleet remained at anchor until the 25th, when it sailed, and arrived off the island of Walcheren, about four p.m., on the 29th.

General Graham was present with his division at the bombardment and capture of Flushing, and returned to England in September thoroughly disgusted with the mismanagement of the expedition. On his return he was given the command of the troops in the vicinity of Sandgate, where he remained until February, 1810, when Lord Liverpool offered him the command of the British garrison in Cadiz with the local rank of Lieutenant-General.

From the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Downing Street,
" 19th February, 1810.

"Sir,

"I feel much pleasure in acquainting you that "His Majesty has been graciously pleased to select you "to command the British forces assembling at Cadiz for "the defence of that most important place.

"It is not as yet in my power to inform you what will be the amount of force under your command. At present it is only known that about one thousand men have been detached to Cadiz from Gibraltar, and there is every reason to believe that a strong corps will have been sent down to that place from Lisbon by Lord Wellington.

"You will be pleased to repair to Cadiz with the least possible delay, and take upon you the command of the British troops in that garrison, considering yourself, however, liable to the orders of Lieut.-General Viscount Wellington, whose military authority extends over all British troops in the Peninsula, the garrison of Gibraltar excepted.

"Amongst many important objects which will require

"your attention, that which demands your earliest care "is the security of the ships of war in the harbour and bay; and you will, immediately upon your arrival, "concert with Admiral Purvis, commanding His Majesty's squadron upon that station, and with the Spanish authorities, the most effectual means for precluding the possibility that the Spanish men-of-war or the French prizes should fall into the enemy's hands. As this service is one, however, of a very delicate nature, you will endeavour to conduct it in such a manner as will afford the least possible ground of jealousy to the "Spanish authorities and people of Cadiz.

"You will consult with the Spanish authorities as to the "measures which it may be necessary to adopt for the "effectual defence of Cadiz, and you will be pleased to "report to me as soon as possible what are its present means, and what may be the succours required either of troops, stores, or otherwise in the two contingencies of your having to defend the city of Cadiz separately, or the city together with the Isle of Leon.

"The great population of Cadiz and the Isle of Leon, augmented as it probably will be by refugees from the adjacent provinces, becomes a matter of very serious consideration, especially in a place where the supply of fresh water is understood to be so inadequate. If you should find, upon your arrival, that the enemy has taken up positions so as to intercept the arrival of provisions from the neighbouring country, or to prevent the free admission of water into the place, you will turn your thoughts to the expediency of immediately removing, in concert with the Spanish authorities, as large a proportion as possible of the inefficient population either to the Canary or Balearic islands, in such way as you may find most practicable upon communication with them and with Admiral Purvis.

"With regard to the requisite provisions and water for the garrison, and for such part of the inhabitants as may

"remain, you will make the earliest arrangements for securing supplies of provisions from the Mediterranean, and you will adopt every possible precaution with regard to water, an adequate supply of which will probably be best ensured by the constant employment of vessels to and fro between Cadiz and the most convenient stations for watering.

"Upon your arrival you will put yourself in communication with His Majesty's Ministers in that country, and
also with the Commander of the Spanish forces, and,
with regard to your relative military rank, and the extent of your general command, I am to desire that you
would take an early opportunity of arranging these
points, in the most friendly manner, with the General
Officer commanding the Spanish forces, and also through
His Majesty's Minister, with the Council of Regency.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant, "LIVERPOOL."

"To Major-Genl. Graham."

From Sir David Dundas.

"Horse Guards, 21st February, 1810.

" Sir,

"His Majesty having been graciously pleased to command that you should be employed upon a particular service with the local rank of Lieutenant-General, I have to desire that you will lose no time in proceeding to Cadiz and assume the command of such British force as may be assembled there, either from Gibraltar or Lord Wellington's army, and carry into effect such instructions as you may receive from His Majesty's Ministers.

"The under-mentioned officers have been appointed on the staff of the force to be under your command—viz.:

"The Honble Major Cathcart, Assistant Quarter-"Master General.

"Captain Hare, 23rd Foot, Deputy Adjutant-Assistant "General.

"On all subjects relating to your command you will be "pleased to correspond with me, and you will regularly " communicate to me all military transactions in which you "may be engaged, reporting to me all vacancies that may "occur in the troops under your command; and, as the " power of appointing to commissions is not vested in you, "you will be pleased to recommend to me such officers as " may appear to you most deserving of promotion, stating "the special reasons where such recommendations are "not in the usual channel of seniority. You will transmit "monthly returns of the troops under your command to "the Secretary at War, and to the Adjutant-General "for my information, and you will strictly adhere to His "Majesty's regulations in regard to the pay, clothing, and "appointments of the troops, and your special attention "must necessarily be directed to their discipline and to "the interior economy of the different corps, which is so "essential, not only to the comfort of the soldier, but to "the preservation of his health under every change of " climate to which he may be exposed.

"Under the head of pay, I have to direct your attention to the instructions of the Paymaster-General to his deputy respecting the usual stoppages being deducted from the pay of the several staff officers, and to which you are requested to give the most punctual attention.

"You will be vested with the usual powers of convening general courts-martial, upon which subject I have to observe that, as great inconvenience has arisen to the service from officers commanding on foreign stations having permitted prisoners to return to England prior to the proceedings and opinion of the court-martial having been submitted to the King, I have to request that in all cases where any person whatever may be

"tried by a general court-martial, and where your powers are not sufficient to enable you to decide finally upon the proceedings, opinion, and sentence of the court, that you do not permit the prisoner to return to England until His Majesty's pleasure shall have been duly communicated to you through the proper channel for that purpose.

"I have likewise to observe to you that, as many General "officers from the best motives have taken upon them"selves to commute sentences of capital punishment to
"transportation for a term of years or for life, when it is
"found that no such power is delegated by His Majesty,
and consequently that the whole of the proceedings
may thereby be rendered nugatory, it will be necessary
that your particular attention should be given to the
powers granted to you by His Majesty's warrant on
this subject in order to prevent you from inadvertently
falling into a similar irregularity.

"It is particularly desirable that the officer at the head of the Quarter-Master General's staff should be directed to keep a journal or other memorandum descriptive of the movements of the troops and the occurrences in which they are engaged, as also that he should take and collect plans of the harbours, positions, or fortified places in which the troops may be, for the purpose of being transmitted to me and lodged in the military depôt.

"In all points where any question or doubt may arise, and in which you may be desirous of receiving further and more specific instructions, you will always find me ready to pay the earliest attention to your representations.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
"DAVID DUNDAS,
"Commr.-in-Chief."

[&]quot;LIEUT.-GENERAL THOMAS GRAHAM."

" Horse Guards,
" 24th February, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that His "Majesty has been pleased to direct that you shall be em"ployed on a particular service, with the local rank of
"Lieutenant-General, from the 23rd instant.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"H. CALVERT,
"A.G."

" LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM.

" etc., etc., etc."

"February 25th.—Left London at 1 p.m., stopped at Bagshot.

"26th. -- Set out at 4 a.m., stopped at Salisbury.

" 27th.—Arrived late at Plymouth dock."

General Graham received the following letter from H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, in reply to one sent from Bagshot, regarding Major Muller and Captain Smyth, whom H.R.H. had recommended to the General's protection.

From H.R.H. the Duke of Kent.

"Kensington Palace,
" 27th Feby., 1810.

" My dear General,

"I do myself the pleasure of acknowledging "your letter of the 25th instant, from Bagshot, received "this morning, and beg to assure you of the happiness I "should have derived by becoming personally acquainted "with you previous to your going again on foreign service, but as circumstances have unfortunately prevented my seeing you, I can only say I shall anticipate with much

"pleasure the completion of that anxious wish on my part, very soon after your return from the duty you are called upon to perform.

"Nothing can be more gratifying to my feelings than "what you are so good as to observe respecting the "Royals, and I am sure I am only expressing the senti-"ment of the whole corps when I say that they will ever "consider it an honour and a happiness to be placed "under your command, the 3rd battalion having already "experienced such essential advantages from that cir-"cumstance, and while I name such to be the general "sentiments of the corps, as their Colonel, I feel every "inducement to give my most hearty concurrence to them. "What you say in answer to my recommendation of "Major Muller and Captain Smyth to your protection, is " perfectly satisfactory under the circumstances you have "named, and when you state your intentions of bearing "those officers in your remembrance, I feel sensible it is "all I am justified in expecting from the limited staff " patronage you must necessarily possess.

"I remain, with friendly regard and sincere esteem,
"My dear General,

"Yours faithfully,
"EDWARD."

"LT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"March 3rd.—Embarked and weighed anchor at 11 a.m. "No wind almost, very slow progress out of the Sound; anchored till ebb-tide.

"5th.—Off Ushant.

"19th.—At 12 o'clock we were in lat. 42°38' south of "Cape Finisterre, so we may fully congratulate ourselves" at being out of the Bay of Biscay.

"24th.—Beautiful view of Cadiz; got to our anchorage near the ships of war at half-past four, went with Cap-tain Shortland on board Admiral Purvis' ship, then on shore to Mr. Wellesley and General Stewart; returned

"on board the *Iris*. Learnt that the violent storm, at the time we were so tossed in the Bay of Biscay (7th and 8th inst.), had occasioned the loss of three Spanish and one Portuguese man of war. The enemy not in posures session of the Isla, but all around.

"25th.—Landed and breakfasted at Mr. Wellesley's, "and went with him to the Isla, to wait on the Regency; "received very graciously by General Castaños; then went to the Duke of Albuquerque, who commands the army, and who is on bad terms with the Junta of Defence of the town, a paper war having been established between them. On our way back stopped to look at the new works across the peninsula and at Puntales. The enemy at work on the opposite coast of Trocadero and Matagorda, which last is occupied by our troops, after having had the sea defence blown up. Waited next on Junta of Defence, composed of principal inhabitants; the President made me a long speech on discipline.

"26th.—Went over with Captain Shortland's boat to "Matagorda. General Stewart and Captain Landmann "had adopted a plan, of considerable extent, to form a "counter-guard, covering the wall, by sinking ships in the "mud, and forming a communication to others on the left, "which were to form a flanking battery. It is a miserable "place and must fall whenever seriously attacked, there being no shelter from shells. I am in great doubt "whether it should be continued."

General Order.

" Cadiz, 26th March, 1810.

"Lieutenant-General Graham in assuming the im"portant command His Majesty has been most graciously
"pleased to intrust him with, would have wished to have
"had it in his power to see the troop without delay, but
"unavoidable engagements for some days will prevent
"his doing so. He cannot, however, delay expressing

"his satisfaction at finding here a corps composed of "regiments of such established character and so ably "commanded. He trusts, therefore, with confidence to "their strict discipline and good conduct on all occasions.

"He has great pleasure in acknowledging the obligations which the service has derived from the great
zeal, attention, and judgment with which it has been
conducted by Major-General the Honourable William
Stewart.

"The following officers have joined the troops:-

"Major the Honourable Charles Cathcart, Assistant "Quarter-Master General.

"Captain Hare, 23rd Foot, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-"General."

"27th.—Went early in a carriage to the Isla, saw the Duke " of Albuquerque, who told me he had determined to resign "the command of the army on account of the proceedings " of the Junta at Cadiz, and that he had asked to go as "ambassador to England. Went on to the Caraccas; the "Spaniards working at batteries there, and to cover "themselves from along the quays; crossed the bridge of "Suazo; very bad defence, no regular tête-de-pont with a "drawbridge, but the straight road coming up to the gate, "with detached batteries, two on each side, and a number " of houses that would afford cover to an enemy. It is " astonishing the French did not follow in after the Duke's "army. Went along the edge of the marsh towards the "heights at the W. end; well calculated for an entrenched "camp. Called on Mr. Wellesley, who told me the Duke "had resigned and was appointed ambassador to England, "and that Blake was to come to take this command under " Castaños.

"28th.—At home all the morning writing, and to meet the Admirals. Valdoy proposes a naval operation against the Trocadero, to be assisted by a small disembarkation to destroy the enemy's works. Much conversation with-

"out use. Valdoy desired to make his project in writing, "and Admiral Pickering seemed to think better of it "than Admiral Purvis.

"29th.—Went to the point of Santi Petri, which is very alarming; the place favourable for the enemy's operations, and the works on our side contemptible. Brigadier-General Brown showed me a requisition from the Spanish Quarter-Master General in the name of the Commander-in-Chief for working parties of the British troops. The specimen of Santi Petri not favourable to their demands; however, it will be of much consequence to get them to communicate their plans, and this will give a fair pretence

"31st.—Went early to the Isla to see General Castaños, "concerning the plans of the works there. He received "my proposal of communication between the engineers of the two nations, and agreed we should meet his Quarter-"Master General and the engineers on Monday morning.

"The convoy from Portsmouth with Guards, Rifle and Staff Corps, and three companies of Artillery arrived; our horse

"transport gone into Lisbon. Brigadier-General Dilkes "landed and stayed here till he should get a quarter.

"Sent off despatches 1, 2, and 3 to Lord Liverpool."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

"Cadiz, 26th March, 1810.

" My Lord,

" for it.

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship that "the *Iris* anchored in this harbour on the evening of the "24th inst.

"Yesterday I accompanied Mr. Wellesley to the Isla, to be presented to the Regency. The President-General "Castaños received me with much cordiality. I took that coccasion to mention the urgency of getting rid of the French prisoners with as little delay as possible, and had

"I not been apprised previously by Mr. Wellesley of the

"difficulties and probable delays, I should have flattered "myself that the measure would soon be carried into "execution. But your Lordship must be well aware from "Mr. Wellesley's despatches how hopeless it is to trust to "any assurances of any of the Spanish authorities when "energy is required to give effect to the resolution ap-" parently most approved of by their own judgment, and "undoubtedly most conducive to their own interests. I "can only now, in very general terms, state to your "Lordship that the line of defence of the island of Leon "would require a much greater force to render it at all "secure than there will be here, even after the arrival of "the troops that were under orders when I sailed. " of course it is held at present by a very uncertain tenure, "depending on the inactivity of the enemy much more "than on the effectual resistance that could be made " against vigorous attacks.

"against vigorous attacks."

"The situation, though naturally strong, requires to be improved by extensive field works on the most accessible points, and the Spanish system does not afford any well-founded expectation that these will be speedily erected, or perhaps constructed on the best principles. It shall, however, be my unceasing endeavour to push on these works, and I have already directed all the engineers that came with me to apply themselves to the subject.

"The want of cavalry (for the Spanish of the Duke of "Albuquerque can only be reckoned an incumbrance), "will be severely felt should we be attacked there, as also the want of field artillery, properly equipped with horses and drivers.

"Lord Wellington has sent a brigade of 6-pounders, but without horses or drivers. It is of the utmost importance that whatever field artillery be sent from England, should come complete in point of equipment. Mules are good for nothing in time of action, though they may answer the purpose of moving the guns on a road, and at a quiet moment; under fire they are quiet intractable, even with "muleteers. Our people could never manage them, and the muleteers on such an occasion would be the first to run off. The most rapid movement of field artillery may become of infinite consequence in repelling any corps of the enemy which might cross the river. I should hope, therefore, that one brigade of horse artillery would form a part of what is to be destined for this service, and that the rest may be sent completely equipped, and with horses and drivers for the brigade from Lisbon. I have not communicated with the Admiral yet on the subject of the transports being sent back to the Tagus, as recommended in Colonel Bunbury's letter to me of the 27th ult., because Major-General Stewart's instructions from Lord Wellington particularly direct that all the transports shall remain here.

"As soon as I am able to furnish your Lordship with a "more detailed opinion of the state of things here, I shall "not fail to do it, as well as to notice the other points "contained in my instructions.

"I have the honour to remain,
"With great respect, my Lord,
"Your Lordship's, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM,
"Lieut.-General."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Cadiz, 30th March, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving yesterday evening." the duplicate of your Lordship's despatch of the 6th inst., "and I am sorry to observe that the brigade of Guards "is to come out so much reduced in numbers from that "mentioned in Colonel Bunbury's letter received at Ply-"mouth. The superior quality of that corps, too, makes "the diminution of numbers a subject of still more regret." No situation can require more steady or determined

"troops than the island of Leon; whenever the enemy can penetrate into it, the contest must be expected against a great superiority of force, and probably under circumstances of a very discouraging nature, for it would be deceiving ourselves to depend upon the Spaniards not giving a very bad example in the open field; the only hope of their behaving well must rest on the works being completed before an attack is made. I have now had an opportunity of going along the whole line, from the Caraccas on the left to Santi Petri on the right, and every thing confirms the opinion I had before formed of the very precarious hold we have of this important position.

"Much stress is laid on the impracticability of troops " crossing the marshes on each side of the river. No doubt "the nature of the ground presents great difficulties to the "enemy; but, on the other hand, too much confidence in "the protection of such natural obstacles has often proved "fatal in war. I have directed the engineers to ascertain "actually what dependence can be placed in the general "opinion of the depths of the mud in these marshes, but "that they must be accessible in some directions, is evident "from the circumstance of their being chiefly formed into "salt pans. If then infantry can get across them in suffi-"cient numbers, the security vanishes at once. And the "alarm of a small number even getting into the rear of "some of the most important batteries may readily be "conceived, and would soon open the way for the passage " of their artillery and cavalry. Among the Spanish troops "this kind of panic would be the more unavoidable from "the general belief of its being almost impossible to "march across the marshes. Having made this general "observation, I shall shortly state what occurred to me on " seeing the different points.

"The Caraccas is occupied by a large body of Spanish troops under the command of a Colonel, said to be an active and intelligent officer. Having naturally the defence of its insular situation, the marsh there does

"not appear to have had much pains taken to protect it by art. There are some advanced batteries established on small islands in the marsh to the east and south of it, these have now been strengthened, and some additional ones constructed, and they are very busy erecting batteries and a kind of breastwork and covered way on the edge of the quays that surround the store-houses, taking up the pavement of the quays and the street. There is, however, no casemate for men or magazines, so that a bombardment, whenever the enemy can bring down a sufficient number of mortars and howitzers, will, I fear, give them possession of this very important flank in spite of any resistance that may be made.

"I should imagine this will be the first point of attack, "as the possession of the Caraccas would give many re-" sources, besides a favourable point from which to prepare "an attack on that end of the island. At present, the "enemy is employed in constructing small batteries of "two, three, or four guns, on different points where the "ground rises from the outward edge of the marsh; these "begin at Puerto Real, and extend to the left; some are " out of reach of shot from the Caraccas. Between the "Caraccas and the town of Isla, there are favourable "situations for the erection of works against it. Next the "Caraccas, the marsh is level, and then the ground rises "with any easy slope, forming a natural glacis from St. "Carlos and N.E. end of the town of Isla. "places, however, this is broken by the excavations for "stone pits, and the soil first moved forms great mounds. "Next comes the bridge and high road. At a mile's "distance in front of the bridge, and in the middle of the "marsh, the Spaniards are erecting a work at an angle of "the road. This I have not yet had time to go to, but the "works called the Tête-de-pont are very defective, and " should not have remained so long in the present state. "It is very urgent that something should be done without "delay to put this most important point in security.

"At any moment of sudden attack on the outpost, the

"enemy might follow in so closely as to make it impossible to use the guns of the batteries in checking their
progress along a straight road, and then drawing up the
the drawbridge of the broken down centre arch of the
bridge against the Spanish troops; retiring might be
the only means of saving the post. There are commanding heights (though rather distant) on which works must
be constructed, and the consideration of the best means
of defence there, is recommended as one of the first
objects of attention to the engineers.

"The bend of the river, opposite to the Isla, with which the Chiclana Creek communicates, is so favourable to the enemy, that if the marsh will admit of the establishment of powerful batteries on his side, it seems impossible to prevent the construction of a bridge there, in which case the defence of the marsh (there a good deal intersected with deep and muddy ravines into which the tide flows) must be our security.

"But the point of Sti. Petri is the most hazardous of all;
opposite to it the enemy has an extent of hard sandy
ground with the advantage of a navigable creek which
forms a natural approach quite covered from our side,
and within a short distance of our batteries; both the
river and the tongue of land which intervenes between
the river and the creek being narrow. The batteries at
this point are open in the rear, and the commanding
officer has fortified the post in his own way; nothing
can be worse. Add to all this, that this point is at such
a distance that it might be difficult, if not impossible, to
support it in time, and, therefore, it must remain an
object of great apprehension till some better plan of
defence can be adopted and executed.

"Were the heights, in the rear on the south-west ex"tremity of the ridge on which the town of Isla stands,
"fortified as an intrenched camp, much security in this
"quarter would be obtained; there would be less risk in
"carrying on a considerable corps to endeavour to sup"port or retake the post, and it would make it less an

"object for the enemy to make a serious attack on this "flank, seeing the difficulties in the way of possessing himself of the heights. It would be advisable to connect in some degree this entrenched camp with the narrow part of the isthmus, at Torre Gorda, by a chain of redoubts on the beach and the road leading from the town of Isla across the Salines towards the Torre Gorda, so as to secure a retreat in the event of a successful attack of the enemy on other points of the island at the same time.

"It appears to me that the town of Isla itself is susceptible of being fortified by intrenchments, so as to form another great camp as it were, leaving a consider-able space of open ground between the west-end of the town and the first mentioned camp. The report of the engineers will enable me judge better of this, but by such means only, and a sufficient body of troops, can permanent possession of the island be at all expected.

"However, the loss of the Isla to the beginning of the narrow isthmus, though it would be attended with many inconveniences, ought not necessarily to draw on the surrender of Cadiz. The possession of that inner basin would facilitate the means of constructing a numerous flotilla, which would harass the town; but, with determination on the part of the inhabitants, no real danger is to be apprehended.

"The fort of St. Ferdinand already presents a front that never can be attacked by the isthmus, and no landing ought ever to be effected in its rear, so that the town never can be besieged. I would by no means answer for the perseverance of the inhabitants after the loss of the Isla.

"I have, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM,
"Lieut.-General."

[&]quot;THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

"Cadiz, 31st March, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Having gone early to the Isla this morning, I have been able to make arrangements with General Castaños, by which a general plan for the construction of the field works necessary for the defence of the island will be adopted, in concert with the Spanish and British engineers.

"Much benefit will result from this kind of communica-"tion, which has certainly been agreed on most readily by "General Castaños, and without the shadow of that jealousy "which there was too much reason to apprehend from a "Spanish Commander-in-Chief. By this means, probably, "much better plans will be adopted, and certainly the "execution of them will be much more attended to, "though I think it advisable that the British soldiers "should be employed separately and in distinct works "from the Spaniards; yet an emulation will be a beneficial "consequence. The measure, too, of the defence of the "island being so warmly taken up by us, will produce the "best effect in the minds of the people of this town. As "soon as the troops from England arrive, and quarters "can be obtained at Isla, I shall greatly augment the " number there.

"I have much satisfaction in communicating to your "Lordship that all the arrangements which have been "made by Major-General Stewart meet with my warmest approbation, and prove him to be a most zealous, attentive, and intelligent officer.

"As Mr. Wellesley's despatches will fully inform the "Government of the measures adopted about the prisoners, "and what is proposed about the ships, I need not trouble "your Lordship with a repetition. With respect to pro-

"visions and water, there is no reason to apprehend a "want of either.

"The illness of Mr. Bagster, the Deputy Commissary General, has hitherto retarded any new arrangements for procuring fresh meat. It would be very necessary to have some ship loads of pressed hay sent out, to serve till some measures are devised for procuring forage. At present, all supplies being furnished by the Spaniards, no great exertion is to be expected.

"Though Lord Wellington's instructions on this head "were positive to M. G. Stewart, yet I apprehend "it will be quite impossible to expect that the system should be continued, and, at all events, it will be "indispensably necessary to provide a supply of pro-"visions and fresh meat, wherever the expense ultimately falls.

"I am happy to be able to announce to your Lordship "the arrival of the convoy from Portsmouth; some of the "ships have just anchored. I hope I shall be able to give "your Lordship accurate information before the frigate sails."

"I have, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM,

" Lieut.-General."

"TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"1st April.—The Guards, three cos. of Artillery, two of the Rifle, and one of the Staff Corps landed. I went to the general parade of the brigade here, visited the hospital, and then went to the quay to see the disembarkation.

"2nd.—Went to the Isla to meet the Quarter-Master General, and to see the plans, concerning which we had a great deal of discussion. Walked to the bridge and the advanced post. Major Lefebre, intelligent and quick. Changed from Mr. Butler's into General Stewart's house, as he is gone to take the command of the brigade in the Isla.

"3rd.—The Leda arrived from Guernsey, with the 2nd battn. 44th Regiment.

"4th.—44th landed under Major Gregory; succeeded the Guards in the barracks here. Our horses arrived in the harbour, having been transhipped at Lisbon. Sent the despatch of this date to Lord Wellington."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

"Cadiz, 4th April, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform you that the brigade of Guards under Brig.-Genl. Dilkes, three comps. of Artillery under Major Duncan, five companies of the 95th (2nd and 3rd battns.) under Majors Wilkins and Ross, and a company of the Staff Corps under Captain Leycester, arrived here from England on the 3rd ulto., and that yesterday, the 44th Regt., 2nd bn., under the command of Major Gregory, from Guernsey, likewise arrived.

"This completes all that has been hitherto destined for this service. There is a considerable difficulty in getting quarters here, and still more so at Isla, and especially for officers. The inhabitants at both places having never before been subjected to the billeting of the troops, as in the rest of Spain, and their houses being crowded with their friends who have fled from the country.

"General Castaños mentioned to me that the Spanish army would be encamped on the island if a sufficient number of tents could be procured, and that if this took place, there would be quarters enough there for our troops.

"I should certainly prefer this to encamping our men, "for though it might not be injurious to their health, "for some weeks there would be much risk of sickness "during the great heats later in the summer. It may "probably be necessary to have a proportion under tents "in order to be near the works which we may undertake to execute.

"Major Lefebre, of the Royal Engineers, having been sent out from England to be at the head of that department here, accompanied me to a meeting of the principal Staff officers of the Spanish army, where the plans and description of the works proposed for the defence of the isle of Leon were produced and discussed, and I have every reason to believe that my expectations of the benefit to be derived from General Castaños' friendly disposition will not be disappointed, but that a better system of defence, and greater energy in the execution, will result from the communications which he has directed to be made to me.

"Without troubling your Lordship with details till I am enabled to transmit a plan of the whole, I think it right just to mention that, already the tête-du-pont of the bridge of Suazo is in the way of being much improved by a wet ditch and drawbridge.

"We suggested the destruction of this bridge, and the "substitution of a bridge of boats, but failing in con-"vincing the Spanish officers of the necessity of this "precaution, we insisted that not a moment should be lost "to put it out of danger of being carried by a coup de "main. The next object of our attention is the point of "Sti. Petri, where a second and more retired line, less "exposed, of course, to be overpowered by the enemy's fire "from the favourable ground on the opposite side of the "river, is strongly recommended, and it is my intention "that our men should be employed in the execution of this "work, though at such a distance and in such a disagree-"able situation for a camp. It is, however, the only "chance of getting this important point secured by well-"planned and well-executed works. A great deal of "labour having been mis-spent by the Spaniards on a " work which is rather worse than useless.

"It is particularly satisfactory to me to know that your

"Lordship had already expressed, not only your appro"bation of a general system of defence by field works,
"but much anxiety on the subject. This I was not
"apprised of for some days after my arrival, when Major
"General Stewart put your Lordship's despatches into my
"hands, by which, and especially by your private letter of
"the 27th of February, I see how much you are impressed
"with the necessity of great exertions to strengthen by
"art the position of the island of Leon.

"This will confirm me in using every endeavour with the Spaniards, and in employing the British soldiers as much as can be safely done in the construction of good works, for certainly those already executed by the Spaniards do not inspire confidence.

"The enemy is occupied about Chiclana in building "boats or rafts. It must be a long operation to get a "sufficient number for undertaking a serious attack, but "by means of the many navigable creeks which intersect "the marsh, and which chiefly lead from the side next the "high ground occupied by the enemy towards the river "(though there are some that are nearly parallel to it), "there may be opportunities for the establishment of posts "and batteries near the banks of the river with more " facility than the Spaniards are aware of. The Spaniards "trust much to the gunboats placed in the river, these "will not easily maintain their anchorage if the enemy "can get near them with tirailleurs. The marsh is on "very different levels, at least all that part of it prepared "for making salt, each level is surrounded by a narrow "bank of earth, in order that the sea water let in at high "tides may be confined. There are foot-paths on the top " of all these banks, and some of them are horse roads; "these paths form a labyrinth for strangers, but are well "known to the salt-workers, who might serve as guides to "conduct infantry in small bodies in the night for the " purpose of surprise of the posts and batteries established "by the Spaniards on the road beyond the bridge, and in

"different points of the marsh between that road and the "Caraccas.

"The Spaniards did not seem to be sufficiently aware of this risk. Should the enemy succeed in enterprises of this kind by night (it is impossible to attempt it by day) much valuable artillery ready placed in situations of great annoyance to the principal defence of the island may be lost. The object of these posts is chiefly to keep the enemy at a distance, and prevent as long as possible any bombardment of the town of Isla. It may be a question whether such posts should ever have been taken up; however, it is now too late to object to them, and all that can be done is to urge them to take every precaution against surprise. As I know Mr. Wellesley will inform your Lordship of everything relating to the prisoners and Spanish ships, I will not detain you longer.

"I have the honour to be,

" etc.,
" THOS. GRAHAM,
" Lieut.-General."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL LORD VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"5th.—Horses landed. Corinna died on the passage.

"6th.-Inspected the regiments; rode to the Isla.

"Dined on board the Atlas with Admiral Purvis.

"7th.—Put off the inspection of the 44th and 94th on account of rain; went in a coach to Isla; saw General Castaños on the subject of communication between the Spanish and British engineers, which he promised to order. Visited the quarters of the Guards; took steps to obtain a quarter in Isla.

"8th.—Gave the Vice-Consul at Tangiers a commission to get me a horse and two mules, and to send sheep and poultry occasionally. Heavy rain this morning prevented my visiting Matagorda as I intended. The Deputy Commissary General has entered into an arrange-

"ment for a monthly supply of 700 bullocks from Tangiers.

"Advanced the Vice-Consul 20,000 dollars to account.

"April 9th.—Went to Matagorda and to the Spanish "line-of-battle ship St. Paolo, near the mouth of the

"Trocadero passage. Had a good view of the enemy's

" position and works.

"to remain on account of indisposition. Lord Ipswich and James Newton have daily attacks of ague. My quarters in the the house of the governor of Isla.

"Ith.—Rode out early by the Gallineras, visited General "Castaños. Giron called, and we settled that we should "take the post of Gallineras; the 87th will encamp there.

"War Office, 11th April, 1810.

"Sir,

"The King having been pleased to appoint you to serve as a Lieutenant-General, with two Aides-de"camp, upon the staff of the forces ordered to proceed on a particular service, from 23rd February, 1810, I am commanded to acquaint you, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you do obey such orders as you shall receive from His Majesty, the Commander-in-Chief, or any other your superior officer.

"I have the honour to be,

" Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"PALMERSTON."

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS GRAHAM."

"12th.—Went this morning with Major Lefebre in a "Spanish boat from the bridge all along the river to the "island of Sti. Petri. The navigation of the river will "probably be interrupted ere long by the enemy's batteries. At all events, it will wherever they are able "to approach the shore, and there is some risk of their being able to attack the gunboats with small armed

"boats, and carry them by boarding. The creeks that run up towards their position are favourable to this kind of attack whenever they have prepared the means. The Spaniards, with that fatal confidence that has so often hurt them, will not be persuaded of the possibility of such an attack being made. The castle on the island of Sti. Petri is a bad, but a valuable, work, though the distance from the land is greater than was said. Few guns bear on the passage where the boat was, the batteries being made to act against the bar and entrance from the sea on the south side. The work is so poorly constructed, and the flank fire so defective, that it is very liable to be taken by assault. This morning the gun-boats attacked the Trocadero camps' point, and for some hours kept up a heavy cannonade.

"Received a letter from Lisbon from Stuart, to tell me "that Sir J. Sherbrooke meant to leave the army in the beginning of May. The French armies seem prepared to invade Portugal, but hesitate committing themselves with the appearance of so much disturbance in various parts of the country.

"13th.—Rode round to view the position of the island against the Caraccas, supposing that point lost. The line in front of St. Carlos may be made very strong, but it will require much time, labour, and expense. Rode on the heights before dinner, Generals Giron, Lacy, Dilkes, and Stewart dined here.

"14th.—Inspected the brigade of Guards; went to the "Suazo advanced post. Wrote to Lord Liverpool."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla, 14th April, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Since I had the honour of addressing myself to "your Lordship, the enemy has not made any works in "advance, but the batteries on rising ground near Chiclana,

"which have been begun for some time, are considerably extended, and some are armed with heavy guns which reach our batteries on this side of the river, and they seem intended for the double purpose of the defence of their line of investment, and to command some of the long reaches of the river. The Spaniards very generally think they cannot be driven out of the river. I am much inclined to think they will find themselves mistaken, and that whenever the enemy is prepared to come nearer and increase the number of his batteries, it will be no difficult matter to overpower everything floating on so narrow a stream.

"In like manner, the long projecting point towards Sti. "Petri will become very warm. Major Lefebre is not yet "prepared to give me a detailed plan of defence, but in "the frequent visits we have made to that interesting "point, I am enabled to state to your Lordship that we "agree in thinking that it will remain a very hazardous " one after all that can be done in the way of a succession " of redoubts supporting one another from the point back-"wards to the rising ground. This has suggested the idea " of forming a canal on the edge of the marsh, under the "fire of the guns which will be placed on the heights (on " a principle similar to the great military canal of Romney "marsh), so that the enemy might have a second, a more "difficult, operation to perform after crossing the river, "before he could arrive in force to attack the heights. "many places of the marsh there are already small narrow "creeks running in directions which will favour the execution " of this work. It is uncertain whether it will be possible to "carry it through the sandy beach, and keep it open into "the sea, but at all events, it is evident that it might be "produced so far to the westward as to to confine the "operations of the enemy to a very narrow front at the "point where this obstacle would cease. I should not "now enter into this detail, but for the sake of calling "your attention to the employment of a good set of "English canal diggers for its execution. All Spanish labourers on this island are so fully employed in works carrying on under the direction of the Spanish engineers, that there is no chance of getting any to apply to this purpose. There are many reasons against employing the troops in such labour.

"The benefit of having this shorter and stronger line of defence will almost entirely then depend upon the possibility of its being executed by canal diggers sent out as those were to Walcheren. The price of provisions here is such, that it would be indispensable to provide them with full rations; this, with a certain daily pay, besides receiving payment by measure of the work executed, would probably induce many to volunteer their service for two or three months.

"There has not been time since Major Lefebre and I "have talked of this to ascertain the extent of the work, but it may be averaged at about three miles, certainly not more. I need not add that if these men can be obtained, and it be determined to adopt this idea, the greatest exertion should be made to send them out with the least possible delay.

"I expect that our working parties will begin early next week with this view; and to enable the Spaniards to apply a greater force to the works of Caraccas, one of the four battalions now in Cadiz (the 94th) will encamp on the heights opposite the point called Gallineras, on Monday next, the 16th inst. Another encampment must take place near the point of Sti. Petri, the distance being too great from any of the quarters; but as the situation will be rather an uncomfortable one, on a narrow ridge of blowing sand, on the edge of the marsh, I propose to relieve that detachment frequently. The number of sick increases, and among the troops that were on the Scheldt expedition, there have been a good many cases of intermittent fever. It is considered that this was chiefly owing to some days of great cold, and heavy rain after

"warm weather, affecting some men that remained in a "weakly state, and not to the influence of climate here; as connected with the marshes, the water in them is almost entirely from the sea, and at present quite free from noxious exhalations.

"A general hospital will be established in a few days in an airy situation in a good building between the town of Cadiz and Puntales.

"The fire of the bomb vessels and gunboats prevents "the enemy from making any great progress in their "works near the Trocadero channel; and I think were "they armed, so as to become very offensive, it would be "no difficult matter to make a good landing for a sufficient "number of men, and for a sufficient time to destroy their "works.

"I have the honour to remain,
"My Lord, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"Lieut.-General."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"April 15th.—Put off the march of the 94th to the encampment at Gallineras. Went to see Whittingham's drill before the Regency.

"drill before the Regency.
"16th.—Inspected Major-General Stewart's brigade.
"Wrote to Lisbon to Lord Wellington. A squadron 13th
"Light Dragoons arrived. Visited the advanced post
"where the enemy had been allowed to come too far
forward on the Suazo road. The angle was the place our
advance should have retained, but it is not worth fighting
for now, not meaning to make sorties at present."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Isla, 16th April, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Since my last letter of the 6th inst. there has

"been no opportunity of making any report to your Lordship; indeed, there has been no military occurrence of
any consequence. A great deal of fire from the harbour
sis kept up against the Trocadero channel and the
adjacent houses, by which they have been much ruined,
and the enemy has hitherto been prevented from making
any material progress with the works he had begun
there.

"I have not been able yet to establish any means of getting accurate intelligence concerning the state of his force in this neighbourhood. The peasants that have come in, as well as some deserters, know nothing. Columns are seen frequently moving backwards and forwards on the Chiclana road, and these movements tend to prevent the inhabitants from being able to make correct reports.

"The Spanish Generals state their information to be "that there are about 7,000 men on the left between "Chiclana and Puerto Real, and from 16 to 18,000 on "the whole line of investment. We have great difficulty "here about quarters; but, in order to have more men "disposable for working parties, the 94th is to encamp on "the heights to the westward of this, and another camp "must be formed near the point of Sti. Petri as soon as "the plan of the new works is determined on. Major "Lefebre and I think that a great additional strength "may be obtained for this position by having a water "line of defence in the edge of the marsh under the guns " of the works on the heights, produced westward as far "as possible so as to confine the advance of the enemy "to a still narrower front than the Peninsula between the "river and the sea, and the point of attack of the heights. " after he succeeds in forcing the passage of the river itself " at Sti. Petri.

"In this view I have written to Lord Liverpool suggest-"ing the propriety of immediately sending out a set of "canal diggers, such as were sent over to Walcheren, for "the execution of this work. The same precaution is intended to be taken where the river bends away at a distance from the heights, but in front of the town, and both these, there are already some creeks which will greatly facilitate making this second line of water defence. Measures, too, are taking by the Spaniards to keep all the salines on this side of the river constantly full of water.

"I have directed the Deputy Commissary General to form a three months' magazine for 9,000 men and 1,000 horses, and to keep it always as complete as possible. He has accordingly written to the Commissary General by the packet yesterday for a supply from home, and he is endeavouring to make contracts here for this object. I trust meanwhile, from what your Lordship said to Major-General Stewart, that a considerable supply will come soon from the Tagus. Forage at this season will probably be the most difficult article to obtain; 6,000 qrs. of oats are shipped at home for this place; hay and straw will be wanted. Of the latter, some supply is promised from Tangiers. A small quantity, with sixty bullocks, came yesterday from thence.

"Before Colonel Murray's letter came I had already proceeded so far with regard to an issue of bât and forage money to all the troops here, that there would be a great awkwardness now to make a separation and withhold it from those that came from Lisbon, but I have paid particular attention not to admit any claims that are not fully established by the regulations proposed by General Trigge, and which I have understood to be generally adopted.

"It would be very satisfactory to me to have your "Lordship's instructions relative to the rank of British "officers serving with Spanish or Portuguese regiments "and holding with them a higher rank than their British "rank. The interference is not likely to be much with "those officers actually serving with the Spaniards; and

"those who have gained it as an honorary distinction merely (as Major-General Stewart, Captains Landmann and Owen), but who serve with the British only, there can be no doubt about. But Colonel Bushe being in the same brigade with British regiments, and liable at all times to do duty with the officers of these, it is very essential that your Lordship's orders should be explicitly understood here.

"On a reference to me from Major-General Stewart, "relative to his or those officers wearing any distinctive mark of their Spanish rank, I declined giving my opinion, as the transaction had taken place previous to "my arrival; I advised him to take your Lordship's directions on that subject. Yesterday's packet brought a notification from the Horse Guards of Brigadier-"General Sontag being appointed to serve with the "troops here.

"I have the, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM.
"Lieut.-General."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"April 17th.—The enemy drove in our advanced posts "this morning at day-break, and there was a good deal of "cannon firing. Mr. Wellesley came here this morning, "and we rode to the front of Sti. Petri. The Junta has "named Cuesta to be Captain-General of the Balearic "Isles; they have made over the whole of the admini-"stration of the finance of the country to the Junta of "Cadiz.

"18th.—Went early with Lefebre and Birch to make a "reconnaisance of the enemy's works on the line of their position, and of the advance on the road. It appeared to be entirely defensive to prevent our attempting to go out by the road. Sir James Fellowes arrived from England. (The Ministry at home have had a majority of 48 on the Walcheren question). The 13th Light

"Dragoons landed last evening and this morning; the squadron consisted of about 160 men, under Captain Morris. Wrote a long letter to Mr. Wellesley on the subject of the delays and difficulties we experience concerning all demands of accommodation of every kind. We should not be located thus, but the French party excite distrust and jealousy of our intentions, as if we could keep Cadiz in spite of the Spaniards.

"could keep Cadiz in spite of the Spaniards.

"19th.—Rode in the morning to see the 94th take up
"their encampment at Gallineras. Stopped a party that
"was sent to relieve a working party of the Regt. of
"Toledo, as it was agreed our people should work
"separately, and under the direction of our own engineers.
"20th.—At Cadiz early, to speak to Mr. Wellesley
"relative to the delays and difficulties of the Spanish
"authorities in granting our most necessary demands.
"He sent a strong letter to the Regency, inclosing mine
"to him."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

"Isla, 20th April, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Since my last despatch I have received one of the 8th inst. from Lord Wellington, in answer to my report of my arrival, accompanied by copies of my instructions from your Lordship and the Commander-in-Chief.

"Lord Wellington is in some doubt with regard to the "intention of His Majesty's Government relative to the "troops employed here forming part of his army or not. "It was not till after the detail came under my consideration here, that the same doubts occurred to my mind. I could have none of its being meant that I was, "with all the troops, to receive and obey whatever orders "his Lordship might think fit to transmit for my guidance, "and of this I shall repeat the strongest assurances in the

"answer which I shall send to this letter. I shall, at the "same time, explain to him the view I have taken of the "intentions of Government, and on which I have hitherto "acted. Should I be mistaken, I trust your Lordship, as "well as Lord Wellington, will be well convinced that I "have pursued that course from misconception, and not "from any wish to act independently in the interior " management of the troops immediately under my com-"mand here. I shall request, too, that his Lordship "would be so good as to send me his immediate instruc-"tions on this particular point, having, from the first, "desired to have them generally relative to my conduct "here; and I shall be equally desirous to receive from his "Lordship whatever orders he may judge most expedient "and most conducive to the interest of his Majesty's "service concerning my personal service in the event of "Lieut.-General Sir John Sherbrooke's leaving the army "in Portugal on account of his health. I have no choice "and no other wish but to be disposed of as Lord "Wellington may judge for the best.

"In order to be prepared for whatever may be necessary, "I have directed Mr. Deputy Commissary General Bagster "to enter into contracts for supplies of provisions, and to "purchase 70 horses for the use of the six-pounder brigade, and to hire Spanish drivers for this service. "Considering that this would only be a temporary measure, as I hope a sufficient number of horses and artillery-drivers will soon come from home, I thought it better that this purchase should be made by Mr. Bagster than by the ordnance store-keeper. The horses may become useful in the commissariat department afterwards, or may be sold again. The price is to be from 60 to 120 dollars per horse, under the inspection of "Lieut.-Colonel Ponsonby, A. A. Genl.

"I have likewise directed Mr. Bagster to pay all working "parties, in order to prevent the necessity of any other department being concerned in the expenditure and issue

" of money. He will keep the accounts of these expenses " quite distinct from those of his immediate department.

"I have the honour to remain,

"THOS. GRAHAM.

"Lieut.-General."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"April 21st.—This morning before daybreak, about "three a.m., the enemy unmasked several batteries on the "Trocadero, and opened a heavy fire against Matagorda "from a great number of guns and mortars. The ship " St. Paolo and the gunboats were driven off their stations, "the former on fire by red hot shot; the fort became by "this means the sole object of the enemy's attention. At "half-past eleven a.m., went there to see the state of things, "and found it nearly a heap of ruins. Captain McLean " had had at that time eight killed and nineteen wounded. "Reinforcements of artillery-men and grenadiers of the "87th First, and then a complete relief of the garrison, "were sent to Captain McLean in the course of the "day and evening. At one time the fire of the fort was "suspended for the want of ammunition; owing to the "dangerous state of the magazine, it was chiefly kept on " board the St. Paolo, and a supply was refused at Puntales "by the Spanish officer of artillery there, till Captain "Saunders of the Atlas took it forcibly. Went on board "the Admiral's ship, and had a good deal of conversation "with him and Admiral Pickering; it appears impossible "now to cover a landing, since no preparations have been "made for Admiral Pickering's plan of sending one or "two old Spanish ships of war up the Trocadero channel, "which is the only plan of covering the landing, as by "that means, the enemy's batteries would be taken in "reverse. The Admiral agreed that the gunboats should " be ordered further up, and wrote to the Spanish Admiral "pointing out the plan. Returned to Isla and saw Giron, "and had a conversation with him on the measures to be

"adopted. Got from him a letter to Lopez; came back to "Cadiz, and remained all night.

"22nd.—The enemy's fire which had slackened in the preceding evening, and ceased during the night, was opened again with great vivacity. The breaches were repaired; the damage done to the port is much increased. Wrote to the Admiral, and sent Lefebre to represent the necessity of having boats ready to bring off the garrison. I had written to him last night, stating that this must happen if the different disposition of the gunboats did not render the enemy's fire much less severe. However, no material change has taken place in the situation of the gunboats; none have passed round St. Louis in the Caraccas Channel, and the naval assistance is of no avail.

"At ten a.m. the evacuation took place. I have just heard with deep regret that Lefebre, wishing to satisfy himself of the state of the fort, went to it from the Admiral's ship, instead of sending the order as I had requested him to do, and that he was killed by a cannon shot. Lieut.-Colonel Ponsonby had gone over, knowing that the order was sent, and had prepared McLean for receiving and carrying it into immediate execution.

"Captain Stackpoole, of the Royal Navy, was sent by the Admiral to complete the destruction of the fort and the guns, but he and his men could not remain long enough to do it effectually. Only one of the mines prepared by Landmann was charged, and it did not produce much effect. There seems to have been much inattention in not having these mines better prepared, considering how long the fort was occupied. Met the Admirals and General Lopez; got them to refer the detail of the works now to be executed in support of Puntales, and in annoyance of the enemy, to the chiefs of the artillery and engineers of the two departments. Dined at Mr. Wellesley's, and returned to Isla. Saw General Blake."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla, 22nd April, 1810.

"My Lord,

"From the information your Lordship had of the "miserable state of the fort of Matagorda (never to be "considered free from the danger of assault), it will not be a matter of surprise that after holding it two months, "it should now be abandoned.

"I have the honour to inclose Captain McLean's (of the "94th) report to me. It would be an injustice to the "service not to recommend him in the warmest manner to your Lordship's notice, as well as the officers who "continued with him to the last of this arduous duty; "Lieutenant Brereton, Royal Artillery; Ensigns Cannon and Scott of the 94th, and Mr. Dobson, midshipman of "H.M.S. Invincible. The defence of Matagorda has been witnessed by everybody with admiration, and I should not have been justified in allowing it to be continued so "long, but from the expectation of the possibility of some diversion being made in its favour, which, however, was "found to be impracticable.

"It is impossible that I should not endeavour to express to your Lordship, the feelings of universal and deep regret, excited by the untimely fall of that distinguished officer Major Lefebre, of the Royal Engineers, whose zeal carried him from the Admiral's ship to be the bearer of my orders for the evacuation of the fort, that he might be satisfied it was no longer tenable. The chief direction of that important department here now devolves on Captain Birch. Your Lordship is well acquainted with my opinion of his merit and talents, so well calculated to inspire confidence under this misfortune.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM.
"Lieut.-General."

"P.S.—The original garrison of the fort of Matagorda consisted of Captain McLean, and Ensigns Cannon and Scott 94th.

"25 Royal Artillery under Lieutenant Brereton.

" 25 Royal Marines.

"25 Seamen under Mr. Dobson, and 67 non-commisissioned officers and privates of the 94th.

"Reinforcements were sent in the evening of the 21st, and reliefs of the whole were offered but declined."

"The EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

"Cadiz, 23rd April, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's "directions concerning the pay of the 20th Portuguese "Regiment which shall be strictly complied with.

"Matagorda has fallen, but not without a most credit"able defence; indeed, I should not have allowed it to
"be held so long without the hope of a different disposi"tion of the naval means producing a favourable diversion,
"and, perhaps, enabling an attack being made on the
"enemy's entrenched position.

"No change, however, took place on the morning of the 22nd in the situation of the gunboats, etc., whose fire was of no avail, and the evacuation was ordered.

"Unfortunately, Major Lefebre chose to carry the order himself in order to be satisfied of the state of the work, and fell by a cannon shot—a severe loss to the service. The Spaniards seem to have awaked from a dream of security by this event, having totally neglected all the suggestions of preparation which ought to have been made for the greater annoyance of the enemy and greater security of Puntales, whenever Matagorda could no longer keep them at a little distance. Our navy has not shown much foresight either.

"Now all is bustle, and I have been so occupied in "endeavouring to profit by this fit of activity that your "Lordship will, I trust, excuse me for writing this un-"satisfactory letter, and for taking the liberty of referring "you to the enclosed copy of my letter of the 20th to "Lord Liverpool, which contains all that I could say on "the subject. Allow me only to add that, whatever your "Lordship's determination may be, I shall have the utmost " satisfaction in obeying your orders.

"The number of the enemy before this place is now "rated so low that we shall be often exposed to the "reproach of not endeavouring to force him to abandon "his position. General Giron told me that by their most "authentic reports 10 or 12,000 men were all that were "before us. It would be no easy matter, however, to get " out.

"The only road is strongly fortified and unattackable " in front; every other sortie requires an embarkation, with

" all its consequent difficulties and risks. Unless by some

"means a diversion were made in the rear of the enemy, "it would be great imprudence to risk the loss of so

"advantageous a position by a battle in the field, where

"hitherto the Spaniards have so seldom behaved tolerably.

"General Campbell has sent a small party to Tarifa, and

"talks of augmenting it; but it is scarcely to be expected

"that anything material can be effected by such a diver-

"sion unless the country people can be organized and give " great assistance.

"I beg leave to send inclosed Colonel Torrens' letter "relative to Sir James Fellowes in corroboration of the "view I have taken of the intentions of Government "relative to the separation of the troops here in as far as " relates to interior management.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM,

"Lieut.-General."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

General Orders by Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham.

" Isla, 23rd April, 1810.

"The troops having witnessed the gallant defence of the little ruined redoubt of Matagorda, against the powerful efforts of the enemy, it is unnecessary to hold up the conduct of Captain McLean, of the 94th Regiment, as a noble example of fortitude and perseverance. The report of the behaviour of the garrison makes it the duty of the Lieutenant-General to return his best

"thanks to all the officers and men of the Army, Royal "Navy, and Marines who composed it, for the steadiness

"and bravery with which so severe and unequal a contest

" was so long maintained.

"The conduct of Lieutenant Brereton of the Royal "Artillery, and of Ensigns Cannon and Scott, of the 94th "Regiment, on this occasion merits the Lieutenant-"General's particular notice.

"The untimely fall of that valuable and distinguished officer Major Lefebre, of the Royal Engineers, must be long lamented as a heavy loss to the service and to his countrymen."

"April 23rd.—General Sontag arrived, with 13 trans-"ports with oats, coals, and ordnance stores.

"24th.—Rode out early to the batteries in front line of the river under our charge. One on the right of Gallineras, Angelos, and Indas; the two last in the advanced loop of the river are very small and crowded with guns, both should have at least one traversing gun each, but that kind of carriage and fewer guns would be much better. Being a number of us on horseback the enemy fired from the red circular battery; one howitzer was fired by the Spaniards and fell in the French battery.

"When the enemy can establish himself at the white house or mill opposite Gallineras, these batteries will be

"enfiladed, and will want high traverses. General Blake called on me to-day. Cavalry barracks got at San Carlos for the squadron of the 13th. Received letter from Lord Wellington."

From Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Cea, 15th April, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have received your letters of the 31st March" and 4th inst.

"I am desirous of adhering to the conditions on which I "first detached the troops to Cadiz, for reasons, some of "which are stated in my letters to Major-General Stewart " of the 27th of February. At the same time I must in-"form you that it is impossible to maintain an army in "the Peninsula, and to perform the engagements into "which the king has entered with the Portuguese Govern-"ment, without the assistance of the money to be procured "at Cadiz and Gibraltar for bills upon England. If this "money is to be employed, either in forming a magazine "for the British troops in Cadiz, or, under the instructions " of the Secretary of State to yourself, in the purchase of " provisions for the general consumption at Cadiz, it is "obvious that other means must be devised for providing " for the other services to which that money is now applied; "and I apprehend that the scarcity of specie is so great in "England that the Government cannot provide for these "services by any export from thence. Indeed, they have " not been able to send the money which I informed them "six months ago would be necessary, in addition to "the supplies which could be procured at all places within "my reach for bills upon England, and we are conse-"quently in considerable distress for want of money. "The instructions of the Secretary of State were written "before he had received my report that the troops had

"been detached to Cadiz, and the copy of my letter to

"Mr. Frere, of the 5th February, containing the conditions on which I had detached them. I had already adverted to the variation between his instructions to you and those conditions, and I have requested an explanation which I conclude he will give immediately.

"In the meantime you will observe from my letter to "Major-General Stewart of the 27th February, that I "contemplated the probable necessity that he would be "obliged to purchase fresh meat, and gave him authority for so doing; and you will of course give directions for the "purchase of fresh meat for the British and Portuguese "troops, if you should find it necessary.

"You are acquainted with the political and financial grounds on which I am desirous that that condition should be adhered to. You, however, must be the best judge of its operation at Cadiz, and if you should find it prejudicial or inconvenient to the British interests, you have my full consent to depart from it.

"If you should depart from it, I will send you from "Portugal a large proportion of the magazine of salt "provisions which we have here.

"I have read with great interest your despatch to the "Secretary of State of the 30th March, and your letter to "me of the 4th instant, and I am happy to find that the "opinions regarding the defence of the Isla, which I had "given generally to Major-General Stewart, are confirmed by such good authority.

"My notion of the defences required for the Isla is founded upon the species of attack which the enemy will probably make upon it. My opinion is that they will make roads across, and establish themselves upon the salt marsh, in order to force the passage of the river. I had not sufficient information to be certain whether there were not some points in which they could attempt to effect this object with greater advantage than in others, but my idea was, generally, that the line of the river with the Caraccas on its left (which is a point of

"separate and distinct consideration) was the best for defence.

"Within that interior line I considered that it might be advantageous to intrench one or more positions and other points, for the preservation of the communication between Isla and the Cortadura and the body of the place of Cadiz.

"The Torre Gorda in particular, mentioned by you, "occurred to me as an advantageous point to take up for "the last mentioned object, in the cursory view which I "was enabled to take of the Isla.

"I mention these ideas only in confirmation of your "own. I had but little opportunity of forming a correct "judgment upon the subject, and if you should entertain "an opinion different from mine in any part of this "general outline, I am convinced you must be right.

"I have given directions that camp equipage, complete for 5,000 men, may be sent to Cadiz; you will give the use to the Spanish troops if you think proper. I entirely agree with you that it is best to keep the British troops in barracks or quarters; and I will increase still further the quantity of camp equipage at Cadiz if you should desire it.

"I have already sent to Cadiz one brigade of field "ordnance, which is I hope arrived, and I will send "another brigade. I beg to know from you if you should "want more, or of smaller calibres than a six-pounder.

"I beg to refer you to my letter to Mr. Wellesley for an account of the state of affairs here.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"April 25th.—Wrote to General Giron an official letter desiring to be released of the care of the posts of Indas and los Angelos. Went to Cadiz. The works at Puntales not carried on with the spirit and exertion required.

- "No communications being made, nor any extra number
- "of men being employed. Saw Mr. Weilesley; had a "good deal of conversation with him relative to the
- "Admiral's refusal to supply boats to the Commissariat-
- "which the Spaniards will not do either. Wrote
- "Mr. Wellesley a letter, to be shewn to the Junta, on the
- "inactivity in carrying on the works at Puntales.
- "26th.—Correspondence with the Admiral about boats for the conveyance of provisions. Sent Birch to Pun-
- "tales to see what is going on. Rode to the heights with
- "Birch, now employed in marking out the redoubts.
- "28th.—General Blake, Equia, and Pino came to ex-"amine the plan of the works proposed on the western
- "heights. Sir C. Cotton arrived.
- "29th.—Blew very hard; the Admiral could not come on shore; correspondence about boats.
- "30th.—Went in to Cadiz; saw Mr. Wellesley and Sir "C. Cotton. Wrote to Lord Liverpool."

To the Right Hon. The Earl of Liverpool.

"Cadiz, 30th April, 1810.

" My Lord,

- "The situation of things here does not improve, "for the energy of the different authorities does not rise with the difficulties. It would be endless to enumerate the instances of want of foresight, of inattention, and of indifference that occur.
- "A resolution taken, and an order given after much delay, without any care about the execution, are urged as proofs of their activity, and the necessity of such frequent complaints, as neglect would require, produces irritation.
- "It is impossible not to suspect many of those intrusted with the execution of more than indolence and ill will.

"Nothing seems to be done to awaken the inhabitants to a sense of their danger, and to animate them to patriotic enthusiasm and the sacrifices that may become necessary. Should the enemy's shells reach any part of the town, the alarm and confusion will be great, unless the authorities take measures to prepare their minds.

"Hitherto the number of labourers furnished by the "town on the occasion of constructing field works "opposite to Trocadero, has been little increased, notwith-" standing that urgency has been represented. They seem "to rely on the assistance of the troops, and particularly " of ours for work whenever a shot from the enemy may "come. I must except from this the works in advance of "the position of the Isla, which have been constructed "entirely by the Spanish soldiers, who have worked with "great patience. General Blake is anxious to have 4,000 " of his own army brought here, and as I consider such a "reinforcement highly necessary, and likely to arrive " before the enemy can be prepared for making a serious "attack in the Isla, I could not hesitate to agree to the "transports going upon that service when the point was "referred to me by the Admiral, as no real danger to the "town of Cadiz can arise from the operations of the "enemy on the points of Trocadero. The works carrying " on there appear to embrace all the dry ground, and will, "undoubtedly, enable him to establish numerous batteries, "the effect of which will confine the safe anchorage to "very narrow limits. As people differ so much in opinion, "and the plans of the harbour and its environs differ from " one another, the engineer department is now occupied in "making an exact survey, so that the true distances may "be ascertained. I have not time to enter more fully into "the state of things; but if the Isla is to be maintained, "the ordnance and engineer stores, as formerly required, "will be much wanted, the Spanish arsenals being quite "exhausted. The enemy use the high traversing carriages

"for their guns in their batteries, giving them a decided superiority over guns in embrasures.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM,

" Lieut.-General."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"May 1st.—A practice of alarm took place at 10 o'clock, "The troops all turned out to their respective alarm-posts "pretty quick. The *Leda* sailed with Admiral Purvis.

"pretty quick. The Leda sailed with Admiral Purvis.

"2nd.—The Spaniards drove in the French picquet on

"the Puente Suazo road at 12 last night, and levelled

"the breast-work and burnt the abattis. They were driven

"in again before daylight, having lost three killed and

"eight wounded. None of our people were employed.

"Went in early to Cadiz and attended the ceremony at

"the Church of St. Joseph in anniversary of the 2nd of

- "May, 1808, which, in a great measure, originated the
- "revolution by the cruelty of the French at Madrid.
- "There was fine music. High Mass by the Cardinal-
- "Bishop of Toledo. General Castaños, as President of the Regency, came from Isla to attend; the troops fired
- "vollies, and the ships and batteries saluted.
- "The Algesiras came in yesterday, and the Asia to-day, bringing seven and half millions of dollars from Vera "Cruz.
- "3rd.—Went to Puntales to settle with Duncan; the "Spaniards have done nothing about the removal of the "houses nor about the communication; the batteries want
- "a great deal, there being no traverses, and the magazines "not safe.
- "4th.—Saw the squadron of the 13th in very good order. Settled with Mr. Wellesley, to propose to General
- "Castaños to adopt some measures of more activity against the Trocadero.
- "5th.—Rode after breakfast to the magazine hill; work advancing rapidly; 1,000 men at work in the evening to

"the right of San Carlos, where the Portuguese are at "work.

"6th.—Wrote to Lord Liverpool to go by the *Undaunted*." Went to meet General Blake and two members of the "Junta at Puntales. They made us wait above two hours, "and were of little use, saying they could not send more

"hands to the works from the town. The old Engineer

"General kept on talking and settling nothing.

"The wooden houses, the communications, the closing of the Cortadura with field works, all urgent. I shall believe in the execution when I see it. A fortnight is since the evacuation of Matagorda has produced two ill-built mortar batteries, without traverses or magazines, which our people have done or are to do over again."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla, 6th May, 1810.

" My Lord,

" Nothing is yet finally settled about the way in "which the British and Portuguese troops are to be sup-"plied, the matter is in Mr. Wellesley's hands; but it is " quite evident we must provide for ourselves or be in dis-"tress, for the Junta refuse payment of supplies furnished "to the troops here previous to my arrival; and the " consequences are not only harassing by the repetition of "the urgent demands of individuals, but our credit is "affected by the refusals and references to the Junta, to a "degree that ready money is now required for the pur-"chases it is indispensable to make. By letters from Lord "Wellington, dated about the 15th ult., both to Mr. Wellesley "and myself, it appeared to be so evidently his wish that "the agreement entered into, according to the articles "transmitted by his Lordship to Mr. Frere with the "Spanish Government, should, if possible, be adhered to, "that I felt great difficulty and reluctance in adopting any " other system.

"Things were, therefore, left for some time in the same "state, but the delays, and at last the refusal, of supplies " of some kinds which the Deputy Commissary General "experienced from the Junta, made it absolutely necessary " to bring the point to a distinct understanding, and I trust "it will be soon settled. Having no equipment for the "field, nor the means of transport by land-carriage, even "for the distributions in the town, I think that at all "events all land-carriage, and all water-carriage not "furnished by the fleet (of which hitherto there has been "none) should be afforded without expense to us by "the Spaniards. Meanwhile, however, a direct contrary "practice has taken place ever since the troops landed "under Major-General Stewart's orders. The Junta pre-"tend not to have any boats or carts, and all that could " be done was to get the authority to obtain them at most " extravagant rates of daily hire.

"I have in vain endeavoured to urge the necessity of "adopting a system of general requisition, by which the " authorities would have at their disposal everything that "the means of the place could afford towards an active "preparation of defence, and a ready accommodation to "all the departments of the service. It was but this "morning that two members of the Junta required by the "Regency to meet General Blake and myself, gravely "affirmed that they could not get the wooden houses "pulled down close to Puntales Fort for want of hands. "This had been agreed on a fortnight before, on the fall " of Matagorda, as of urgent necessity, both because the " materials were wanted for the field works, and because "if left they must occasion a dangerous conflagration by "the enemy's shells. The mortar batteries, therefore, pre-" pared some days ago, remain useless, for the necessary "communications cannot be made till the houses are out "of the way. There are nine mortars and two large "howitzers ready, besides the two mortars and the guns "of the fort, which may now be worked with tolerable

"safety from the repair of the parapets and traverses, made entirely by our men. But after all it is a very bad work, and the extensive line of fire which the enemy may bring against it will be apt to overpower it. The distance is great, but the enemy has the advantage of heavy metal and of high parapets for traversing platforms against our 16 and 24 pounders in embrasures.

"We strongly urged the necessity of the Junta closing the Cortadura (Fort San Fernando) with field works, a measure hitherto thwarted by an old General of Engineers at the head of that department in the town. His removal from that situation, as well as that of General Lopez, Lieut.-Governor and president of the Junta, would do much to facilitate decision, but they both talk without end, and do nothing. Lopez is a conceited fool, and not well inclined, at least to us. I regret Venegas much.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM,
"Lieut.-General."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Isla, 9th May, 1810.

" My Lord,

"In consequence of a letter from Major-General "Stewart, of which I inclose a copy, I have written to the "Earl of Liverpool, as I conceive an officer of that rank "would be necessary to replace him on this service.

"If your Lordship has not previously determined con"cerning the most eligible mode of disposing of my per"sonal services, I trust you will take that point into
"consideration before sending General Stewart an answer,
"as it is evident we could not both be withdrawn from this
"without injury to the service. But I have little doubt
"of General Stewart being reconciled to remaining here,

"were the command of the British troops to be left in his hands.

"If I did not venture to express any preference relative "to the situation I was to hold, I trust it will not be sup"posed from my silence, that I am not fully sensible of
the distinction of succeeding to Sir John Sherbrooke's
command in your Lordship's army.

"My sincere wish was, and is, to be disposed of in the way that your Lordship may think most conducive to the general interests of His Majesty's service.

"Your Lordship will hear no doubt from His Majesty's "Minister, of the scanty supply of flour in the public stores of Cadiz. I should think that this discovery must be decisive of the question relative to the mode of supplying the British troops, and that it must be undertaken by our own commissariat. The claim for payment from the "Spanish Government need not, however, be given up.

"Brigadier-General Houghton is appointed to the Staff of the troops here, and Colonel Bunbury mentions the intention of ordering the second battalion of the 30th Regiment, three troops of the 2nd German legion, and as many artillery horses for the three brigades of field artillery as there was transport room for. This number will not do more than equip one brigade.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM,

" Lieut.-General."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"May 10th.—Rode out early to Sti. Petri, nothing done there yet. Mr. Wellesley, Whittingham, and Lacy dined here.

"Ith.—Rode to the works on the hill. Received letter "from Lisbon, from Lord Wellington, of the 29th April. "The enemy have mounted ten or eleven guns on the right "of Matagorda."

From Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

"Celorico, 29th April, 1810.

" My dear Sir,

"I received yesterday your letter of the 16th inst.
"All questions relating to bât and forage are decided
"according to the regulations suggested by a board, of
"which General Sir Thomas Trigge was President; which
"regulations have been adopted by the Commander-in"Chief, and orders have been given that they should be
"invariably attended to.

"I enclose a letter which I wrote to the Commander"in-Chief in June last, and his answer, relative to the
"rank of British officers holding Portuguese commissions,
"which, you will observe, contains a positive decision on
"the question which you have referred for my consideration
"in regard to Colonel Bushe.

"The principle of the decision of the Commander-in"Chief on the relative rank between officers of the British
"army and British officers serving with Portuguese troops,
"would apply to British officers receiving rank from the
"Spanish Government; and when British officers serving
"with the Spanish troops, meet with British officers
"serving with the British troops, they must rank according
"to the seniority of their respective Spanish and British
"commissions.

"When British officers are serving with British troops only, there can be no doubt that they must rank according to the seniority of their several commissions from His Majesty.

"Being sensible, as you will observe from my letter of the 7th of June to the Commander-in-Chief, of the in-convenience and complaints which would be occasioned by the grant of this advanced rank to British officers by foreign powers, while His Majesty's troops might be serving with the armies of those powers, I have repeat-

"edly requested the Spanish Government not to grant

"these commissions without reference to His Majesty's

"Minister, by whom applications for rank in the Spanish

" army, made by officers holding His Majesty's commission,

"have been occasionally referred to me. It is advisable

"that you should urge His Majesty's Minister to com-

" municate with the Spanish Government upon this subject.

"No officer ought to accept a commission from any foreign power without His Majesty's permission; I re-

"ceived his permission to accept the commissions which

"I hold in the Spanish and Portuguese services, and I

"have been the channel of applying for the permission of

"His Majesty for several officers to accept this distinction

" from the Spanish Government.

"I conclude that Major-General Stewart has applied to "His Majesty for leave to accept the rank conferred upon "him by the Regency.

"When British officers have received His Majesty's permission to accept rank from the Spanish Government, and have accepted it, I conceive that there is no objection

"to their wearing, particularly in a Spanish garrison,

"the distinctive marks of the rank which has been conferred

"upon them; although it would undoubtedly be more

"regular to wear with His Majesty's uniform only what is prescribed by His Majesty's regulations.

"I refer you to my letter of this date to Mr. Wellesley, "for an account of the state of affairs in this part of the Peninsula.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"WELLINGTON"

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"May 12th.—Rode to Portuguese works; called at "General Blake and General Castaños; complained of the "want of the execution of the order given about wood "from the Caraccas, which the engineers told Birch was "all appropriated to other purposes. General Castaños

"saw the squadron of 13th Light Dragoons in the afternoon. Rode in the evening to Puntales. Batteries not opened, as the communications are not yet finished.

"13th.—Mr. Heyward came out to perform divine service at eight this morning. The Guards, 79th, 94th, 95th Dragoons, and Artillery attended, each in close column, the whole forming a square. Rode to Cadiz and stayed all night. Conversation with Mr. Wellesley about our supplying ourselves.

"14th.—Waited to see the Admiral, returned to Isla; "rode in the evening to the heights; much wet on the ground, and camp very uncomfortable.

"15th.—Rode to the camp, very wet, ordered spirits to be served instead of wine. Made racing bets.

"16th.—Much firing from Puntales and Trocadero, coccasioned by one of the pontoons with French prisoners going ashore beyond Matagorda in the gale last night. The enemy brought down boats on carriages, drawn by 14 horses each, from Puerto Real, and got all of them out; the hulk was afterwards burnt. Mortar batteries at Puntales opened.

"17th.—Rode to Puente Suazo and St. Jago batteries, and went to the advance on the left of the first. The ditch is not well finished in front. Looked at the redoubt on the right of San Carlos, where the Portuguese are at work. Received letters from Lisbon. Sent General Castaños the news."

From Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

"Celorico, 3rd May, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have had the honour of receiving your letter "of the 23rd April, enclosing the copy of that which you "had written on the 20th to the Secretary of State.

"My opinion is that the Government and the Com-"mander-in-Chief did not intend that the corps stationed at Cadiz should be considered as an integral part of this "army, although it was placed under my general direc"tions by the Secretary of State. This is probable from
"several articles in the instructions you received from the
"Secretary of State, and quite clear from those which you
"received from the Commander-in-Chief. I also think it
"probable that Government intended to leave to your
"discretion to act according to the instructions I had
"given to Major-General Stewart, and to adhere to the
"conditions which I had made when I detached a British
"corps to Cadiz, or not, as you might think proper, as,
"although they must have received copies of all those
"papers before you left England, the instructions to you
"were not altered, nor, I believe, were copies of the
"papers received from me transmitted to you.

"From all this I conclude, that Government intended to "leave to the decision of the general officer on the spot "all those matters referred to in your instructions. Under "these circumstances, and, particularly, having made "known to the Secretary of State my doubts whether "the corps at Cadiz was to be considered part of this "army before I had seen the instructions you received "from the Commander-in Chief, I cannot take upon me to "decide that it is part of this army, and that its details "are to be conducted in a particular manner, different "from that in which it appears it was intended in England "that they should be conducted.

"After all, I do not think it signifies much in what way they are conducted, excepting as the decision on this question involves another point, to which I shall refer presently, viz., your own situation in this army.

"Whatever might be the degree of control and respon"sibility which the Government and Commander-in-Chief
"might think it proper I should have in the affairs at
"Cadiz, I should always have thought it proper to give
"you my opinion upon anything on which I thought it
"desirable you should have it; and, on the other hand, if
"the corps at Cadiz had been part of this army, I should

"have hesitated long before I should have adopted my own opinion in preference to yours.

"The question then comes to be a mere matter of form upon which an early decision is not necessary, and it is as well that the authorities in England should decide, as that I should.

"The decision is important, only, in view to your own "situation in this army. I have certainly long wished "that you should be employed with this army, at the same "time that a regard to the feelings of Sir John Sherbrooke, "whose situation you would fill, and a sense of justice to "that officer, with whose conduct I had every reason to be " satisfied, induced me to wish that you should not arrive "in Portugal till the time beyond which he had stated "that his health would not allow him to remain, and at "which he had settled to go home. Your appointment to "Cadiz has interfered with this arrangement, and the "decision which separates the corps at Cadiz from the "army in Portugal, separates you from it likewise, and "would prevent you from taking your station in this army "if the service should offer prospects more agreeable to "you, or opportunities in which you could serve the public " of greater moment than those which the situation of "the affairs at Cadiz should offer.

"That is the only reason for which I think it desirable "that the corps at Cadiz should be an integral part of this "army.

"In respect to the other point adverted to in your letter to the Secretary of State, viz: Whether you should continue at Cadiz or join the army in Portugal, supposing the corps at Cadiz were considered part of the army in Portugal, I think it depends much upon your own feelings and upon the situation of affairs at Cadiz. I do not think the service in this country is likely to hold out a prospect of anything very brilliant; I must maintain myself in the Peninsula till it is necessary to withdraw from it; and when it is necessary to withdraw, I must

"carry off the army without disgrace, and without loss, if possible.

"In the war in which we are engaged, no man can "pretend to say how long it will last, or what may be its "events and circumstances, or in what manner they may "influence the share and interest which Great Britain has "in the contest.

"On the other hand, the state of affairs at Cadiz is highly interesting, not only to the Peninsula, but to Great Britain and to the world. You may render the most important services there, and to withdraw you from that place might shake the confidence and damp the spirits of the Spanish Government and of the people of the town, upon whose exertions the defence and ultimate safety of the place must in a great measure depend. However desirable, therefore, it might be to me that you should be in Portugal, I cannot but think that it would be most advantageous to the public interests that you should remain at Cadiz, at least, as long as that place is seriously threatened by the enemy.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GEN. GRAHAM."

"May 18th.—Called on Generals Castaños and Blake, "to speak about the want of flour and grain, and of "materials for the field works. Rode to the heights and "to the point where the Government is employing men to "cut a channel from the N.E. end of the Gallineras Creek "into the river, some way in the rear of the St. Jago "battery. It is a pity the direction of this cut had not been on the Isla side of the bridge of Puntales, by "which means it might have been flanked; as it goes, this "will be impossible. The only object attended to, seems "to have been to make the cut where the line was the "shortest; it is expected that the tide will deepen it

"much. The men, about forty-five in number, work by task work, and earn from 30 to 40 reals a-day, which is too much, being from 6s. 9d. to 9s. sterling. They are the men employed in the management of the salt pans.

"A good deal of firing between Puntales and the "Trocadero batteries.

"19th.—The Bulwark and two Spanish line-of-battle ships sailed for the Canaries with French prisoners. We learnt by some Spanish soldiers, released and sent in by the enemy (they were on guard in the hulk that got on shore), that all the prisoners escaped, about 300 officers and 400 soldiers; they had cut the cable in the gale. The ship was burnt by a carcass thrown from one of the burnt vessels.

" 20th.—An alert early this morning, the enemy having "attacked and carried the White House, General Blake "sent Gen. Lacy with a battalion to repossess it; on " neither occasion was any defence made. The Spaniards "lost one killed and six wounded, and an unfortunate "cannon shot, at the commencement of the attack, came "in to the battery and severely wounded Lieut. Cosens, "of the British Artillery; he has suffered amputation "above the knee, and his other leg is much bruised. "Received despatches from Lord Liverpool, by which "this division is declared to be a part of Lord Wel-"lington's army, which places me second in command, "but it is determined that I should remain here. "ceived a letter from Lord Wellington of the 13th inst. "containing the same intelligence-desiring, however, "that I should continue to conduct things as I thought seems rather extraordinary that Lord It "Wellington should not have been left entirely at liberty "to decide about my personal services in any way he "thought best.

"Lord W. Bentinck will probably succeed Payne in the "command of the cavalry, and of course will be second "in Portugal while I stay here."

From Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

"Celorico, 13th May, 1810.

"Sir,

"Since I wrote to you yesterday, I have received "letters and despatches from England, which declare the "intention of the King's Government that the force at "Cadiz should be considered as part of this army, and I "request you to give directions to the heads of the several "departments there to report their proceedings to the "heads of the departments in Portugal, and to correspond "with them constantly.

"It will also be necessary that the warrants for the extraordinaries incurred at Cadiz should be signed by me, but in all other respects I request you to continue to carry on all matters as you have done hitherto, and to proceed with your arrangements in the same manner as if I had nothing to say to Cadiz, in the perfect confidence that I shall concur in them all.

"I enclose you an extract from a private letter from "Lord Liverpool in reference to your situation in this "army, and I am happy to find that I had anticipated the "wishes of Government in the consideration which I gave "to the subject in my letter to you of the 3rd inst.

"I likewise enclose copies of letters received by "Dr. Frank. I apprehend that when the hot weather "shall set in, and in the crowded state of Cadiz and the "Isla, you will find the troops unhealthy, and possibly "you may experience some difficulty in fixing upon a "healthy situation for a hospital. I beg, therefore, to "suggest for your consideration the expediency of fixing "your principal hospital at Ceuta, which I am informed is "a very healthy station, particularly during the great "heats of the summer at Cadiz. If you should upon "consideration adopt this suggestion, I can send you from

"the Tagus some hospital ships to enable you to trans-

" port the sick and wounded from Cadiz to Ceuta.
" I have the honour to be, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

Extract from a Letter from the Earl of Liverpool to Viscount Wellington, dated April, 1810.

"I have reserved for a private letter the question of " second in command in the army in Portugal, but before "I explain to you our intentions on this point I am "anxious to assure you that your last letters of the 30th "March and 2nd April have given me the greatest satis-"faction, and that the fullest confidence is placed in your "discretion in the important and delicate service in which "you are engaged. You will observe that when the " instructions were given to General Graham we were "not aware of the instructions which you had given to "General Stewart. He might have arrived there under "circumstances when it would have been impossible for "him, consistently with the security of the place, to have "referred to you; but it was always intended, as his "instructions proved, that he should be under your com-"mand, and we were certain that any discretion which " was left to him would not be abused.

"As to the question of second in command in Portugal, it has been most seriously considered in the Cabinet. Graham was intended for that service, but we were all of opinion that the service at Cadiz is of such a critical nature that it could not be intrusted to any person so well as to him, considering his habits of acting with foreigners and his personal intimacy with General Castaños. He is certainly to be considered as second in command in the Peninsula. If anything should unfortunately happen to you, he should succeed to the command of the army. Under very special circum-

"stances you might send to him to join you, but it is very much wished that, except in a case of emergency, he should be left where he is for the present."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Isla, 20th May, 1810.

" My Lord,

"The *Dolphin* arrived here some days ago and brought the salt provisions which your Lordship mentions having ordered in your letter of the 29th ult.

"Our necessities have appeared since to be so serious "and alarming that I requested the King's Minister to "write to Mr. Stuart for a supply of biscuit, if it can be "spared, from Lisbon. The conduct of the Junta of "Cadiz is to me quite unaccountable on any principle " of regard to their public duty under the circumstances " of their situation. It is, however, a point gained that "we cannot be again deceived, and that the real state of "the case with regard to bread is known. There are "undoubtedly such resources of other species of provisions "that famine is not to be apprehended, provided the "supplies of flour contracted for, arrive as may be ex-"pected; an expectation, however, depending on the fair "dealing of an American contractor whose interest might "lead him to pay the penalty of non-performance if the "enemy should believe it possible there are no other " resources secured.

"I shall return by some other opportunity the Com-"mander-in-Chief's answer to your Lordship's inquiries "concerning the rank of officers serving in the Portuguese "army, which certainly applies equally to those serving "in the Spanish army.

"A few nights ago in a gale of wind a hulk, containing about 300 French officers and 400 men, was cut adrift, and they all escaped to their friends on the Trocadero Point. It is only surprising that this did not happen

"sooner and to other hulks used as prison ships. Hitherto the batteries established on the points on each side of the Trocadero channel do no more than annoy the boats passing Puntales. Very few casualties have happened, though the boats pass up for water to the fleet in day-light. A great deal of ammunition is wasted on both sides for the fire from Puntales, and the new batteries on each side (containing nine mortars and two large howitzers) do not seem to check the enemy's fire at the boats.

"With some difficulty I got a large mortar brought into the ditch of the left bastion of the land front of Cadiz. It was fired several times by our artillery with a charge of near 20 lbs. of powder, and none of the shells went home to Matagorda. This trial, which the Spaniards seemed afraid to make, has satisfied people that the town cannot be bombarded from that point. The shipping has hauled off, and no shot or shells have reached their anchorage.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOMAS GRAHAM,

" L. G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Isla, 21st May, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Had I known of Mr. Wellesley's trusting his despatches to the Faro post, which he never used to do, I should certainly have availed myself of it to answer your Lordship's most obliging letter of the 3rd inst.

"It is become unnecessary for me to trouble your Lord"ship with any argument on a point which is decided by
"Lord Liverpool's letter, of which there is an extract in
"your letter of the 13th instant, which I have just had the
"honour to receive.

"I need not say that after seeing the light in which you "viewed the question, this decision is what I anxiously "wished for. I never before had any doubt of my being "entirely at your disposal, and I have now only to regret that any bias should have been given to your judgment by what is said about the wish of Government that for the present I should be left here. I cannot help thinking that your Lordship, with a more perfect knowledge of the exigencies of the respective services than those at a distance can have, would have judged best where to "employ me.

"I have no other feeling or wish but to serve with all "zeal and attention in my power, wherever I might be "most useful. There is considerable interest no doubt in "this service, but, at present, there is much greater in "Portugal, the enemy not being yet prepared to undertake "much here, while the miserable deficiency of means, "rendered still more distressing by the want of energy in "attempting to increase them, is very discouraging.

"I shall take an early opportunity of furnishing your "Lordship with all the necessary details, meanwhile I "have instructed the heads of departments agreeable to "your Lordship's orders. In consequence of these, I "have received the inclosed letter from the Asst. Quarter-"Master General. The considerable expenses, too, at-"tending the construction of the field works, coming "under the head of extraordinaries of the army, will "require some intermediate arrangement for covering "them, till your Lordship's warrants can be obtained.

"I have just received a despatch from Lord Liverpool, "in which he sends me copies of his despatches to you "of the 24th ult, by which he announces a considerable "supply of ordnance, ordnance stores, and timber for gun-"carriages, etc., for this place; without this, I don't know "how the redoubts could ever be armed."

"There are three troops of the 2nd batt. German legion

"(150 horses), 54 artillery horses, and several drafts from 2nd battn. of the regts. here coming out. Lieut.-Colonel Bunbury calculates all these at about 1,500. The sick only increased 16 last week, though the weather was extremely bad. The general hospital is in the large building called the Hospicio in Cadiz, in a very airy situation near the rampart, towards St. Sebastian; it will not, however, contain a great number of patients, there being only a part of the building given up to us. Sir J. Fellowes shall make a report to Dr. Frank for your Lordship's information. I apprehend there might be some difficulty about getting a general hospital established at Ceuta, for much jealousy among the people here has been excited concerning the views of the British Government about that place.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"May 2nd.—Rode very early to camp, a good deal of firing everywhere round in the course of the day.

"23rd.—Rode to the heights early. The Duchess of "Ossuna and General Castaños dined here. A transport "with 40 artillery horses arrived from England.

"24th.—Public breakfast, races in the afternoon; Mr. "Wellesley and a great many people came."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla, 24th May, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Your Lordship's very obliging letter of the 24th of April arrived with the packet on the 20th inst., and I have to thank your Lordship for the communication of the despatches to Lord Wellington of the same date.

"From my former letters your Lordship will have seen that though I so far misunderstood the tenor of my instructions as to imagine it was meant that the arrange-

"ments of all that concerned the internal management "and economy of the troops here was left to me, and was "to be reported to Head-Quarters at the Horse Guards, "yet, that I never entertained any doubt of the whole "being under Lord Wellington's command. But as in "my correspondence with his Lordship I perceived that in "the view he had taken of the matter the question of my "belonging or not to his army depended on the decision " of whether the division here formed an integral part of "his army or not, I cannot but rejoice at the way it is " now explained by your Lordship, both to him and to me, "for as far as I am personally concerned there is nothing "I should so much wish as to be entirely at his disposal, "according to the exigencies of the respective services "with which he must be so perfectly acquainted. The "service here at present, important as it is, is not of such "interest as that in Portugal, but having very sincerely "expressed that I had no other wish than to be employed "wherever it was thought I could be most useful, I have only " to assure your Lordship that nothing shall be wanting on "my part to contribute towards the security of this position. "I have only to lament that so little is in my power, for "undoubtedly much that might and ought to be done is "left undone. There will also probably arise some diffi-"culties from the necessity of Lord Wellington's signature "to all expenses which come under the head of extraordi-"nary of the army; in other respects there will be no "difference, as I have always endeavoured to keep his "Lordship perfectly informed of everything, and have "always solicited his instructions. Your Lordship may "rest assured that while I remain here the utmost con-"fidence and cordiality of intercourse with Mr. Wellesley "will guide my conduct, and I am well persuaded I shall "be met on all occasions with corresponding sentiments " on his part. I have had frequent conversations with him " about the important point of a more abundant supply of "specie from this place. I am anxious that the Com"missary General of the army, if he can be spared for a short time from Portugal, should be sent here to satisfy himself and Lord Wellington of the extent of the resources in specie which might be obtained on a principle of competition, or at least of greater activity than what has hitherto been employed in procuring supplies of this kind.

"In order that the probable expense of the troops here " may be as nearly estimated as possible, I have called for "returns from the different departments of the actual ex-" penditure for one month, and of the estimated expense " of provisions for the same period for 8,000 rations and "700 horses, supposing the whole to be paid for at the "current market prices. A copy of these shall be sent to "Lord Wellington, and your Lordship will judge by them " more correctly than by any other means of the probable "demand for specie for the use of this division. I am "assured that there are many respectable houses here "ready to enter into contracts for the supply of every " article of consumption in the British Commissariat here, "the whole to be paid by bills on the Treasury. Should " such a mode be adopted, there would be nothing but the "ordinary pay of the troops, such extraordinary pay as "workmen receive, and the price of such articles as are of "urgent necessity to provide for in specie. Hitherto little "or nothing has been expended in purchases except of "artillery horses, but should my urgent and repeated "application for materials for constructing huts (backed "by Mr. Wellesley's representations) fail, it may become "necessary to buy such wood, hides, etc., as can be got, "in order that the troops may be accommodated in the "intrenched camp on the heights to the westward of this "town, in a way less injurious to their health than " remaining under canvas during the heat of summer.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

[&]quot;THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"May 25th.—Went to Cadiz to see Mr. Wellesley on

"Lord Wellington's letter, in which he speaks of the

"probability of the want of money obliging us to evacuate

"the Peninsula. Rode in the evening. A good deal of

"firing from the batteries towards Chiclana.

"26th.—Another pontoon went on shore near Mata-"gorda about 3 p.m.

"27th.—Much rain in the night and this morning;

" ordered rum for the camp extra, and to be served instead

" of wine for the whole. Much firing since yesterday at

"the pontoon, and considerable loss of men in attempting

" to board her at first.

"29th.—Went to Cadiz to receive the Regency, great crowd, no enthusiasm—illumination.

"30th.—Dined with the Regency, very sumptuous re-"past; there had been a levée in the morning on account

" of St. Fernando; illumination, crowds of people in the

"streets and Almeda. Massena come into Spain to be

"Commander-in-Chief.

"31st.—Wrote by Ephira to Lisbon to Lord Wellington."
Three troops, German legion, arrived from England."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Cadiz, 31st May, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Owing to different circumstances it has not been in my power to prepare the detail I wish to lay

"before your Lordship. I have enclosed to Lieut.-Colonel

"Fletcher Captain Birch's report, accompanied by a rough

"sketch of Isla and two reports on the defence of the

"position by the Spanish Qr.-Master General, and by

"Captain Nicholas, under Major Lefebre's directions.

"These papers will be of some use till a correct plan and

"description of the works can be transmitted. The two

"important works in support of the batteries of Sti. Petri " are not yet begun; the Spaniards undertook to execute "them, nearly on Major Lefebre's plan, with the soldiers "encamped there. I have repeatedly urged, as far as I "could, the immense value of these redoubts to General "Blake; he agrees in the necessity of their construction, "but says the want of materials to support works on a "drifting sand, is the cause of the delay. 250 Men, of the " 2nd battn. L. D., German legion, and 120 horses arrived "this day from England, under the command of a field "officer. I had proposed to give Lieutenant-Colonel "Ponsonby superintendence of the squadron, 13th Light "Dragoons, and of this detachment, but as Major Baron "Bulow is come, I shall do nothing in this till I hear "from your Lordship. I should have more confidence in "Ponsonby's management of this small body of Cavalry, "on which so much might depend were the enemy to get "across the river at Sti. Petri, than in the Germans.

"A pontoon was burnt on the 27th, and I fear that all "the prisoners had not escaped before the fire broke out. "The Regency left Isla on the 29th, and made a public "entry in Cadiz; there was an immense concourse of "people, but very little appearance of enthusiasm either "then or yesterday, St. Fernando's day, which was kept "at the palace by a levée followed by a splendid dinner; "there were illuminations both nights. The people of "Cadiz will never rival those of Saragossa or Gerona, "should suffering come close upon them. There is an "order published to mix rice with the wheat in grinding. "Hitherto there does not seem to be any alarm, though "there is some reason for it. We have at last got at some "wood in the Caraccas for platforms and palisades, but "nothing yet for splinter proofs in the redoubts and huts " in the camp.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

[&]quot;LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"June 1st.—Rode in the evening to Sti. Petri; nothing begun there; some materials are collected.

"2nd.—Rode to the advance of Puerto Suazo road." The second battalion 30th Regiment arrived from Gibral-

"tar, and the troops of Blake's army from Alicante.

"3rd.—Went to look at the ground for the parade, and "then to Cadiz to see Mr. Wellesley. Rode to the heights "in the evening, and fixed the alignment. General Lacy "proposed an expedition.

"4th.—Generals Blake and Lacy called about the ex-"pedition. The troops formed in line on the western side "of the heights, and fired a *feu de joie* for His Majesty's "birthday; about 4,500 rank and file under arms."

"5th.—Nothing begun yet at Sti. Petri; came to Cadiz "to see Mr. Wellesley and talk to him about the proposal "made by Blake."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Isla, 5th June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Wishing that your Lordship should be generally informed of all the proceedings in the management of this division, I shall, as shortly as possible, bring them under your review in this letter.

"One of the most material arrangements was that re"lative to the working parties. On the authority of the
"late Major Lefebre, who stated it to be the practice
"that all expenditure for field works in Sicily and up the
"Mediterranean was defrayed and accounted for by the
"commissariat, I directed Mr. Bagster to prepare for
"undertaking the additional duty. Delays occurring which
"prevented the commencement of the works, and, mean"while, an ordnance commissary arriving from England
"(a Mr. Henegan), a correspondence took place between
"him and Bagster, which occasioned the latter to make
"me a representation against his being concerned in this

"business. However, on re-consideration, I adhered to my "original opinion, the more so as this expense coming " under the head of extraordinaries, for the army was never "to be accounted for to the Board of Ordnance; and as it " rather appeared that Mr. Henegan wished to be employed "in order to be entitled to a poundage, I finally directed "Mr. O'Meara, then at the head of the commissariat "department, to engage the additional clerks, which be-"came necessary on account of this increase of duty in "the department. I fixed the rate of payment on the same " principle as that allowed under similar circumstances by "the late General Sir C. Stewart at Minorca, viz.: as an " allowance to the men for the wear and tear of necessaries, "and not as a right; the rate is the same as it was there, "6d a day for eight hours' labour. Allowing the engineers "to task the men in those proportions, and to employ such "as are willing to work more (after furnishing the task "equivalent to a day's work) in some additional work at "the same proportional rate, provided they were not to "work during the stated interval, so as to avoid the greatest "heat of the sun. In this way, the work has gone on "cheerfully, and a great deal has been done. A thousand " of the British troops are so employed, with a very con-"siderable proportion of officers; these take this duty in "a camp on the heights near the works for a week at a "time. The 20th, Portuguese regiment, furnishes 300 "to a work very near their quarters in the barracks of "San Carlos.

"Latterly, 150 artificers and labourers, besides those from the British troops, are employed in the Caraccas, preparing materials for platforms and palisades, and pulling down wooden sheds, which I have so often required for the construction of huts for the accommodation of the men necessary to be stationed in the camp on the heights.

[&]quot;It was impossible to avoid, without material detriment to the service, the appointment of additional engineers

"from officers of the line. The severe duty at first of the "young men of the corps of Royal Engineers having "occasioned so much sickness among them, and several being still confined. The greatest inconvenience is felt in the want of assistance in the Commissariat department here. I trust the Commissary-General will remedy this defect.

"The troops are paid up to the 24th May, and are in "possession of an advance for June. The Staff is paid to "the 24th April, and 200 days bât, baggage, and forage "money to all. A board of claims established unavoidable "losses at the evacuation of Matagorda, according to "which, I have deducted indemnifications to be made to "the individuals.

"The necessity of some equipment for the field brigade of artillery, so as to make that valuable arm available to us in case of the enemy's penetrating any part of the first line of defence, induced me to order the purchase of 75 horses, the greatest part of which have been accordingly obtained at a pretty reasonable rate, averaging too dollars. There being no spare arms in the artillery stores, I have been obliged to order the issue of the arms of one company of artillery, to supply the deficiencies in the 94th, and 2nd 87th. A considerable number of arms having been destroyed at Matagorda by shells, it would be very desirable if a proportion of arms were sent to the artillery store in Cadiz.

"The detachment, 2nd battn. 95th (two companies that were in Walcheren), suffered so much here from intermittent fevers, that it became necessary to send them into Cadiz, where they are recovering fast. * *

"I have inspected all the battalions and detachments, "and on the whole, have reason to be much satisfied with "the state of discipline of the several corps; in general, "the behaviour of the troops is exemplary, and the attention of the officers very praiseworthy. The daily duties "with arms at Isla, and adjacents, take about 500 rank

"and file. There is a general officer of the day, and two "visiting field officers, who visit all posts where there are "any British troops during the night.

"The Spaniards having made tents for themselves, none have been issued to them, and in order to protect the men encamped, double tents are used, and with advantage against the rays of the sun and the heavy rains that have fallen here.

"Since the scarcity of bread-corn has been ascertained, "6 oz. of rice have been issued in lieu of half-a-pound of "bread. As much economy as possible is practised in the "rations of forage, which consist in part of the Algeroba "bean, which is to be got at a reasonable rate and in "abundance. Unfortunately, the oats sent from England, " to the amount of 6,000 quarters, have heated so much on "board, and are found to be very prejudicial to the horses, "occasioning diabetes to a great degree. Should the "quality not improve by the exposure to the sun, it will "be necessary to order a survey on them, and to dispose " of them by auction, applying the produce to the purchase " of barley. The Spanish practice here, is to give the "horses white water for a week at a time every four of "five weeks, by mixing a double handful of barley meal "to a pail of water. General Whittingham recommends "this much as both cooling and nourishing for horses "during the hot weather, and I mean to try it immediately. "I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

[&]quot;June 8th.—Mr. Wellesley, Prince , and "General Lacy dined with me, and went to see the two "squadrons of the 13th and 2nd German Hussars; they performed their evolutions well, the 13th with more "velocity as well as solidity."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 9th June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Since the arrival here of about 3,500 of Blake's former corps from Alicante, the Spanish Government has shewn much anxiety (probably to please the people of Cadiz) to have some offensive operation undertaken against the enemy's lines in our front. General Blake, who had talked to me of this some days ago, sent me a note last night with a memo. of the plan.

"It is impossible for me to judge of the accuracy of the "statement of the enemy's force. I think that of ours in "this position greatly exaggerated. The quality of the "ground is spoken of; that of the troops must be taken "into account, and the circumstances of the notorious "dread of cavalry which the Spanish infantry entertain, "and of the great superiority of the enemy in field artil-"lery, must do away with any confidence in the greater "numbers of our force, should it be possible to produce "such, which I very much doubt. There is, too, the great " probability of the enemy having sufficient time to collect " a force from the eastward without weakening his cordon, " and the great uncertainty of combinations so distant, and "depending on naval operations, against the success of "this plan. One more simple, and giving the certainty " of acting with more united force on one point, would in " my mind be preferable.

"It would not, however, be easy to propose one to which from circumstances there may not be good objections; and, perhaps, the question should be confined to whether it is prudent at present to undertake any offensive operation, and whether this leisure time should not be diligently employed in completing the works begun for the defence of the position.

"However, as this is not a question referred to me, and

"as it would place me in a very awkward predicament to refuse to take any share, I have told General Blake, that as soon as I can obtain some necessary information, I shall send him an answer to his request to know where I should choose the British troops to be employed.

"An attack by the Puente Suazo road, cutting the "enemy's line, would be the most effectual, but they allow "the difficulty to be nearly insurmountable; that by the "left flank of the enemy is already given to a Spanish "corps, that of the right towards St. Mary's entirely "depends on the Admiral, and is not at all events likely "to succeed beyond a coup-de-main against St. Catalani; "everything else is described as a demonstration or false "attack. The most disagreeable kind of task for us to be "employed in—seeing that it can never be understood that "such was the intention, and of course the failure will be "blamed. I shall do the best I can in this embarrassment "to make the least bad choice,

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"P.S. In pressing for reinforcements to make up a "number equal to what has been deemed necessary for "the defence of the Isla and of Cadiz by the Spaniards "themselves, I could not have expected that the Government would have given way to an impatience that has "so often occasioned severe losses, before even the re"quired number was completed (25,000 was the number, "our's does not exceed 19,000 disposable)."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

"Isla, 10th June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Having had occasion to write a great deal of late to Lord Wellington, I take the liberty of sending your Lordship copies of two of my letters to him; the

"first giving a view of things here, the last relative to a "plan in agitation which does not promise success according to any calculation I can make of the respective means of the parties. In the answer which I shall send to General Blake, I shall avoid taking any share as "should commit too far the troops under my command.

"I shall at the same time state to him, as I have " already done verbally to General Lacy, how I think such " a detachment as it is proposed to employ might be used "with safety to create uneasiness to the enemy and to "oblige him to draw troops from other quarters. This " might be done either in the mouth of the Guadalquiver "by attacking San Lucar and occupying the large islands "that run up far towards Seville, or by occupying from "the bay of Gibraltar the Sierra de Ronda (taking care to "keep up such communications as would always secure a "retreat upon Gibraltar), and endeavouring to raise and "organize the peasants of these mountains, who have "already shewn good dispositions. A considerable "jealousy for Seville and an interruption of the navi-"gation of the river, by which they bring down ordnance " and military stores, would result from the first, and it is "probable that with the protection of gunboats these "islands might be held for a considerable time, and give "opportunity of drawing supplies from the neighbouring " country; this, too, might draw the attention of the corps "threatening Portugal.

"The employment of the detachment (towards Ronda) on the other side might produce considerable effects in increasing the general strength of the army, both in numbers and by experience in warfare, if judiciously managed. It is a country where superiority of cavalry would not be much felt; whatever resources it has would be cut off from the enemy, and perhaps might be sent here. For some time the communication between Victor's corps here and Sebastiani's would be inter"rupted, and would scarcely be re-established without the

"latter moving from Grenada, which might give General "Freyle an opportunity of acting on his rear; it would "offer the means of desertion to the Spanish conscripts " and the foreigners, of which Sebastiani's corps is said to "be chiefly composed. In support of such a detachment, "probably General Campbell might spare a small British "force, if not to act in advance with it, at least to be a "reserve, keeping open the communication to Gibraltar. "If forced to retire, the neutral ground would afford this "detachment temporary or more permanent protection, as "circumstances directed as most expedient. General Lacy "seemed to admit to me this morning that the plan pro-"posed was extremely hazardous, and that more probable "advantages would result from the adoption of one more "cautious, such as this last mentioned, which he preferred "to the other on account of the serranos or mountaineers " of that district.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM.
"L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"June 11th.—Saw and had a good deal of conversation "with General Lacy on the subject of the expedition; "his opinion not much different from mine.

"13th.—Received a note from Blake, went to him late in "the evening, and had much conversation on the subject "of the plan."

From Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

"Celorico, 13th June, 1810.

"Sir,

"From a late letter from the Secretary of State, "I learn that the 1st battalion 21st Regiment, and the "Chasseurs Britanniques, and the 31st and 39th Regiments, "expected from the Mediterranean to reinforce this army,

"are to go to Cadiz for orders; and I request you to give orders to those regiments to proceed, without loss of time, on their passage to Lisbon.

"Adverting to the possibility that we may be obliged to "evacuate Portugal, and to the small quantity of tonnage for horses which I have in the Tagus, compared with the number of horses with the army, and to the expediency of endeavouring to save as many horses for the service as possible, and that I might have it in my power to save the whole by sending some to Cadiz, I request you to give directions to the Commissary at Cadiz, to endeavour to collect at that place a magazine of 30,000 rations of straw and 30,000 rations of forage corn.

"This magazine may eventually be of use to you, even if I should not have occasion to send any horses to Cadiz.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GEN. GRAHAM."

To Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 17th June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"After obtaining as much information as could be got from reconnoitring the marsh, I stated, both verbally and in writing, shortly the objections that there appeared to me against the plan proposed for a sortie, of which I had the honour to send your Lordship a copy. I ended my note to General Blake by an assurance that though I could not be desirous of the operation taking place, and that of course I could not point out any place I could prefer for the employment of the British troops, yet that if it was to be attempted he would find me ready to obey his orders in co-operating in any way he wished.

"The plan has since been altered, and General Lacy is gone with only 3 instead of 5,000 men, with the intention of occupying the Sierra de Ronda.

"The Minister for foreign affairs and war applied to me, "through the King's Minister, for a small corps of four or "five hundred men to go, under General Lacy, which I "declined complying with, reminding the King's Minister " of your instructions to Major-General Stewart, against "making detachments. A part of the rifle corps was "particularly asked for, but the state of the detachments "here must have prevented me from agreeing had there "been no other reason against it. The three companies " of the 3rd battalion in the camp on the heights here are "very raw, few of the officers and none of the men having "been on service, being chiefly young lads from the "militia. The two companies of the 2nd battalion, so "good in all respects, are unluckily not yet recovered, "especially the officers, from the effects of Walcheren "fever.

"In the event of having anything to do here soon, "whether to attack the enemy's position or defend our "own, the number of British troops will not be found too "great, and though on the whole I cannot expect to escape "censure from the Spaniards for my conduct in this business, I trust your Lordship will approve of the "caution with which I have acted. I enclose Captain "Birch's report on the enemy's position between Puerto "Real and the sea, of which I sent a copy to General "Blake.

"The Admiral has never given me any official answer to my enquiry concerning the operation against St. Cata"lina, but verbally he has told me that he had not boats to land more than 1,000 men at a time, and that he "would not employ any of the line-of-battle ships to "attack the fort.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM.
"L. G."

[&]quot;LIEUT.-GEN. THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"June 20th.—Rode to see Stewart's brigade at exercise; "went late into Cadiz. Mr. Wellesley told me that Major "Armstrong was going home immediately with his des"patches to explain the state of things, and the great
"pecuniary difficulties. The Duke of Orleans unexpectedly
arrived in a Spanish frigate from Andalusia.

"It is said that he went there, having been formerly appointed to the command in that province by the Central Junta, and finding O'Donnel there, is come here for explanation with the Regency. It must, however, only be embarrassing; no confidence can be placed in him. There have been strong reports of intrigues in Sicily with the Queen in favour of Buonaparte, in which he is supposed to have been concerned."

From Lieut.-General Lord Viscount Wellington.

" Celorico, 20th June, 1810.

"Sir,

"I had last night the honour of receiving your "letters. The proposition contained in my letter of the "13th May to fix your hospital at Ceuta was only for "your consideration. You must be the best judge of the "propriety of adopting the measure, and I am perfectly "satisfied that it should not be adopted if you do not "consider it advisable.

* * * * * * * * *

"I entirely concur in the arrangement which you have "made for the working parties on the Isla, and their "payment as stated in your despatch.

"I conclude that you have reported to the Commander-"in-Chief all the appointments which you have made, "and I have no objection to them till his pleasure shall be "known.

"I think it probable, from the opinion which your despatch contains of the intended operation proposed to you by General Blake, that you will have exerted your

"influence to prevent its adoption, and I have no hesitation in giving my opinion of it. I have no doubt whatever that the enemy's force in front of Cadiz is much under-rated. When the French passed the Sierra Morena in January, the corps, now before Cadiz (the 1st or Victor's), was stated to be from 20,000 to 25,000 men, and I should think that it consisted of that number. I have a return of it, of April, 1809, which makes it 43,000 rank and file, including sick; it was in the battle of Talavera where its loss was great; but it is not probable that it consists of fewer men now than it did when it passed the Sierra. The reserve also was at Cadiz, but that corps has, I believe, returned to Madrid with the King.

"However, taking the strength of the enemy before "Cadiz, according to the accounts of deserters, as stated "in General Blake's paper, it must be observed that this "general attack upon them will be made by a smaller "body than that which it is supposed he has, according to "this account, after making allowance for the guards to be "left on the Isla, and for the reserve.

"The success in this view of the case is not promising.

"But there is another view of the case, in which, whether

"successful or otherwise, the operation appears to be but

"little desirable. Mr. Wellesley will have informed you

"of the immense preparations which the enemy is making,

"and of the force which he is collecting to attack us in

"this country, to which object it would appear that every

"other has for the present been sacrificed.

"Notwithstanding all that has been done, the enemy has not yet collected a sufficient force for his purpose. He may be able to take Ciudad Rodrigo, but I doubt the sufficiency of his force to oblige the British army to evacuate the Peninsula; on the other hand, it is probable, from all accounts that have been received, that unless reinforced very largely, the French army in Andalusia will be in a dangerous situation.

"If these facts are applied to this intended operation,

"it will probably have the effect of increasing the force to be employed against us. If it should be successful, the force now employed in the useless blockade of Cadiz will be thrown upon our right, through Estremadura. The French will evacuate Andalusia probably, and hold the left of their army in the Sierra Morena, covering their operations upon us. But the raising the siege or blockade of Cadiz, which would set at liberty a certain force of the allies now in garrison, would not give us the advantage of the operations of this force as an army in the field, on account of the total want of cavalry and deficiency of field artillery, and I much doubt whether the force could leave Cadiz at all, until I could reinforce them with cavalry.

"The failure of the operation might, according to the circumstances attending it, either endanger the safety of the place itself from the loss sustained and the want of confidence which it would create, or it might produce the same consequences as its success.

"The French officers, who are by no means satisfied with their situation in Andalusia, would probably call out for reinforcements, when they should find that the allies had begun to make sorties from Cadiz, and the danger to which the French force in that quarter would be exposed, would probably occasion it being withdrawn, owing to the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of reinforcing it, and of carrying on at the same time the other, and, at this moment, evidently more favourite operation.

"In every view, therefore, the operation proposed by "General Blake appears to me to be likely to be injurious "to the general cause. I can easily conceive the difficulty "under which you labour in opposing yourself to the "execution of this or any similar project; but, I would "suggest to you to make use, upon any similar occasion, "of the 4th article of the conditions on which I consented "to detach any troops to Cadiz. This will relieve you

"from all difficulties which you might otherwise feel in "discussing with General Blake the merits of the plan "which he might propose.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"June 22nd.—Went to Cadiz. The conduct of the "Spanish government relative to the Duke of Orleans "very suspicious and double. It is difficult to account for "their wish to employ him, but from an intrigue hostile to "the true interests both of Spain and Britain.

"23rd.—Very sultry. Wrote a great deal; visited the "Duke of Orleans. Dined with Mr. Wellesley; a small "party."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla, 23rd June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I think it necessary to trouble your Lordship "with copies of what passed relative to the consideration of the plan of attack on the enemy's lines which I had the honour to send in my No. 18, inclosing a copy of my letter on that subject to Viscount Wellington.

"As it is very possible that I may be censured for being the occasion of the alteration, I wish your Lordship to be fully informed of the circumstances.

"Beside the copy of my letter to Lord Wellington of the 17th inst., inclosing a copy of Captain Birch's report, I send your Lordship a note of General Blake's, in consequence of which we had a long conversation on the subject. The next morning (the 14th) I sent him an unofficial letter inclosing Captain Birch's report, in answer to which I received his letter of the 15th, of which I send a copy.

"It had been my intention to have stated in writing and in detail my opinion in a more official manner and

"in English, but the long conversation I had had the preceding evening rendered that unadvisable. At the same time I was anxious to leave my opinion in writing in his hands, with an offer of co-operation.

"I have little to add on this subject, but that it has "evidently appeared from the enemy's movements that "they apprehend an attack upon Chiclana. The day "after Lacy's corps had sailed the post was reinforced by "four battalions and 12 or 14 pieces of cannon; they "were seen from Isla on their march from Puerto Real.

"Part of Lacy's corps which sailed last, and in Spanish vessels, did not make good the passage, and returned. These troops remained embarked, and the east wind has blown so strong ever since that they could not proceed, nor would the weather have permitted any naval co-operation whatever had such been necessary in support of the original plan. Meanwhile it is to be regretted that Lacy's corps is so materially reduced, having been intentionally reduced to 3,000 men (for what reason I cannot say, for 5,000 would not have been too many), and then accidentally weakened by about 800 more, so that he has not much more than 2,000 men with him from this.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOMAS GRAHAM,
"L. G."

To Lieut.-General the Viscount Wellington,

"Isla de Leon, 26th June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Nothing of any consequence has occurred of "late; the enemy continues to work with activity in "strengthening different points of his line. A day or "two after Lacy's corps left this, the post of Chiclana was "reinforced by four battalions and a large train of field "artillery. The state of the weather was such that nearly

"a third of Lacy's corps was blown back, and remains "embarked in the harbour, and no naval co-operation "could have taken place had such been required for the "execution of the original plan of an attack on the "enemy's lines.

"I have not heard of the progress of Lacy's corps from Algesiras beyond the first two marches towards Ronda on the 20th. Sebastiani was reported to have arrived at Malaga with 1,500 men on the 17th. General Campbell had sent General Bowes with two battalions by sea to threaten the post towards Ronda, and with the intention of landing and taking post at Casares by way of supporting Lacy.

"The diminution of Lacy's corps is much to be regretted. "Had the original number of 5,000 men been sent, there "would be a much better chance of his maintaining his ground long enough to raise and organise the Serranos "than can now be expected.

"Diversions, too, might have been made on different points of the coast between this and Tarifa, and between this and Ayamonte, to prevent detachments from Victor's corps being sent against him.

"I suggested this, and would have undertaken an "operation against San Lucar, but nothing has been determined. Your Lordship will, of course, hear from the "King's Minister of the arrival of the Duke of Orleans" and the speculations it gives rise to.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, "L. G."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Cadiz, 30th June, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Since my last of the 23rd inst., sent by the packet, nothing of any consequence has occurred here.
"From the examination of some Flemish deserters, I am

"inclined to think the force of the enemy considerably "underrated by the Spaniards. Victor's corps, by their "account, consists of three divisions of infantry and one " of cavalry, each division of infantry of two brigades, "and each brigade of two battalions each. From what "these men said of the strength of their respective "companies (the only thing they may be supposed to "know correctly), I should estimate the infantry of this "corps at least 20,000 men. Two divisions are employed " on the part of their lines between the Trocadero and Sti. "Petri, and there are four battalions more at St. Mary's "and in an intermediate camp between it and Puerto "Real; with this force, the attack on Chiclana, as intended, "could scarcely have been supposed to have had a chance " of success, considering their superiority in field artillery, " and the strength of their works.

"But Lord Wellington considers that the enemy's force here cannot be better employed than in the blockade of this place, and that it would not assist the general cause, but, on the contrary, were we able to force Victor to abandon his position, he thinks a considerable force would thereby be at liberty to join the corps on the frontier of Portugal, while a part would secure their flank in the Sierra Morena, and that the want of cavalry, artillery, and equipment would prevent the troops here from being able to take the field.

"It would be very difficult to convince the Spaniards of "the justness of this reasoning, and, indeed, in a country "where the effect of success in any quarter produces so much "general animation, it may be doubted whether Victor's "corps, if defeated here, would be able even to maintain "itself in the Sierra Morena, much less spare a consider-"able detachment to join Regnier. Lord Wellington, "however, recommends to me to refer to the 4th article "of the conditions on which he consented to detach troops "to the assistance of Cadiz, if I should be again pressed "by General Blake concerning an offensive operation.

"It would, however, be a very strict and limited inter-" pretation of that condition, to say that in no case any "assistance could be offered by the British troops to a "plan of sortie, and I fear, after all that has passed, my "having recourse to it, would produce the worst effects "here. It could not but revive the suspicions excited by "those in the French interest, at first, of the intention of "holding Cadiz as Gibraltar, etc. My opinion is that "the enemy has done so much here, and has thereby so "pledged himself as it were to continue the preparations " of an active siege, that he is more likely to attempt to "support Victor's corps, should it require it, than to with-"draw it. I have little hope of our being able to force "him to do so, but I agree with General Campbell that " more active operations should be carried on, on the coast, "so as to harass his troops and cut off his supplies. "There are, however, no small vessels on the station, and " without them, such a plan is impracticable.

"In my No. 19, I mentioned to your Lordship the necessity of some regulation concerning the consumption of military stores. The commanding officer of artillery reported to me yesterday that the Spaniards have appropriated to their own use about 1,200 barrels of gunpowder lodged in one of their large magazines here, and that without any communication to him or to me. Their excuse is necessity—we have now little more than 3,000 barrels in hand. Our supply of engineer stores has been so much below the necessities of the service, that much time has been lost, and much labour wasted for want of proper implements. The whole number of wheel-barrows, furnished for instance, was 250, not half what we could have used, and, of course, we have had none for the Spanish soldiers.

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord,
"Your Lordship's, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"Intercepted letter from Gault, A.D.C. to Mortier, respecting "intention to attack opposite to Trocadero.

"Au quartier Général de Chiclana, "Cadiz, le 1er Juillet, 1810.

"Je présume, mon Prince, que suivant nos opéra-

"tions militaires dans ce pays vous êtes surpris que nous "n'ayons point encore fait d'attaque sérieuse sur Cadiz. "Cette idée vient naturellement après la lecture des rap-" ports qui ont suivi notre arrivée sur ce point, mais les " mêmes rapports sont loin d'être véridiques. Le fait est, " que depuis le commencement de Février que nous sommes "ici, le premier corps a utilement employé son temps, "il a surmonté des difficultés presque insurmontables, il " s'est crée une petite marine lorsqu'il n'avait point à son " arrivée un clou à sa disposition, il a armé 22 batteries " lorsqu'à cette même époque nous n'avions qu'une artillerie " de campagne dont on n'a pas tardé à reconnoitre l'insuf-"fisance et qu'il a fallu chercher des pieces dans la mer. "La majeure partie de celles de gros calibre qui arme "nos redoutes provient de l'artillerie naufragée en 1806 " par suite du combat de Trafalgar. Enfin malgré que "l'ennemi soit à-peu-près établi sur nos derrières dans "les montagnes de Ronda et d'el Condado ce que force "M. le Marechal Duc de Bellune, à avoir pour lui tenir "tête quatre à cinq mille hommes dans ces montagnes. "Le moment approche où nous forcerons par les boulets "rouges la flotte à s'éloigner et où après avoir détruit "Pontales nous parviendrons à jetter des troupes à terre " qui j'espère scauront s'y maintenir et obtenir des succes. "Le pays n'est point tel que le disent beaucoup des "gens, il est extrèmement sain. La chaleur n'y est point " à beaucoup près aussi forte que je l'ai éprouvé à Naples, "il n'existe presque point de malades. Le nombre réuni " des fiévreux et des blessés n'équivant pas le nombre de " nos hommes malades lorsque nous étions cantonné dans "les environs de Berlin. Il est vrai que le soldat vit bien, qu'il a régulièrement sa ration de vin, et que ses fatigues

" sont modérées.

"Le 1er corps est du reste très beau et soutient son ancienne réputation.

" etc., etc., etc.,
" GAULT."

"July 2nd.—The Spanish line under arms for the Duke" of Orleans; called on him and afterwards dined with him

" at Castaños' house. General Blake communicated to me

"his desire to see the British line under arms to morrow morning. Rode to the ground.

"3rd.—Troops under arms at 8. General salute, rode along the line. The brigades then retired to perform a

"manœuvre, after which they marched past and home. "Much approved of by all—General Lapena, Duke of

"Infantado, and Prince Anglona, from Cadiz.

"4th.—Went into Cadiz.

"5th.—Returned by Puntales, met the Duke of Orleans, who said he approved of the cut within Puntales, and would recommend it. Much firing; a brig taken.

"6th.—Brig retaken by boats of the ships. Rode to "all the works.

"7th.—Rode in to Cadiz early. Wrote for Lisbon. "Dined with the Duchess of Ossuna and family. General

"Stewart left Isla to go to Lisbon in the Dolphin.

"8th.—Lively arrived. Went to the Hospicio. Rode "out to Isla."

" Isla, 8th July, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to report to your Lordship "the arrival of Major-General Fergusson, in the *Lively* "frigate.

"Major-General Stewart goes to Lisbon in the *Dolphin*, by which ship I send your Lordship my letters.

"A return of the 1st corps, under Victor, has lately "been obtained, and a letter from him to Berthier. I send "copies of these documents, by which it appears that the "strength of the enemy before us has increased since "February, and I am more than ever convinced that the "projected offensive operation would have been attended "with disaster. It is not probable that any plan of this "nature will be soon renewed. It would be no easy "matter at all events to make the Spaniards enter into "the force of your Lordship's arguments on the advantage "to the cause from the keeping of so considerable a body " of the enemy's troops engaged in a land blockade at "Cadiz. They would not allow of their inability to follow "up in the field any advantages they might gain over the " enemy here that were to be so decisive as to force him to "raise the blockade. Indeed, considering the extraordi-" nary influence on the minds of the people which success "is sure to produce in this country, it may be at least "doubtful whether Victor's corps would be able to main-"tain a position in the Sierra Morena, and to detach "towards the frontiers of Portugal. Of one thing I am well "convinced, the enemy never will abandon the position "here, but in a case of most urgent necessity. He has "bestowed so much labour in preparing it, he has brought "up so much ordnance, and he has so pledged himself to "the country, that it will not be from inconveniences and "apprehension that he will be induced to withdraw.

"Therefore, a system of warfare that occasioned his being harassed and hampered, that obliged him to greater precautions in producing supplies, and that forced him either to abandon small posts on the coast or to harass his troops to support them, might be carried on to advantage.

"His privateers would be thereby checked from inter-"rupting the coasting trade, on which this place depends "so much. General Campbell has written to me express-"ing his readiness to give assistance in any measures that

"may be agreed on with this view. He occupies Tarifa "with a small corps of about 500 men, and proposes to "increase the number as soon as he has it in his power, "so that, in conjunction with General Lacy, Medina "Sidonia might be at least threatened and his supplies "cut off. It is evident that nothing short of a respectable "force could carry this plan into execution. The enemy "might at any time, and before it could be known to us, "detach a strong body from his lines in our front to attack "and disperse a small corps. Diversions on the coast, " and particularly on the enemy's right flank towards the "Guadalquiver and Guadiana, would be safe, and not "less effectual probably. However, at present the naval "means are wanting, there being on this station no vessels " of war of a light draught of water. No dependence can "be placed on Spanish naval co-operation, the officers are "universally dispirited and discontented, and of course "the men incapable of any useful exertion.

"I have had no official communication with General Blake on the subject, but I hear there is a scheme of bringing the remainder of his former army down the coast from Alicante to Estepona, unless Sebastiani should be called entirely away from the South of Spain; it is not probable that this movement could produce much effect, for never having been able to make any impression on his left flank it is not to be expected that they would succeed better on his right. I do not believe Lacy will be able to maintain himself until this corps could join him.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."
"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"July 9th.—Ponsonby, Russell, Ipswich, and Murray gone to Gibraltar. General Cockburne, Captains Stackpoole and McKinlay, Mr. Shipley, Captain Miller, 95th, and Captain Wodehouse, 20th, with young Fitzclarence

"and Hay, and several other midshipmen of the *Lively* came, so that we were about 30 at dinner.

"10th.—Rode hard into Cadiz, and dined on board the "Admiral's ship *Téméraire*. Admiral Boys just arrived in "Impérieuse.

"Ith.—Wrote for packet to Lord Liverpool and the "Adjutant-General about half-yearly inspections. Met "Birch at Puntales; rode to Isla."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

"Isla de Leon, 11th July, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Things here remain in the same state; the "enemy employ a great number of men in the construction of very strong works on different points of the line. At present, evidently for the purpose of defence, from what ever quarter an attack may come.

"The inclosed authentic copy of an intercepted return will show your Lordship that my estimate of the enemy's force before us was pretty correct; it certainly leaves no cause for regret at the determination to abandon the projected sortie, as a body of troops, superior in numbers, and in artillery, and equipment, would have met the attack at Chiclana, which I have no scruple in saying would not have been successful, and might have been very disastrous.

"I wish the Spaniards followed the example of precautionary measures shown them by the enemy, but
hitherto nothing is done at the most important point of
Sti. Petri, except the bad works at first hastily constructed.

I have so often spoken of this that it is of no use to
repeat it; the other batteries executed by the Spaniards,
and under the direction of their engineers, are for the
most part open in the rear, and therefore liable to be
taken by surprise or by a coup de main at any time
when the enemy is enabled to have a sufficient number of

"boats. Had more pains been taken to secure these posts probably there would be no risk, while the enemy remains without reinforcements, in withdrawing for a time a considerable number of the British troops, which might be of such use in Portugal. As it is, the best argument is that the enemy, never having considered himself capable of making an impression on the position of Isla, when almost in a state of nature, can scarcely be supposed to calculate on success by an attack with the same force on the improved position—for improved it undoubtedly is, though so much is still wanting to give it security.

"The King's Minister will of course inform the Government of the state of affairs in other parts of the
Peninsula and its dependencies. It will be a death blow
to the cause in the best quarter should Taragona be
allowed to fall for want of defending itself. The islands
never can run much risk if a great naval superiority be
kept up in those seas.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"July 12th.—Rode to Cadiz early, dined with the Duke of Orleans. Reports of defeat of Ballesteros denied by Blake. He had an action in Estremadura and was obliged to retire after an obstinate fight; this must have been against Regnier.

"19th.—General Blake going back to Murcia, Lapena" to command here in his absence."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla, 19th July, 1810.

" My Lord,

"General Blake is ordered to go back to Murcia, and "General Lapena is to succeed him in the command here.

"It is understood that this is only a temporary arrange-"ment, and that General Blake's absence will not be long. "Some disputes between the province and the division left "there, under General Freyre is the ostensible cause of "this change. It is hoped that General Blake's influence "with the province may reconcile this disagreement, " arising, however, out of causes which will not be easily "removed. This force, amounting to about 14,000 men, "remains inactive for want of equipments, which the "province refuses to furnish, the more so on account of "the inactivity of this corps. General Blake is to take "some money with him, in hopes of being able to put "things on a better footing, and a General Elio (said to "be a very good officer), lately returned from S. America, "is to go to command the infantry—Freyre continuing in "the command of the cavalry.

"I was apprehensive of intrigue in all this; to send "General Blake away for his late appointment as chef de "l'état-major of all the Spanish armies, giving him a "general superintendence of all military operations would "naturally make his residence near the Government desirable, there being no Commander-in-Chief. The value of this new organization must, therefore, remain suspended at present—a consideration of much importance. But, besides, I should sincerely regret the loss of General Blake from this command, having a very high opinion of his zeal and integrity, and believing him to possess much more energy of character than is commonly to be met with in this country.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

[&]quot;July 27th.—The *Implacable*, Captain Cockburn, arrived, bearing Sir Richard Keats' flag.

[&]quot;28th.-Went early to Cadiz to meet Sir R. Keats."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 28th July, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Sir Richard Keats arrived in the *Implacable* "yesterday, and brought me your Lordship's despatches.

"In obedience to His Majesty's commands, and for the information of His Majesty, I have the honour to transmit herewith, a general state of the distribution of the troops under my command, and I shall take care to acquaint your Lordship with any changes which at any time it may be considered expedient to make.

"There is no other post in Cadiz occupied by the British "troops, except the casemated barracks in the land-front of the place. These barracks form two squares, one on each side of the principal gate; there is, besides, a sally port from one of the squares into the ditch.

"This is undoubtedly the most important point of any in the place, as communicating immediately with the great road to Isla, and commanding it.

"At first, I wished to have had possession of Fort San "Sebastian, as being the point that secured a communica-"tion with the harbour, but its being used as a state prison, "prevented its being given up as a convalescent hospital, "which was once talked of, and hitherto, there has been no reason for creating jealousy by insisting on it for that "purpose or any other.

"I have only further to add, that a detachment of the "Royal Artillery, and of additional gunners from the line, "do duty with the Spaniards in Fort Puntales, which gives "Brigadier-General Hoghton a constant inspection there. "The unfinished state of Fort Ferdinand (or Cortadura), "preventing the establishment of a regular garrison, and "the total want of naval means of the enemy in the "Trocadero channel, have hitherto made the employment of any British troops at those lines unnecessary. But

"I do not lose sight of preserving the communication between Isla and Cadiz at that point to which, on any alarm, a detachment from Cadiz would immediately be sent.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

From the Earl of Liverpool.

" Private and confidential.

"Downing Street, July 12th, 1810.

" My dear Sir,

"Sir Richard Keats sets off this evening for "Cadiz to take the command of the fleet. I congratulate "you most sincerely on this appointment. I may say, "without disparagement to any other officer, that there "is no person in the profession so well qualified for this "important command as Sir Richard Keats. His attention "will be in the first place directed to the removal of the "Spanish ships of war to some place of safety. He is "decidedly of opinion, as well as the other Lords of "the Admiralty, that they cannot remain at anchor in "Cadiz harbour, in any degree of safety, after the middle " of the month of September. If the Spaniards cannot "be persuaded or compelled to remove them, they will "probably be driven by the first gale of wind to the "opposite shore, and in that case, unless they can be "burnt by us, the enemy will gain possession of them. "should hope, therefore, that the Regency will consent to "their being removed to Port Mahon.

"Although it appears to be the general military opinion "that the City of Cadiz, if properly defended, would be "impregnable, except from treachery within, and although "we have every reason to believe that the great body of "the population are well disposed and attached to the "British interest, it is impossible, after all that has "happened, to divest one's mind of the suspicion of a

"possibility of treachery on the part of some of the persons in power.

"It is very important, therefore, that in all the military arrangements respecting the garrison, the possibility of such an event should be kept in view, and that you should endeavour to occupy, with the British troops, a sufficient number of the strong posts of the place, to prevent the success of any stratagem of the nature of that to which I have referred, and to secure at least, in such an event, the safe retreat of the British garrison.

"It is with this view that I have been desired to write to you the official letter of this day's date, respecting the distribution of your force. I had some conversation on the subject with Major Lefebre before he left England, and he seemed to be of opinion that an arrangement might be made, which, without exciting any unnecessary alarm, might, nevertheless, give us in a great measure the real and substantial command of the place. I have likewise spoken to Sir Richard Keats on the same subject, and you will find him, therefore, perfectly prepared to converse with you upon it, and to concert with you all the measures which may be necessary for the security of the place as long as possible, and for the safety of the army in the event of our being under the necessity of abandoning it.

"Since writing my despatches of this day, I have received your letter of the 23rd ult.; I am very happy to find the Spaniards have abandoned their intended attack upon the French lines. The expedition to the Sierra de Ronda (if it does not weaken your force too much in the Isle of Leon) can at least do little harm, and if it encourages the peasants of that district in their desultory warfare, may be productive of some advantage.

"I observe with satisfaction, by letters from Gibraltar, that General Campbell has offered to General Lacy all the assistance in his power consistently with the security of the garrison.

"We were in expectation of important intelligence from Portugal. Our last letters from Lord Wellington are of the 13th. The French had invested Ciudad Rodrigo, but the heavy artillery had not at that time reached the place.

"The Governor was determined on a desperate resis-"tance, and Lord Wellington had left it open to himself "to attempt the relief of the place or not, according to "to the amount of the besieging army and other circum-"stances.

"I am, with great truth, my dear Sir,
"Your very faithful humble servant,
"LIVERPOOL."

From the Earl of Liverpool.

"Downing Street, 12th July, 1810.

"Sir,

"Your despatches have been received, and laid before the King.

"His Majesty has observed with peculiar regret that
"the fatal effects which have been proved by experience to
"result from the hazardous and ill-concerted attacks of
"the Spanish armies upon the force of the enemy, should
"have occasioned no alteration in the policy of the
"Government in this respect, but that they should again
"appear disposed to embark in enterprises, for which
"their armies, as at this time composed, are so little
"calculated, and from which, under present circumstances,
"defeat and disaster can alone be expected.

"The object of His Majesty in sending a British force "to Cadiz was the security of that City and the Isle of "Leon. If the situation of the French armies in the "south of Spain and other circumstances should render "an attack upon the enemy, in a military point of view, "advisable, the advantages which might be expected to

" arise from such an enterprise to the permanent security " of Cadiz, or to the general operations of the war in the "Peninsula, might be of such a nature that it would not be "right that you should decline affording the assistance " of the force under your command for such an expedition. "But you will consider yourself possessed of a complete "discretion to abstain from co-operating in any offensive "operation which may appear to you to be unnecessary " or inexpedient. And you are fully at liberty to make "use of the authority of His Majesty's Government in "this respect if propositions of the character and des-" cription of those which have been recently submitted to "you should be renewed. You will state that the force " under your command was in a great measure withdrawn " from the army under Lord Wellington for the protection " of Cadiz and of the Isle of Leon, and that your instruc-"tions do not permit you to take a part in any operations "beyond these limits, except in a case where the enter-" prise itself shall appear to you to be prudent, and when " considerable advantages may be expected to arise out of " it to the common cause.

"Considering the amount and quantity of the force which His Majesty has appropriated for the defence of Cadiz, he feels himself fully entitled to expect from the Spanish Government that his General shall be consulted, and shall have a voice upon all operations which it may be proposed to undertake by that portion of the Spanish armies which have been judged necessary for the defence of Cadiz and the Isle of Leon, and have been in consequence allotted to that service. And his Majesty's Ministers at Cadiz will receive instructions to make a communication to this effect to the Spanish Regency.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
"LIVERPOOL."

"Allotment of the troops under Lieutenant-General Graham, "Isla, 30th July, 1810.

Ат	ISLA.			
	Offs.	Sergts.	Drumrs.	R. & F.
Cavalry	15	20	5	391
R1. Engineers	8	2	0	48
Rl. Artillery	20	8	4	365
Rl. Art. Drivers	I	3	I	51
ıst Brig. (B. G. Dilkes)	39	62	18	1,192
2nd Brig. (M. G. Fergusson)	140	165	77	2,890
3rd Brig. (B. G. Sontag)	84	104	40	1,813
Comp. of Royal Staff Corps	3	I	1	50
Total	310	365	146	6,800
AT CADIZ.				
Rl. Artillery	10	7	. 3	240
4th Brig. (B. G. Hoghton)		102	54	1,490
Total at Cadiz	84	109	54	1,730

"July 30th.—Captain Cockburn came out and I went with him to Sti. Petri. The Spaniards have just begun to construct a new and very extended battery in front of the right-hand battery; it is intended for 35 pieces of cannon and to be elevated so as to command the ground opposite between the river and the creek.

"31st.—Rode to Cadiz in the evening; much firing between Trocadero and Puntales."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 31st July, 1810.

" My Lord,

"In acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's "letter of the 12th inst, I cannot help expressing my "sincerest conviction of the justice of the character given "of Sir Richard Keats. Besides what is generally known, "I have had the good fortune to be long acquainted and

"to have seen how he carries on the service entrusted to his charge. I am quite certain that nothing of the most cordial and energetic co-operation within the means under his direction will be wanting.

"I should not do justice, however, to the general zeal and unremitting attention paid to everything in which the army was concerned by Rear-Admiral Pickmore since he succeeded to the command in this station, were I to omit saying so on this occasion.

"In my public despatches relative to the distribution of "the troops and in the state inclosed in it, I have not "entered into any details. When I send your Lordship a "copy of the plan, which I hope to be able to do very "soon, I shall state the particulars of the distribution of "our troops here; the only post occupied in common by "the Spaniards and us is the bridge of Suazo and the "advanced battery on that great road. We have only " artificers employed in the Caraccas, and I have gradually "got rid of the duties our people were concerned in in "different batteries on the marsh, because the numbers "in each were not considerable enough to add much to "the security of the posts while it exposed the troops to "a good deal of harassing duty and to the night air of "the marsh. Our people have the sole charge of the "very important battery of Gallineras, where there was "formerly a ferry through which there are horse roads "through the marsh, and the next battery to the right of "it on the river-side; these two are so connected with "the heights that I thought it very material to have "charge of them. The post of Sti. Petri is likewise, no "doubt, of the greatest importance, and if the enemy were "in a state of preparation that could enable them to "make any attempt against that point I should wish to "have something of ours there, but at present it is not "worth while to detach so far, and to create unnecessary "jealousy in the command of that post. A Brigadier-"General Lardizabal, commands the division of the "Spanish army that is called the advance guard, and

"considers this his right as the post of honour. I was there yesterday with Captain Cockburn, sent by Sir R. Keats, to concert any additional security from naval means which, I trust, will be found applicable there to advantage. We are to meet on the island of Sti. Petri to-morrow for the same purpose, and some of the most intelligent Spanish naval officers will attend.

"Meanwhile, there is a beginning made to a new and "very extensive work projected by the Spanish engineers." I should certainly have preferred the plan of constructing "in the first instance two closed redoubts on little elevations in rear of the present batteries agreeable to the "plan made by Major Lefebre, and handed over to the "Spaniards, who seemed inclined to adopt it. The "Spaniards say their new work will be completed in a "month, I do not expect it will in three; and, as at all "events, it could not supersede the necessity of supporting "redoubts, I shall continue to urge the adoption of that "part of our original plan.

"With regard to Cadiz itself, I am so much convinced " of the impossibility of any successful attempt being " made by traitors while the great body of the inhabitants " are hostile to the French and well inclined to us, that "there does not seem to be any occasion for greater pre-"caution, and it is certainly very material not to excite "any distrust. We have already, under the pretence of "the want of stores, a certain depôt of provisions and "warlike stores, and a brigade of field guns in the "barracks, which may almost be considered a citadel. "However, your Lordship may rest assured of my utmost "attention to the very important objects recommended "more especially to me by your Lordship's letter. From "what I learn, I much fear the four batteries expected "from Sicily will be detained there. I have the honour "to assure your Lordship of the regard with which I " remain, etc.

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

[&]quot;THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 2nd August, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's "letters, I shall pay particular attention to their contents.

"Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Keats is now in command of the naval force on this station. His abilities and professional character are such as to leave no doubt of everything being done that the means under his direction will allow of.

"Rear-Admiral Pickmore is gone up in the *Teméraire* "to join Sir C. Cotton's fleet. As he has carried on the "service ever since Vice-Admiral Purvis' departure with "much zeal and attention, he is very universally regretted, and the Spanish Government has expressed great approbation of his conduct in a letter, of which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has requested the King's Minister to send home a copy.

"Nothing material has occurred since my last of the "22nd ult.

"The enemy continues to carry on his works with activity for strengthening his line.

"The Spaniards have at last begun a work on the point of Sti. Petri. It is impossible to avoid entertaining some suspicions about this. After a delay of four months, during which I have been constantly urging them to attend to this point, and after it was stated that in the opinion of a Committee or Board of Defence composed of general officers and engineers, that nothing more than the three batteries already established there appeared to be necessary till the enemy seemed to turn his attention to that flank, they all at once determined on and begin a work of such vast extent that, considering the natural difficulties and scarcity of materials, must require many months to complete.

"The principle adopted, too, appears to us to be an "erroneous one. This work is to have 35 pieces of cannon "on a line considerably elevated (in masonry, I believe), close to the high water-mark. By its being so far advanced, and its front entirely exposed, the enemy who has
the advantage of a more extended front, and of higher
ground, may, by regular approaches, overpower and ruin
this work. The Spaniards pretend, I am told, that this
work will prevent the possibility of the enemy making
approaches, which is an absurd idea in this situation.

"From the first we have pressed on the Spaniards the "expediency and necessity of having at least two strong "closed redoubts, à l'abri d'assaut, some way in the rear " of the advanced batteries. At one time they expressed "approbation of this, and desired to have the plans "prepared by Major Lefebre for these works. "soon as these had been completed, it was intended "to recommend the construction of one or two batteries "having a flank fire on the passage of the river and the "beach on each side, and protected by strong epaulments "from the fire of such batteries as the enemy might esta-"blish. All these works might have been finished long "ago, and with three or four more closed redoubts on the "isthmus, to connect with the intrenched camp on the "heights, would have given the greatest security to this "important point of the position. It is my intention to "request the interference of His Majesty's Minister on "this occasion with the Government, the principle laid "down in the inclosed extract of Lord Liverpool's despatch "being fully as applicable to the measures of defence as "the operations of offence.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."
"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

" Celorico, 2nd August, 1810.

"Sir,

"In the event of my being obliged to evacuate "Portugal with the British army, you are probably aware

"that I have received the instructions of His Majesty's "Ministers to carry it to Cadiz. In this case it appears

"Ministers to carry it to Cadiz. In this case it appears "probable that, for some days at least, we shall be

"superior to the enemy in force at that quarter, and it has

"occurred to me that it might be possible to effect an

"operation, by which the enemy should be deprived at

"least of their establishments on the Trocadero, before

"they should receive any reinforcements from Portugal.

"I request you to collect all the information that can be got on this subject, and which might be useful in enabling us to decide on the expediency of undertaking

"this enterprise, and on the mode of executing it, if it

" should be in our power to undertake it.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GEN. GRAHAM."

"August 4th.—Went on board the Admiral's ship, found he had gone to Isla; returned; only three hours gone.

"Rode round the posts with him. Saw the squadron of

"the 13th Light Dragoons.

"5th.—Rode to Cadiz. Letters by Myrtle from Lisbon. "On 24th ult., affair of advanced posts; Crauford driven in "across the Coa; loss of officers, in proportion, considerable.

From Lord Wellington to General Graham.

"Celorico, 10th August, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 30th July and that of the 22nd.

"It certainly appears that Government are not aware of the exact situation of affairs in Spain, notwithstanding

"the pains which have been taken to apprise them of their

"state; and it appears from Lieutenant-Colonel Bunbury's

"letter that they have still less knowledge of the position

" and strength of the different French corps in Spain.

"In my opinion, Sir John Stuart has not been ordered to send the reinforcements to the Peninsula, and it has been left to his discretion whether to send them or not, in the same manner as it was left to the discretion of the Commanding-Officer in Halifax whether he would send the reinforcements from thence.

"When responsibility for the safety of the territory under their charge is thus placed upon the officers commanding in them, it cannot be expected that they would detach their troops, more particularly as at the very moment the enemy may threaten an attack upon the point from which the troops are to be drawn; but even if all the troops expected from the Mediterranean should be added to your corps I should still be of opinion that the attempt to raise the seige of Cadiz is one of considerable risk. If, however, you consider the letter from Lieut.-Colonel Bunbury to be an intimation of the wishes of Government upon that subject, I beg you to detain the troops if they should arrive from the Mediterranean.

"My letter to Mr. Wellesley of this date will make you "acquainted with the situation of affairs in this quarter, "and you will see what little effect the operations of "General Lacy and others in the Sierra de la Ronda, and "of General Copons, between the Guadiana and Guadal-"quivir, have upon the enemy's plans.

"My own opinion is that this country is their object at present, and, as usual, they will abandon everything else that does not contribute to its attainment. If I had not received the communication of the pleasure of Government upon this subject I should pursue the same plan, and withdraw you and three-fourths of your force from Cadiz, in order to increase our strength here, and with that force and any reinforcement we might hope for some success, and any success would relieve Cadiz, and reseasablish matters in the Peninsula.

"I beg to draw your attention to the orders which I have given this day respecting the private correspondence

"of the officers of the army. I was astonished some time ago to see in the English newspapers an accurate account of the batteries and works erecting at Cadiz and on the Isla, with the number of guns and of what calibre each was to contain, and their distance from each other and from the enemy's works. This information must have been extracted from the letter of an officer. If officers wish to give their friends this description of information they should request them not to publish their letters in the newspapers.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GEN. GRAHAM."

"Isla de Leon, 15th August, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's let"ter of the 2nd inst., by the packet yesterday, and in conse"quence of it I have given orders for the embarkation of the
"79th and 88th, and the squadron of the 13th Light Dragoons,
"early to-morrow. I substituted the 88th for the 94th (their
"numbers of rank and file fit for duty being exactly equal)
"on account of the sickness that has prevailed among the
"officers of the 94th more than of any other regiment here.
"As your Lordship will recollect, I mentioned on the occa"sion of noticing the orders I had given for the reception of
"the sick officers into the general hospital. Though there
"are many of the officers returned to the regiment, yet
"they can only be considered as convalescents, and very
"unequal to the fatigue of a very active campaign.

"I have written fully to Lord Wellington on the state of the force here, and I should be very glad if he were induced to order me to join him with some further part of the force here.

"It ought not to be reduced, however, even for a short time below four British battalions, some companies of the rifle corps, and all the artillery.

"The Spanish force fit for duty, including officers, amounts at present to about 15,000. The principal objection to a considerable temporary diminution of the British force here arises from the interruption it must necessarily occasion to the completion of the works, for I cannot admit scarce any apprehensions of sudden attack from the enemy.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla, 15th August, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour to receive your Lordship's "letter of the 2nd inst. some days ago, and I shall not "fail to give the subject of it my best consideration, and "shall communicate to your Lordship as soon as possible "the result of information it may be in my power to "obtain.

"I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy "of a letter from Lord Liverpool, received by the packet "from England yesterday.

"I wrote your Lordship a short note on this subject "yesterday evening by Mr. Dick. I thought it better not "to delay till I heard from your Lordship as there could "be no doubt of your wishing for more troops. The "embarkation will, therefore, take place early to-morrow "morning.

"I thought it best to substitute the 2nd battalion of the "88th for the 94th (the number of rank and file in these "two corps being equal). But the officers of the 94th are "less efficient than those of the 88th, the former regiment having had a great deal of sickness among the officers. "It was on this account chiefly that I thought it necessary

"to adopt the plan of fitting up accommodation for officers in the general hospital. The returns will show your Lordship that the rank and file in these two battalions is considerably below 2,000, the number mentioned in Lord Liverpool's letter. But from what Sir R. Keats read to me from your Lordship's late letter to him, I should think it not improbable that some arrangement may take place to relieve me here, and enable me to have the satisfaction of joining your Lordship with the greatest part of the British troops here.

"Since there is no chance of any temporary reinforcements coming here that would have enabled us to raise
the blockade, and since it is scarcely possible that the
enemy should, with the corps before this place, make a
successful attack on this position, improved as it is, as
they never ventured to attack us when the Spaniards were
unprepared, it certainly is to be regretted that at this
critical period so many men should remain here inactive.
Except as to work, there still remains much to be
done to complete the plan of defence, and the working
parties must be necessarily considerably diminished
immediately.

"I should think, however, that it would not be advisable to reduce the force employed here below four British battalions and some companies of the Rifle Corps. The Spaniards have frequently complained of the severity of the duty here.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

[&]quot;LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"April 16th.—The two regiments (79th and 94th) em-"barked early, the squadron having embarked during the "night.

"17th.—Troops sailed. Generals Hoghton and McKenzie came from Sicily.

"18th.—Wrote to the Duke of Infantado on the subject of an officer of the Spanish Guards having cut a soldier of ours, desiring an adequate reparation for the insult to the British army.

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 21st August, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Having remarked with much concern that "Captain Maclean of the 94th remained unpromoted, I "wrote by the last packet to Colonel Torrens to suggest a "means of giving both him and Major the Honourable "C. Cathcart promotion by a levy of foreigners, for which "I propose that a letter of service should be issued to "Major Cathcart as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, and "that Maclean should be named first Major. He would, "without taking Major Cathcart from his duty here as "Assistant Quarter-Master General, be employed to "go all along the coast to places in the hands of the "Spaniards to enlist deserters and prisoners (not French), "and I have little doubt of his soon succeeding to raise a "good battalion.

"I don't know whether the Commander-in-Chief will "submit this proposal, or whether it would be approved of by His Majesty's Government.

"I forbear, on account of my connection, to say anything "of Major Cathcart's merit, except that with such abilities and such hereditary pretensions to military distinction, it must be painful to him to see so many junior officers promoted through interest over his head.

"With regard to Captain Maclean, I can never say too much, nor press too strongly on your Lordship's notice his claim, founded on the best of all grounds, that of having nobly earned distinction.

"I am quite sure that it must tend to damp the spirit of the troops here, and consequently be detrimental to the interest of His Majesty's service that promotion should be withheld from one who was considered certain of obtaining it, as the just reward of such exertions, by every individual of the army and navy who witnessed his glorious defence of Matagorda.

"I must here beg leave to mention what may appear a "trifling circumstance, because it has given rise to a comparison of the two services in regard to the distinctions
conferred for extraordinary valour; from the almost
insular situation of this little ruined fort, and a part of its
garrison being seamen and marines, it soon and generally
got the name of H.M.S. Matagorda. 'Was ever ship so
defended against such a superiority of force?' 'Could
such an action be passed over in the British navy
without instant reward?' have been and are questions in
everybody's mouths.

"Those who justly appreciate the powerful influence of an immediate testimony of high approbation for distinguished services on the minds of honourable men must attribute (at least in part) to this wise and liberal treatment the universality of that daring spirit which characterises the British naval officers and ensures victory to their Sovereign's flag on all occasions.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

[&]quot;August 21st.—The Duke of Infantado called to answer my letter. Settled the matter by the officer going to General Dilkes to excuse himself, declaring he had no intention of hurting the man."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 23rd August, 1810.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt "by the last packet of your despatch No. 16, and I shall "pay particular attention to the contents, and shall com-" municate with Mr. Wellesley relative to the arms which "the Spaniards may require. As we should certainly "never have less than 3,000 barrels of gunpowder in the "magazines here, I was obliged to make a requisition "for 2,000 barrels from Gibraltar, which Major-General "Campbell has complied with, but I dare say it will be "necessary to retain here the 1,400 barrels now coming "from England; when any larger quantity shall arrive I "will undoubtedly prefer sending it on to Gibraltar, as "hitherto I have never been able to obtain a separate "powder magazine, and no representation that has been "made through the King's Minister to the Spanish "Government has proved an effectual check against the " great demand.

"Whether the Spaniards help themselves or state the indispensable necessity of a further supply to the line here in such a manner as to make it impossible to refuse it, the consumption continues to be equally great, and I am convinced it far exceeds the expenditure here, for it is only from the batteries at Puntales that there is much firing of late.

"Another expedition of 3,000 men, under General Lacy's command, is embarked (if not sailed). There was no demand on me for any assistance nor any consultation on the subject with me. I received a communication of the determination only, the original plan was such as to give no chance of success in my opinion. A landing was to be made between Rota and San Lucar, two Spanish leagues (8 miles) from San Lucar. Two thousand men

"were to remain posted somewhere on the road, and 1,000 "were to be pushed on to the town of San Lucar, leaving "the castle on the river and near its mouth on their left to "endeavour to destroy boats, etc., and to return by the "same road to the posted corps where the whole were to "be re-embarked at the place they landed at. Some in-"formation of Victor's having detached 4,000 men to assist "Mortier has given rise to this absurd plan-for so it "appears to me to be. The enemy being within three "leagues of San Lucar at Port St. Mary, and still nearer "at Xeres, besides that, it is not to be supposed if there "is anything worth protecting at San Lucar that there " should not be considerable force in the place. An attack "by sea and land on the castle in the first instance to " allow the ships to come into the river seems to be indis-" pensable in such an undertaking.

"The probability now is that nothing there will be attempted as the details of the intended operation have been so publicly known in Cadiz for some days that the enemy must be informed of the whole. A landing between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana where Prince D'Aremberg has only a small corps, may be useful, and will not expose the corps to the disaster that would be almost certain if the original plan were persisted in.

"I must observe here that General Lacy told me in mentioning this expenditure that somewhat better than 10,000 Spanish troops would remain during his absence, this would make the total only 13,000 instead of 15,000, agreeable to the return I mentioned in my letter of the 15th instant. This difference may arise from General Lacy's attending only to the infantry. The cavalry and artillery exceed 2,000 men. I shall ascertain this.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

[&]quot;THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 30th August, 1810.

" My Lord,

"The sailing of the Fasper gives me the first " opportunity of acknowledging the honour of your Lord-"ship's letter of the 10th inst. There can be no chance "now of the Spaniards resuming the plan of attempting " to raise the blockade, and, therefore, it would be useless " to stop these regiments here, should they come from the "Mediterranean. The Spanish Government will continue "their restless system of warfare without any object that "can compensate for the loss of time in carrying out the "most necessary works of defence here. It surely ought " to be the policy of both Governments to make the greatest " exertions to enable your Lordship to counteract the evi-"dent intentions of the enemy against Portugal; but here, "at least, there is so little combination of the operations " of their armies towards any useful object, that nothing " can be expected from them in your favour. There cannot " be a doubt of their having lost much valuable time here. "By the adoption of such energetic means as the cir-"cumstances required, a numerous army might have "been created here, and its discipline been considerably "advanced, the works of defence might have been nearly "completed, and thus much the greatest part of the "British force, no longer necessary for security, become " quite disposable.

"Your Lordship's general orders of the 10th have not "reached us. It will be very difficult to correct the mis"chief of newspaper publication of details as long as "they are sought for with such avidity by the people at "home, for besides all the indiscretion of the private "correspondence of individual officers, and the still greater "of those friends to whom they write, there is very little "doubt of the editors employing men of some description

"to furnish them with information, and very probably the "details your Lordship has read in the papers concerning "the works here, have been purposely sent home by clerks "in some of the departments. In one of Berthier's in-"tercepted letters to Massena, the newspaper account of "your Lordship's army is quoted as furnishing authentic "information. I fear nothing short of a legislature pro-"hibition against printing such details in the papers will " ever deprive the enemy of this source of information.

"I have the honour, etc., "THOS. GRAHAM."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"September 2nd.—Rode into Cadiz, stopped at Pun-"tales; the enemy have got up some fascines on Matagorda. "10th.-Rode early to San Petri; the new works little "advanced, and, though a number of men are employed, "the progress will be slow from the manner of working "(no wheelbarrows) and the distance; clay and other "materials are carried on asses, and by men on hand-"barrows. The Salsette arrived from Malta where Lucien "Buonaparte and all his family are arrived to seek "protection from the apprehended violence of his brother. "This most extraordinary event ought to make a great "impression on the minds of the people of every country, "if they looked beyond the present moment; but the self-"interest, real or supposed, that guides nations and "individuals, will not learn from this to abhor the tyrant " more, or to court him less.

"11th.—Rode early to the Caraccas; went all over; "nothing new, but the battery near the Navas Nigras "corner being completed en barbette. At the Maquiras, "the work is nearly complete, the splinter proofs extensive. "This important work is strong, but the ditch is generally "too distant, the covered way not in the best direction. "Saw the Portuguese work, and redoubt No. 2. Went

"down into the marsh to San Judas and los Angelos;

"some improvement made in the latter, and materials "prepared for the other, but the space is too confined, and "there is not sufficient attention paid to inclosing the "works. The great work above the 7-gun battery is "nearly finished, has got an abattis in front of ditch, "and all their works are now palisaded.

"12th.-Rode into Cadiz. Saw Mr. Adair; dined with "Mr. Wellesley; read Adair's despatch to Lord Wellesley " relative to Lucien Buonaparte. Two years ago-at least "some time in 1808-Mr. Hill had given him passports to "go to America, these were revoked by the Government, "but he had never received Mr. Hill's letter to tell him so. "He applied lately to have them renewed, Hill wrote to "say it was impossible, and, he then for the first time "knew of the revocation. He wrote to them to ask for "passports to come to Cagliari, but before an answer "could be received, orders to leave the territories of "Buonaparte in 24 hours forced him to embark in a hurry, "he therefore came to throw himself on Mr. Hill's mercy. "Two English frigates were there, and two days after, "Mr. Adair arrived in the Salsette (on the 14th August). "It was agreed that he should see him, which he did twice, " and had long conversations, which make the subject of "the despatch. Finding there was no chance of getting " to America, he asked to be sent to England, to Plymouth; "this they could not allow. Rather than go to Malta, "were he apprehended bad treatment, he wished to be "allowed to go back to Civita Vecchia; this could not "be acquiesced in either; neither the Sardinian or the "Russian Minister would hear of his landing at Cagliari. "He objected to sail out of the harbour till driven away, "or to be considered a prisoner of war, being in the bay. "However, in the second interview, Adair persuaded him "that it was much better to avoid creating greater em-" barrassment; that he would be the bearer of anything he " might wish to state to the British Government. Accord-"ingly it was agreed that he and his wife and family of "7 children, and a great number of attendants should be sent to Malta with the *Pomona*.

"He complained bitterly of his brother's persecution, because he refused to be king of Rome and to divorce

"his wife, terms which had been offered to him in his last

"interview with Buonaparte at Verona, and which had

" been renewed lately on granting him passports.

"His daughter had been sent for to Paris, and proposals of marrying her to Ferdinand VII were firmly rejected—
she declaring she would follow her father's fortunes.

"She was then sent back. She is very young-15 or 16.

"13th.—The Cortes certainly meet on the 15th, and the Regency come out on the 20th. There is no doubt of there having been a violent dispute between the Junta

"and the Regency on the subject of, which occa-"sioned so violent a remonstrance that it was considered

"sioned so violent a remonstrance that it was considered "right H. E. and the Bishop should sign an order to

"arrest the whole Junta, which must have created an insurrection, the Regent having no power to carry this

"into effect. Castaños showed much firmness in resisting;

"very high words passed between him and the Bishop, "who said he would execute the arrest at the head of the

"who said he would execute the arrest at the head of the "troops himself. Castaños said it was his province, and

"that the Bishop should not stir from the room till the order

"was revoked. All this, added to their unpopularity,

"will insure their fall at the meeting of the Cortes. It is

"supposed that they will elect some of their own number.

"The Princess of Portugal has a strong party, and even

"the Duke of Orleans has a party; this shows his game "in protracting his stay.

"14th.—Adair came out.

" 15th.-Rode to Sti. Petri with Mr. Adair.

"16th.—Went to the Caraccas early with Adair.

"Cathcart promoted.

"17th.—Wrote to Lord Liverpool and Colonel Torrens thanking about Cathcart and his intentions about Maclean."

To Lord Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 17th Sepr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"Nothing new has occurred since I last had the "honour of writing to your Lordship. We are much at "a loss for authentic information concerning the enemy's "movements. I have endeavoured to establish a system "of espionage from hence, but hitherto with but little "success, and the intelligence which General Campbell "sends is generally rather of an old date, and often not "confirmed by subsequent information, specially relative "to the force employed in our front. It is by no means "improbable now that the enemy's defensive works are "made very strong, and that it must be known that the "number of the British troops is so much diminished; "some detachments may be made, for it would appear "that both Sebastiani and Mortier have occasion for "reinforcements. The former marched from Granada "towards Murcia, but has retired without venturing to " attack Blake, who had chosen a position in an intersected " country in front of the town of Murcia, where the French "cavalry could not act; and Mortier's advanced posts "have been driven back towards Seville by the Marquis " de Romana.

"The prudence of his advance so far from the line of the Guadiana may, however, be questioned. If Mortier should be so reinforced as to be able to attack him in the plain his army may suffer much from the French cavalry, and there is a risk of Regnier's returning towards Badajos during his absence. But here the people expect him to push on across the Guadalquiver and co-operate with us in the relief of the blockade; an attempt which would inevitably prove fatal to him, and would end in the total dispersion of his army. Nothing short, however, of such an attempt can ever enable us

"to act with any effect against the enemy's lines. Even if it were ascertained that a considerable detachment has been made by Victor, we are by no means in a situation to undertake an offensive operation when our progress would be stopped by the first redoubt long enough to give the enemy time to assemble his whole force to that point. Romana's advance, therefore, seems to have had no object, for he ought to know it cannot be of use as a diversion in our favour.

"I have been obliged, in answer to a communication from the Admiral, to state it as my opinion now, that the system I had formerly recommended of employing a certain force afloat to harass the enemy by descents on different points of the coast, cannot be pursued with advantage by any detachment from hence, as the advanced period of the season renders it so urgent to carry on the defensive works and the temporary barracks during the continuance of the dry weather. By the diminution of the British force here, and the necessity of keeping nearly the same posts we formerly occupied, I have been obliged to reduce the working parties from 1,000 to 400 men a-day, the Portuguese still continuing to furnish 300.

"The Spaniards, meanwhile, complain that their troops are harassed beyond measure by duty and work. It is their own fault for not collecting men here and not obliging the inhabitants to take part in the works; very few are employed, and those at extravagant wages.

"Our intercepted letter from an A. D. C. of Berthier, serving in Victor's army, will, I trust, turn their attention to the part of the coast of the harbour between Cadiz and the Cortadura, which I have in vain from the first recommended to them. I send your Lordship an extract from this letter. It was evident from the great preparations on the Trocadero that whenever the enemy could provide a number of boats this would become an object of attack. The only reason why Puntales has

"not already been overpowered by the superior force of the batteries of the Trocadero is that the enemy has not the means of attempting to profit by silencing that fort.

"Since the Spaniards have rejected the plan we pro"posed of a canal within Puntales, which, in my opinion,
"would have likewise had the advantage of defending the
"coast against a landing, I have employed the engineers
"to make out a plan of works for that purpose which I
"mean to submit immediately to the Spaniards while the
"impression of this intercepted letter is fresh on their
"minds.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM,
"L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"September 18th.—Mr. Wellesley sent the last in"telligence of the 6th from Gouvea, and from Lisbon
"of the 9th; the movement of the French uncertain.
"Lord Wellington seems to think the push is to be made
"against Badajos, which I should doubt. Regnier's corps
"is concentrated near Salvatierra, and may rather be
"intended to attack Hill with superior force on the right
"bank, than to recross the Tagus, where Romana's army
"would act in conjunction against him.

" 19th.—It is said that Soult is at Chiclana.

"22nd.—Undaunted with some transports, with artillery horses and drivers, arrived. Regency came out to-day; "I visited them all. Got this evening the unpleasant news of the yellow fever having been brought to "Carthagena.

"24th.—Went with Mr. Wellesley to Regency, and to "the church at 9; the Bishop preached, the deputies took "an oath, and the ceremony being concluded, the pro"cession went to the theatre, prepared for the reception "of the assembly of the Cortes. The President opened "the session with a speech, and the Regency, expressing

"their having resigned their situations into the hands of the Cortes, retired. After the election of a President and Secretary, they proceeded to pass a decree declaring the Sovereignty to be in the Assembly, and then framed an oath to be taken by the Regents, who were sent for. The Bishop of Orense would not come; the others attended and took the oath, and then retired.

"attended and took the oath, and then retired.

"On the whole, the conduct of the Assembly was
"superior to expectations—dignified, prudent, and decisive.

"25th.—Rode to Cadiz. The 30th and 44th embarked
"for Lisbon. At night went to the Cortes, but the
"audience was soon obliged to retire, a motion having
"been made to clear the house. Wrote to Lisbon."

"Cadiz, 25th September, 1810.

" My Lord,

"Major-General Hoghton goes in charge of the two battalions now embarking, and takes his A.D.C. and Brigade-Major with him—Captain Ramsden of the Guards, and Captain Machell of the 30th. The Cossack frigate is appointed as convoy, so that I hope the troops will sail in the course of the day.

"I take this opportunity of mentioning two officers of the 30th highly deserving of notice, whom I have long known, and served with on various occasions—Major Hamilton, who has often distinguished himself by his gallantry, and Captain Mallet, a most intelligent and attentive officer. He filled a situation here in the Quarter-Master General's department, so as to make his loss now greatly lamented by Lieut.-Colonel Cathcart.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"P.S.—The President of the Regency opened the assembly of the Cortes yesterday at the Isla by a speech,

"which concluded by the Regency resigning their situa-"tion into the hands of the Cortes. After the election of "a President and Secretary, the sitting continued very "late; several important matters were discussed and "decreed. The former Regency was required to retain, "meanwhile, the executive power (taking a new oath) till "the Cortes should be able to consider the subject. The "members of the Regency being sent for returned (except

"the Bishop of Orense), and took the oath.

"This meeting has excited the liveliest interest among "the people here, and great hopes are entertained of the "abilities and wisdom that directed the proceedings "yesterday. The President is a Catalan priest of the "name of Dow."

"October 1st.-47th disembarked; rode to Cadiz to see "the regiment, but arrived too late; saw Colonel Bland " commanding it.

"2nd.—The Duke of Orleans embarked on board the " Emerald Spanish frigate.

" 3rd.-Last night the Admiral employed the guns and "mortar and rocket boats in an attack on Catalina, and to "endeavour to burn a quantity of fascines, etc., collected "there. The rockets did not answer his expectations, they

" fell short, expending themselves quickly.

"4th.—Letters from Lisbon of 29th ult. came this even-"ing with the account of the beginning of an action on "the Mondego on the 27th from morning till night, much "to the advantage of the allied army.

"5th.—The Admiral informs me the ships are exposed "to the cross fire from Catalina and Trocadero, and, "therefore, must be sent out to cruize. Wrote to Mr. "Wellesley on the subject of the defence of the coast " of Puntales, so often insisted on before, and so long " neglected.

"6th.—Called to speak to General Castaños about the " neglect of the defence of the Puntales shores. A brigade

"of Spanish infantry go to garrison the Cortadura, etc., and are to be employed to work.

"Went to the Cortes; rode in to Cadiz in the evening.

"7th.—Nothing official yet from Portugal though a "Portuguese Mestico came from Lisbon in four days,

"reporting great rejoicings for the defeat of the French

" army, with the loss of 20,000 men.

"oth.—Admiral received a letter, confirming as official the news up to the 27th, and stating that action had been fought on 28th and 29th, the enemy losing 10,000 men.

"11th.—In the Cortes, Olivares proposed a committee "to form a plan of administration for the provinces and

"districts left by the enemy.

"14th.—Birthday of Ferdinand VII; the troops paraded and took the oath to the Cortes; about 4,000 off duty. Went to the Cortes; Regency came there to compliment the Cortes on the day. The motion for discussing the liberty of the press, which stood for that day, was opened in a very eloquent and impressive manner. We were obliged to go to the levée of the Regency, and lost part of it. There appears to be a great majority of the Assembly for the question, but some very violent against it.

"15th.—The Sabina arrived in the afternoon, and brought the Lisbon gazettes, with the account of the action of the 27th on the heights of Busaco. The attack was made on the two flanks by two divisions of Regnier's corps on our right, and three divisions of Junot's on the left; both were repulsed with much loss, having left 2,000 dead on the field. The brunt of the battle fell on General Picton's division, supported by General Leith's, and on General Crauford, supported by Colonel Pack's Portuguese brigade; all these attacked with the bayonet, and drove the enemy back with great loss and in confusion.

"18th.—Settled that the allied troops should form together and fire a feu-de-joie at mid-day to-morrow. " 19th.—News from Lisbon that Massena had followed "up closely. The French troops had been driven out of "Villafranca by the gunboats. There had been an affair "of advanced posts on the 14th inst., in which the 71st "and 79th, belonging to Sir B. Spencer's brigade, had "driven back the enemy with loss. The line was formed "as proposed on the heights of Los Martyros, and had a "good effect. The Cortes voted the liberty of the press, "68 against 32, this morning—a death-blow to the inqui-"sition and despotism in Spain."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 21st Oct., 1810.

" My Lord,

"No opportunity of writing by any safe con-"veyance has offered since my last, of the 4th inst.

"I now beg leave to mention that I have appointed "Captain Vandeleur to act as Deputy Judge-Advocate, in "the room of Captain O'Donohoe, of the 44th, and that "Major-General Disney is arrived from England. We "were above a fortnight without any arrival from "Portugal after the first reports of the action of the 27th "ult. reached us from Faro; the general anxiety was re-"lieved by Colonel O'Lawler, and I have much pleasure in "offering your Lordship my congratulations on this first "success. It is needless for me to assure your Lordship " of the general wish among the troops here to be called "on to join your army, and of my personally entering "into this feeling, not without a hope that Major-General "Disney's arrival may facilitate such an arrangement. I "have the honour to transmit the abstract of intelligence " of a very recent date, from an intelligent and confidential "agent of this Government, resident in the enemy's lines, "by which your Lordship will see your own conclusions " strongly confirmed.

"The Cortes seem quite determined to appoint a new

"Regency, but the difficulty is to find fit people for the situation. Meanwhile, everything stands still in this kind of interregnum. The popular question of the liberty of the press has been, after long and warm discussion for several days, carried, 68 to 32, much to the satisfaction of all but those who adhere to the old system of corruption or of bigotry; some of the ablest advocates for it are priests. The necessary regulations will still occupy much time before the decree can pass.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

"Isla de Leon, 24th October, 1810.

" My Lord,

"There has been no opportunity of writing since "my last of the 6th inst., and we were a month without a "packet from England. The Duke of Kent arrived in the "evening of the 22nd, and by that opportunity I had the "honour of receiving your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ult., and shall attend to the contents should Major-"General Whittingham's proposed levy take place. I have, however, to observe that till arrivals from England, bring such stores of arms, ammunition, and accoutrements as may be required for this or any other service, I shall have no means of complying with Major-General "Whittingham's requisitions.

"Nothing material has occurred here since my last, the enemy's chief attention is turned towards the Trocadero, where, in spite of all the fire that is kept up against them, the works become every day more formidable. Fort Luis is nearly ready for the reception of guns, and Matagorda is so far repaired as to afford shelter. It is believed that some heavy ordnance (either guns or mortars) has been already carried into it.

"I am sorry to say that hitherto the Spaniards have done nothing in the neighbourhood of Puntales, nor has any answer been given to the plan and propositions I presented to the Spanish Government through Mr. Wellesley; more than that, it was their intention to take them into immediate consideration. The intelligence lately received confirms what was formerly known; I send a copy of the substance of it. It comes from an intelligent and confidential person resident at Chiclana, and living in habits of intimacy with the French officers. It is evident that there has been no material alteration of Victor's force, the detachments we heard of were merely temporary. The arrival of three battalions of marines and of shipwrights proves the determination to establish a powerful flotilla.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"October 27th.—Went to Cadiz and Puntales early." The Circe and Papillon arrived, the former brought accounts of 3,500 men having landed in Sicily, about 5 or 6 miles south from Messina; General Campbell with, in all, 1,900 men attacked and drove them back to their boats; 1,200 were taken prisoners, only 4 men lost on our side.

"New Regency appointed, after a secret session of above 20 hours. General Blake, Don Ciscar, Governor of Carthagena, and Don Agar, a South American of Gallician extraction, a Captain in the navy, were appointed. The Marquis Pallacio and Don Guch suppleants till the first two can come.

"28th.—The troops of both nations assembled to fire a "feu-de-joie, on the occasion of O'Donnel's successes in "Catalonia, in the observatory field."

"Dined with the 1st Guards, sat late, and thereby missed " (not knowing of it) an interesting settling of the Cortes. "The Marquis de Pallacio-named to be a suppleant in "the Regency till the arrival of Blake and Ciscar-during "the administration of the oath started up from his knees, "declaring he could not proceed to take that part of the "oath promising obedience to the Cortes, as he had taken "this same oath a fortnight ago as Counsellor of War. "was evident conscience could have nothing to say in "the matter. It appeared a preconceived insult for the "mischievous purpose of invalidating the authority of the "Cortes. There was much discussion how to dispose of him, "during which, I am told, Arguella made a most admirable "speech, vindicating the Cortes from the aspersions of "democracy and Jacobinism which were whispered about "in certain societies where old abuses were deep seated, "and calling on the Cortes to vindicate their and the "national honour by exemplary punishment. After much "time lost, after I got there, in colloquial debate, it was "voted that he should be gardé à vue in his own house, "and should have no communication with anybody for "that night, and that it should be referred to the Com-"mittee of Justice to propose in what way the Assembly "should proceed against him. After 12 o'clock this ended, "and a secret session was continued for the purpose of " electing another suppleant.

"31st.—Rode to Puntales; the Spaniards have begun a covered way between it and the rear of the Cortadura. "Visited the Aguada Hospital; two men in typhus fever, none with the symptoms of yellow fever; a transport sailor was brought in ill of it, and died almost immediately.

"November 1st.—The enemy got their gunboats out of "the river at San Lucar last night, and came along shore; "twelve of them are at Rota, and eight in Port St. Mary. "One struck on the bar there and was destroyed by our gunboats, under the fire of grape from the others and "from the shore batteries.

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 1st Novr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"I avail myself of the opportunity of Lieutenant"Colonel Anson, and Captain Mylne, to write to your
"Lordship by the way of Faro, there having been no ship
"of war sent lately from Lisbon. Nothing material has
"occurred here since my last.

"The enemy continue to work with much activity and perseverance in the Trocadero, though considerably interrupted by the fire from Puntales.

"The Spaniards have at length begun to work on the coast, not in the best manner; at least, not in the way we proposed some time ago. Instead of two or three strong inclosed redoubts, constructed to be quite à l'abri d'assaut, flanking one another and all the beach, they are making a continued line as a covered way from the rear of the Cortadura to the land front of Puntales, continuing two small five-gun batteries, opening in the rear, which were made by Captain Landmann's advice about the time I arrived at Cadiz.

"I gave in a plan, too, for separating by a ditch the "little fort of Puntales. Were the guns of the low part "to be dismounted, the enemy might attempt from the "boats to scale the low scarp from the sea; but if the "cavalier which we occupy were entrenched as I propose, "it would be capable of defence though the low part, "occupied by the Spaniards, should be lost. I have not "yet been able to get an answer. Indeed, I believe for "some time past little or no business has been attended "to. The Regency is now changed. General Blake, "Ciscar, a marine officer and Governor of Carthagena, "and Agar, another officer of the navy, are now the "Regents. Agar is the only one of the three now here, "and till the arrival of the others the Cortes have named "the Marquis de Castellar and Mons. Ping, a counsellor of

"Castille. It is believed that the Cortes have proceeded "in these nominations with a sincere desire of making a "good choice, without any intrigue; they previously "determined to shut the door against all those who had "ever taken the oath of fidelity to Joseph Buonaparte, or "who had belonged to the Central Junta. Ciscar is known "in the literary world as a great mathematician; Agar, " of Irish and Gallician extraction, was born in South "America, and was now named by the deputies for that "country. He, too, is a man of science, and was at the "head of an academy of marines here. The Marquis "de Pallacio was named as one of the suppleants at first, "but, though he had some time before taken the oath to "the Cortes as a Counsellor-of-War, he stopped in the " middle of it, at a public session of the Cortes, and declared "that his conscience did not permit him to take the "remainder. As this conduct bore evident marks of "premeditated insult, and of an attempt to invalidate the "authority of the Cortes, he was put under arrest imme-"diately, and a vote has passed that he has forfeited the "esteem of his country and was unfit to act as Regent, "or to be employed as Captain-General of Aragon (an "appointment he held), and it is not yet determined "whether any further proceedings against him will take "place. It is generally supposed that he has been insti-"gated by the Bishop of Orense, with whom his brother, " a monk, resides.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington to General Graham.

" Pero Negro, Novr. 4th, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 24th of October." My brother will make you acquainted with the state of "affairs.

"Nothing, I assure you, will give me greater satisfaction than to have the benefit of your assistance here, but I do not consider myself authorized by Government to call you from Cadiz.

"In the letter which I wrote to Lord Liverpool on the "subject of reinforcements from Cadiz, I said that he "ought to allow me to draw you and the greatest part of "the garrison from that place; in answer to which he "allowed me to take such a number as, including those "which you had before sent, would make 4,000 men, but he did not allow me to call for you, and I must, therefore, "consider his former directions upon that point to be still binding.

"If the siege, or rather the blockade, should be raised, "you will, of course, either come round here with the greatest part of the troops, or you will take the field "with the Spanish army. I should doubt that the King's "Government would approve of the latter measure, but, as you are in correspondence with the Secretary of State, "you may be acquainted with his sentiments upon this "subject.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GEN. GRAHAM."

"Novr. 5th.—Apollo frigate, under Captain Taylor, came in from Portsmouth in six days. Isle of Bourbon taken, almost without resistance, by Colonel Keating and Commodore Rowley.

"7th.—Captain Taylor of Apollo came here; rode round "all our redoubts and to Portazzo battery with him. "Britannia cutter, arrived from England, viâ Lisbon. "No letters by English mail for me, newspapers to 26th "Octr. incl. Private letter from Lord Wellington, by "which it is evident I shall remain here, as he does not "consider himself authorized to withdraw me without the "direction of Government. Lord Wellington's letters to

"Mr. Wellesley of 4th Novr., nothing new; reasons in his despatches to Lord Liverpool on the advance of Massena as contrary to all military principle, especially after the battle of Busaco; for, knowing there was a still stronger position in his rear, he could not expect to force it, having failed there. Political reasons as producing great effect on the minds of people at Cadiz, and all over the Peninsula; financial ones, holding out to the army the plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, had determined the expedition, and urged Massena on. What course he would now take it is difficult to conjecture.

"If reports of prisoners and deserters had been true, he "must have retired before now for want; how much longer "he may be able to wait, and what reinforcements he may "be able to draw, are doubtful questions. They may "abandon the siege of Cadiz and draw every man towards "the Tagus, to try to attain the object of driving the "British army out of the Peninsula; if possible, should "that happen, they should be followed up as closely as "possible. He thinks he should not attack, because the "enemy's position is strong; he could have little or no use " of his artillery. He cannot manœuvre, because he would "leave a road open to the shipping. He must attack in "front, with great loss, and he must take and keep the "field at great expense of men, at this season of the year, "from sickness; whereas, by remaining, the enemy con-"tinue to suffer, and when the winter rains have swelled "the torrents the position becomes inattackable by any "force, and additional numbers will only increase the em-"barrassments of the enemy's army, which he calculates "at 55,000 (6,007 Cavalry included); the British 29,000, "the Portuguese 24,600, the Spaniards 5,000, making a "total of 58,600, of whom 4,000 cavalry (besides the bat-"talion in garrison),-these would assist in an offensive "operation.

" 10th.—Corresponded with General Lapena concerning "the defence of Puntales."

To General Lapena.

" Isla, ce 10 Nov're., 1810.

" Mon cher Général,

"Je suis passé chez vous ce matin pour avoir le "plaisir de vous voir, et aussi d'avoir l'occasion de vous "parler des ouvrages pour la défense de la côte de "Puntales.

"Pour ne pas perdre de tems je prends ma plume pour vous dire mon sentiment sans façon.

"Au commencement et pour longtemps après mon arrivée ici nous avons toujours été d'accord, après des discussions entre les officiers des deux nations, sur tout ce que devrait se faire pour la défense de la position.

"Toutes les parties de cette position me sont également précieuses, puisque l'ennemi ne peut pas s'établir nulle part sans un risque commun pour tous ses défenseurs. Mais quoique j'ai donné des projets et pour Ste. Petri et pour la côte de Puntales, tout s'est décidé sans la moindre discussion de ces plans, à moins à ce que je sache. Il m'importerait peu qu'on m'eusse manqué d'égards pourvu que la besogne allât bien, mais quand d'après toutes mes idées militaires, on travaille à force pour diminuer, au lieu d'augmenter, la defense de cette côte, i je ne dois plus me taire.

"Quel avantage on croit pouvoir retirer d'une ligne qui "n'est pas garnie d'une fossée large et profonde je ne puis "pas m'imaginer, et cependant le tems presse pour mettre "cette côte en sureté.

- " Fermer la Cortadura par derrière.
- " Améliorer le Fort de Puntales.
- "Construire une ou deux grandes redoutes, le tout par-"faitement à l'abri d'un coup de main, voilà tout ce qu'il faut!
- "L'ennemi voudratfil s'y faire casser la tête sans "espérance de se maintenir? et pourrait-il s'y maintenir "sous les feux croisés de tels ouvrages?

"Qu'on augmente ensuite tant qu'on veut les batteries offensives contre celles de l'ennemi au Trocadero, mais de grace qu'on ne perde pas un instant de travail dans la construction d'une ligne nuisible, qui ne pourrait qu'aider les opérations de l'ennemi, au lieu de les employer tous aux travaux de la plus grande urgence. Excusez ma franchise, mon cher Général, c'est l'effet de mon zèle, et croyez moi,

"etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

" À MONSR.

"Monsr. Le Général Lapena."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 10th Novr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's obliging letter of the 4th instant on the 7th, and I have only to regret that Government should not have left me entirely at your disposal.

"The enemy's preparations here are such, that it does not seem probable, except in a case of the most urgent necessity, that he should abandon the position, at least, not till he has tried to effect a landing within the Cortadura, to which all his present efforts seem to point. But to succeed in establishing himself there, Victor must be reinforced, and there are many reports afloat of Mortier being ready to join whenever the naval arrangements are completed. There is a persuasion of Massena and Soult not being on good terms. Soult, unless interrupted by a positive order from Paris, would much rather employ Mortier here than send him towards the Tagus.

"There is by no means that degree of security against
"a well-combined attack of this kind, favoured by cir"cumstances, that there ought to be. Intrenching the

"rear of the Cortadura, improving the defence of Puntales, and the construction of one or two large and
strong redoubts, perfectly à l'abri d'assaut, would give
security, would prevent the possibility of the enemy
maintaining himself there, and, therefore, probably
prevent the attempt being made. I have urged these
points for months past without success, perhaps the
present alarm at Cadiz may force the Government to
this necessary exertion.

"I have had no communication from home relative to "the disposal of the force in the event of the enemy "abandoning his position here, and, I therefore conclude, "that it is not intended to interfere with your Lordship's "wishes on that head. I shall endeavour to ascertain in "what force, and in what state of equipment the Spaniards "could be prepared to move, and I shall write again on "the subject. From what I recollect in conversation with "the Secretary of State, I am confident it would be the wish of Government that some British troops were leftin Cadiz, "whatever manner I might be employed with the remainder, "which would make but an inconsiderable corps.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."
"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"Novr. 14th.—Meeting of officers at General Lapena, "for the consideration of the defence of the line, and "especially towards the harbour from Cadiz to the Carac-"cas, so long neglected and now become so important from the increased naval means of the enemy. Several material points were settled.

" 15th.—Rode to Puntales; no orders yet given to stop " the work, and follow the new plan.

"16th.—Went early to Cadiz, returned to review the "three squadrons of carabineers before the Regency; performed admirably, and much to Whittingham's credit. "17th.—Exercise of the line troops; manœuvres with

"more steadiness than was to have been expected, seeing how little practice there has been.

"advancing. Middle battery closing with a palisade of slight wood—all on level ground. Worse than nothing. Visited all the redoubts of second line; marked the new course. Intelligence of consequence received by the Spanish Government some days ago, state it to be Soult's positive determination to attack Puntales and the Cortadura whenever they can have 46 gunboats prepared equal to carry 4000.

"19th.—At the Cortes, where Perez de Castro urged that a movement of eternal gratitude to England should be decreed, and communicated to the King of England, and that a declaration of never laying down their arms till the independence and integrity of the Spanish momentum archy was secured."

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 19th Novr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"In consequence of the intelligence confirming the former, relative to the determination of the enemy to make an attempt on the coast of Puntales, and in consequence of a considerable part of his flotilla being collected in the rivers of Port St. Mary's and San Pedro, the Government have taken an alarm that may be of use, provided there is time to execute what has been determined upon for the defence of that coast. At a meeting of officers, of both services, of both nations, a plan was agreed on which is now carrying into execution with some degree of activity, though the inhabitants of Cadiz have not yet obeyed the requisition to come out in numbers to work. The connected line along the coast, and which would have required an army, has been given up, and some detached strong redoubts substituted.

"The intrenching of the rear of the Cortadura, the most essential of all, is likewise going on.

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"November 21st.—Rode to San Josef to the funeral service of the Lieut.-Colonel of the Duke of Infantado's regiment of Spanish Guards. Went with Lacy to see the Cortadura, and afterwards to the works making by our people.

"22nd.—Had out the German Hussars and the Rifle corps; marched with flanking parties and advanced guards, sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other; skirmished and attacked the magazine hill.

"23rd.— Works going on better at Cortadura, and ours advancing fast. From accounts from St. Lucar, by "M. Manzanares, it appears that Sebastiarei has left Grenada, having published a proclamation exhorting the people to behave well during his absence. Query?—Is "this to supply the place of troops sent to Massena's assistance from other places, or is it for the purpose of "an expedition against this place?

"24th.—Heavy rain; races put off in consequence till "Monday.

"In the action yesterday, Lieutenant Worth, a very promising officer, with Lieutenant Buckland, likewise of the Marine Artillery, were killed. It is not known whether the enemy's boats suffered from the bombardment. The Leyden arrived with five companies of the Chasseurs Britanniques, the rest separated at sea. Account from Lisbon of the 17th arrived; Massena began his retreat at 12 o'clock at night on 14th; not known till next morning, when Crauford's brigade and German cavalry marched in pursuit; the rest of the army followed.

"Enemy retired by the Tagus on Santarem, and like-"wise by the road of Alcarete; the bridge over the Zezere "was carried away by floods.

"27th.—Wrote to General Lacy, in sending back the plan of the Cortadura, complaining of the alterations after the decision of the council, confirmed by a meeting of the engineers next day. Rode there and to the other works near Puntales.

"29th. Massena halted at Santarem; the position in-"attackable. Hill on left bank of Tagus. Enemy have "restored the bridge over the Zezere.

"30th.—Heavy rain in the night and through the day;
4 gunboats came out of the river Sti. Petri and ground
on the Trocadero shore near the camp. Some of ours
advanced to bombard them, and were fired at by the
enemy's batteries along that coast.

"Wrote a letter to Mr. Wellesley on the subject of the "Admiral's to me, concerning the risk of the communication between the troops and squadron being cut off by the invasion of the Puntales coast by the enemy possessing himself of the Cortadura. Went with Mr. Wellesley to Mr. Bardazi, to whom I stated in very strong and direct terms my objections to the alteration of the plan of the Cortadura from that agreed on at the meeting of officers on the 14th, and that unless I was satisfied that that most important point was put in a state of security against the possibility of being stormed, that I should think it my duty in obedience to my instructions to withdraw the troops under my command within the Cortadura, in order not to run the risk of the communication being cut off with the squadron.

"There was nothing satisfactory obtained from Bardazi further than that he would speak to General Lapena and the Regency on the subject. Nothing can be more unpleasant than the necessity of making this threat, except being compelled by the obstinacy, ignorance, or treachery of the Spanish engineers (who persuade General Lapena easily) to execute this measure.

"December 1st.-Much rain last night; rode to the works "within the Cortadura and lines here. In the evening "the enemy fired a salute for the coronation of Buonaparte. " 2nd.-Morning and evening salute again.

"3rd.—Rode as usual; went on to Cadiz. Letters from "Lisbon of 26th Novr. and 25th from Lord Wellington to "Mr. Wellesley. Enemy remain at Santarem.

"4th.-Myrtle from Lisbon in two days. No news from "the army; expectation of its falling back to the old "position. Letter to Mr. Wellesley of the 11th from Lord "Wellington, with much reasoning about the Marquis de "Romana's feeling the criticism of his march to Lisbon "instead of hanging on the enemy's rear, and the probable " effect on the mind of his officers, etc.

"5th.-Rode by the redoubts of San Carlos and the "Coast of Cantera, and then towards Puntales. "works of the Cortadura advance slowly, and not on the " good principle that was originally agreed on.

"6th.—Sir R. Y. Keats came out here and met some "Spanish officers to get information about the canals "and the movements that had been observed among the " enemy's boats.

"7th.—The 2nd 67th landed and encamped near San " José. General Blake arrived in the Druid."

From Lord Wellington.

"Cartaxo, 2nd December, 1810.

"Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 19th November "and its enclosure. I think it probable that the enemy "will experience great difficulty in making the preparations "for the proposed attack upon Puntales, and in removing "their boats and establishing them in the Trocadero; "and in the interval it might be expected that the works "between the Cortadura and Puntales will be completed.

"At all events, I shall be enabled to judge of the nature

"of the enemy's designs on this country, and of their means "of carrying them into execution; and if I should find "that they get forward with their preparations for an "attack upon you, or if they cannot collect the means of "carrying on their attack here, I will send a body of "British troops round to Cadiz.

"I think it is not impossible, in the existing situation of affairs in Sicily, that Lieut.-General Sir John Stuart may detach the body of troops which he was directed to send to Portugal from Sicily, and if he should do so, and they should go to Gibraltar or Cadiz, I request you to detain them at Cadiz till you shall hear further from me.

"I shall be much obliged if you will communicate to "me anything that may occur, or any intelligence which "you may receive by Ayamonte, as well as by the usual "sea conveyance by Lisbon.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"8th.—Duke of Kent packet arrived in 6 days from England. The King not better on the 26th; but there must be later accounts and of the proceedings in Par- liament on the 29th. Went to Blake and had a good deal of conversation with him, and left a paper of obser- vations and requisitions with him relative to the works. Went to the Cortes; Blake sworn in and now President of the Regency."

To General Blake.

"Isla de Leon, 8th Decr., 1810.
"Permit me, my dear General, to assure you that
"in no one has the feeling of satisfaction at the determi-

"nation of the Cortes in your favour been more sincere than in myself. Persuaded that the only chance of

" salvation for this country rests on the inflexible integrity

"and decided energy of its rulers, I could not but rejoice to see you called to the distinguished situation you are placed in. Believe me this is not the language of flattery, but of the conviction of my mind, founded on my own observation, confirmed by the opinion of those best acquainted with your character, and especially by that of my much lamented friend Brigr. Lopez.

"I am sorry to say we have been in a great measure asleep here since you left us, or at least that much precious time has been lost by the misapplication of labour, and by the neglect of the most urgent measures of defence, so that now there is no point secure, and there is much cause for apprehension should the enemy be enabled to make any serious attempt against us. I am most anxious to have an opportunity before you are involved in the business of your high office to lay before you some observations on what appears to me indispensiable to be done without a moment's delay for the security of the position, and I should be glad if you would allow me to call on you for a quarter-of-an-hour when you are at leisure.

"Believe me, my dear General, with the most unfeigned regard,

"Your most faithful, etc,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"9th.—Rode to Punta de Cantera with Birch, afterwards towards Puntales. Enemy fired a good deal yesterday and to-day from San Luis, where there are 15 guns and mortars placed."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 10th Decr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"By the packet which arrived here on the 6th and 8th inst., I have had the honour to receive your "Lordship's despatches.

"By the inclosed copy of my last letter to Lord Welling-

"ton, your Lordship will see the state of things here. I "have only to add that I took the earliest opportunity of "seeing General Blake, and at the end of a long conver-"sation with him I left in his hands a mem. of Captain "Birch's relative to all the points of greatest importance, "to which he promised to give his attention without delay. "Since my letter of the 8th inst. to Lord Wellington, "General Lacy called to tell me that a confidential agent, "who had been sent out, was just returned, and brought "intelligence that it was Buonaparte's positive orders that " some attempt should be made against our line, in which "the corps of Sebastiani was to be employed, and that it "was generally believed the real attack would be made "against the river Sti. Petri, while that by the harbour "would only be a false one. I have acquainted Lord "Wellington with this information. It is very certain that "now that the extent of the line of defence is so greatly "increased, by the enemy being in possession of naval "means (without which, nothing can be done from the "Trocadero), the force is very inadequate, and the most "important point of Sti. Petri on the right of the front "line, as well as several others in the rear line, or towards "the harbour, remain still in a very unprotected state. "The necessity of great exertion arising out of the state " of things, has induced me to depart from the strict atten-"tion to economy hitherto observed in the construction " of the works; I have been obliged to use not only the " platforms and materials sent from home, but to purchase "wood and iron, and hire carriages and artificers for the "use of the engineer department. The progress has been "correspondent, and by the zeal of all the officers of it "under Captain Birch's able direction, a great deal has "been done in a short time for the security of the essential " part of the coast between Cadiz and the Cortadura. "I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the

"allotment of the troops now under my command, by which your Lordship will see that General Campbell has obligingly complied with my request, and sent the 2nd

"67th. The Chasseurs Britanniques are not all landed yet, being under a sort of quarantine, which, however, is to be taken off immediately, the whole are therefore stated as belonging to the garrison of Cadiz.

"The free navigation of the upper part of the harbour is already so interrupted, that it requires a permission to dispense with the general order against it (a measure of precaution to prevent the risk of boats falling into the enemy's hands), and should it become too hazardous to be used, I do not know how our supplies could be regularly kept up here, certainly the means of land carriage would be found to be inadequate.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"December 11th.—All the batteries were manned by the Spaniards in the first line; the reserve met, and manœuvred in the Torre Alto field; did not exceed 1,500 infantry.

"12th.—Rode to Puntales and met the Admiral; the "Cortadura still in an open state, and finishing in a bad "manner.

"13th.—Wrote in the morning to General Blake on the subject of the Cortadura; making the permission of making a cut across the rampart of the curtain the condition of my keeping the troops and my command in the Isla."

To General Blake.

" 13me Decre., 1810.

" Mon cher Général,

"Je me fie aux bontés de votre Altesse pour "m'excuser si, au lieu de me servir d'une communication "officielle par le Ministre de sa Majesté Britannique, je "m'addresse directement à vous, car le temps presse et "mon devoir me force à dire mon sentiment sans détour.

"Par les ordres de mon Gouvernement je ne devrais

"jamais risquer de perdre la communication entre l'escadre et la troupe Anglaise. L'Amiral le Chevalier Keats me rappelle le souvenir de cette instruction tous les jours en me disant combien peu on peut compter sur les moyens navales pour empêcher une descente de l'ennemi sur les côtes de la baie.

"J'ai déjà fait beaucoup de représentations inutiles, "puisque'elles ont été négligées. Je n'ai d'autre parti à "prendre donc qu'à pourvoir à la sécurité de la communication susdite, en faisant retirer la troupe d'ici en dedans de la Cortadura, à moins qu'on ne me permit incessament d'employer nos gens à faire d'une manière provisoire la coupure du rempart de la Cortadura, afin que
cette partie à gauche soit isolée et retranchée comme
cavalier dominant, et à moins aussi qu'une compagnie de
roo hommes des nôtres avec quelques artilleurs fassent
une partie de la garnison du dit cavalier, et que tout ce
qui peut servir d'abri à l'ennemi (comme il y en a
beaucoup à present) sur les dehors de cet ouvrage soit
rasé.

"À moins que tout cela soit fait avec la plus grande diligence possible, je ne croirais jamais que ce poste important pourrait être regardé comme hors d'insulte. Il y a bien d'autres objets d'une grande urgence et haute importance, comme le mauvais étât de la défence de S. Petri et de la côte de Cantera et de la Casaria d'Ocio, où depuis un mois qu'on a décidé sur la necessité on n'a rien fait encore, mais au moins tout cela ne presse pas également que le danger de le Cortadura. L'ennemi soit qu'il porterait un cour décisif sur ce point et qu'il devrait risquer les plus grandes sacrifices pour s'en emparer, ce n'est pas à moi de dire qu'on ne devrait pas le tenter par l'appas de la résidence du Gouvernement et de la Cortes à l'Isla.

" J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

" À SON ALTESSE

" Monsr. Le Général Blake."

"December 14th.—Report of the Castle of Marbella being taken by the French. Went to the batteries of S. Pedro, S. Judas, and Angelos; though improved they remain open, when with great ease they might have had wet ditches all round, formed by the excavation necessary for making the parapet and rampart. Rode round by S. Carlos, Casaria d'Ocio, and the Punta de Cantera, where a work was begun by us this morning.

"ral Blake. Wrote to General Lacy about the unpro"tected state of the mouth of the river S. Petri towards the
"harbour; of the necessity of insulating the batteries of
"the angles of the Caraccas, and converting the Presidium
"into a Citadel; of making use of the most convenient
"houses as block-houses to protect the batteries at the
"Caraccas, or to remove them entirely; of making a
"battery on this side at the ferry with the guardhouse as a
"block-house; and also of the extraordinary neglect of the
"engineers in not making ditches all round the batteries
"in the marsh in the very construction of the works; all
"this appears to be unpardonable conduct in the engineers,
"proceeding either from gross ignorance of their profession
"or from treachery.

"16th.—Captain Hall and Lieutenant Roachly came here to see and examine the position, and what could be done with gunboats in the upper bay."

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 18th Decr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"The remainder of the Chasseurs Britanniques" are now arrived, and General Campbell has sent about 300 drivers whom I propose to attach to this corps.

"The enemy has succeeded in getting possession of the

" castle of Marbella and I believe has dismantled it, and "that of Eslapona on the land side. We have not heard "of his advancing further this way. By secret intelli-"gence, lately brought in by an officer of the 63rd, "who deserted from Chiclana, the regiments to be "employed in an attack of the Cortadura are named as "was formerly stated to be the case, but no immediate "reinforcement seems to be expected; yet the extreme "activity of the enemy in collecting the flotilla in the "Cano de Trocadero seems to indicate an intention of "making some attempt very soon. Yesterday, as if to "try the effect against Puntales, a volley of all the guns " of the Trocadero was fired without doing any mischief; " about 35 pieces of cannon, besides mortars, were fired. "To-day there are a number of men at Matagorda, which "has occasioned much firing. Our people from Puntales "throw a great many shells into Matagorda which must "disturb their operations there; they will, however, suc-"ceed in getting guns mounted in it. I have had "an unpleasant discussion with the Spanish relative "to the Cortadura. I shall carry my point now that "they are convinced that otherwise I was determined "to withdraw the British troops from Isla within the " Cortadura.

"By insulating the left bastion of an intrenchment, and having the garrison of it, in part at least, British troops, this most important post for the preservation of our communication will be secure, as the height of the scarp renders it next to impossible that it should be taken by assault, whereas the bad profile of the remainder of the work renders the whole weak.

"The report of Ferdinand VII's marriage with an "Archduchess of Austria gains credit here, though the "Government and the Cortes will probably resist to the "utmost the effects of this manœuvre; yet there is reason to apprehend it may produce very unfavourable conse-"quences among the luke-warm patriots. The enemy

"have thrown shot and shell, loaded with lead, far into the town, to occasion alarm and discontent.

"I have the honour to be,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"December 21st.—Rode with General Lacy to the Ocio, and to the place where the left battery of S. Carlos is to be made.

"22nd.—Report from St. Mary's, by people come in in two boats, that a considerable force marched from this, two days ago, towards Seville. Various reasons assigned; that a corps is marching towards Badajos and Portugal; that Ballesteros has defeated Girard's division; that a quota of the 1st corps from hence is to go to Madrid, to make up a considerable force assembling there for the protection of the capital. It may be only some of the ordinary change of quarters, or it may be to throw us more off our guard should they intend an immediate attack, for which, however, they do not seem yet prepared, there being at least a dozen large boats at the Molino de Guerra on the dry land, which cannot be

"put into the water till next spring tide.
"23rd.—The three-gun battery at the mouth of the
"S. Pedro was taken last night by the boats of the fleet.
"Five of the enemy killed, two taken, the rest escaped.
"One of the prisoners, an artilleryman, French, says three
"regiments with some horse artillery marched two or three
days ago—confirming former intelligence. The other,
"an Italian, only arrived from Madrid yesterday.

"an Italian, only arrived from Madrid yesterday. 100 horse artillery and 300 foot artillery of reinforcement arrived from Madrid.

"24th.—Rode with General Lacy to General Sayas to "regulate concerning the troops to be stationed in the different works of the Cortadura and Puntales; returned to meet the Admiral at the point of Cantara. "25th.—Enemy launched at the Molino de Guerra boats of different classes, some still remain on shore. Another boat came from St. Mary's last night which confirms the former intelligence of the march of the troops. A letter was received two days ago from the same confidential agent, stating that the enemy's intentions remained unaltered with regard to an attack on the coast of Puntales as soon as their naval means are ready; these are described, and the manner which they dragged the boats across is mentioned. He cautioned them, lest, when a false attack is threatened against the Spanish flotilla, a real one should be made against the Caraccas. The Government here think these troops are gone towards Algesiras. The inhabitants are said to have almost all fled from Port St. Mary.

"26th.—Attack of gunboats on the Trocadero channel and Molino de Guerra at 1 p.m., in hopes of doing damage to the enemy's flotilla. A great deal of firing, and a good many of Congreve's rockets thrown; no material loss on our side, and uncertain whether any damage was sustained by the enemy.

"28th.—Mr. Wellesley told me that the confidential agent had been himself here, and informed the Government of 5,000 men being detached, but he did not know where; that about 11,000 remained, of whom, 7,000 were at Chiclana and Punta Real, the remainder at St. Mary's, St. Lucar, and Xeres; that the intention of attempting an invasion near Puntales was still persisted in; that they were very scarce of ammunition, had many sick, and had lost a number of horses of late. They knew nothing of Massena, nothing of Ferdinand's marriage.

"29th.—Went in the evening to the Cortes, to hear the "message from the Regency concerning the strong reports "of Ferdinand's marriage. Almost all expressed them-"selves in strong terms against the validity of a marriage "contracted without the consent of the nation; and some "said, in direct terms, that if he came into Spain supported

"by Buonaparte and his troops, he was to be opposed, and that a declaration from the Cortes to this effect was

" most necessary."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 31st Decr., 1810.

" My Lord,

"Your Lordship will have heard from Mr. "Wellesley of the last intelligence of an authentic nature "received by the Spanish Government, by which it would "appear that the enemy persists in his intention to attempt "a descent upon the coast of Puntales. His efforts in "increasing and collecting his flotilla are very great, and "what now exists in the Cano of the Trocadero, amounts to about 90 craft of various sorts. He has besides in "other places in sight above 70 more. This is the last "report of an officer of the British navy stationed here by the Admiral. Without, however, being reinforced, "Marshal Victor cannot make any serious attempt on any point, I think. Though it is true that troops may be brought near enough to support such an undertaking before we receive intelligence of their approach.

"Meanwhile, the force of the 1st corps is undoubtedly diminished by a considerable detachment. We remain ignorant of its destination, but suppose that it has replaced, at Seville, troops of Mortier's employed elsewhere.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."
"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"January 1st, 1811.—Paid visits of ceremony; went to the Cantara battery.

"2nd.—Intelligence from the other side brought in "last night, nothing very material; no account of the

"to be in the whole line only. Defeat of Bassecourt on

"frontiers of Valentia towards Tortosa."

" 3rd.—Wrote by Norge to England; rode to Cantara."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

"Isla, 3rd January, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I omitted to mention that General Campbell had "sent 312 German deserters here, whom I have attached "to the Chasseurs Britanniques; meanwhile, General Blake "tells me that there are several hundred more of the same "description at Alicante and other places along that coast. "After consulting with his Majesty's Minister I have re-"quested they may be sent here. Whether they shall be " permanently attached as a 2nd battalion to the Chasseurs "Britanniques, or whether they shall be formed into a kind " of detached battalion, they will be a valuable addition to "the force here, and I trust, therefore, that what I have "determined on will be approved of. It would be very "desirable that a decision were taken by the Government "concerning them, so that they may be rendered efficient "as soon as possible, by having clothing, arms, and ac-" coutrements, and officers appointed to them. Meanwhile "those already here, being attached to the Chasseurs Bri-"tanniques, have received arms and accoutrements, and "there will be some expense in clothing them, which, "however, shall be kept as moderate as possible.

"General Blake tells me that the Spanish prisons are full of Germans and Poles who would be glad to enter into His Majesty's service, and that a corps to the amount of several thousand men might be formed immediately from among these prisoners, with the consent of the Spanish Government. I mention this for your Lord-ship's consideration. I would by no means recommend taking any French. Several men of the Chasseurs

"Britanniques among the recruits last sent from England,

"and understood to have been enlisted from the prisons,

"have deserted to the enemy since their arrival here—all "of these were natives of France.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOMAS GRAHAM, L.G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"January 8th.—Wrote to Lacy about Spanish soldiers "attacking and maiming ours, frequent instances having "occurred of late. These villains use their knives with "great dexterity, and it is of much consequence that this "should be repressed by much attention and severity. A "man was taken up at the Cortadura on the suspicion of drawing a plan of it. Pitt brought him here, and I wrote to Lacy and sent him to him; his way of examining him "with two others, as I understand, was by no means what should have been done. Wrote to Mr. Wellesley about demands inexcusably made for payment of quarters; "the Spanish Government must undertake this, otherwise the agreement made at the beginning is completely at "an end.

"9th.—Went to Puntales; a man of the 47th hurt by an explosion of an expense magazine which a shot struck. Received a letter from General Sayas complaining of the two workmen having been carried away from the Cortadura instead of being brought before him. In 10th.—Received letters from Lisbon. It appears that Drouet with the 9th corps, to the amount of about 15 or 17,000 men, had joined, of which 2,000 are cavalry. A corps of 5,000 men, of whom some are Imperial Guards, are said to have entered Spain. Bonnet has again advanced into Asturias with 5 or 6,000 men.

"11th.—It is reported that the enemy have detached 3,000 men more.

"14th.—Lacy came to me about some operation which it is agreed ought to be undertaken, it being ascertained

"that Soult and Mortier have marched into Estremadura, "and drawn off all the cavalry and a considerable corps of infantry with them. Received a letter from Lord "Wellington of the 31st Decr., with conditional orders to send the Chasseurs Britanniques to the Tagus.

"15th.—Wrote to Lord Wellington in answer, and "mentioned the intention of an operation here which "would make it advisable to delay the embarkation of the Chasseurs Britanniques."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 15th January, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's "letter of the 31st December yesterday.

"The information received yesterday morning by the "Spanish Government of the reduced force of the enemy" before this place has determined the General to make "an attempt to drive him from his position.

"A corps of 3,000 men, which is to co-operate from "Algesiras, supported by the guerillas of the Sierra de "Ronda, cannot arrive near Medina before the 21st. "This necessity creates a delay which I regret the more, "as I think, under the circumstances, I ought not to send "away the Chasseurs Britanniques till after the result of "this attack.

"If it succeeds to the full extent I should hope that the "effect would be favourable as a diversion in recalling "the corps and detachments that have marched from "Andalusia, or of enabling the Spaniards to operate on "their rear, and at the same time might allow of much "of the greatest part of the British troops here being "removed to Portugal, in which case I should hope to be "allowed to accompany them; at all events the Chasseurs "Britanniques shall be embarked in a week hence. From "the account Lieut.-Colonel Dufour gives of the German

"recruits the battalion will lose much by their not continuing in it. They shall, however, remain here till I
have your Lordship's further orders.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LORD WELLINGTON."

"January 16th.—Rode early to Cadiz, and went on board the *Milford* to communicate with the Admiral on the proposed operation.

"17th.—Went in the evening to meet General Lapena" and Lacy relative to the plan in agitation.

"18th.—Parade for the Queen's birthday; about 3,000 men under arms. Went to Cadiz, on the glacis, where the troops there paraded at 2 p.m. About 2,000 under arms.

"Igth.—Called on General O'Donnel. Rode to General Zayas, and then went with him and the Admiral to see a trial of the new batteries of Cortadura. A cask for a target was anchored, and the practice was excellent and very satisfactory.

"20th:—In the evening Generals Lapena and Lacy "called with a plan of the Isla. It appears that the "bridge cannot be ready in less than a month. Neither "General Abadia nor Giron choose to undertake to con-"duct the troops from Algesiras.

"21st.—Saw Lacy, who brought me a message from Lapena about undertaking the Sti. Petri attack.

"23rd.—Wrote to General Campbell about giving orders to Lieut.-Colonel Brown to make a demonstration on Vejer in aid of the attack on Medina by the troops from Algesiras. Rode and examined from the heights all the circumstances of the ground opposite. The boats parade in the river and are collected at Sti. Petri to the number of 50 this forenoon.

"24th.—Generals Lapena, Lacy, Zayas, Anglona, and Lardizabal; a good deal of discussion and some difference

"of opinion. Zayas thought the other side preferable, but it was thought best not to enter into anything more than the general point—the propriety of the enterprise, which was agreed on. Many reasons concur in making the point of Sti. Petri the preferable one, because by it only could cavalry be taken, or a safe retreat be made. Ponsonby and Lord Wm. Russell returned from Lisbon, which they left on the 18th. Soult had marched towards Truxillo and Almaraz.

"26th.—General Campbell means to direct Lt.-Col." Brown to move on Vejer as I requested. He has sent 500 more Germans. Rode to Cadiz to meet the Admiral. "He proposes to give the marines, and to send what boats may be thought necessary.

"27th.—General Lacy told me that from the state of the weather all combinations in which naval means were concerned being uncertain, the operation of proposed attack on the morning of the 29th was to be suspended; at least, that the General desired him to inform and consult me. I could have no hesitation in saying that I thought so much depended on these naval co-operations that it became indispensable to delay, and, of course, to inform the General commanding the troops at Algesiras and ours at Tarifa. This was accordingly done. Rode to the glacis to see the marines formed into a battalion by the Admiral, under the senior captain, Captain Thompson. There are 400 of them very good men, and in a tolerable state of discipline.

"28th.—The Admiral Villavicencio wrote this morning to inquire if the attack was to take place. It seemed so clear that (the counter-orders having been sent to the troops of Algesiras by different ways) the plan could not be resumed without a new concert, that it was matter of surprise to me to receive this intimation. Rode into Cadiz to see the Admiral; saw him and Zayas. The plan remains, of course, suspended; but my astonishment was very great when, on calling on General Blake,

"I found him uncertain whether the operation was or was "not to take place, though he had seen General Lapena "in the morning. I wrote to Lacy requesting him to "éclaircir this very unpleasant mal-entendu, recapitulating "all that had passed yesterday, and I received a very satisfactory answer that General Lapena had signed "the order to the Brigadier commanding the troops of "Algesiras to fall back on Ximena. Saw General Lacy "in the evening; he had seen General Blake and explained to him distinctly how the thing stood, and that "till a new arrangement was made the operation must "remain suspended.

" 29th.—The Admiral, on some information from Admiral "Villavicencio of the probability of the necessity of some "demonstration in favour of the troops from Algesiras " (should they not have received in time the counter-orders), "had sent up all his boats in the night, under the com-" mand of Captain Brace. The Spaniards too had collected "a number of boats, and the floating rafts for passing the "infantry were likewise sent up. All this display of our "naval means is most imprudent; the enemy, however, " seem well aware of nothing being intended, for there has "been no unusual stir observable, and there is little doubt " of the information of the truth being conveyed to them. "Mr. Shaw, yesterday, told Colonel Sebright that a clerk " or partner of a French house in Cadiz had told him that "the plan was suspended, and that a counter-order against "the attack of Medina had been sent out to the troops "from Algesiras. Such publicity can only be accounted " for by some traitorous breach of confidence; because this "was a circumstance which no one ought to have been "intrusted with, except the chiefs. How is it possible to "expect success in an undertaking where there is not a "chance of secrecy, on which so much depends at all times " in war, but where here it is most essential to prevent the "enemy's force from being collected to oppose the dé-" bouché by Sti. Petri?

"I feel myself most unpleasantly situated—on one hand "engaged so as to be exposed to much censure of the "most disagreeable kind were I to retract; on the other, "foreseeing how much the difficulties are increased by the "strange conduct of our allies.

"30th.—It was yesterday reported that there was "musketry firing at Medina, in the morning between 8 "and 9. I sent in a memo. of observations on the in-"tended operation. The difficulties and risk of an attack on Chiclana are not less than the more decisive movement of turning it, attacking the centre of the enemy's line by the roads leading from Medina; if that is beyond our means, and something must be done, an attack sometimes on one flank, sometimes on the other, might be undertaken. If the height of Bermeja could be maintained as an intrenched position it might be useful to occupy it, and thereby establish a ready communication with the country.

"Letters from Lord Wellington, of the 23rd, announce "the death of the Marquis of Romana, of spasms in his "chest. He laments him as an irreparable loss. The "enemy, it would appear, remains in Estremadura, near "Badajos, and blockading Olivenza. Lord Wellington sends a copy of a plan of operations to be undertaken for the relief of the battalions shut up there, which had been forwarded by Romana to Mendizabal. Mr. Welflesley, in communicating this intelligence to Bardaxi, "has recommended the chief command of the army in Estremadura being given to Lord Wellington.

"31st.—Blowing hard all last night, and this morning tremendously, with heavy squalls of rain; cleared about 12; races took place. Received a letter from Sir R. Keats, by which it appeared evident that there had been some affair at or near Medina on Tuesday. Brown, with the 28th, having marched on Monday morning from Tarifa, and not having received the counter-orders sent on Sunday. He was found near Medina, between 2 and

"3 in the afternoon of Tuesday, having retired two on three miles. The Spaniards do not seem to have come up, but were near, and therefore there is no room for apprehension of more mischief than had taken place by his failures in the attack on Tuesday morning. All I asked for was a movement on Vejer to flank and give countenance to the Spanish operation against Medina.

"February 1st.—Two deserters came in, and report that "Medina was in the hands of the Serranos on Tuesday "morning, 29th, and remained so for some time, the troops "of the line not having advanced against it, but stopped at Molino. That the three companies and the troop that "were there had evacuated the town, suffering considerable loss. That the French had marched five or six battalions towards Medina, but did not attack it. That the Serranos had evacuated it at 12 at night.

"General Lacy has sent me an answer to the observa"tions which I sent, in which it is proposed to land at the
"mouth of the Barboté, forming a junction with the troops
"from Algesiras and Tarifa, and thus coming forward to
"open Sti. Petri for the cavalry and artillery. There is an
"objection on account of the distance down the coast and
"on account of the season, which on an open coast makes
"such debarkations hazardous and uncertain. He reckons
"on the force (including 2,000 expected from Ayamonte)
"amounting to 13,000 infantry and 1,400 cavalry."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 1st February, 1811.

" My Lord,

"The attack intended on the 29th ult. did not take place owing to the appearance of such unfavourable weather as would have prevented the naval co-operations in the bay and coast. Counter-orders were, therefore, sent

"on the 27th, by way of Tarifa, to prevent the advance of the troops on Medina.

"The weather here on the 29th, and ever since, has been such, as would have rendered any exertions of naval means, on which so much depended, quite impossible. It is only to be regretted that the enemy has had cocasion to judge of the intentions and the means, as it appears the order did not reach Tarifa in time to prevent the movement of the troops from Algesiras on Medina, and considerable naval preparations had been made near the point of Sti. Petri. The Spaniards are still most anxious to carry some plan of attack into execution. The small British force here inclines me to be much less sanguine of success than I should otherwise be from the reports of the reduced state of the enemy's lines.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"February 2nd.—Lacy dined with me, we had a good "deal of conversation on the subject of the operation, and "agreed that Barboté is too distant.

"4th.—Accounts received in the night from Tarifa; the 28th got well back without any loss.

"5th.—Rode to Santi Petri and round the works.

"Received letters from General Campbell with an account

"of the Spanish attack on Medina, which succeeded very

"well on the morning of the 29th; Brown co-operating

"on their left flank with great judgment.

"7th.—General McFarlane came; rode with him, after some races, over the position. Quetza packet arrived; received letters and newspapers to 23rd; the King better; Regency bill in progress, supposed it will pass about the beginning of February; a change expected, though some think not, as the expectations of the King's recovery are so sanguine.

"8th.—Saw General Lacy this morning, who says the "Admiral Villavicencio has not yet been able to state to "General Lapena a positive opinion about the steadiness "of the weather for any operation.

"to meet Valdoy and Lacy to concert measures for the operation at Santi Petri.

"Inth.—Went with Lacy and Zayas to see the coast of "Santi Petri. Embarked, and went down opposite to "the Casa de Guardia, between the towns of Bermeja, "and Barrosa, where a landing might be made; but the "march back towards the camp, near the Bermeja tower, "might be much impeded, being all the way pine wood.

"12th.—Met the Admiral and Lacy at Admiral Villa-"vicencio's, to talk over the means of embarking horses, "etc., to go down the coast, probably to Tarifa, but at all "events within Cape Trafalgar.

"13th.—General Lapena having determined to go himself on the expedition, I have only to prepare the corps
to make up 3,000 infantry. The Guards, 67th, 87th,
formula of 47th and 20th Portuguese.
It will be necessary to leave General Disney in the
command here, Dilkes and Wheatley will have the two
brigades. Saw Lacy; great difficulty apprehended from
the state of the roads at this season.

"14th.—Breakfasted on board the Milford; had much conversation with the Admiral, in which it was agreed that the objection to the troops being moved in open boats at this season should be urged to Villavicencio, in order that he might transmit it to the General.

"I5th.—Admiral Villavicencio was sent for by the "Regency, concerning boats for the horses, there not being enough for half the necessary number. General "Lapena and Lacy called here to talk on the subject of the expedition. Sir R. Keats came from Cadiz and joined us; he leans much to a landing on the Rota side, of which we talked yesterday. But the Spanish Govern-

"ment and Generals adhere to the plan of going to the Barboté or Tarifa as the best, allowing, however, that

"it must not be undertaken without cavalry. The state

"of the country, with regard to roads, makes it more than

" probable that great difficulties and disappointments will

" occur relative to artillery, communcation, waggons, etc.

"17th.—Orders issued for the troops that are to embark.

"18th.—Troops marched in the night, and began embarking at daylight.

"19th.—Embarkation nearly completed; much difficulty in getting accommodation enough for horses."

To Lord Wellington.

"Cadiz, 20th Febry, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship, "that it being considered extremely difficult to force the "enemy's lines by an attack in front, an expedition to "the amount of 10,000 men of all arms is embarked and "ready to sail under the command of Lieut.-General "Lapena. I go in command of the British division, "leaving Major-General Disney here with the 47th Foot "and the 20th Portuguese Regiment, except their flank "companies, which accompany us. It is proposed to land " at Tarifa, and being joined by the troops from Algesiras, "to march by Medina. I was myself inclined to prefer "landing on the opposite side of the bay, and taking up "the line of the Guadalete from St. Mary's to Xeres, to "have forced the passage of that river. This was con-" sidered too difficult. We shall have a very impracticable "country, I fear, for artillery to encounter, and the enemy "will have time to draw together whatever reinforcements " he can bring.

"The wind has come round after some bad weather to "the N.W.; had it been steady for the east, it was proposed "to have made an attempt on Seville, by landing at

"Huelva, in order to relieve Badajos. The Admiral, "however, had great objections to the larger vessels "going on that coast at this season.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

" Cadiz, 21st Febr., 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship that an expedition is now embarked and ready to sail. The allied troops composing it are under the command of General Lapena, the interim Commander-in-Chief of the army here. I go myself in the command of the British Division, leaving Major-General Disney in the command of our force here.

"By my former letters your Lordship will have been "apprised of the intention of undertaking some offensive "operation against the enemy in our front, considerably "weakened by detachments into Estremadura. On the "29th ult. a sortie by the point of Santi Petri having "been determined on (to consist of 6,000 men, half "Spanish, half British, under my command) I repre-"sented that I considered that force not sufficient for "the object proposed, viz,-an attack upon the enemy's "very strong position of Chiclana, where there might "readily be assembled at least an equal number of the "enemy's best troops, protected by several strong inclosed "works, and that I should prefer moving round Chiclana "into the road from Medina, by which the enemy would "be obliged either to come to attack me, or to withdraw "his force from Chiclana, to cover the approach from "Puerto Real. On this idea, 3,000 more men and all the " cavalry were added to my command.

"Bad weather coming on and rendering all naval co-"operation impossible, this sortie was not attempted, but "the orders to stop the movements of the troops from "Algesiras not arriving in time, Medina was surprised by "them on the morning of the 29th ult.

"Considerations of the difficulty of forcing the lines at "Santi Petri without the certainty of being able to land a "body of troops on the open coast beyond it to attack in "the rear at the same time, as well as various other " reasons, determined the Spanish Government to prefer an "expedition to Tarifa, and the expectation of being able "to reconcile the differences which exist among the " officers, etc., in the camp of San Roque and Sierra de "Ronda by the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, and "thereby to draw out all the resources of the country in " aid of the enterprise, made it be resolved that General "Lapena should go himself in the command. It was then "left to my choice to go or stay; at the same time the "advantage of the example of British troops was men-"tioned. I did not hesitate to determine to go, as other-"wise it might have been considered as a peevish " objection arising from the circumstance of the command "having been withdrawn from me. Lest, however, your "Lordship should think that I have exceeded my powers "in taking so great a part of the British force away from "Cadiz, I beg to observe that it always appeared to me "impossible to keep up the communication with the Isla "by Santi Petri during the first operations, and that, "therefore, the risk is not greater (indeed less in so far as "the country all the way in our rear will be secured) by "going to Tarifa, than by making the sortie by Santi " Petri.

"The Spaniards having received some reinforcements, and the defensive works being much improved, so as to remove any apprehension of risk to this place and Isla during our absence, and it being of the utmost importance that something in favour of the army in Portugal,

"and of rousing the spirits of the country, should be attempted (in all which Mr. Wellesley entirely agreed with me), I considered my hearty co-operation in any enterprise for the attainment of these objects as essentially necessary towards a successful result, and I trust, whatever may be the result, His Majesty's Government will not disapprove of a determination grounded on such motives.

"Since the plan has been in agitation, I suggested the superior advantages of landing in the bay about Rota, but the difficulty of the passage of the Guadalete presented this plan from being entertained, and I did not insist.

"There was an idea, should contrary winds prevail, of going to Huelva and marching on Seville in order to relieve Badajos. I am not sufficiently acquainted with many circumstances to be able to form a correct opinion on this operation, but if it could be attempted without much hazard, the object would be most important. The necessity of anchoring on such a coast with all vessels drawing 12 feet of water at this season of the year seemed to be in the Admiral's opinion an almost decisive objection.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"March 21st.—Embarked about 3, and sailed. Soon came thick and dark, blowing fresh.

"22nd.—Rain and heavy squalls; thick sea rising; made the land off Cape Spartel. Wind increased, and made it impossible to go into Tarifa; tried to send in the artil-lery; ships bore up; anchored off Algesiras; went on shore; saw General Beguines; no quarters to be got for the troops.

"23rd.—Blowing hard; the Expedition, with Major "Duncan and heavy brigade, missing. Settled with

"Captain Brace about the disembarkation. Went over in Captain Hall's gunboat to Gibraltar and breakfasted with General Campbell; saw Commodore Penrose, whom I had not met for many years, General Bowes, and Sir Montagu Burgoyne, the latter just come from England to replace Lord Blayney. Returned, found troops disembarking, landed.

"24th.-Moderate, and since last night the weather "seeming to promise well; the barometer rising. "troops bivouacked on a rising ground near the town to "the southward of it. The march much delayed in the "morning by the want of the rations of bread and wine " promised by the Spaniards to be ready in time, and for "which, with wood, etc., they charged an extravagant "price. Small vessels from this and Gibraltar were ob-"tained for embarking the artillery and stores from the "ships, to endeavour to get them along the coast. Wrote "to-General Campbell, and left Hope to urge Captain "Brace to make every exertion. Comus and Expedition " arrived; troops landed and joined the march, which began "at about half-past ten; the road in many places very bad, "and quite impassable for wheel carriage, being either so " narrow and on the side of steep hills, or so covered with "loose rocks that without great labour no gun could be "dragged along it. Arrived at Tarifa about half-past "four, the troops came an hour after, having made the "march extremely well. It came on to blow very hard "from the S.W.; on the whole our situation here is very "unpleasant. Little flour, only for two or three days; no "wine, no spirits, no barley. I shall soon be obliged to "go back to Algesiras if supplies do not arrive. A boat "came in from Cadiz in the evening, reported that the "convoy had sailed in the morning, but probably had put " back.

"25th.—Heavy rain in the night and in the morning; however, it cleared and the wind moderated. Wrote to "Sir R. Keats, representing the state of things and the

" probability of failure from the point of attack being so "marked, the uncertainty of the time of the return of "any of the troops, in short, that what might have suc-"ceeded under favourable circumstances, now became "hazardous, both to the troops employed and the Isla, "which might remain exposed for a great while, and "that it was my wish he should communicate with Mr. "Wellesley and endeavour to dissuade the Spaniards from "persisting in this operation; that if not supplied in 24 "hours I must return to Algesiras, where I had begged of "Captain Brace to remain. This letter was sent off by a "Spanish gunboat, which put to sea, got damaged, and "returned, but another was sent in the afternoon. Rode "up the valley (beautiful) to the Puerto of where "we had a view over the plain of Tarifa. A few men of "Lorenzo Sancho's Valentiana Partida had joined us (our "only escort), and these perceiving several head of cattle "driving towards the mountains, and some horsemen " (about 20 or 25) in the plain, thought they were French, "but afterwards ascertained them to be of their Partida. "The day was hazy, so that we could only see the hill of "Medina indistinctly. Returned in two hours; found Mr. "Powell with a number of boats of the men-of-war "with artillery stores-Captain Hall following with his "gunboat and some sailing boats with the guns. Wrote "to Captain Brace by the return of some of the boats, "telling him what I had written to the Admiral, and " expressing my astonishment at the great exertions made "by the navy in rowing such a distance against such a "wind. In the evening, Mr. O'Meara and Lord McDuff "arrived, having sailed in the morning; they confirmed "the sailing, and putting back, with considerable damage, " of the Spanish convoy, and that they were shifting the "troops into larger vessels. Received 33 draught mules, "with bread, from Gibraltar, sent by General Campbell for "the guns; O'Meara has brought some boats of supply, "so that we may now remain without risk of starving.

"Adjutant-General's State of the Troops assembled at "Tarifa, under the command of Lieut.-General Graham, "25th Feb. 1811:—

Designations.	No. of	f bayo	onets. Commanders.
Two squadrons of 2nd German Hussars			Major Busche.
Detachment of Artillery			Major Duncan.
Detachment of Engineers		47	Captain Birch.
Brigade of Guards re-inforced by a de- tachment of the 2nd battalion 95th Rifles	}	1221	BrigGen. Dilkes.
1st battalion 28th Foot, 2nd battalion 67th, 2nd battalion 87th, re-inforced with 2 comps. of the 20th Portuguese	1}	1764	Colonel Wheatley.
Flank battalion, composed of detachments of the 3rd battalion 95th Rifles and 2 comps. of the 47th Foot	1	594	LtCol. A. Barnard, 95th.
Two Companies of 2nd battalion 9th regt., 2 comps. of 1st battalion 28th regt., 2 comps. of 2nd batt. 82nd regt.	}	475	LtCol. Brown, 28th regt.
One Compy. of the Royal Staff Corps		33	Lieutenant Read.
Total number of bayonets		4134	
The Hussars were about		180	
Total of sabres and bayonets	ander-	4314	with 10 guns.

"26th.—Fine; the weather seems to be settled. Another " of O'Meara's boats with a commissary on board arrived, "but brought no letters. Captain Dickson, of Stately, "arrived from Algesiras, and several more boats came "from thence and Gibraltar, bringing the remainder of " artillery from the Susannah, and with supplies of bread, "corn, etc., from General Campbell. Rode all round the "hills in the neighbourhood of the town, and chose the "places most adapted for field-works to cover it. With "a considerable force, there is an excellent position for "an intrenched camp. It may be a question how far it "would be of use to construct works that would require "more troops; but without them, the place could not be "defended, were the enemy to bring guns. Employed a "working party of peasants to mend the road towards "Vallé d'Arriba, so as to prepare it for the passage of "artillery and ammunition waggons, etc. Several boats

"in sight from the northward, and one came in from "Cadiz, which sailed at 3 in the morning, but brought no intelligence. Wrote to Mr. Wellesley, representing how much our situation was improved by the arrival of supplies and the artillery, etc., and that I could now remain here till I learnt with certainty what the Spaniards determined to do. The question now depends on a knowledge and consideration of the means of the enemy to defeat our object, or profit by the absence of so large a force for an uncertain time.

"27th.—Last night Colonel Ramonet arrived with the account of the convoy having all sailed yesterday morning. Several came in during the night, and the rest are in sight in shore. All the convoy arrived; General Lapena landed; all the infantry and cavalry were got on shore very quickly, and the artillery in the evening. Rode to the advanced posts, and to the chapel of La Virgin de la Luze—a beautiful situation.

"28th.—Marched at a quarter to nine; arrived near the Puento de Foscinas in five hours, having got the artillery on better than could have been expected, the roads having been much repaired and improved. The Spaniards arrived late in the evening.

"March 1st.—Major Duncan reports great deficiency of means of conveyance of ammunition for infantry. In"spected the regiments on their parades. Orders of this day give me the Walloon Guards and the Regiment of Ciudad Real, to join the English corps as reserve. The German Hussars go to Whittingham. Marched in the evening—very tedious from filing across water and other difficulties. Misled by the guides in quitting the Cortigo de la Javas, and counter-marching made a most fatiguing march. Rode on to Casa Vieja, which was carried by the advanced guard. Directed to occupy some wooded hills on the opposite side of the river. Bad position; violent east wind, very cold; rode about and made the best disposition of the troops I could. It was 12 o'clock before the

"troops halted, having been 19 hours under arms. Went "to head-quarters on the eastern part of the same hill. "They wished to march at 5 in the evening, without "knowing the difficulties of the road, and without giving "the men time to eat and rest. It was on my representation put off till 11 at night. General Beguines joined "with about 1,600 men. Fortunately, a report of the "impracticability of the road on the Casa Vieja side of "the river delayed the march, and the troops halted till "next morning.

"3rd.—Marched in same order (reserve always in rear) about 8. Guides mistook the road, and were leading the column back towards Foscinas, to leave the lake on our right. Counter-marched, and crossed the plain to a flooded causeway across the Barboté; the passage lasted three hours, and would have taken double the time but for the exertions made to force them to keep the files connected. Set the example of going into the water, which was followed by Lacy, Prince Anglona, and others. Did not reach the ground to encamp on, near Vejer, till near 12 at night—3 leagues, 15 to 16 hours.

"4th.—Saw General Lapena, and wrote to the Admiral "by a boat he sent off to Cadiz to apprise them of our "approach. Agreed to send staff officers forward with "a good escort to reconnoitre roads and position, and to "march at 4 p.m. two leagues to Conil, and to halt in "front of it. Rode out towards it, and got upon the high "rocky Sierra seen from Cadiz and Isla, which I saw "distinctly. On my return, found the reconnoitring "party not gone out, and an idea prevalent on the in-"formation of guides, that the reserve might march by "another road more inland, and over the Sierra above-"mentioned. Refused this without an examination and "report. Ferrar and Cathcart went, and soon sent word to "say it was quite impracticable for artillery. The army "did not march till 5 p.m., the reserve not till 6, and was "stopped near two hours on the bridge by the baggage

"and ammunition mules of the Spaniards passing some bad places on the road.

"The situation of Vejer singular and romantic; the "river running in a chasm, as if rent by an earthquake, " and the road cut out of the rock on the left bank of the "Barboté for a considerable distance; the river navigable "for large boats up to Vejer; the town on the top of a "very steep hill on the right bank is almost inaccessible "on horseback from that side. Passed the river just "before rising the hill, at the point of which close to "the sea stands Conil. Halted here, having come up with " Prince Anglona's column; proceeded on the march with-"out taking up any position, though there was an evident "uncertainty about the roads, and of course much delay-"the columns were continued under arms creeping along. "A kind of disposition for passing a supposed defile, which "did not exist, just after the place in the heath where the "roads from Chiclana and Medina met, was made. "course, took care to cover these roads before the reserve "all passed; the day broke, and shewed it was an open "wood, with many paths in all directions through it.

"5th.—Soon after it being reported that our columns "were misled and were marching on Chiclana instead of "keeping nearer the coast, I halted them and galloped on. "Found they had followed the Spaniards, and coming up "to the head saw the whole staff in the greatest confusion, "from the contradictions of the guides. I could not help "exclaiming rather improperly 'Voilà ce que c'est que les "marches de nuit." After some further rather ludicrous "scenes of distress, several people of the country agreeing "that a path to the left led through the heath towards "Santi Petri, and that, the country being dry, the guns " could move in all directions over the plain, it was agreed "that the march should be continued as I had originally " recommended, by a flank movement left in front, forming " columns of lines, the cavalry and rear guard on the right "in first line, and so on. Our columns closed up, and the

"army proceeded in this way across the extensive heathy " plain of Chiclana, making a remarkably pretty field day. "Our advanced cavalry got upon the Barrosa heights with-"out meeting with any enemy, nor did the patrols in the "wood which skirts the plain on the east meet with any "either. Having halted near the bottom of the hill for a "little while, the troops advanced again. General Lapena "having told me that the Spanish troops were to take up " a line on the hill looking towards Chiclana, and that the "reserve should be in second line to it, I found myself "obliged to halt again on the south-east slope of the hill "to wait for their taking up the front line; meanwhile the "vanguard, under Brigadier-General Lardizabal, was de-"tached with two pieces of cannon to attack the rear of "the enemy's lines of Santi Petri, supported by part of "the division Anglona. This attack succeeded after "an hour's tiraillerie, and the communication with Isla "was thus opened. (Here follow the reports to Lord " Liverpool)."

"Isla de Leon, 6th March, 1811.

" My Lord,

"Captain Hope, my first Aide-de-Camp, will have the honour of delivering this despatch to inform your Lordship of the glorious issue of an action fought yester-day, by the division under my command, against the army commanded by Marshal Victor, composed of the two divisions Rufin and Laval.

"The circumstances were such as compelled me to attack "this very superior force. In order, as well, to explain to "your Lordship the circumstances of peculiar disadvan-"tage under which the action was begun, as to justify "myself from the imputation of rashness in the attempt, "I must state to your Lordship that the allied army, after "a night-march of 16 hours from the camp near Vejer, "arrived, in the morning of the 5th, on the low ridge of "Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth

"of the Santi Petri river. This height extends inland about a mile and a half, continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana. A great pine forest skirts the plain and circles round the height at some distance terminating down to Santi Petri, the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being uneven and broken.

"A well-conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines, near Santi Petri, by the vanguard of the Spanish army, under Brigadier-General Lardizabal, having opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, I received General Lapena's directions to move down from the position of Barrosa to that of the Torre de Bermeja, about half way to the Santi Petri river, in order to secure the communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position cocupies a narrow woody ridge, the right on the sea cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek on the edge of the marsh. A hard sandy beach gives an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.

"My division being halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, was marched, about 12 o'clock, through the wood towards the Bermeja (cavalry patrols having previously been sent towards Chiclana, without meeting with the enemy). On the march I received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.

"As I considered that position as the key to that of "Santi Petri, I immediately counter-marched, in order to "support the troops left for its defence, and the alacrity "with which this manœuvre was executed served as a "favourable omen. It was, however, impossible in such "intricate and difficult ground to preserve order in the "columns, and there never was time to restore it entirely.

"But before we could get ourselves quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen

"returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly

"ascending. At the same time his right wing stood on

"the plain on the edge of the wood, within cannon-shot.

"A retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within

" reach of the easy communication by the sea beach, must

" have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of

"being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the

"different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermeja

" nearly at the same time.

"Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, "regardless of the numbers and position of their enemy,

" an immediate attack was determined on. Major Duncan

"soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre; Brigadier-General Dilkes, with the brigade of Guards,

"Lieut.-Colonel Brown's (of the 28th) flank battalion,

"Lieut.-Colonel Norcott's two companies of the 2nd Rifle

"corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot

"(separated from the regiment in the wood), formed on "the right.

"Colonel Wheatley's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream Guards, under Lieut.-Colonel Jackson

"(separated likewise from his battalion in the wood), and

"Lieut.-Colonel Barnard's flank battalion, formed on the left.

"As soon as the infantry was thus hastily got together the guns advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire.

"The right wing proceeded to the attack of General "Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieut.-Colonel

"Barnard's battalion and Lieut.-Colonel Bushe's detach-

"ment of the 20th Portuguese were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on our left.

"General Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc "made by Major Duncan's battery, continued to advance "in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musketry,

"and was only checked by that of the left wing. The

"left wing now advanced firing; a most determined charge

"by the three companies of Guards and the 87th Regi-"ment, supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval's division.

"The eagle of the 8th Regiment of Light Infantry, which suffered immensely, and a howitzer rewarded this charge, and remained in possession of Major Gough of the 87th Regiment. These attacks were zealously supported by Colonel Belson with the 28th Regiment, and Lieut.-Colonel Prevost with a part of the 67th.

"A reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across "which the enemy was closely pursued, next shared the same fate and was routed by the same means.

"Meanwhile the right wing was not less successful." The enemy, confident of success, met General Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary; but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of Guards, of Lieut.-Colonel Brown's battalion, and of Lieut.-Colonel Norcott's and Major Acheson's detachment overcame every obstacle, and General Rufin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.

"No expressions of mine could do justice to the conduct of the troops throughout. Nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion to the honour of His Majesty's arms in all, could have achieved this brilliant success against such a formidable enemy so posted.

"In less than an hour and a half from the commence"ment of the action the enemy was in full retreat. The
"retiring divisions met, halted, and seemed inclined to
"form; a new and more advanced position of our artillery
"quickly dispersed them.

"The exhausted state of the troops made pursuit im"possible. A position was taken on the eastern side of
"the hill, and we were strengthened on our right by the
"return of the two Spanish battalions that had been

"attached before to my division, but which I had left on the hill, and which had been ordered to retire."

"These battalions (Walloon guards and Ciudad Real) "made every effort to come back in time when it was "known that we were engaged.

"I understand, too, from General Whittingham that, "with three squadrons of cavalry, he kept in check a "corps of infantry and cavalry that attempted to turn "the Barrosa height by the sea. One squadron of the "2nd Hussars, King's German Legion, under Captain "Busche, and directed by Lieut.-Colonel Ponsonby (both had been attached to the Spanish cavalry) joined in time "to make a brilliant and most successful charge against "a squadron of French dragoons, who were entirely "routed.

"An eagle, six pieces of cannon, the General of division, "Rufin, and the General of brigade, Rousseau, wounded and taken; the chief of the staff, General Bellegarde, an aide-de-camp of Marshal Victor, and the Colonel of the staff Regiment, with many officers, killed, and several wounded and taken prisoners; the field covered with the dead bodies and arms of the enemy attests that my confidence in this division was nobly repaid.

"Where all have so distinguished themselves it is "scarcely possible to discriminate any as the most deserving of praise. Your Lordship will, however, observe how gloriously the brigade of Guards under Brigadier-General Dilkes, with the commanders of the battalions, Lieut. - Colonel the Hon. C. Onslow, and "Lieut.-Colonel Sebright (wounded), as well as the three separated companies under Lieut. - Colonel Jackson, "maintained the high character of His Majesty's house-hold troops. Lieut.-Colonel Brown, with his flank battalion, Lieut.-Colonel Norcott, and Major Acheson deserve equal praise.

"And I must equally recommend to your Lordship's notice Colonel Wheatley, with Colonel Belson, Lieut.-

"Colonel Prevost, and Major Gough, and the officers of the respective corps composing his brigade.

"The animated charges of the 87th Regiment were "most conspicuous; Lieut.-Colonel Barnard (twice "wounded) and the officers of his flank battalion exe"cuted the duty of skirmishing in advance with the "enemy in a masterly manner, and were ably seconded by Lieut.-Colonel Bushe of the 20th Portuguese, who "(likewise twice wounded) fell into the enemy's hands, but was afterwards rescued. The detachment of this Portuguese regiment behaved admirably throughout the "whole affair.

"I owe too much to Major Duncan and the officers and corps of the Royal Artillery not to mention them in terms of the highest approbation. Never was artillery better served.

"The assistance I received from the unwearied exertions of Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, and the officers of the Adjutant-General's department, of Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart, and the officers of the Quarter-Master General's department; of Captain Birch and Captain Nicholas, and the officers of the Royal Engineers; of Captain Hope and the officers of my personal staff (all animating by their example) will ever be most gratefully remembered. Our loss has been severe. As soon as it can be ascertained by the proper return I shall have the honour of transmitting it; but, much as it is to be lamented, I trust it will be considered as a necessary sacrifice for the safety of the whole allied army.

"Having remained some hours on the Barrosa heights "without being able to procure any supplies for the exhausted troops—the Commissariat mules having been dispersed on the enemy's first attack of the hill, I left Major Ross with the detachment of the 3rd battalion of the 95th, and withdrew the rest of the division, which crossed the Santi Petri river early the next morning.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without earnestly

- "recommending to His Majesty's gracious notice for
- "promotion Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Brown, Major of the
- "28th Foot; Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Norcott, Major of the 95th; Major Duncan, Royal Artillery; Major
- "Gough, of the 87th; Major the Hon. E. Acheson, of the
- "67th; and Captain Birch, of the Royal Engineers—all
- "in the command of corps or detachments on this memor-
- "able service; and I confidently trust that the bearer of
- "this despatch, Captain Hope (to whom I refer your
- "Lordship for further details), will be promoted on being
- " permitted to lay the eagle at His Majesty's feet.
 - "I have the honour, etc.,
 - "THOS. GRAHAM, Lieut.-Gen."
- "THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."
- "P.S.—I beg leave to add that two Spanish officers,
- "Captains Miranda and Naughton, attached to my staff,
- "behaved with the utmost intrepidity.-T. G."
- "Return of prisoners of war taken in the action of Barrosa" on the 5th of March, 1811:—
- "Two general officers, one field officer, nine captains, eight subalterns, 420 rank and file.
- "Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops under the command of Lieut.-General Graham in the
 - "action of Barrosa with the French corps d'armée,
 - " commanded by Marshal Victor, on the 5th March, 1811:-

All glad sayes	Officers.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Horses.	Total. Officers, N.C.O., and Rank and File.
Killed Wounded Missing	7 55	6 45	189 940 —	24 42 —	1,040

[&]quot;March 5th.—About 5 o'clock quitted the hill, leaving the 95th at the White House with the wounded, and

"withdrew towards Santi Petri. Saw Mr. Wellesley, and gave him some idea of the behaviour of the Spaniards. "Returned to head-quarters at Bermeja, and passed the night near there; the troops, meanwhile, filing over the bridge after a most fatiguing day and the best part of two nights.

"March 6th.-Called at head-quarters at the Casa del "Pino; found them all in alarm at my having passed over "my division, apprehensive of being attacked. I said "they seemed to have more troops than enough for such "narrow ground, and that mine would only increase the "confusion. That besides the enormous losses I had been "exposed to, my people were starving from the com-" missariat mules having been dispersed at the beginning "of the attack of the hill. I was, however, fully deter-"mined never to expose my division to such management "again. Crossed the bridge, where I met Cockburn, and "requested his assistance with boats to bring away the "wounded. The surf, however, made it very difficult, "though great exertions were made. Went back to Isla; "sent out a cavalry patrol, and ordered out 200 of the "Portuguese, but they found the Spaniards retreating in "great haste across the bridge, which prevented their "getting over. As much assistance as possible was " afforded in collecting the wounded; the artillery was sent "for, but the difficulties were great from the exhausted " state of men and horses.

"7th.—Several attempts to induce me to further co-ope-"ration having failed, it was proposed to have an embarka-"tion in the bay for demonstration, which I agreed to, "to the extent of about 1,000 men.

From Mr. Wellesley.

" Private.

"Cadiz, March 6th, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"In your reply to the letter which accompanies

"this, I do most earnestly intreat you to speak out without "the least reserve. It will be unjust to yourself, and to "the brave men whom you commanded yesterday, to allow " any good-natured motive to withhold you from giving to "the public a plain statement of facts. Such a statement "may, besides, be attended with valuable benefit to the "Spanish cause, as it may have considerable influence in "promoting the introduction of the improvement so "necessary in the Spanish army. I hope you will forgive "me for expressing my sentiments so fully upon this "subject, which I would not do were it not apparent that "it is the object of the Government to cover the miscon-"duct of their own General and troops, by making it "appear that they had the principal share in the affair of "yesterday, and that they were prevented from advancing "to-day by your determination to cross the river.

"I am ready to say all that you have stated in your "private letter to me, not only in conversation, but also in "an official letter to M. de Bardaxi.

"The Admiral has landed his Marines at Port St. Mary's, "and has destroyed the battery there. I know not what "else they have done, but they are now re-embarking.

"Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

" Most truly yours,
" HENRY WELLESLEY."

"Cadiz, March 7th, 1811.

"Sir,

"The Council of Regency, after all the accounts "which they have received relative to the late expedition, "remains satisfied to the highest possible degree with the "valour, intrepidity, and conduct of the British troops, and "of their worthy Chief, during the same, and more "particularly in the brilliant action of the day before "yesterday, followed by a glorious victory, principally for "them, over the enemy upon the Cerro de los Puercos, "and His Highness reserving to himself to give to

"General Graham a proof of the just value which they "entertain for his person and distinguished merit, and a "public and authentic testimony of their satisfaction, so "due to his valour, military skill, and adherence to the "cause of Spain, as well as to the officers who have "distinguished themselves in the said action, commands "me to communicate it to you, Sir, requesting that you "will be pleased to transmit it to General Graham, and to "state at the same time, that His Highness, from the "high estimation which his military requirements deserves "(his remaining with his troops in the Isla being taken " for granted, in virtue of his instructions), and confiding "in the continuation of his generous and efficacious " assistance, the Council is desirous of knowing his opinion " relative to further operations which he may deem it that "our army should undertake against the enemy, under "the conception that the latter cannot but be dispirited "after the loss which he has suffered, and the defeat "which he has experienced in the glorious action alluded "to, and that he would have the goodness to communicate "his opinion in as short a time as the circumstances " require for the information of His Highness.

"I am, etc., etc.,
"EUSEBIO DE BARDAXI Y AZARA."

OFFER BY THE SPANISH REGENCY OF A DUKEDOM TO GENERAL GRAHAM.

"The General and extraordinary Cortes, informed by "the Council of Regency of the glorious action which on "the morning of the 5th inst. the English division "sustained under the command of the Lieutenant-General "in the service of His Britannic Majesty, Don Thomas "Graham (one of those division which went from Cadiz "under the command of the General-in-Chief, ad interim, "of the fourth army, Don Manuel de Lapena) completely "routing the superior forces with which Marshal Victor in

"person attacked him, whom he obliged to abandon his artillery and two eagles, taking into consideration the valour and military skill of the said Lieutenant-General Graham, not less than the distinguished qualities united in his person and family, and being desirous of giving a public testimony of how grateful his services have been to the Spanish nation, and those of his valiant troops on that memorable day, they have agreed to grant him, on the proposal of the Council of Regency, the Grandee of the first class, free from Lanzas y medias armatas, with the title of Duke del Cerro del Puerco.

"The Council of Regency will hold this to be under-"stood, and will do what is right towards its fulfilment.

"BARON DE ANTELLA, President.

"VICENTE THOMAS TRAVER, Deputy and "Secretary.

"JUAN POLO CATALINE, Ditto."

"March 8th.-Went into Cadiz, and dined with Mr. "Wellesley. Met General Zayas, about the proposed "continuation of the plan. He was appointed to go out "with 6 or 7,000 men; the bridge of Santi Petri having "given way prevented it for the present. Continued to "have parties out to collect the wounded and to bury the "dead. General Zayas, as well as every thinking mili-"tary man, must consider this a wild and extravagant "movement of Blake's, in order to patch up and cover "this misconduct of Government in the original appoint-"ment of Lapena. How is it to be expected that success "should attend this corps, since it was considered so "doubtful with a much more considerable one with which "we were united, and the direct movement of the army on "Santi Petri, to open the communication with General "Zayas, and get his reinforcement of 3,500 infantry and " of 500 cavalry.

"oth.—Having remained in Cadiz this evening, I had "frequent opportunities of seeing the Admiral and Mr. "Wellesley, on the subject of the failure of this expedition, "the blame of which the Spaniards would gladly throw on me for refusing to co-operate in the field, and to put "myself under the direction of Lapena again, or such another. The sailing of the Warrior, by which conveyance I send Hope, with my despatches, by which "Macdonald likewise goes, is fixed for to-morrow. All "the wounded French are now brought over, in all they amount to about 400. The number of dead, as reported by the Provost Marshal, amounts to above 1,200. Reports from Chiclana, state the enemy's loss to amount to 3,500 on the 5th."

From General Giron.

"Cadiz, ce o Mars, 1811.

"L'amitié, mon cher Général, me fait un devoir de vous témoigner ma véritable satisfaction, et pour la gloire dont vous vous êtes couvert dans la victoire que l'armée vient de remporter, et pour le juste tribut de reconnaissance dont ma patrie honore le grand service qu'elle vous doit, voulant en même temps faire voix à cette brave armée que vous commandez, dans la personne de son digne Général, que l'Espagne reconnaissante en vous portant à son plus haut rang veut l'adopter dans son sein lui marquant la première place dans sa considération.

"Soyez en sûr, mon cher Général, que personne parmi "mes compatriotes n'en prend plus de part que moi dans "tout ce qui vous regarde, ni dans les triomphes de ces "vaillantes troupes dont le vrai courage et la ferme "discipline fixent toujours la victoire.

"Agréez, mon cher Général, les véritables sentiments "de la plus parfaite amitié de votre sincère ami et "serviteur,

"C. P. A. GIRON."

" SON EXCELLENCE MONS. LE GÉNÉRAL GRAHAM."

To Lord Liverpool.

" Private.

" Cadiz, March 9, 1811.

" My Lord,

"In my public despatch of the 6th I avoided adverting directly to the conduct of the Spaniards.

"I had repeatedly, during the movement from Tarifa, "recommended much attention to two material objects, "viz., that he should not come into contact with the "enemy in an exhausted or disjointed state, as I was per-"suaded that by whatever road we approached he would "come out and try the fate of a battle. That it was, "therefore, of much importance to have the troops fresh " and well together, that our whole force might be brought "into action with full effect. A perusal of my despatch " of the 6th will show how much this advice was attended "to; but the march from Vejer, as it was conducted, was a "direct breach of what had been agreed on. A short "march of little more than two leagues, to a position in "front of Conil, was all that was ever spoken of for the "afternoon of the 4th. By hurrying on through the night "in a country unknown to any of the staff, we not only "harassed the troops, but arrived before the notice could "reach Cadiz, by which all the advantages proposed of " preconcerted attack from within, especially at the im-"portant point of Santi Petri, by which General Zayas, "with a body of 3,500 infantry and nearly 500 cavalry, "ought to have been ready to join, were lost. What " passed relative to the distribution and destination of the "troops after our arrival on the Barrosa height, I was " ignorant of.

"It appears, however, that at the time I was desired to "march down to Bermeja, there were already not less "than between 5 and 6,000 men there, and yet so little "confidence did General Lapena put in his own troops, "that he thought it necessary a much greater number "should occupy that narrow ground. He did not acquaint

" me either of his intention of leaving the hill of Barrosa, "so that on ordering the division to countermarch in the "wood, I believed I was returning to his support as well "as that of a most important position, which, being so " much on the flank of the approach through the wood to "Santi Petri, secured that point from attack while it was "held. But even when I saw the Spanish troops retire "from the hill, about the time my attack was going to "begin, I still thought myself sure of almost immediate "support, either from the troops that had just left the hill "or from those already sent towards Santi Petri. Had I "been supported, my loss would have been much lighter, "that of the enemy greater, and had any attempt been "made to send a strong force through the wood towards "Chiclana, so as to turn the enemy's right, the consequence "must have been highly favourable, the enemy could not "have halted before Chiclana, and we should almost cer-"tainly have been before Puerto Real. But not even a "single Spanish staff officer appeared to learn what was " going on till the action was over.

"I am confident that though your Lordship may have "approved (as I trust will be the case) of my making the "trial of putting myself and division under the command " of a Spanish General in the field, yet that you will not "less consider me as bound by my duty and attention to "the troops under my command rather to forego the "chance of advantage from co-operation than continue "to act in the field under such management, thereby " exposing the British troops to almost certain destruction. "Wishing, however, to avoid an open rupture, I made "want of supplies the pretext for coming across to Isla. "It was ludicrous to see the state of alarm which the "knowledge of my movement occasioned at head-quarters. "But the attempt since to throw the blame of the failure " of the expedition on me, though they knew the crippled "state of the division after such an action, must tend to

"explanations which will be unpleasant at head-quarters,

"but which will put the public in possession of the truth. I trouble your Lordship with the correspondence that has passed on this occasion. Such another opportunity may not occur again. It has been lost by the Government entrusting the execution into hands so unfit to command an army, an unfitness universally known before. There are still plans on foot, but I shall not be concerned in them further than what may be done by way of demonstration in the bay.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"March 10th.—Made up the despatch to Lord Liverpool, "wrote besides to Cathcart and Lord Mulgrave. Dined at Mr. Wellesley's.

"11th.—Got all my letters to Lord Liverpool copied, "and sent them with a short letter to Lord Wellington "to go by a courier of Souza's by Faro. Came out early "in the day to Isla, and received favourable reports of the "state of the wounded."

To Lord Wellington.

"Cadiz, 11th March, 1811.

" My Lord,

"The Warrior having been ordered home, gave "me an immediate opportunity of reporting to the Secy. "of State the transactions of the expedition in which we "have been engaged. I trust your Lordship will excuse "me for only sending copies of these letters, that marked "'private' will show my motives and opinion; indeed, I "am most thoroughly convinced that the results of the "expedition could not have been any other than the "raising the blockade of Cadiz, had the management been in the hands of an officer who knew what to do, and had the Spanish troops behaved well, which I have no reason to doubt of from what I saw of the conduct of

"the vanguard employed in the attack in the rear of the enemy's lines at Santi Petri. I trust my determination to return into the Isla and not continue in the division under such management, will meet with your Lordship's approbation; indeed, the number of officers unable from wounds to do duty renders the division very unfit for any service.

"It is extremely distressing to me to have been under "the necessity of making such a sacrifice, and to find that "no positive advantage to the cause results from it. The "Spanish Government from some spirit of intrigue in "support of General Lapena, or from an obstinate and "blind determination to adhere to their own plan, do not "seem inclined to strike at the root of the evil. Lapena "continues in command of the army, and General Zayas "with a force of 6,000 or 7,000 men would have been " before this sent out against the enemy at Chiclana, had "not the bridge at Santi Petri been broken by a high tide "and a gale of wind. The probability is that he will not "only not succeed, but that his corps will be dispersed. "Had things been well combined, we could have acted on "the 5th with an army of 16,000 men, including those "whom General Zayas would have had ready to join by "the bridge of Santi Petri.

"I hope to be able to send by this opportunity an "explanatory sketch of the country where we engaged the "enemy, by which, I think it must appear evident that "while the Barrosa height was held, there was nothing to fear for the communications of Santi Petri.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."
GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON"

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"Gibraltar, 10th March, 1811.

" My dear General,

"Most sincerely do I congratulate you on your victory. Had you met with that support which the

"example of your brave army ought to have inspired, the total defeat of the enemy must have been the result.

"Adieu, my dear General,

"Always most faithfully,
"COLIN CAMPBELL."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"March 12th.—Rode to the hospitals and saw most of the wounded men. Maitland, of the Artillery, shot through the body, is doing well. Wrote to Mr. Wellesley, sending him a copy of my report to Lord Liverpool, in order that he may take means to prevent the effects of misrepresentation on the minds of the people from the reports read in the Cortes relative to the transactions of the 5th."

To the Right Honourable Henry Wellesley.

"Isla de Leon, 12th March, 1811.

"Sir,

"I cannot better comply with your desire to be "furnished with a detailed account of the action of the "5th, than by sending you a copy of my despatch to the "Earl of Liverpool, written the day after, together with "an exact return of the killed and wounded, since made "up, and by which it appears that more that one-fourth of "our number is hors de combat by that affair, while some "corps are reduced in a much greater proportion. Of 30 " officers of the brigade of Guards in the field, 17 were "killed or wounded, more than one-half of Lieutenant-"Colonel Brown's flank battalion, officers and men, were "in the same state; the loss of the 87th Regiment is like-"wise very great. These corps cannot be fit to act in the "field for a great while. You are already possessed of the "copies of General Lapena's letter to me of the morning of "the 6th, and of my answer, as well as of my answer to your "letter enclosing the Secretary of State's letter to you on

"the subject of my withdrawing the British troops within "the Isla de Leon. I repeat that, considering the great loss "that the division sustained by being left alone in this "contest, I could not do otherwise. I have only to add "that in justification of myself for having exposed my "troops in this way, that I did not know of the Com-" mander-in-Chief's intention of leaving the Barrosa height, "and that in returning to support the Spanish troops in "that position I believed that I should have rejoined the "General and got all the assistance against the enemy "that might have been expected. At all events, I confi-"dently trust that no partial representation of this affair "will attach any blame to me of having impeded the "plan of attack against the enemy's lines. It grieves me " severely that such a sacrifice of brave men should have "been made without reaping any of the fruits of success.

" I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY WELLESLEY."

"March 13th.—Wrote another despatch to Lord Wel"lington. Wrote to General Coupigny about the plan
"which Jackson shewed him. Recommended Miranda,
"stating his very distinguished gallantry on the 5th.
"Coupigny appointed to the interim command of this

"Coupigny appointed to the interim command of this army during the investigation of General Lapena's conduct. Wrote to Miranda as a certificate of his conduct."

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 13th March, 1811.

"My Lord,

"I take the opportunity of Lieut.-Col. Jackson going to Lisbon to send your Lordship a sketch of the ground and of the action of the 5th, and as no one had a more conspicuous share on the left than that distin-

"guished officer, I beg to refer your Lordship to him for any further details you may wish to be possessed of.

"After much uncertainty and various plans being agi"tated, I believe the Spaniards have prudently given up
"thoughts of prosecuting the enterprise further at present.
"The Cortes have taken the matter up and directed an
"enquiry, but if it is to be conducted by the Regency it
"will not probably produce much satisfaction to the public;
"meanwhile by the day's orders I see the Marquis of Cou"pigny is directed to take the command of this army
"during the investigation of the conduct of the former
"Commander-in-Chief Lapena.

"Much pains have been taken to create a prejudice "against me for impeding the progress of the operations "by withdrawing the troops and refusing further co-opera-"tion in the field; but the truth will come out, and if I "deserve censure it is not for having been backward in the " cause, but for having risked His Majesty's troops too much "for it. Yet, from all I learn, the extreme confusion and " alarm that reigned amongst the Spaniards, in the more "retired position of Bermeja, I am satisfied that nothing "would have been more hazardous than a retreat at that "time, and it never could have been expected that I should "have been left so completely without support. I should "be glad to receive your Lordship's directions about the " prisoners. The Admiral has received orders not to send "any more to England, but that cannot be meant for "officers; these, as they recover from their wounds, will "become extremely troublesome guests here. From the "accounts received lately, the enemy's loss in superior " officers has been very great, several commanding officers " of regiments, whom we knew nothing of, being amongst "the killed. Sebastiani has pushed on a corps of about "2,000 men that was at San Roque on the 11th inst. "trust as Lieut.-Colonel Brown, with the débris of his "admirable flank battalion, has got back to Tarifa, there " is no dan gerfor that interesting point. Beguines' corps,

"from Algesiras, which joined us and came on to Santi Petri, was afterwards sent to Medina, but has since re"tired to Alcala.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"March 15th.-Received the official accounts of Mas-Lord Wellington's head-quarters at " sena's retreat. "Thomar; in pursuit of him on the 8th. Supposed he meant "to try to get to Oporto, which Lord Wellington hoped to "be able to prevent. Our expedition preparing under "Zayas to the Condado de Niebla. By Bardaxi's letter to "Mr. Wellesley, I was invited to contribute some assis-"tance; replied, in direct terms, that it was impossible, "both from the tenor of my instructions against detaching "troops and from the crippled state of my force. Quoted, "too, the experience I had had of a total want of support "to prevent me in future exposing myself to a similar risk. "16th.—Expedition under Zayas preparing; the em-"barkation going on. Visited the wounded officers and "inquired about the men at the hospitals; in general they "are doing well. Rode to see the part of the line next "the bay, which I shall be pleased to take charge of. "General Coupigny called to speak to me on that point, "as a new arrangement must take place on the diminution "of the army by General Zayas' expedition of 6,000 in-" fantry and 500 cavalry.

"17th.—St. Patrick's day.—Rode to Cadiz, saw Mr. Wel"lesley. The ships sent to Sicily for three regiments passed
"to Lisbon with corn, Sir J. Stuart having detained the
"troops; had this not been the case there is no doubt of
"their having joined me in time for the expedition, and
"with such a reinforcement failure could not have taken
"place, even with all the mismanagement of General
"Lapena. Dined with the 87th Regiment. Wrote to

"General Coupigny about the posts that our troops could

"occupy, offering to take all the duty of the line of the

" bay, from San Carlos to the Torre Gorda inclusive.

"18th.—Visited General Coupigny, with Generals Disney and Dilkes, and staff; rode to Portazzo, St. Jago, and to the sea on the right; General Coupigny and staff dined

"here. Zayas sailed this evening.

"19th.—General Coupigny called to tell me that the Government, wishing to prevent the enemy from making any detachments against Zayas' expedition, wished that a demonstration of attack in different points of the line should be made, and had ordered him to concert with me on what should be best for the purpose. I recommended the appearance of reconstructing the bridge of Santi Petri, with an assemblage of troops there and in other points. Why the Government, with this in view, gave up the position of Bermeja, and undid the bridge entirely, must be matter of astonishment to those who are unaccustomed to Spanish tactics.

"20th.—Went out before daybreak to Santi Petri, on the way to which the Guards and 89th, with the cavalry and a brigade of guns, were halted, having marched at 4 a.m. The 47th had come from Cadiz, and were encamped near No. 13 battery. Tiraillerie in the marsh, and considerable expenditure of powder from the batteries firing along line without any effect. Visited the prisoners' hospital.

"21st.—Wrote an additional statement of the transac-"tions of the expedition to Mr. Wellesley. Received from "the Admiral three papers, one of the 1st March. The "King's recovery progressive.

"22nd.—Guerillas sent across Santi Petri into the wood soon driven back, the enemy reoccupying the position in force. At 10 a.m., a battalion embarked in the Admiral's flats at the Cantara; no other demonstration was made. Our camp still continues threatening assistance to Santi

" Petri.

"24th.—Called on General Rufin. Rode in to Cadiz, saw Mr. Wellesley; agreed on the necessity of pub-"lishing an answer to General Lapena's statement, which leaves the whole blame of the failure of the expedition on me, and accuses me of breach of agreement."

To the Right Honourable Henry Wellesley.

" Isla de Leon, 24th March, 1811.

"Sir,

"You will do justice to my reluctance to enter into any controversy for the purpose of counteracting the effects of that obloquy which you yourself and many others assured me my conduct was exposed to by the reports circulated in Cadiz relative to the issue of the late expedition.

"But a copy of a printed statement of General Lapena having been shewn to me yesterday, which, by implication at least, leaves the blame of the failure of the most brilliant prospects on me, it becomes indispensably necessary that I should take up my pen in self-defence.

"Having already sent you a copy of my despatch to the Earl of Liverpool, with a report of the action, I will not trouble you with any detail of the first movements of the army, nor with any other observation relative to them, than that the troops suffered much unnecessary fatigue by marching in the night and without good guides.

"Considering the nature of the service we were engaged in, I was most anxious that the army should not come into contact with the enemy in an exhausted state, nor be exposed to the attack of the enemy, but when it was well collected; and in consequence of representations to this effect, I understood that the march of the afternoon of the 4th was to be a short one, to take up for the night a position near Conil—to prepare which, staff officers of both nations were sent forward with a proper escort.

"The march was nevertheless continued through the "night, with those frequent and harassing halts which the "necessity of groping for the way occasioned.

"When the British division began its march from the " position of Barrosa to that of Bermeja, I left the General " on the Barrosa height, nor did I know of his intentions " of quitting it; and when I ordered the division to "countermarch, in the wood, I did so to support troops "left for its defence, and believing the General to be there in "person. In this belief I sent no report of the attack "which was made so near the spot where the General was "supposed to be, and though confident in the bravery of "the British troops, I was not less so in the support I "should receive from the Spanish army. The distance, "however, to Bermeja is trifling, and no orders were given "from head-quarters for the movement of any corps of "the Spanish army to support the British division, to " prevent its defeat in this unequal contest, or to profit of "the success earned at so heavy an expense. The voluntary "zeal of the two small battalions (Walloon Guards and "Ciudad Real) which had been detached from my division, "brought them alone back from the wood; but notwith-" standing their utmost efforts they could only come at the " close of the action.

"Had the whole body of the Spanish cavalry, with the horse artillery, been rapidly sent by the sea beach to form in the plain and to envelope the enemy's left—had the greatest part of the infantry been marched through the pine wood, in our rear, to turn his right, what success might not have been expected from such decisive movements? The enemy must either have retired instantly and without occasioning any serious loss to the British division, or he would have exposed himself to absolute destruction, his cavalry greatly outnumbered, his artillery lost, his columns mixed and in confusion, a general dispersion would have been the inevitable consequence of a close pursuit—our wearied men would have found spirits

" to go on and would have trusted to finding refreshment " and repose at Chiclana. This moment was lost. Within "a quarter-of-an-hour's ride of the scene of action, the "General remained ignorant of what was passing, and "nothing was done. Let not, then, this action of Barrosa "form any part of the general report of the transactions " of the day; it was an accidental and insulated feature; "it was the result of no combination; it was equally "unseen and unheeded by the Spanish staff; the British "division left alone, suffered the loss of more than one-"fourth of its number, and became unfit for further "exertion. Need I say more to justify my determination " of declining any further co-operation in the field towards "the prosecution of the object of the expedition; I am, "however, free to confess, that having thus placed myself " and the British division under the direction of the Spanish "Commander-in-Chief in the field (contrary to my instruc-"tions) I should not have thought myself justified to my "King and country to risk the absolute destruction of this "division in a second trial. But I have right to claim "credit for what would have been my conduct, from what "it was, and I will ask if it can be doubted, after my " zealous co-operation throughout, and the ready assistance "afforded to the troops left on Barrosa height, that the "same anxiety for the success of the cause, would not "have secured to the Spanish army the utmost efforts of "the British division during the whole of the enterprise, " had we been supported as we had a right to expect.

"There is not a man in the division who would not gladly have relinquished his claim to glory, acquired by the action of Barrosa, to have shared with the Spaniards the ultimate success that was within our grasp as it were.

"The people of Spain, the brave and persevering people, are universally esteemed, respected, and admired, by all who value liberty and independence; the hearts and hands of British soldiers will ever be with

"them; the cause of Spain is felt by all to be a common one.

"I conclude with mentioning that the only regret ex-"pressed to me at head-quarters on the morning of the "6th, on not knowing of my intention to send the British "troops across the river Santi Petri, was, that the oppor-" tunity of withdrawing the Spanish troops during the night "was lost, and on my observing that after such a defeat "there was no risk of attack from the enemy, a very con-"trary opinion was maintained. In point of fact, no "enemy ever appeared, during several days employed in " bringing off the wounded and burying the dead. It may "be proper to remark on the reports published relative "to the enemy's number at Santi Petri (4,500 men of "Villatte's division), that by the concurrent testimony of all "the French officers here, General Villatte's division had "charge of the whole line. What then must be the "strength of that division to have afforded 4,500 men "to Santi Petri alone? In order to establish by authentic "documents facts which may have been disputed, and to "elucidate others, I enclose, by way of appendix, the re-" ports of various officers of this division.

"I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard, "Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"THOMAS GRAHAM,
"Lt.-General."

"P.S.—I must add this postscript distinctly to deny my having spoken, at head-quarters in the evening of the "5th, of sending for more troops, or for provisions from the Isla.

"My visit was a very short one, of mere ceremony—I "may have asked if the Spanish troops expected were "arrived. This error must have arisen from the difficulty "of conversing in a foreign language.

"With this I send you a sketch of the ground, &c., of

"the action of Barrosa, by which it will be seen how impossible, according to my judgment, it would be for an enemy to expose his left flank, by making a direct attack through the wood on the Bermeja position, while that of Barrosa was occupied in force by the allied army."

To Lord Liverpool.

"Isla de Leon, 25th March, 1811.

" My Lord,

"Since the date of my despatches, carried home by Captain Hope, nothing material has occurred here. The Spanish Government, after some uncertainty, gave up the idea of prosecuting the enterprise against the enemy's lines here, and determined to send an expedition to Huelva.

"Accordingly, 6,000 infantry and 500 cavalry sailed in "the evening of the 25th under the orders of General "Zayas, but from the information he received of the "enemy's force being at no great distance, he did not "think it prudent to disembark, and his return here was "expected. It is, however, reported that he has since "landed further on the coast towards the mouth of the "Guadiana. But the unfortunate circumstances which have of late occurred in Estremadura, and which have "nearly annihilated the army that had so long main-"tained itself there under the direction of the Marquis "de Romana, leaves little hope of much benefit arising "from the enterprise.

"In order to operate as a diversion in favour of General "Zayas, there have been various demonstrations made "here, but these can scarcely have imposed upon the "enemy, as the bridge at Santi Petri and the hold we had "on the opposite side have been withdrawn entirely.

"Lieut.-General the Marquis de Coupigny, late Quarter-"Master General with the Marquis de Romana, and "accidently in Cadiz on his way to take the command of "the army in Valentia, has been appointed to the com"mand of this army during the investigation which the
"Cortes have directed should be instituted relative to the
"conduct of Lieut.-General Lapena, the interim Com"mander-in-Chief. This officer, in a statement given into
"the Cortes, so evidently leaves the blame of the failure
"of the expedition on me for withdrawing the British
"troops after the action of the 5th inst. that I have been
"forced to send a statement to Mr. Wellesley to counteract
"its effects.

"General Lapena's statement is printed but not pub"lished, and Mr. Wellesley, I believe, means that mine,
"translated into Spanish, should be circulated in the
"same way. I hope in a few days to be able to send your
"Lordship copies of these papers by the next packet.
"Aware of the probable bad effects of such a dispute, I
"entered into the controversy with great reluctance, but
"it was impossible to submit to such an unfounded charge.
"I need not observe to your Lordship that the probable,
"and indeed inevitable consequence of this will be a want
"of that cordiality that is so necessary for the benefit of
"the publc service here between the Spaniards and
"myself; for it is evident that the Government mean to
"support General Lapena as far as they can, to avoid the
"imputation of blame from his appointment.

"I have the honour to remain,

"etc., etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"March 28th.—Visited Bushe, who had expressed a "wish to see me; weak and much fever, in a very dangerous "state. Rode into Cadiz; much damage by the storm; no communication with the ships.

"29th.—Still blowing hard. Overhauled the trans-"lation of my letter to Mr. Wellesley with Costello, "who corrected it; determined to withdraw the reports of

- "the officers, which are so ill-translated as to be no longer
- "intelligible. Rode out with Oswald in the evening; the
- " sea dyke next the bay at the Cortadura entirely destroyed,
- "rendering the road impassable at high water.
 - "April 1st.-Rode to Portazzo and the Caraccas with
- "Oswald; nothing done at either. The Regency have given
- "the rank of Lieut.-Colonel to Miranda and Naughton.
- "3rd.-Rode into Cadiz early to attend the funeral
- "honours paid to the Duke of Albuquerque.
- "4th.-Letters from Lisbon with the accounts of the
- " progress of Massena's retreat up to 16th.
- "5th.-Rode out to breakfast. Found that the field-
- "day ordered at half-past 9 was put off on account of the
- "men having been on the alert last night from information
- "received by General Coupigny of an intention on the
- " part of the enemy to disturb the line.
- "6th.—Two frigates, Freya and Pomone, came off the
- "port, brought no letters; report that there is war with
- "America. Wrote to Radetzky and Lord Wellington."

From Lord Wellington.

"Sta. Marinha, 25th March, 1811.

"Sir,

- "I have had the honour of receiving your letter " of the 11th and its enclosures, likewise one of the 13th "which you enclosed to Lieut.-Colonel Jackson, although "the Lieut.-Colonel is not yet arrived.
- "I beg to congratulate you, and the brave troops under "your command, on the signal victory which you gained
- "on the 5th instant. I have no doubt whatever that their
- "success would have had the effect of raising the siege of
- "Cadiz if the Spanish corps had made any effort to assist
- "them; and I am equally certain, from your account of
- "the ground that, if you had not decided with the utmost
- " promptitude to attack the enemy, and if your attack had
- "not been a most vigorous one, the whole allied army
- " would have been lost.

"You have to regret that such a victory should not have been followed by all the consequences which might reasonably be expected from it, but you may console yourself with the reflection that you did your utmost, and, at all events, saved the allied army; and that the failure in the extent of benefit to be derived from your exertions is to be attributed to those who would have derived most advantage from them.

"The conduct of the Spaniards throughout this expedition is precisely the same as I have ever observed it
to be. They march the troops night and day without
provisions or rest, and abusing everybody who proposes
a moment's delay to afford either, to the famished and
fatigued soldiers. They reach the enemy in such a state
as to be unable to make any exertion, or to execute any
plan, even if any plan had been formed; and then, when
the moment of action arrives, they are totally incapable
of movement, and they stand by to see their allies
destroyed, and afterwards abuse them because they do
not continue, unsupported, exertions to which human
nature is not equal.

"I concur in the propriety of your withdrawing to the "Isla on the 6th as much as I admire the promptitude "and determination of your attack on the 5th; and I most "sincerely congratulate you, and the brave troops under "your command, on your success.

"Mr. Wellesley will communicate to you the state of affairs here.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

To Lord Wellington.

"Isla de Leon, 6th April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have had the honour of receiving your Lord-"ship's letter in which you express yourself in such "flattering terms of approbation of the conduct of the division under my command on the 5th inst. as cannot but be extremely gratifying to us all. I beg leave to congratulate your Lordship on the signal success of the allied army, under your Lordship's command—in having foiled, and driven back with much loss, that enemy who so vauntingly announced to all Europe the impossibility of withstanding his force.

"What has happened, and what is daily passing here, "must make me more than ever desirous of being moved from a situation where my service is likely to become not only disagreeable but useless."

"It is evident that the Government wish to support and and justify General Lapena, which cannot be the case without imputing blame to me. Of course little cordiality is to be expected, however desirous I am to contribute by every means in my power to the general interest of the cause. I shall undoubtedly, after the experience I have had, decline every proposition of co-operation in the field, unless positively sanctioned by orders from your Lordship or the Government at home.

"The enemy is very busy in constructing new works of defence near Chiclana and Bermeja, near Santi Petri. "We are at a loss to know what General Zayas is about. "In the first days it appears that the information he "received prevented his landing more than a small advanced guard of infantry and all his cavalry, when by some mismanagement a number of the horses of the latter were lost; the infantry and men of the cavalry were reimbarked. Since this the Government, which pretends not to have received the official account of this disaster, has published that he advanced on Moguer and was landing his whole force. It is understood that his command is independent of Ballesteros, though the latter is of higher rank.

"There is, therefore, but little chance of these two small corps acting with the necessary concert against the

"enemy. But the Spanish Government seem incapable of acting in a way to combine military operations and

"to give the Spanish troops a fair chance of success on "any occasion.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"April 8th.—Rode into Cadiz; heard that Zayas is coming back, just as Beresford is crossing the Guadiana.

"Returned to Isla.

"9th.—Exercise of the line; troops behaved uncom-"monly well. General Blake is to go in command of "Zayas' troops to the same coast.

"11th.—Rode to Santi Petri with Clive. Enemy making strong works there. Lord Powerscourt, who brought me

"a letter from his uncle, Sir J. Craddock, came here.

"I2th.—Rode into Cadiz; dined at Mr. Wellesley's. "General Zayas there. He promised to send me his "journal of the expedition."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

"Cadiz, 12th April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"Nothing of importance has occurred since I "had last the honour of addressing your Lordship. From a variety of unfavourable circumstances, of which I am "not well informed, General Zayas, who I believe to be an active, zealous, and intelligent officer, found himself under the necessity of returning from Huelva with the loss of a good many horses of his cavalry and some hundreds of his men, who deserted to General Ballesteros.

"The conduct of the latter is spoken of as extremely improper in many respects, and it is supposed to be on that account that the same expedition is preparing to sail to-morrow under the command of General Blake "himself. There can be no doubt of the propriety of a "diversion being made on that coast in favour of General Beresford, who is believed to be on this side of the "Guadiana.

"All working parties have been discontinued here since "the preparations of the expedition to Tarifa, and General "Coupigny tells me that he has not troops enough to "allow of his resuming these operations, though he seems "thoroughly sensible of the defective state of several of "the most important points, such as the point of Santi "Petri and the Caraccas, where immense labour has been "lost by the bad system adopted. As the bad weather "has done much injury to many of our works of the second "line, and as several important works of it and toward "the bay remain to be executed, it is my intention to "begin next week to employ such a number of the men of "my division as can be easily spared from duty with arms. "However desirable it would be, I could not propose to "employ them in any of the above-mentioned works of "the first line without creating much jealousy among the "Spanish engineers, as I certainly would not misapply la-"bour by a prosecution of their plans. The great difficulty "we shall experience is the want of materials, especially "timber. This article is much wanted, too, for the use of "the barracks; some of the dampest of the rooms have "been fitted up with guard beds of deal executed by "contract at a very considerable expense, but a great "number of the men continue to sleep on the guard "floors without anything but their blankets and great "coats. I mentioned this subject long ago, and suggested "the propriety of a ship-load of wood from America "being ordered here. Though the men bear this uncom-"fortable situation with great patience, I cannot help "calling your Lordship's attention to the subject, more "especially as Sir James Fellowes is of opinion that a "greater degree of comfort would, at particular seasons, "be material for the men's health.

"The difficulty of getting printer's work executed here has hitherto prevented the circulation of the statement I made to Mr. Wellesley; though the very unfair one of General Lapena at the time, and the partial, though less offensive, one of the Government relative to the affair of the 5th ultimo, published in the Regency gazette, make it extremely desirable that the public should know the truth. I hope it will be ready, as well as the engraved plan, in a day or two.

"I have applied to the Admiral for a passage to "England for General Rutin, which I am anxious to "obtain for him as his wound is nearly closed, but he "remains paralytic from effects. He wishes much to go " on his parole to some of the hot baths on the continent, "an indulgence I have told him it is not in my power to "grant, especially to an officer of his rank, considering "the conduct of his own Government in cases where "indulgence of that kind has been given. It is, however, "very unlikely that he will ever be able to serve again. "I wrote at first to Lord Wellington to know how I should "dispose of these prisoners, but the occupations of his "glorious career have prevented his answering me. "Meanwhile, the Admiral considers the Admiralty orders " not to send home any more prisoners as absolute, though "Mr. Wellesley is inclined to consider that it was only "meant to apply to prisoners taken by the Spaniards. "am much at a loss what to do with them here. "Spaniards dislike seeing those that are recovered walking "about with our officers, and I have no place of confine-"ment for the men who might be discharged from the "hospital. There will probably be soon about 300 of them "who might be sent away.

"I have the honour to remain,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

[&]quot;THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

[&]quot;April 14th.-Visited General Coupigny. King's mes-

"senger came with despatches, in answer to mine about the action of Barrosa."

From Colonel Torrens.

"Horse Guards, March 29th, 1811.

" My dear General,

"I have had the pleasure to receive your private "letter of the 10th inst., and I beg you will allow me, in "addition to the public and official acknowledgments "which you will receive by the present opportunity, to " offer my mite of congratulations upon the very brilliant "circumstances which have so eminently distinguished "your conduct, and that of the little army under your "orders, in the battle of the 5th inst. When the great "disproportion of numbers and other apparent points " of disadvantage on the part of your force are taken into " consideration, this action must be admitted as one of the "greatest efforts of valour and discipline that ever dis-"tinguished our military annals, and I assure you it is "with the utmost sincerity of heart that I rejoice in the "event which has so justly placed your merits in a point " of view to attract the undisputed approbation of your "country. Indeed, nothing was ever more general than "the satisfaction expressed upon the occasion, and in pro-" portion as an universal tribute is paid to the merit of our "troops, so is there a feeling of general dissatisfaction at "the unaccountable imbecility of conduct which is ap-" parent to all ranks of people in the part which your ally "took in this enterprise. If the Spanish force had acted "in any manner offensively, the destruction of the French "army must have been inevitable. What can all this "mean? It is impossible to conceive stupidity to go to "such an extent in causing inactivity, and, therefore, find "it difficult to divest my mind of a feeling which suggests the probability of a cause more disgraceful even than cowardice.

"It is now evident enough, from dear-bought experience, "that if a new system be not adopted on the part of our "Government, nothing can be expected from the exertions of the Spaniards. Their Government and their officers are totally unfit to direct the qualities and the energies of the people towards that success to which I think they would be competent under able guidance. Nothing will do but to place you at their head in a similar situation with Beresford, with an extensive establishment of British officers to assist you. I don't suppose, however, that the pride of the Spanish Government would allow them to admit such an arrangement.

"You will perceive that all the officers whom you have " recommended, and who are eligible to brevet rank, have "been promoted. You will easily understand that the " means do not exist of giving equally prompt effect to your "wishes on the behalf of the two officers who have already "the brevet rank of Lieut.-Colonel. For this reason Sir "David Dundas could have wished that you had made the "recommendation in a separate letter and not in a public "despatch. You have the gratification of having com-"menced a system which I have long had at heart, and, "indeed, which I have, from time to time, been labouring "to accomplish-I mean the conferring of brevet rank for "distinguished services. It is the mode of all others most "likely to excite emulation in the army, and combines the " advantage of prompt reward with that of not interfering "in the succession of regimental promotion.

"Believe me, my dear General, to be
"Ever most faithfully and sincerely yours,
"H. TORRENS."

From Lord Moira.

"Donington, Leicestershire,
"March 29th, 1811.

" My dear General,

"My congratulations on the fame which you have acquired cannot be thought intrusive, because I will venture to advance a title to a peculiar interest in your glory. You will recollect the time, when, in the forecast of services to your country which you have so nobly realised, I earnestly maintained the policy, as well as the justice, of giving to you the rank which was to lead you to early command. I thank you for having so fully justified my prognostics, and I pray that you may long and happily wear the laurels you have so worthily achieved.

"I have the honour, my dear General, to be sincerely, "Your faithful Servant,

"MOIRA."

"LT.-GEN. GRAHAM."

From the Speaker of the House of Commons.

"House of Commons, 28th March, 1811.

"Sir,

"By command of the House of Commons, I have the honour to communicate to you their unanimous thanks.

"To you, Sir, for the distinguished ability displayed by you on the 5th inst. in the brilliant action on the heights of Barrosa.

"And to Brigadier-General Dilkes, and the several other officers for their distinguished exertions on that day."

"Together with the unanimous declaration made by this "House of its high approbation and acknowledgment of

"the distinguished valour and discipline displayed by the

"non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the

"forces serving under your command in that brilliant victory, and requesting that the same may be signified to them by the commanding officers of the several corps, who are desired to thank them for their gallant and

"exemplary conduct.

"Allow me, Sir, to embrace the same opportunity of expressing to you the cordial satisfaction with which I have witnessed the universal joy of all ranks of men, not only for this achievement—so brilliant in itself—but more especially that your name, which they have long followed with peculiar respect and admiration throughout your distinguished career in the profession of arms, will now stand recorded to the latest posterity upon the list of those great commanders who have been most renowned for advancing the military glory of their country.

"I have the honour to be, with the sincerest sentiments of respect,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful

" and most obedient Servant,
" CHAS. ABBOT,
" Speaker."

From Sir David Dundas.

" Horse Guards, 29th of March, 1811.

"Sir,

"Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens having laid before me your letter of the 9th inst., and its enclosed copies of despatches addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, detailing the operations of the force which had been embarked for the relief of the blockade of Cadiz, and having communicated upon the subject with the Prince Regent, I feel much satisfaction in conveying to you the entire approbation which has been established in the mind of His Royal Highness by the perusal of your despatches of the 6th inst., detailing the circumstances of the attack

"and signal defeat of the French army, under Marshal "Victor, by the division of His Majesty's troops under your personal command.

"His Royal Highness has observed with very peculiar "gratification, the combined display of discipline and "bravery which appears to have eminently marked the "conduct of His Majesty's troops in this distinguished "action, and in which, under your able guidance, they "have most deservedly earned the gratitude and admira-"tion of their country. It has been no less apparent to "His Royal Highness that the success which has upon "this glorious occasion followed the exertions of His "Majesty's troops in their attack of an enemy, formidable "in his position and greatly superior in numbers, is to "be attributed to the judgment, decision, and prompti-"tude with which you conducted the unsupported energies " of an inferior force, under circumstances of great diffi-"culty and disadvantage, and I am authorised to desire "that you will accept, and convey to the officers and troops "under your command, the full thanks of His Royal " Highness for the gallant conduct which has distinguished " this action.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you that His Royal "Highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to confer a step of brevet rank upon the officers stated in the margin, whom you have recommended, and who are eligible to promotion of that description. His Royal Highness is equally impressed with the merits of other officers who have distinguished themselves in the command of corps, but having already the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, or a superior one, it is not possible to give equally prompt attention to their promotional advancement. Their claims will, however, be borne in recollection upon a future occasion.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without requesting "you will accept of my congratulations upon the credit "which your conduct upon this occasion must attach to

"your professional character, and of the assurance of the

" personal regard with which I have the honour to be,
"Your most obedient and faithful Servant,

"DAVID DUNDAS."

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRAHAM."

From General Alexander Hope.

" Horse Guards,
" March 30th, 1811.

" My dear Graham,

"Few circumstances have given me more pleasure "than the renown you have acquired to yourself and the "army under your command, a feeling so universal, how-" ever, with the public, that your private friends can hardly " entertain it in a degree beyond what is generally felt and "acknowledged. It is, indeed, a glorious and satisfactory " result, issuing from your own unwearied perseverance in "military exertion. I need not say that your short note "gave me every desire to forward the injunctions which it "contained, but on reflection, I concluded there was no "manner (had it been otherwise right) in which I could "have given them effect. When you deprecated honours "for yourself, and wished, preferably, to see rewards con-"ferred on those under your command, you seemed to "have imagined that your forbearance would have for-" warded the claims of others, a sacrifice which, in a public "view, would not have been becoming, and one which was " not wanted.

"I saw Lord Liverpool, however, upon the subject, and found the thanks of Parliament, a medal, and the Red Ribbon, when it can be conferred, to be intended. The thanks you will receive at the same time as this letter, and the others, I trust, will soon follow.

"The kindness in Parliament to you and the army was "such as to meet the warmest wishes of your friends." By the bye, amongst the latter, I met Loraine Smith at

"the House the night of the thanks, who seemed per"suaded you never would have obtained them, had you
"not formerly rode over Leicestershire; he seemed chiefly
"touched with the loss of your horse, and most anxious to
"know which of them had been shot.

"Your affecte.,
"ALEX. HOPE."

From Lord Liverpool to General Graham.

"Downing Street,
"30th March, 1811.

"Sir,

"Your despatch of the 6th instant, communicating the glorious result of the action fought upon the
morning of the preceding day, between the division under
your command and Marshal Victor's army, was delivered
to me late in the night of the 24th inst. by Captain Hope.
No time was lost in laying before His Royal Highness
the Prince Regent this interesting narrative of events,
which afford fresh grounds for exultation in the superiority of British troops.

"His Royal Highness has remarked with peculiar satis"faction the quickness and decision with which you resolved
"upon anticipating the attack of so superior an enemy,
"under circumstances of the most critical nature, in which
"judgment, promptitude, and unshaken bravery were alike
"requisite to avert the imminent danger to which yourself
"and your gallant troops were exposed.

"The Prince Regent has likewise felt the highest gratification in observing the unanimous spirit with which the
officers and soldiers under your command vied in the
execution of your orders, and the steady discipline and unconquerable valour which at length accomplished a decided
victory over an enemy of nearly double their numbers,
and of long experience and high reputation in war.

"The severe loss which has been sustained in this action by the gallant troops, whom you, Sir, so worthily led, has been a subject of deep regret to the mind of the Prince Regent, but such a conflict could not but be attended with the fall of many brave men, and this partial sacrifice has probably saved the allies from the most calamitous events. The memory of those who conquered, and of those who fell in the hour of victory upon the heights of Barrosa, will be ever cherished by the British nation, and their names will hold a conspicuous rank among the bravest and worthiest of our heroes.

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased to direct that as an honourable ensign of the distinguished merit displayed by the general officers, and by the field officers in the direction of departments or in the command of corps, upon this memorable day, a medal shall be worn by them bearing the glorious name of Barrosa. And His Royal Highness has commanded me to desire you would accept upon your own part, and would convey to the officers and soldiers serving under your orders upon the 5th of March, His Royal thanks for the brilliant exploits performed upon that day—exiploits which have never been surpassed in the military annals of Great Britain.

"I have the honour to be, "Sir,

"You most obedient humble Servant,
"LIVERPOOL."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

From the Earl of Liverpool.

"Downing Street,
"30th March, 1811.

"Sir,

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having

"taken into his consideration all the circumstances at"tending the late operations of the British and Spanish
"combined forces as detailed in your despatches of the
"21st February, 6th, 9th, and 10th of March, in which it
"appears that the allied army was only saved from the
"extreme danger to which it had been unnecessarily ex"posed by the brilliant valour of the British troops acting
"under your able conduct, has commanded me to signify
"to you his pleasure that in the event of your being in"vited to take part in further operations of a combined
"nature, you should decline placing yourself or the
"British forces entrusted to your charge under the com"mand of a Spanish officer of any rank whatsoever.

"I have the honour to be, etc., "LIVERPOOL."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

From the Earl of Liverpool.

" Secret and Confidential.

"Downing Street, 30th March, 1811.

"Sir,

"My despatch, No. 21, of this date conveys to you an order to decline for the future the placing yourself or the British troops under the command of any Spanish General if active operations against the enemy should be again proposed.

"This despatch has been addressed to you as an "ostensible document which will enable you to refuse "participation in schemes of which you may disapprove, "or the direction of which should be entrusted to a person "whom you might consider unequal to the charge.

"At the same time, you will yourself understand, that "some opening is still left for the exercise of your dis"cretion where important reasons may incline you to take
"a part in an enterprise likely to be productive of decided
"benefit to the allied cause, but you will consider yourself

"fully empowered to refuse co-operation in any case where you may be of opinion that the plan is objectionable, or that the general officer appointed to conduct it is not fully competent to the performance of the service in contemplation.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your obedient Servant,
"LIVERPOOL."

" LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"Bedford Square, April 3rd, 1811.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to transmit to you the resolu"tions of the House of Lords of the 28th March which
"accompany this letter, expressive of the sense which that
"House entertains of the distinguished ability displayed
"by you in the brilliant action on the heights of Barrosa,
"of the distinguished exertions of Brigadier-General
"William Dilkes and the other officers in that action, and
"of the approbation and acknowledgment of the House
"of the distinguished valour and discipline of the troops
"serving under your command in the victory obtained
"upon those heights.

"I believe I may, with great truth, Sir, state to you that I recollect no instance, great and glorious as the triumphs of the British arms have been by sea and land, and anxious as the House has ever been to do justice to the merits of His Majesty's commanders and forces, in which the House of Lords ever manifested a more anxious and cordial unanimity than that which was displayed upon this occasion. I hope, Sir, you will excuse me when I presume to assure you that as the Speaker of that House and as a British subject, I have a pride and a satisfaction in transmitting to you these proofs of the admiration and gratitude of the illustrious assembly whose thanks I transmit to you, which I cannot duly represent. In com-

"mon with all His Majesty's subjects, I am, with infinite respect,

"Your obliged and obedient Servant,
"ELDON, C.
"Speaker."

"April 15th.—General Coupigny called to say that he "wished the Hussars to go down in the afternoon to Santi "Petri, as the Government desired him to make some di-"version in favour of Blake's expedition. Rode into "Cadiz; began writing in answer to despatches brought by King's messenger."

"Isla de Leon, 15th April, 1811.

"Sir,

"The non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the detachment-battalion of Guards, animated with a grateful sense of what we owe to you for your paternal care and government of us, and not knowing what opportunity we may have to address you when we shall receive orders to embark from this place on our return to England, or to go to Portugal, beg leave to address you as soldiers, and to offer our grateful thanks for the glorious manner in which you led us to victory, and the noble manner in which you prepared us for it, which made us forget the fatigues of eighteen hours under arms when the word was given for battle.

"When the 5th of March shall again return, while we recount with exultation the achievements of the day, the glorious name of Graham shall resound—alike our Father and our Friend!

"Your clemency, noble General, on all occasions, your paternal and indulgent care which made us love you, so it made us follow with enthusiasm your orders, which we well knew would lead us only to glory. A part of us you led through the hottest fire to cover the artillery, and twice to the charge. For the honour we gained

"there we return you our sincere thanks, and cannot help expressing our admiration at the glorious heroism and gallantry which we witnessed in you.

"We beg leave to repeat through you our thanks to "our noble and gallant Colonel, the Honourable Cranley "Onslow, and the rest of our gallant officers, who so "nobly shared our fatigues and assisted to mitigate them; "and if our enemy (as usual), denying the truth, should "say they gained the victory, let them, to have some "shadow of truth in their story, lay the blame of their "retreat only upon the courage, liberality, and generosity "of our officers, for to them we are indebted much. Had "they not re-echoed the same spirit of indulgence and "martial honour which General Graham inspired and "Brigadier-General Dilkes showed, the foe had lost no "prisoners, or we had lost the battle.

"Believing, Sir, that this testimony of your gallantry, ability, and heroism will not be the less acceptable as coming from soldiers who fought and conquered under your command,

"We have the honour to be, "Your most obedient humble servants."

" To the Right Honourable Charles Abbot.

"Isla de Leon, 15th April, 1811.

"Sir,

"I had yesterday the honour of receiving your "letter conveying to me the unanimous votes of thanks "of the House of Commons to me, to Brigadier-General "Dilkes, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the division under my command in the action of Barrosa on the 5th ultimo. The House will readily believe that the noble spirit displayed by "those brave men on that occasion springs from the honourable principle of loyal and devoted attachment to their Sovereign and to their country, and that, there-

"fore, they receive, as a most flattering reward, the distinguished testimony of the approbation and applause of the representatives of the people. Though I am myself conscious that the signal success of that day is entirely due to the combination of discipline and bravery of the troops whom I had the good fortune to command, yet it would ill become me to disguise my feelings on this occasion, for I well know the inestimable value of those thanks to a soldier. I have formerly often heard you, Sir, eloquently and impressively deliver the thanks of the House to officers present, and never without an anxious wish that I might one day receive this most enviable mark of my country's regard.

"This honest ambition is now fully gratified, and I am "now more than ever bound to try to merit the good "opinion of the House. I trust, Sir, you will, on my own "part and on that of my gallant comrades, assure the "House of these our grateful feelings. Permit me, Sir, "to request that you will accept my sincere thanks for "the most kind and flattering expressions with which "you have accompanied the resolution of the House, and "that you will be assured of the high regard with which "I have the honour to be,

"etc., etc., "THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES ABBOT."

To Lord Liverpool.

" Isla de Leon, 15th April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I had yesterday the honour of receiving by the "messenger your Lordship's despatch of the 30th ult.

"I have to entreat your Lordship to convey to His "Royal Highness the Prince Regent the assurances of "my humble duty, and of the most grateful feelings of satisfaction with which my heart is filled at his most

"gracious reception of the report of the success of His "Majesty's troops under my command in the action of Barrosa.

"As far as relates to the conduct of the troops (including the detachments of the German Hussars and Portuguese infantry), I am well convinced that their merit and services cannot be overrated. The noble reward bestowed on them by the approbation and thanks of the Prince Regent and both Houses of Parliament, is felt by them all as the highest that could gratify the ambition of soldiers. For my own-part, I feel that I must rather now look forward to opportunities of becoming worthy of the distinguished notice that it has pleased His Royal Highness to take of my zeal than consider myself at all entitled to such high marks of his favour.

"His Royal Highness' gracious intention of conferring on the General and field officers, in the direction of departments or in the command of corps, the honourable ensign of merit of a medal having the name of Barrosa, to be worn by them, is felt by them all as a most valu-

"able mark of His Royal Highness' consideration.

"I have, agreeable to the Prince Regent's orders, conveyed his thanks to the officers and soldiers, and I have now to request that your Lordship will express to His Royal Highness the high sense we all entertain of the distinguished marks of his approbation of our exertions.

"I trust your Lordship will not doubt of my sincere "and grateful feelings of satisfaction at the manner in "which your Lordship has fulfilled the Prince Regent's "intentions. I beg your Lordship to accept of my best "thanks, and to be assured of the high consideration "with which I have the honour to be,

" My Lord,

" etc., etc.,
" THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

[&]quot;THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

To the Right Honourable Lord Eldon.

" Isla de Leon, 16th April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have had the honour of receiving your Lord"ship's letter inclosing the resolutions of the House of
"Lords, by which the unanimous thanks of that august
"assembly have been voted to me, to Brigadier-General
"Dilkes, and to the other officers, and to the non-com"missioned officers and private soldiers under my com"mand in the action of the 5th ult. on the heights of
"Barrosa.

"The impression which this high and distinguished "mark of the approbation of the House of Lords has "made on the minds of the brave men of every rank who "are thus honoured, is such as will attach them more, if "possible, to the zealous discharge of every military duty, "and animate them to similar (greater I conceive to be "impossible) devotion to the honour of His Majesty's "arms on other occasions.

"To their steady discipline and persevering valour the "success of the action is to be entirely ascribed. But I "receive with infinite gratitude and satisfaction the most "flattering reward of my zeal, and I have to request, my "Lord, that your Lordship will make the assurances of our "most grateful feelings acceptable to the House of Lords.

"I cannot conclude this letter without hoping that your "Lordship will be well persuaded that I duly appreciate "the flattering manner in which you have expressed your-"self in conveying to me the thanks of the illustrious "assembly where you preside.

"I have the honour to be, My Lord,
"With sentiments of profound respect,
"Your Lordship's most obedient,
"etc., etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ELDON."

To Lord Liverpool.

"Isla de Leon, 16th April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have had the honour to receive your Lordship's despatches.

"I beg to assure your Lordship for the information of "His Royal Highness the Prince Regent that while I "have the honour to have any command of His Majesty's "troops it will ever be my most anxious wish, as it is my "duty, to act in conformity to the spirit of my instructions, "always endeavouring, to the best of my judgment, to "conciliate the safety of His Majesty's troops under my "command, with the honour of his arms and the interest "of the cause in which the country is engaged. I was "guided throughout by these considerations in the late "expedition though I was aware that the defence of this "position was the sole object of my command; yet, not "being restrained by any direct and positive order, I "thought the circumstances, as explained in my des-"patch of 21st Febry., justified my determination to co-"operate, and likewise to risk putting myself and my "division under a Spanish general. Indeed it was most " evident that without doing so, no co-operation could take "place. I am extremely happy now to be possessed of so "positive and ostensible an order as that of His Royal "Highness, contained in your Lordship's despatch, No. 21, "tempered as it is by your letter of the same date (marked "'secret and confidential'), by which I shall be enabled "effectually to resist solicitations to embark in absurd " plans, while it is left to my discretion to co-operate in "such as my judgment approves.

"On the subject of command there is much to be said on both sides of the question.

"Unless the command of Spanish troops were offered to me with an honest and genuine spirit of cordiality, both on the part of the Government and on the part of "the superior officers to be employed, I should certainly not wish to be invested with it. The whole military system is bad, and requires much radical reform, much determined energy in the whole staff of the army, to enable any general officer to do his duty with any chance of credit to himself or use to the cause.

"It would be so easy for the staff officers, if discontented, "to thwart every necessary and salutary measure, that no "good could be expected to result from the mere appoint-"ment of a British general to the command of a corps of "Spaniards.

"From the observations which I had the opportunity of "making, however, during our short campaign, I can "venture to assert that at that time I should have had no "difficulty in acquiring the confidence of the army and the "support of the staff.

"It would now be far different, and I do not think there is any probability of our ever acting with much cordiality together in this quarter, however the parts may be cast.

"The Government has supported the impudent and false statements and pretensions that have been brought forward, either in justification of the General and his staff,
or in the mean view of acquiring the favour of Government and popularity in the army, at the expense of truth.

"It behoves us, then, to establish the facts as they were, "that we may not forfeit the title to the credit that has been so liberally bestowed on us at home. This produces "an unavoidable irritation here, which is not likely soon to "subside. I shall have occasion to return to this subject "when I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship "the statement I formerly mentioned, and which has been "unluckily delayed by the want of printers in Cadiz.

"I have the honour to remain,
"etc., etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"April 18th.—Several boats of the expedition returned.

"23rd.—Wounded officers and men embarked in the "Druid, in which ship Captain Cockburn goes home; "also Colonels Hepburn and Sebright, Captain Colquhit, "Mr. Cameron, Guards; Mr. Taylor, 9th; Mr. Campbell, "95th; and Mr. Wellesley."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

" Cadiz, 23rd April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"Since I had last the honour of addressing your "Lordship on the 16th inst. several boats with General "Blake's expedition have been forced back into this port. "The rest have got hold of the coast in different places, "and the troops have been disembarked and were to "assemble at Ayamonte. There is no later account of "General Beresford than that of the 14th inst. It is said "that Soult is collecting his force at Cordova, and receiv-"ing reinforcements from Sebastiani's corps as well as " from Victor's. This morning several battalions have "been seen moving from Puerto Real towards Xeres. "Victor can afford to detach, in the present state of the "troops left here, without risk of losing much. I should "not wonder, however, if some of the least important "works were nearly abandoned, and the defence confined "to those of most consequence. Favourable intelligence "is received this morning from Vera Cruz stating that "the insurgents are entirely dispersed, and that great "hopes were entertained of the restoration of tranquillity "in new Spain. A ship was expected to sail very soon "after this advice, with between three and four millions " of dollars on account of Government and as much as "could be collected for individuals. The Government "is quite bankrupt, and the army and navy here much

"discontented from not having received pay for many weeks past.

"I have the honour to be,

"etc., etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"The EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"April 24th.—The wounded officers are well accommo-"dated in the cabins of the officers, who have all given "them up to them.

"25th.—Wrote to Lisbon to Lord Wellington. Called on Rufin. General Coupigny called to tell me that the Secretary of State had written to him about attempting some operation against the lines as the enemy had detached. It is absurd to think of it in the state we are in; all the best troops and the cavalry gone with Blake, and the position of the enemy considerably strengthened."

To Lieut.-General Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 25th April, 1811.

" My Lord,

"There has been no direct opportunity of sending "letters to Lisbon for some time, nor has there occurred "here anything of consequence since I had the honour of addressing your Lordship last, except that General Zayas returned, and that the same expedition again sailed under General Blake. Some boats, with a part of the troops, were driven back here, and from the state of the weather have not been able to join since. General Blake landed at Huelva and marched to Ayamonte, which was the general rendezvous. It is understood that he is still detained there for want of the stores in those vessels that could not reach that port.

"The enemy has marched a body of troops—about 1,500 infantry and a squadron or two of cavalry—from their lines before us towards Seville. Mr. Wellesley

"has informed Marshal Beresford of this movement, which "only took place yesterday. It is reported that Soult is "drawing a considerable part of Sebastiani's corps to "him. Laval, who commanded a division of Victor's "corps, is appointed to relieve Sebastiani; and La Tour "Maubourg, who commanded the division of cavalry of the 1st corps, is appointed to relieve Mortier.

"There are favourable accounts from Vera Cruz of the "affairs in New Spain, where there is every appearance " of the restoration of tranquillity. The Government pub-"lished in the Regency Gazette here an official narrative " of the late expedition tending to confirm the public in the "very false ideas that were so industriously propagated "here; this has obliged me to add to what I first stated "to Mr. Wellesley, and by the next opportunity I shall "have the honour to transmit all the different statements, "that your Lordship, at your leisure, may peruse them." "The impudence with which falsehood is supported by "some of them is scarcely to be believed; and, in general, "there prevails through all the reports of the Spanish "officers a degree of bombast that is ridiculous. "would be inclined to think that there is not less of vanity "than of pride in the Spanish character.

"I have the honour to be,

"etc., etc.,
"THOMAS GRAHAM, L. G."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THE VISCOUNT WELLINGTON."

"P.S.—The 3rd battalion 1st Guards is coming here, when the brigade now here is to return to England, except such men of the detachment-battalion as are fit to serve in Portugal. Lieut.-Colonel Bushe, of the 20th Portuguese Regiment, died of his wounds on the 20th inst."

"April 26th.—Wrote letters. Cricket match. Letters from Beresford of 19th, from Zafra, mentions that the

"enemy had retired from Llerena, and evacuated Estre-

"madura except Badajos. At Los Santos, the cavalry

"had a chace of three leagues after the French cavalry,

"took 160 prisoners and horses without any loss. Lord

"Wellington had arrived at Elvas.

"27th.—Six companies of 3rd battalion 1st Guards arrived in *Gordon* and *Mermaid*, under Colonel Cooke.

"28th.—Began writing for packet, having received many more letters by A. Upton, who came out with the Guards

" recommended to succeed Macdonald."

From Lord Douglas.

"Bothwell Castle, 2nd April, 1811.

" My dear Graham,

"Having passed the winter at this place, it was "only yesterday I had the opportunity of knowing the "proceedings of Parliament on your late glorious, and "I trust, important victory at Barrosa. Though not in "fact a participator in the vote passed upon this occasion,

"you may believe me to be a sincere and cordial content.

"I do not believe a subject of this nature was ever discussed

"with greater applause to the person entitled to it, or with

"greater or more general approbation of the deed which

"called for it. Much, however, as your country have

"expressed their feelings upon this subject, it has given

"you no more than what in my opinion you merit, and I

"trust further proofs of its gratitude still await you.

"Yours, my dear Graham,

" Most truly,
" DOUGLAS."

From Lord Grey.

"Portman Square, March 29th, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"I was on my way to town, travelling by very slow journeys, on account of the illness of my eldest

"daughter, when I read in the Gazette the account of your success on the 5th at Barrosa.

"I am very happy that I arrived in time for the vote of thanks, which gave me an opportunity of publicly expressing my admiration of an action which, considering the numbers engaged, the nature of the ground, and the peculiar disadvantages under which you laboured from the conduct of your allies, reflects greater honour on the General, and the troops which he commanded, than any of which I have read in any modern war.

"But I cannot be contented with having publicly gratified the pride which I feel as an Englishman in an achievement so decisive of our natural superiority, and I must be allowed to indulge my private feelings of regard and friendship in thus offering you my sincere congratulations on this glorious event.

"I sincerely hope that this Government will not fail to use both the right and the opportunity which this cocurrence has given them of enforcing on the Spanish Government the necessity of taking the most efficacious means for the future correction of those evils which have too long favoured the success of the enemy. This has been too long neglected, and I much fear it may now prove too late, but at least we must take care that so much valuable British blood should not in future be spilt in vain for those who will do nothing for themselves.

"I am, with the truest regard,

"My dear Sir,

"Ever yours most faithfully,

"GREY."

From Lord Mulgrave.

"Harley Street, March 26th, 1811.

" My dear Graham,

"I am not the less delighted at your glory and success from having expected everything from you that

"could be done. I regret to find that our old friend Victor has improved so much, and our old allies the Spaniards so little, since I had your powerful support in opposing the former and enduring the latter. I can feel from experience, for all the irritating, distressing embarrassments to which I find you to be exposed, from pride, ignorance, conceit, indolence, and backwardness; and I give proportional credit to your brilliant victory from the clogs with which I am aware it has been rendered peculiarly arduous, difficult, and doubtful. There can be no doubt of the promotions you recommend taking place, though the brevet promotions in the Artillery and Engineers do not, I am sorry to say, depend upon me as you suppose.

"I cannot express to you the gratification which it is to "me to find you not only established in the rank which "you had earned with such truly military perseverance "and exertion, but also enabled to manifest with how "much advantage to the glory of your profession that "rank has been conferred, and in consequence decorated "with the honourable badge of military achievements; "for the peculiar circumstance which prevents your im-"mediate investment with the order can hardly be said "to delay what may be considered as determined. The "kind manner in which you have considered me as your " recruiting sergeant, I feel to entitle me to arrogate this "increased sentiment in partaking the general feeling "which your conduct has excited. You have omitted "any hint at your own personal exertions, but they come " recorded to us through other channels.

"I have ordered immediate compliance with your official applications. If the Spaniards could but be raised to Portuguese, you might still do much effectual good in addition to much substantial glory.

" Ever yours sincerely,

"MULGRAVE."

From Lord Rosslyn.

"St. James' Square, March 30th, 1811.

" My dear Graham,

"I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of con-"gratulating you upon the brilliant victory you have "obtained under circumstances the most trying and dis-"advantageous.

"I have great pleasure in assuring you that the account has been received here by all descriptions of people with the most enthusiastic admiration, and the most lively sense of what the country owes to the successful efforts of your most extraordinary talents, enterprise, and decision.

"In public, great forbearance has been shown with "respect to the Spaniards, but in private, men will give "way to the universal indignation and contempt which "their conduct has excited.

"The difficulties of your situation have escaped nobody, and I think there is but one feeling in the country, that while we do justice to your discretion and address in dealing with the Government and the Generals, it has become an indispensable duty on the part of our Ministers to take vigorous and effectual measures for placing you in a situation with respect to the Spaniards which shall no longer expose you to the same embarrassments and dangers from which, by almost unexampled exertions and the resources of your own genius, you have so happily extricated yourself. Be assured that nobody here felt a warmer interest or a more sincere satisfaction in your glory than your faithful friend.

"ROSSLYN."

[&]quot;April 29th.—A Lieut.-Colonel was executed for treason here by strangling.

[&]quot;30th.—Rode to the Glacis of Cadiz, to inspect the six companies of the 1st Regiment of Guards which arrived

"on the 27th; very fine corps; 200, very good, of the battalion here, transferred to them—makes up a good battalion.

"May 2nd.—Flag of truce allowed boats to pass with wounded from Isla to Puntales."

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool.

"Isla de Leon, 2nd May, 1811.

" My Lord,

"The six companies of Guards, under Colonel "Cooke, arrived here on Saturday, the 27th ult., in good "health. The wounded are now embarking on board the "Gorgon, and the brigade of Guards, under Brigadier-"General Dilkes, will be on board on Saturday morning, "the 4th inst., except those men drafted to remain here or "join the brigade in Portugal. The Admiral has added "two copper-bottomed transports for their accommoda-"tion—the wounded requiring so much room as to occupy "the Gorgon entirely.

"The Admiral, on my representation of General Rufin's "helpless state, and his being greatly affected by the "heat of the climate, has consented to his being sent to "England by the Gorgon, with two officers of his suite. "He remains in a paralytic state from his wound, and is "very anxious to be exchanged, in order to try the effects "of the German waters. It is very unlikely that he will "ever be able to serve again, and therefore, if there is no "British officer of that rank for whose exchange he is "necessary, I should take it as a particular favour done "me if he were to be exchanged for the Marquis de Sta. "Cruz, a Spanish grandee of the first class, who remained " on some special business in Madrid when the French got "possession of it. He was in disguise and concealed, "but was unfortunately discovered, and sent into France, "where he remains a close prisoner ever since. Should "His Majesty's Government be inclined to accede to my

"wish, I would beg that General Rufin may be made acquainted with their favourable determination, that he

"may exert his interest to obtain the sanction of his own

"Government to the measure, and that the Marquis de

"Sta. Cruz may be sent to England, or at least brought

"to Morlaix, to be ready to be released at the time General

"Rufin gets there.

"The Marquis de Sta. Cruz having only entered the "service since the revolution, has no military rank to "entitle him to be exchanged for a General of Division "or Lieut.-General, but the precedent of General Lefevre's

"exchange for Lord Beverley makes me hope that the exchange may be approved of. He is brother-in-law to

"the Duke of Ossuna, and connected with all the greatest

" sufferers by the revolution.

"There is no late news from Estremadura, or from General Blake; he was at Castilejos by the last ac"counts.

"I have the honour to be,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G."

"THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL."

"May 4th.—The Guards embarked at 10 a.m.; went on board the *Gorgon* to see Rufin, and the other wounded of our own. Sent copies of the printed and M.S. letters to Gibraltar, to be printed there.

"5th.—News of the capture of Figueras arrived; a "feu-de-joie in the evening was fired by the troops and "all the batteries of the line.

"7th.—Packet arrived with newspapers to 19th April, "and many letters."

From Mr. Charles Sidey.

" Perth, 2nd April, 1811.

" General,

"Last Thursday's mail brought the account of

"your gallant battle. After hearing you was landed on opposite Gibraltar bay, I was sure we would soon hear of you, and had a horse ready every day to carry the news to Fintry.

"The happy tidings soon arrived, and that moment "Mr. Sandeman, of Luncarty, came to the post office, "well mounted; when he understood what I was after, he "said, 'Mr. Sidey, my mare is ready this instant for you "to ride to Balgowan.' Away I went, most happy, and " just in forty minutes delivered the welcome tidings to the "family at Balgowan-fortunately, Mr. Dow, of Methven, "was there at dinner. I could not pass by so respectable " a friend of yours as Colonel Smyth on my way out. I just "delivered him a gazette, which will make him mine for "ever. This happened on Thursday; on Friday there was "a general meeting at Perth, and that post brought the "supplementary Gazette from Admiral Keats, which I "delivered to His Grace the Duke of Athole, pointing out "a paragraph where the Admiral mentions you. "Grace said, Gentlemen, here is a second Gazette, and "I will read to you a paragraph pointed out to me by "Sidey,'-on which I received the congratulations and " esteem of every one present.

"On Saturday, Mr. Graham gave a dinner to some friends at Lynedoch, where I had the honour to be, and in the evening a bonfire, and plenty of whisky and porter, to a more numerous company than you had soldiers to fight the battle with. This treat was on the same spot where you gave one on the happy acquittal of Lord Melville. The present was only on a larger scale, and the bonfire finished with burning the empty ankers which had held the whisky, and three hogsheads which had contained the porter. The company dispersed about 12, but not a few slept on the field till time for Church on Sunday.

"General, I never lost sight of your orders, and only wish you may get the sheep and salmon safe, to enter-

"tain the Cortes and Grandees of Spain. I hope they "will like them, and appoint me their agent in Scotland.

"No man is so happy on this victory as I am, and it is truly gratifying to me to be able to say with confidence

"that I have been on the very road where you and your

"gallant army was, and surely I was very near where the

"battle was fought in going along with you from Gibraltar to Cadiz.

"My best wishes attend you; were it not on account of "my small family I would surely be with you, much in preference to being post-master in Perth.

"I am, General, your most "humble servant, "CHARLES SIDEY."

From Mayor J. J. Smith.

"Mansion House, London,
"10th April, 1811.

"My dear General,

"It is with great pleasure I transmit to you the "enclosed vote of thanks of the City of London, in "Common Council assembled, and am ordered to request "that you will communicate the same to Brigadier-General "Dilkes, the several officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, who served under your command "when a most glorious victory was obtained on the heights of Barrosa.

"At the same time, I embrace this opportunity of re-"questing you to accept of my sincere and cordial "congratulations on the result of so noble an effort of "British valour, which was so eminently displayed on that "occasion.

"I have the honour to be,

"With great respect and esteem, etc.,
"J. J. SMITH, Mayor."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL THOMAS GRAHAM."

"A Common Council holden in the chamber of the Guildhall "of the City of London, on Thursday the 4th day of "April, 1811.

"SMITH, Mayor,

- "Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this Court be given to Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham, for the great skill and valour displayed by him upon the 5th of March last, in the brilliant action upon the heights of Barrosa, which terminated in the complete overthrow and defeat of the superior forces of the enemy.
- "Resolved unanimously, that the freedom of this city, "together with a sword* of the value of two-hundred "guineas, be presented to Lieutenant-General Thomas "Graham.

" (Signed) WOODTHORPE."

From Henry Smith, Esqre.

"Draper's Hall, London,
"11th April, 1811.

"Sir,

"I am ordered by the Court of Assistants of the "Worshipful Company of Drapers, of the City of London, "to inform you that this day they have resolved unani-"mously that the freedom of the Company should be "presented to you for the reasons specified in the resolu-"tion, a copy of which I have the honour to send herewith; "in further obedience to the orders which I have received, "I beg leave, in the name of the Company, to request your "acceptance of the franchise offered.

"The duty which I am now performing is particularly "grateful. I hope you will excuse my availing myself of

^{*} In the collection of J. Maxtone Graham, of Cultoquhey.

"this opportunity to express my individual admiration of conduct which has justly gained the applause and esteem of the whole country.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"HENRY SMITH."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

From the Duke of Athole.

"Dunkeld, March 31st, 1811.

" My dear Graham,

"Most heartily do I congratulate you on your "glorious achievement against the French; Buonaparte "never would have stood on his towering pinnacle if he "had met with half the energy which you and the brave " men under your command have shewn. I trust that your "victory will put life into the Spaniards, and that they "will prove by their own deeds that British energy is not "to be shewn, nor British blood shed, for a people who "will do nothing in their own defence. Massena's retro-"grade movement, which it is hoped will (from Lord "Wellington's skill and activity) end in his destruction, "coming at the same time with the news of your victory, "has diffused a general satisfaction, and I am persuaded "that, both in Parliament and throughout the country, "you will find you have not been undergoing so much "toil and risk for an ungrateful people. I quite pity "Major Murray for the infinite vexation he is under for "having left Cadiz when he did, and thereby not partici-" pating in the risk, and the honour, and the glory of your "engagement. In these my congratulations, the Duchess, "who desires to be kindly remembered to you, and all "here join. Major Murray is quite on thorns to join you "again, and the only thing that prevents his instantly " setting out is that a few days will decide if he is likely

"to gain immediate promotion, of which there is some "chance. If he does not, he will in all probability be with "you as soon as this letter. I have been disagreeably "confined from November to March, by a fall which dis-"located my ancle and severely bruised that and my left "leg, and though I am now beginning to walk, I am not "equal to more than easy ground. In building, planting, "draining, and improving wastes, I have been constantly "employed since you were here, and I trust that when you " see all my improvements you will not think my time "(though it has not been so gloriously employed for my " country as yours has been) entirely thrown away. Occu-" pied in these various ways, I have at present about 300 "men employed. Reducing and breaking up the old "roads has given me a good deal of employment, and the " misfortune is, the better the ground is laid down the less "appearance of labour exists.

"When I heard of the push of the bayonet which your gallant men tried with the French, I could not help wishing you had 7,000 men such as McMillan in lieu of the 7,000 Spaniards. I had an instance of his strength in pulling in my ancle when nothing else could, and of his spirit in taking a stout Badenoch poacher last year. On his pursuing two, one made off, the other turned round and presenting, threatened to fire, when he very gallantly struck one hand between the lock and the pan and with the other knocked the fellow down and brought him in a prisoner.

"I heartily pray that while Lord Wellington is destroying "Massena, you may be able to drive the French from before Cadiz, and that, under more active generals, we shall hear of the Spanish troops acting with gallantry and success, and that under the issue of a glorious campaign you may return safe and sound to your country and your friends.

"Yours sincerely and affectly,
"ATHOLE."

From the Duke of Montrose.

"London, 23rd April, 1811.

"Dear General,

"I shall only say that this country is alive to your character, and that a gentleman said to me the other day, there is now a third warrior in the house of Graham: the Marquis of Montrose, Lord Dundee, and the General of the British troops at Barrosa.

"I have received your letter and applied to Mr. Yorke, "who has assured me that our application in favour of "Captain Graham shall be successful. What can I say "more, except success attend you in your arduous situa-"tion! The affairs of Portugal look well, and may have "important consequences in Europe generally as well as "in the Peninsula.

"Yours sincerely, "MONTROSE."

"May 8th.—Stayed at home all day; inflammation of "right eye painful.

"oth.—Mr. Wellesley received a letter of the 5th instant from Beresford, who has begun his operations against Badajos.

"12th.—Wrote to General Coupigny relative to improvements necessary at the Caraccas. Mentioned also Santi Petri, where closed redoubts at some distance in the rear are absolutely necessary. 3rd Battalion 1st Guards marched into Isla this evening.

"14th.—Letters from Beresford of the 10th; expected to open fire within 450 yards of San Cristoval next evening or morning of the 12th. Letters from the army mention two sharp actions on 3rd and 5th at Fuentes d'Onor, in front of Almeida.

"16th.—Letters from Faro, by *Dart*, arrived in the "night. The action of 5th seems to have been a very "serious attack.

"17th.—Despatches last night by Basilisk from Lord "Wellington give the account of the action of the 5th at "Fuentes d'Onor, which was one of much more conse-"quence and extent than the first reports gave us reason "to believe. The efforts of the enemy to turn or break "the line were everywhere unsuccessful; they were con-"tinued through the greatest part of the day. French "cavalry numerous and behaved very well. Marshal "Bessières had joined with 1300 fresh, 900 of them of "the Imperial Guard. All the other troops that were "in Portugal were assembled on this occasion. On the "7th, at night, the enemy retired into some woods, and " on the 9th, at night, and 10th they re-crossed the Agueda, "so that no more general actions seem likely to be fought "for Almeida. The seige of Badajos is raised by the "advance of Soult. The allied army is collecting at "Valverde in front of Olivenza."

To Lord Liverpool.

" Cadiz, 17th May, 1811.

" My Lord,

"There has been no opportunity to write to "England since the sailing of the troop ships with the "Guards on the 4th inst. Nothing, however, of any "consequence to communicate to your Lordship has "occurred. The enemy has continued to complete several "new works of defence, begun since our expedition. The "intercepted correspondence, of which Mr. Wellesley "sends home copies, takes particular notice of these "works substituted for the flèches near Santi Petri, and "calculated to resist an attack either from within the "Isla, or from without, as that made on the morning of the 5th. A new and considerable work to the southward of that at Chiclana has been added. We are "certainly no ways in a condition to attempt anything serious against any part of the lines now. There is no

"certainty of any further detachment having been made "since that I formerly mentioned, the amount of which "was ascertained to be about 1600 infantry and two "squadrons. But on an examination of the returns in "their interceptions, there is reason to believe that Victor "remains stronger now than he was supposed to be at the "time the expedition was determined on here. Taking "advantage of the information contained in these inter-"ceptions of the designs of the enemy relative to their " mode of attack whenever they are in a state to under-"take offensive operations, and of General Coupigny's "apparent concurrence in my opinion with regard to the "very defective system of defence adopted and executed "by the Spanish engineers in the front line from Santi "Petri to the Caraccas inclusive, I have written several "strong representations to him (General Coupigny) in "order to induce the Spanish Government to determine "to improve them; and finding that, at all events, nothing "immediate could be expected from the absolute penury " of the treasury here, I offered to undertake the execution " of these improvements by employing Spanish soldiers at "the same allowance, of 6d a-day of working money, as "the British soldiers receive. I sent in to General Cou-" pigny some plans prepared by Captain Nicholas, accom-"panied by observations making the adoption of them "the condition of my offer. I have reason to believe "General Coupigny has recommended this measure to "his Government as approving of the whole of my pro-"positions. No answer has yet been received, and there " is the risk of the Spanish engineers counteracting the "adoption of any plan which unavoidably condemns "what has been done. The new Governor of Cadiz, the "Count de Noroña, a Lt.-General of Engineers, however, "told me the other day that he had read my letters to "General Coupigny, and was very glad to see the truth "stated so broadly in them. I hope, therefore, the case is "not quite desperate, and I am sure, if agreed on, the

"comparatively trifling expense of paying the working "money of the Spanish soldiers will be well bestowed. "I am endeavouring, too, to get a supply of fascines and " palisade timber from the coast of the straits; these are "necessary for the completion of the works in hand, and "a great supply is necessary for the repair of the works "first constructed with casks and sand bags. Should the "enemy succeed in Estremadura, Soult will endeavour to "make an effort here as soon as the reinforcements he "has demanded arrive. A few thousand more British "troops here this spring would have deranged all his "plans. The people here, who a week ago would not " believe that the allied army was not coming immediately "to Seville, and to raise the blockade, are now as much "discouraged by General Beresford's being obliged to raise "the siege of Badajos. They are always in extremes.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, Lt.-Gen."

"May 18th.—General Coupigny called in the evening to mention the intention of a movement of the troops of the camp of San Roque on Ronda, and, perhaps, making a point to Seville in the absence of Soult.

"19th.—Rode in to Cadiz to speak to Mr. Wellesley on the subject of General Coupigny's request to have the "Governor of Gibraltar applied to to assist by a move-ment of English troops occupying San Roque and "Ximena during the intended expedition. Mr. Wellesley "wrote, and I did, too, to General Campbell.

"20th.—News from Ayamonte, not official, of an action with Soult and the allied army, favourable to the latter, on the 16th at Albuera.

"21st.—No official news from Estremadura, but the certainty of there having been an action, established.

"May 23rd.—Captain Llamo, an A. D. C. of Blake,

"arrived, and brought a letter from him to the Regency with a general account of the action of the 16th at Albuera, in which he says, 'the enemy under Soult had 30,000 men, and were repulsed with the loss of 7,000.' No details. Llamo reports that after waiting two hours for Beresford's despatch he heard he had gone to Elvas to meet Lord Wellington. The enemy retreated in the night of the 17th; it is not said in what direction, though it is reported towards Almandralejo, as if to put himself in communication with Merida.

"24th.—Remained at home all the morning. Cathcart confined with aguish symptoms owing to the hot sun and cold N.W. wind. Heard from Coupigny about movements on the coast.

"25th.—Rode in early and breakfasted with the Admiral in order to talk to him about Coupigny's plan, which we neither of us think advisable. He proposed a diversion towards Conil by the Spaniards, and that we should do the same towards San Lucar. If mere demonstration, it is useless and cannot deceive the enemy, who, the moment they see through the object, will be the more ready to detach to Soult. If in earnest, it seems useless and hazardous towards Conil, and San Lucar cannot be taken without loss, and could not be kept, therefore it would be useless at present. The attack would be premature; it should only be made if the advance of the armies made it an object to send a flotilla up the Guadalquivir."

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 24th May, 1811.

" My Lord,

"No ship of war has sailed from this to the "Tagus since the Sabino, by which I had the honour to "write to your Lordship on the 8th inst.

"I am happy to take this opportunity of congratulating "your Lordship on the signal and most important ter"mination of the glorious operations of your army by the defeat of the collected force of the enemy in his deter"mined effort to relieve Almeida.

"However Marshal Massena may endeavour to cover by false pretence his forced evacuation of Portugal, he will find it difficult to impose on the most credulous by any attempt to disguise the truth on this occasion. The object was avowed, and there is no other way of accounting for the fall of Almeida but by a confession of his defeat. The action of the 16th inst. in Estremadura, so glorious to the allied army, puts Soult in the same situation with regard to Badajos, and it is hoped here that it may still produce more important consequences.

"We have as yet only Spanish accounts and no details; "but the Spaniards seem to have fought well and to have "been inspired with confidence and steadiness, un-"exampled hitherto, by their association with a part of "your Lordship's army. Soult has undoubtedly drawn "a considerable force from Sebastiani's corps; it is pro-"bable he will order more still from thence, and from "Victor's corps too. To prevent this, movements are " ordered from Murcia under Freyre, and from Algesiras "under Bechines; they ought to have been made before "this, but combination is not much understood by the "Spanish Government. General Coupigny talks of our "making some demonstrations on the flanks of the "enemy's position here, and I shall see the Admiral on "the subject to-morrow. I should doubt much our being "able to deceive Victor by embarkations to threaten "Conil and San Lucar, and nothing serious should be "attempted till we are sure that success would be really "useful. This would not be the case by landing to "occupy Conil for a short time; San Lucar it would not "be so easy to get possession of, and, therefore, unless it "could be kept, or its attack combined with some other

"operation, it does not strike me to be an object worth "the loss that it must occasion. General Coupigny wishes " me to send some of our people there. It occurred to me "before, and I took the liberty of mentioning it to your "Lordship, that it might become important, in the event " of the allied army advancing to the Guadalquivir, to be "possessed of the navigation of the river, which could "not be properly done without taking San Lucar. I "should be sorry, therefore, that anything were to be "prematurely attempted there which might serve to draw "the enemy's attention to that point, or might cripple "us in any way at a time and on an occasion when no "material advantage could be derived from success. I "think it highly probable that before Soult determines to "raise the blockade here (should he be hard pressed) "he will withdraw almost all the disposable force of "Victor's corps and leave little more than the garrisons of "the redoubts. That would be an occasion undoubtedly "not to be neglected, and if we are not called on to "reinforce the army, we should attempt to carry the " works.

"I should be happy to hear from your Lordship on these points when you have leisure to think of them, and shall take care to keep everything in that state of preparation so as to be ready at any time to obey any order which your Lordship may judge proper to send. I need not add how anxious we all are to exchange this confinement for a share of the active warfare under your Lordship's command.

"I have, etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, Lt.-Gen."

To General Coupigny.

" Cadiz, 25th May, 1811.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency

"in answer to your letter of yesterday's date (marked "'reservado') that I went this morning on board the "Milford, to have an opportunity of conversing with "Admiral Sir Richard Keats on the subject of it.

"I am desired by the Admiral to assure you of his "earnest wish to concur at all times by giving whatever "naval assistance it may be in his power to afford in any "enterprise that may be deemed of service to the common "cause.

"His means, however, from the reduced number of the squadron on this station are not great, but if your Excellency will specify the extent and nature of the assistance which will be required towards effecting the expedition proposed on the coast of Conil, he will have an immediate communication with Admiral Villavicencio, in order that the service may not be impeded.

"With regard to the undertaking of anything on the other flank of the enemy's line by the British troops, we are both of opinion that unless the circumstances of the war should render it advisable to enter the Guadal-quivir with a flotilla (which may soon be the case should the allied army advance), it is better not to call the enemy's attention towards San Lucar by a demonstration, nor to make a premature attack till it is certain that success would be useful.

"The enemy knows well that we cannot spare a sufficient force from hence for any considerable operation of much duration. He will not, therefore, be readily deceived by any demonstration against any determined point; at all events, he will very soon discover that it is only a feint. A real landing on the coast, except at some very favourable point, where re-embarkation can be covered by the fire of vessels of war, must always be hazardous, and should only be risked for an important object. The Admiral thinks that a general appearance of a preparation of boats, etc., in the bay, giving the enemy reason

"to think some attack intended, without at all indicating at what point, is more likely to occupy his attention generally than any demonstration directed against a particular point, and I am much inclined to agree in this opinion. We ought not either to run the possibility of any risk of the loss of any of the points of our most valuable position by weakening too much the small force now employed in its defence.

"I trust your Excellency will receive with indulgence the observations which I have frankly stated in this letter, and that you will be well persuaded of my anxious wish, and of my zeal for the interest of the common cause.

"I have the, etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, LT.-GEN."

"May 29th.—A report of Sebastiani's defeat and the "advance of Freyre's army near Grenada, written from "San Roque, gains some credit.

"3oth.—Went to the Cathedral, being invited by the Governor, with Mr. Wellesley, on account of St. Ferdinand's day; very thinly attended. The Sermon began by an exordium, laying down the divine right of Kings as established by religion, and then followed the history of the wars of Ferdinand III. with the Moors, drawing a parallel with the present time. Went to a levée at the regency; the Regent Agar is a picture of a starved mathematician. It seems quite impossible from their habits and appearance that these men, ignorant of the world, should be at all fit for their situations.

"June 1st.—Received from O'Meara a manuscript copy
"of Lacy's answer to my letter of the 24th of March to
"Mr. Wellesley. If it should appear in print in the same
"terms, he must meet with the personal correction his
"insolence deserves. Letter from Lord Wellington of
"29th ult. from Elvas."

From Lord Wellington.

"Sir,

" Elvas, 29th May, 1811.

"I have the honour of receiving your letters of the 9th inst., and of the 24th and 25th.

"You will see by my letter to Mr. Wellesley of this "date that I have persevered in the siege of Badajos, of "which town I hope to be able to obtain possession before "the enemy can be in force to relieve it. I acknowledge "that I have very little faith in distant diversions, and am "very much of opinion that if it is an object with Soult to " collect another army to make a second attempt to relieve "Badajos, he will not be prevented by any diversion that "may be made. If, however, he should be wavering in "his opinion upon the subject, and should be inclined to "wait for the arrival of the battalions of the 9th corps, "which I know are on their march from Castille, the ap-" pearance of our troops on the coast might have the effect " of inducing him to delay his movement till their arrival, "before which time I hope that the fate of Badajos must " be decided.

"Under these circumstances I am anxious that you should adopt any one of the modes which you propose, which you think will have most effect, and will expose your own force the least, to alarm the enemy for his situation before Cadiz or for the security of Seville.

"My opinion is that the allied armies are not now suf-"ficiently strong, particularly in cavalry, to attempt the "relief of Cadiz, and they cannot be made so for some "time, and not at all, with any safety to our communica-"tion with Lisbon, until we shall have more effectually "secured the frontier of old Castille.

"I mention this to you at present in order that you may not turn your attention to San Lucar, in preference to any other point at which you might think your appearance would create an earlier or more general alarm.

"I assure you that there is nothing I am more anxious for than to have your personal assistance.

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 1st June, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have just had the honour of receiving your "Lordship's letter of the 29th ult.

"I had understood that General Coupigny was "satisfied that the idea (in which Sir Richard Keats "and I both agreed) of not attempting anything more "determined than the mere appearance of preparation " of boats in the harbour and in the river Sti. Petri, so " as to indicate generally an intention of acting offensively "against some part of the enemy's line, was the most "likely to prevent his detaching, and that, acting on this, "he had no intention of embarking any troops here at "present. I understand, however, that a body of Spanish "troops are now embarking at Sti. Petri, and I should "imagine it is for the purpose of reinforcing Brigr. "Bechines, who received orders to move from Algesiras, "but whose force does not exceed 1,600 men. General "Coupigny had applied to me to endeavour to obtain "some assistance to Bechines from Gibraltar, and Mr. "Wellesley was requested by the Spanish Government "to write to General Campbell on this subject. General "Campbell, however, refuses for various reasons, and "wrote me word that of the different demands made by "Bechines for men, money, provisions, and ammunition, "he had only furnished the latter; that he had no opinion " of Bechines as a fit man to conduct an enterprise of this "kind, and therefore would not risk any of his garrison "under his command; that besides, on enquiry, he found "that he had no plan, nor any means to carry a feasible "one into execution; that his own garrison was weak, and that this was the excuse he had made.

"Under the present circumstances, if it be true that "Freyre has pushed on almost to Grenada, it would seem " to be a favourable opportunity of acting against Ronda, "and cutting off the communications between Seville and "Grenada, and that on the whole, such a diversion might "be the most advisable and useful of any. If Freyre's "superiority of numbers should enable him to beat Se-" bastiani and to advance, such a corps would be a valuable " reinforcement to that army; but hitherto the character "and conduct of that army (now called the 3rd) has been "such as not to afford much hope of Freyre's being suc-"cessful in a battle, and probably the wisest plan for him "to follow would be to avoid exposing himself to the risk " of being beaten, as the dispersion of his army would "leave Sebastiani at liberty to reinforce Soult. It is, "however, more than probable that according to the "Spanish system he will fight a battle; at all events, "with the reduced numbers of the troops here, I do not " see how I could make any detachment for longer than a "dash at some point without exposing the lines here to "considerable risk. The want of cavalry would be very "much felt, too, in an operation from the bay of Algesiras. "Bechines has none, and none remains here except German "Hussars, which we have not means to embark, and whose "numbers, besides, are not sufficient to allow them to act "with any effect alone. We must therefore wait the course " of events, and be prepared to take advantage of any "favourable opportunity, should such occur.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, Lt.-Gen."

[&]quot;June 2nd.—News from Castaños gives an account of a cavalry advantage near... There are reports of Sebastiani having evacuated Grenada, and that Freyre's advanced guard is at Baylen. Rode out in the evening to Isla; got from Ponsonby a printed copy of Lacy's

"answer, in which the same expressions remain as in the manuscript. I desired Ponsonby, therefore, to carry a message to him to say that I considered he deserved personal correction, but to avoid the scandal of such an affray, I sent him to say that he might consider himself to be so insulted, and that I was ready to give him any satisfaction which he chose.

"3rd.—Ponsonby was with Lacy early this morning, and returned saying that, after executing my commission, and explaining it fully to him, he (Lacy) had expressed his readiness to do anything that could be satisfactory to my feelings, as he entertained great respect for me, and he could assure me that he had not meant to say anything derogatory to my character; that he would retract the offensive expressions or explain them in any way I wished. I then sent Ponsonby to Cadiz to Lapena to desire a satisfactory explanation from him—a disavowal or a meeting.

"4th.—Line under arms; between Torre Gorda and "Fisherman's Hut we had near 4,000; the Spaniards six "small batteries and a few cavalry. Fired three volleys by battalions, with three rounds of 21 guns. Rode into "Cadiz in the evening; found that General Lapena was "trifling and delaying; wrote to him myself by Ponsonby.

"5th.—Remained in town expecting Ponsonby, who went to meet Lacy; dined at Mr. Wellesley's. Received a letter from Ponsonby, and went out to Isla. Found that Lacy had not returned from Cadiz.

"6th.—Received letters from Lisbon. Account of Lumley's affair of cavalry at Usagre. Very brilliant. "Wrote to Lord Wellington."

To Lord Wellington.

" Isla de Leon, 6th June, 1811.

" My Lord,

"The reinforcements from this to Bechines conisst of two battalions. One was, indeed, sent to Ceuta "to replace one drawn from thence for the purpose of joining his corps, the other was to land at Tarifa.

"There is a light battalion of Carmona, dressed and drilled after our 95th; the only instance of imitation that I have observed to take place here. This will make Bechines' corps about 2,800 infantry, and he has no other cavalry but the Guerillas. With this force under such a leader, certainly not remarkable for enterprise, there is not much to be expected. The enemy, hearing of his preparations, has detached two battalions from the lines in our front to Medina and Arcos. I have heard of no other movements, and, from the best information, there remains still a disposable force, independent of the necessary garrisons of the redoubts, of about 7,000 men. Victor was said to have gone suddenly to Seville himself some days ago, and to have sent there all the medical officers that could be spared.

"There is no account to be depended on concerning "Sebastiani. It is, however, believed that a division of "the 3rd Spanish army is very forward on the great road "from Baylen to Cordova; but this news comes from "Olivenza, and, therefore, your Lordship must know what "foundation there is for it.

"By a note I had yesterday from the Admiral I find "that General Coupigny and Admiral Villavicencio had been talking to him about undertaking something, and that he had answered them decidedly against anything more than that appearance of active preparation about the boats which he has been making for some time past. Anything else could only create alarm for a few hours.

"My aide-de-camp, Lord Wm. Russell, who is anxious "to return for some time to your Lordship's army, will "have the honour of delivering this letter, and will be "able to inform your Lordship of anything else relative "to Cadiz which you may wish to be informed of.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

To Lt.-Col. the Honourable Charles Cathcart.*

"Isla de Leon, 6th June, 1811.

" My dear Cathcart,

"I have had the pleasure of reading, in your own "handwriting, that the change of air has agreed with you, "but still you must not expect for some time to be fit for "duty were there any likely to call for exertion, which is "far from being the case. There seems no prospect of "any period to our confinement; it is to depend on the "advance of Lord Wellington's army; I am sure, from "his own authority, that there is no chance of it, and "without him I am sure the Spaniards will never relieve "this place. I shall, therefore, take patience, and watch "the course of events for a little while longer, but I shall " say decidedly that it is but for a little while, for if those " below me on the staff of the army are to have important "commands on active service while I am kept cooped up "here doing nothing, nor likely to have anything to do, "I must insist on having my congé.

"Adieu, ever affectly. yours,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"June 7th.—Rode early to Cadiz, to prepare for the packet. Wrote all day. French prisoners and invalids ordered to be ready to embark."

To Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

"Cadiz, Sunday, 9th June, 1811.

" My dear Cathcart,

"Letter-writing has prevented my making you a "visit and I must go now to Isla; pray tell Captain Brace

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"that, if not inconvenient, I will be glad to take pot luck "with him to-morrow, you can let me have a note here to "say when and where the boat will be. I have proposed "to the Admiral to embark at leisure, and in fine weather, "the worst cases of the wounded, leaving all the rest "(till the convoy appears) on shore, and to let you know if "he approves. * * * * * * *

"A man-of-war, with Armstrong, will sail for England on the 13th or 14th inst. I wish you would take a trip with him in the *Onyx*, I believe a fine brig. Depend on it you will be the better able to bear a campaign when we get out, of which there is no chance very soon.

"Ever affectly yours,
"T. GRAHAM."

"June 10th.—Cathcart much better, but still requiring "great care. I fear he will not be persuaded to go home "for a short time with Major Armstrong. A report of "Badajos having surrendered on the 6th is scarcely "credible, though a letter of Castaños speaks of 40 pieces "of cannon keeping up a constant fire, that the first day "Fort San Christoval was silenced, and that a breach was "already made.

"11th.—Dined on board the Milford with Cathcart; better, but has agreed to go home in Onyx."

To Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

" Cadiz, 12th June, 1811.

" My dear Charles,

"I have not got your answer to mine of yesterday, but from yours of the morning I trust there is no doubt of your resolution being taken. I gave Hamilton orders about your estimate, and Hope will settle with Pearson to-day about the advance.

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"The Admiral wrote me that he wished me to come and dine on board the *Milford* one day before you went, and that he would try to get you to meet me. I remain here

" to write letters for the Onyx. Addio.

"Ever affectionately yours,
"T. GRAHAM."

"June 13th.—Schooner from England brought orders to the Admiral to go to sea to cruise for a French squadron, expected from l'Orient. Agreed to Mr. Wellesley's proposal of sending a regiment to Tarragona.

"14th.—Ponsonby went out early to order in the 47th and detachment 95th, to embark for Tarragona with Colonel Skerrett; wrote his instructions."

From Sir David Dundas.

" Horse Guards, 25th May, 1811.

"Sir,

"The Prince Regent having been graciously pleased to accept my resignation as Commander-in-Chief, and His Royal Highness the Duke of York having resumed the command of the army, I have great pleasure in thus acknowledging and returning my best thanks to you and to the general officers under your command, for the able, cordial, and effectual assistance I have received in the discharge of the duties that were connected with the situation which I had the honour to fill.

"I have the honour to be, "Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"DAVID DUNDAS."

" LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

To Lord Liverpool.

"Cadiz, 14th June, 1811.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to state to your Lordship that "His Majesty's Minister here having yesterday stated to "me, by the desire of the Spanish Government, the ur-"gency of affording some assistance to Tarragona, and "that a few hundred British troops now would be of more "importance than thousands at a later period, I have determined to send Colonel Skerrett with the 47th Regiment, a detachment of the 95th Regiment, and half a "company of Royal Artillery.

"I should have much wished to have had the approbation and authority of Lord Wellington for making this detachment at this particular time, but on consideration of the urgency of the service for the defence of a place of such incalculable importance, on the security of which must depend the continuance of the resistance of the brave Catalans, I thought it best not to delay a moment.

"The troops will embark this afternoon on board H.M.S. "Regulus (detained here by Rear-Admiral Sir Richard "Keats on purpose) and the Metcalf transport.

"As the Regulus must stop for provisions at Gibraltar, "Mr. Wellesley and I both write to the Lieut.-Governor to "solicit some assistance from him.

"I hope he may be able to afford a detachment of 300 or 400 infantry with a half or whole company of artillery, in which case the half company from this will be left at Gibraltar, to return by the first opportunity.

"I have the honour to enclose a copy of my instructions to the Colonel, and I trust that the Spanish Government will send such directions, on Mr. Wellesley's application, as will facilitate the increase of Colonel Skerrett's force.

"It is on this hope that I send the small detachment of the Rifle Corps to serve as instructors to such recruits as can

"be obtained. I should be glad to have a few hundred "rifles and accourrements sent out immediately, that such "men as can be obtained may be uniformly armed, and if "some hundred suits of slop clothing of dark green were "likewise sent out it might facilitate the levy of this "valuable description of soldier.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

To the Captain-General of Catalonia.

"Cadiz, 14th June, 1811.

"Sir,

"At the request of the Spanish Government I send Colonel Skerrett (an officer of great merit and experience, who was in command of a brigade here), with as many troops as I can possibly spare, to the assistance of the garrison of Tarragona. I trust this detachment will be of use, and that Colonel Skerrett and the British troops will be received as zealous allies, warmly interested in the cause of Spain and in the defence of the most important fortress of Tarragona. I regret much my inability to send a larger detachment. Colonel Skerrett will have the honour to communicate to you the conditions approved of by the Spanish Government, to which I am confident you will readily accede.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L. G.,
"Lt.-Genl. Commg. H.B.M.'s troops at Cadiz."

Instructions for Colonel Skerrett.

" Cadiz, 14th June, 1811.

"Sir,

"His Majesty's Minister here having represented to me, at the earnest desire of the Spanish Government,

"that even a small British force being sent out to Tarra"gona, already invested by the enemy, would be of the
"utmost consequence in giving confidence to the garrison
"and the inhabitants, I have determined that you shall
"proceed on this service, well persuaded that it cannot be
"placed in better hands. A half company of the Royal
"Artillery, a small detachment of the Rifle Corps, and
"the 2nd battalion 47th Regiment will embark this even"ing on board of H.M. ship Regulus and Metcalf transport.
"The Regulus, being short of provisions, must stop at
"Gibraltar; this will give you the opportunity of com"municating this instruction to General Campbell.

"If he should be able to spare the same or a greater "number of artillery men from the garrison, you will "leave the half company at Gibraltar to return here by "the first opportunity. If the Governor can add any "companies to your force you will take them likewise "under your command.

"On your arrival at Tarragona you will deliver the accompanying letter to the Spanish commander, under whose orders you will put yourself. There is likewise a letter from the Spanish Government to the Governor recommending you and your detachment to him, and particularly desiring that every facility may be given to you to add to your numbers by enlisting deserters, or even Spaniards, so as to increase the 2nd battalion 47th to double their present numbers, if you can do so with a good description of recruits. Spaniards would undoubtedly be the best.

"In like manner one or two companies of light infantry should be endeavoured to be formed under the officers of the Rifle Corps.

"You will, before landing your detachment, state to the "Governor that you are to have at all times free and open "communication with any of H.B.My.'s ships of war; "and in the event of the place being under the necessity "of surrendering, that you are to be at liberty to with-

"draw the troops under your command on board of the said ships previous to the capitulation."

"You will keep the Commander-in-Chief of the British "fleet in the Mediterranean well informed of the state of "things, and you will take every opportunity of acquiring "authentic information of the means and designs of the "enemy on the eastern coast, transmitting the same to "me with all such information as relates to Tarragona "itself.

"I need not recommend it to you to attend particularly to the preservation of that harmony essential between allies, and of the discipline and orderly conduct of the troops under your command.

"I have, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"June 15th.—The Onyx detained. The Regulus, not having got all the stores and baggage on board, did not sail till the afternoon. Report from Ayamonte that the siege of Badajos was raised on the 12th in consequence of Soult being reinforced and advancing. Not official.

"16th.—Onyx sailed. Made up the bag and took leave of Cathcart, who carried with him the plan of Barrosa for the Duke of York.

"17th.—Accounts of the raising of the siege of Badajos" on the 10th, and of Marmont advancing by . . . where he was expected to be on the 14th. Drouet supposed to have joined Soult by La Mancha on the 9th or 10th.

"19th.—Wrote to the Admiral and to Mr. Wellesley in sending him back Lord Wellesley's despatches about the Spanish colonies—a subject of much delicacy and one likely to be the occasion of much coolness between the countries, as we have begun by taking the free trade which they are so averse to granting; therefore, the offer of our mediation will be resented, I have little doubt, by the Spanish Government.

"20th.—Rode early in to Cadiz to see Mr. Wellesley who wished to speak to Bardaxi about Lacy's appointment to the command of the 1st wing in Calabria, which he considered as an insult. I begged him not to attempt to prevent his going which would be attributed to me as a persecution.

"21st.—By letters from the army in the evening it appears Lord Wellington had fallen back behind the "Guadiana.

"June 22nd.—Agreed on Mr. Wellesley's application to "let the Spaniards have 1,500 bags of biscuit for Blake's "army, which is coming down on Ayamonte with a view "to re-embark and return to attempt something against "Victor before he can be reinforced.

"24th.—Packet arrived very early. Another came in in the evening in six days from Falmouth."

From the Duke of Clarence.

" London, May 26th, 1811.

" Dear Sir,

"I lose no time in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 4th inst, that has been delivered to me by Brigadier-General Dilkes, and in assuring you that I have much satisfaction in complying with your wish to retain Mr. Colville of the 3rd Guards at Cadiz, for the purpose of his acting as an extra Aide-de-Camp to you, and I think it is a very fortunate circumstance for that officer that he will have the advantage of serving upon your staff. It has afforded me great gratification to find that the conduct of that portion of my regiment that has been under your orders has met with your entire approbation. I feel great pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity to congratulate you upon the very brilliant action you had with the enemy on the 5th March, when the British troops so greatly distinguished themselves,

"and added fresh laurels to the many to which they are "justly entitled.

"I must request of you to believe me ever, with great regard,

" Dear Sir,

"Very sincerely yours,
"WILLIAM FREDERICK."

"À bord du Gorgon, en rade de Portsmouth.

" Le 16 Mai, 1811.

" Monsieur le Général,

"Nous avons la douleur de vous apprendre que "nous venons de perdre Monsieur le Général Ruffin; il "nous a été enlevé cette nuit à la suite d'une attaque d'apoplexie; cet évènement est d'autant plus malheureux que sa guerison avait fait des progrès sensibles pendant "la traversée, grace aux soins et aux attentions de Sir "James qui a eu pour lui tous les égards imaginables.

"Permettez nous, Monsieur le Général, de vous remercier de vos nobles procédés à notre égard et vous en offrir nos sincères remerciments.

" Nous avons l'honneur d'être,
" très respectueusement,

" Monsieur le Général,

"Vos très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs, "FLAMAND. "ANGELET.

"Capt. 24e Regt."

"Capt. ofe Regt."

"A SON EXCELLENCE,

"Monsieur Le Général Graham."

From the Duke of Cambridge.

"Cambridge House, May 27th, 1811.

"My dear Sir,

"I seize the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. which General Dilkes brought me, and I feel much gratified by the

"manner in which you express yourself satisfied with the brigade of Guards which has been under your command at Cadiz. Every officer and man will, I am sure, feel proud at having had the honour of serving under your command, and I feel particular satisfaction that a part of my regiment has belonged to this brigade.

"I cannot conclude without congratulating you on the appointment of the Duke of York to the command of the army, which, I am sure, will be a great satisfaction to you and to every individual in the army.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,
"Yours very sincerely,
"ADOLPHUS FREDERICK."

"June 25th.—The *Caledonia* brig arrived with Lord "William Bentinck and Sir Edward Pellew.

"26th.—Went early with Lord William to Isla, and "rode all over the lines.

"27th.—Rode with Lord William to Puntales. Found on my return Lord Wm. Russell returned from the army, and letters from Lord Wellington with orders to join."

From Lord Wellington.

"Quinta de St. Joao, 24th June, 1811.

"Sir,

- "I have the honour to enclose the copy of a "letter which I have received from the Secretary of State, "directing that you should join this army, leaving Major-"General Disney in the command at Cadiz, and authorising "me to draw from Cadiz such reinforcements as I might "think proper.
- "Adverting to the return of the troops at Cadiz of the "Ist June, which is the last that I have received, I find that "you have not at Cadiz nearly so many men as is supposed by the Secretary of State; and I learn from a private

"letter from Mr. Wellesley, your letter upon that subject not having reached me, that you have detached the 2nd batt. 47th Regiment; and it appears to me that the only troops that can be spared from Cadiz, are one squadron, or the dismounted men of the 2nd Hussars, with the Major and a proportion of the officers, and the detachment of the 3rd batt. 95th Regiment. If you should agree in opinion with me that these troops can with propriety be detached from Cadiz under existing circumstances, I beg you to send them to Lisbon without loss of time.

"I also request you to give such orders and instructions as you may think necessary that General Disney should have, including those which I originally gave to General Stewart, and those which you have received from time to time from the Secretary of State and Commander-in-Chief; and you will deliver to General Disney the command of the British troops at Cadiz, and proceed yourself to join the army in this country.

"I beg you to make such arrangements as you may think proper respecting the Staff at Cadiz, bringing with you such of the officers belonging to it as you may be desirous should accompany you, and leaving to perform the duties, under Major General Disney, those who may be necessary to him.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

From Lord Wellington.

" Quinta de St. Joao, 24th June, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"I, have great pleasure in sending you the "accompanying orders to join this army. You will find "us somewhere in this neighbourhood; but I believe "you will find it most convenient to join us by Lisbon, "particularly if you should have at all a fair wind from

"Cadiz. Let me know by which road you will come, "that I may have arrangements made to facilitate your progress.

"I do not know whether you have had any communica"tion from England respecting sending troops to Tarra"gona. If you have not, I should think you had better
"take advantage of the detachment now drawn from
"Cadiz to call back the 47th, as if the Government
"have not altered their opinion upon this subject, I am
"apprehensive that they will not approve of your sending
"these troops.

"This is, however, only an opinion floating in my mind.
"I am not at all aware of the circumstances in which
"Tarragona stands, or of those which induced you to
"detach these troops as I have not yet received your letter
"upon this subject, and it is not improbable that both
"may be of that urgent nature to prevent your recalling
"the troops.

"Nothing of importance has occurred since I sent my "last despatch to my brother, excepting a great recon"naissance by the enemy the day before yesterday, in
"which we lost a picquet of the 11th Dragoons, owing
"very much to the officer of the 11th having mistaken the
"French Dragoons for ours.

"Believe me, etc., "WELLINGTON."

"June 28th.—Having settled everything about the "embarkation of the companies of the Rifle Corps and "of the dismounted Hussars, rode out to Isla.

"29th.—Made all arrangements here in great haste and bustle; the quantity of baggage enormous.

"30th.—Wrote letters all the morning for the packet, the sailing of which is put off till to-morrow. Very frequent interruptions about the business of the command I am leaving, and settling a variety of arrangements."

To Lt.-Col. the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

"Cadiz, 30th June, 1811.

" My dear Charles,

"You must excuse this mere scrap. We are "overwhelmed with business, having to embark on Tues-"day morning to go to Portugal—bag and baggage.

"General Disney is obliged to go home on account of "a complaint in his knee; Major General Cooke will, "therefore, succeed to the command. Lambert to the "reserve; Gough to his own and Portuguese; and Prevost "to the garrison here. Ponsonby's appointment would have "carried him away at all events, so that there is a clean "sweep. Wynyard will, meantime, manage that depart-"ment. Yours remains unaltered. Pratt is succeeded by "Sparkes here-the 3rd, 95th, and dismounted squadron "going with me. I countermanded the embarkation of "your horses, because I thought they could not be so well "as under Hamilton's care, and that there would be no "difficulty in getting them in time. In the aguish country "near the Guadiana and Elvas, it would be madness in "you to come to us before the season of the autumnal "diseases is over, which cannot be the case till towards the "end of October. Adieu, I shall not write to your father "till I get to Lisbon.

"Yours ever most affectly,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

To the Earl of Liverpool.

Cadiz, 30th June, 1811.

" My Lord,

"Having received Lord Wellington's orders to "join the army in Portugal in consequence of your Lord-"ship's letter to him of the , I am preparing to

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"leave this, and hope to embark on board H.M. ship "Leopard to-morrow, or at latest on Tuesday morning.

"I had already given Major-General Disney leave to go "home for the recovery of his health. On communicating to "him the orders I had received, he left it to me whether "he should remain or go home. In consideration of the "decided opinion of the Medical officers here that the "complaint in Major-General Disney's knee, which confined "him to a couch, would be increased by the relaxation to be expected from the great autumnal heat of this climate, and of the steady and able character of Major-General "Cooke, in whose hands the command here may be left with much confidence, I advised Major-General Disney to proceed to England as the best chance of his soon being able to resume the command here, or to be fit "for any other active service that may occur.

"Unless Major-General Disney is likely to return soon it may be advisable to send a Brigadier to Major-General Cooke's assistance.

"I have obeyed Lord Wellington's orders in embarking "the detachment 3rd battn. 95th, and the dismounted "squadron of Hussars only. I should have been very "glad to have been able to take the fine battalion of "Guards likewise, but considering the pressure of the duty "on so extensive a line during the absence of General "Blake's Corps, and the possibility of the enemy, now so "strong in the South of Spain, suddenly reinforcing "Marshal Victor, with a view to attempt some offensive "operations against the Isla or the coast of Puntales, "with the risk of considerable delay in Lord Wellington's "being able to send more troops here, I did not think I "could be justified in withdrawing more than what his "Lordship had specifically called for. I shall endeavour to " make Major-General Cooke acquainted with everything "that I think material for enabling him to conduct the "business here in the most satisfactory manner, and "especially with Lord Wellington's instructions to Major-"General the Honble Wm. Stewart and your Lordship's "to me.

"I shall take another opportunity of making some observations to your Lordship on the state of things relative to this place.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

To Major-General Cooke.

"Cadiz, 1st July, 1811.

"Sir,

"Having communicated to you the instructions" of Lord Wellington to Major-General Stewart, and of the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief to me, there remains little for me to call your attention to. The importance of maintaining harmony with the Spaniards is obvious, and this can never be too strongly inculcated on the minds of all ranks of troops under your command, too apt from prejudice to despise or turn into ridicule what differs so much from our customs.

"In the intercourse with the Spanish authorities where it is not necessary to have the King's Minister's interference, much patience and perseverance are necessary. Nothing is to be gained without firmness tempered with address that may appear flattering to them. The proportion of military duties and of working parties should depend entirely on your own judgment, though the allied force strictly speaking must be considered as being under the command of the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, yet no interference relative to points of that kind should be admitted.

"Several attempts of this nature have been made, and particularly a proposition to mix our men with theirs at all the posts of both lines in proportion to their respective strength was much insisted on. I positively rejected

"it, confining our military duty to the care of second line, "except in the points now occupied in the first, and no "kind of interference about working parties should ever " be allowed.

"The commanding officer of Engineers can inform you "fully and in detail of what remains to be done to com-" plete the plan of defence, and to put the most essential " parts of the first into a state of security. The nature of "the works of bad materials will always require working "parties to keep them in proper order. A reference to "the orderly book will show the system adopted (and "which seems to have answered) for payment and ma-"nagement of working parties. The Commissary-General "will explain to you the footing at present established, "and which has been approved of at home for the supply " of the troops. The claims of individuals (natives) will "probably increase as our stay is prolonged, and some "relaxation, in cases of great hardship, of the strict order " of throwing back on the Spanish Government all such "demands of indemnification seems indispensable. Some " rents to be paid by us are already sanctioned, the fewer " additions to this expense the better. The house for head-"quarters in Isla is paid for; at Cadiz it has not hitherto "been demanded. A house as head-quarters at each place "must, however, always be retained, and if the billet in "Cadiz was to be withdrawn or refused to be renewed on "Mr. Wellesley's application, rent would become a neces-"sary burthen. Materials for the work should be urgently "demanded from the Caraccas, or elsewhere; but if not "finally granted and in time, the purchase of timber for "platforms, pallisades, barracks, etc., must be sanctioned. " Pallisades and fascines in considerable numbers are com-" missioned from Tarifa, and wood has been ordered by "the Commissary-General from America. The Commis-"sary-General is the only public accomptant in the army. "Your sanction is necesary to the expenses which the "different departments require him to defray for them. "Major Hope can explain to Mr. Grove all that is re-"quired in point of form about certifying warrants, accounts, etc., etc.

"Lord Wellington's instructions to Major-General "Stewart, must for the present regulate what you may "charge in your contingent account for table-money; pro-"bably Colonel Bunbury will write to you on the subject " in consequence of my representation of the inadequacy " of the allowance. It is needless to repeat what these "instructions above-mentioned state of the necessity of "the most unreserved confidence on all subjects with the "British Minister here, whom you will find always ready "to assist and support you in everything for the interest " of the service, and of the correspondence which it is ex-" pected will be kept, so as to keep both the Secretary of "State and Lord Wellington informed of anything of any "interest that occurs here. It may be of consequence, "too, to convey any intelligence of importance to the "Governor of Gibraltar, and to the Commanders of His "Majesty's forces in Sicily and Malta. Should anything "else occur to me on more mature consideration I will " write from Lisbon.

"Believe me, my dear General,
"Most faithfully and obediently yours,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

"July 1st.—Departure of packet put off till evening, by "which I had time to finish my letters. Dined on board "with Sir R. Keats and all Mr. Wellesley's family.

"2nd.—Wrote Mr. Wellesley a long letter of protest against the deficiency of the Spanish works of the first line. Embarked at 8 on board the *Latona*, having been accompanied to the boat by many of my friends; "taking a cordial leave of Mr. Wellesley, whose uniform support and friendly attentions in every way never can be over-rated.

"Got under way at half-past seven this morning, there

- "being very little wind and the tide still coming in, it was
- "half-past eight before we cleared the Puercos; got out,
- " however, before the wind headed us much.
 - "4th.—We had made tolerable progress in the night
- "from the land wind. Saw Ayamonte. The coast beyond
- "the Guadalquivir barren sand.
- "5th.—Stood along the coast, tacking near it occa-"sionally.
- "6th.—Had stood all night and got far to the south
- "and westward. Made the land in the afternoon to the
- "westward of Cape St. Vincent, tacked and stood out
- " again.
- "7th.—Bright sunshine and almost calm, early. Wind sprung up, still contrary; worked on and off.
- "8th.—Same wind and weather; beat up to Setubal; "passed near Cape Espichel about sunset.
- "9th.—Beat up to the mouth of the Tagus and passed the bar before noon; landed about 2 p.m. Mr. Stuart
- "and the Admiral both gone into the country. Got a
- " quarter in the same house where Beresford lived on first
- "coming to Lisbon, near three years ago.
- "10th.—Saw Marshal Beresford and General Peacocke;
- "rode his horse to the Quinta of the Princess of Brazil,
- "where we had lived with Sir John Moore, three years
- "before. Dined at Buenfica with Mr. Stuart; met
- "Captain Hardinge there, whom I had not seen since the
- "moment of Sir J. Moore's receiving his wound."

To Lord Wellington.

"Lisbon, 10th July, 1811.

" My Lord,

- "I have the honour to report to your Lordship "my arrival here yesterday in the *Latona*, having had a "tedious passage, owing to almost contrary winds after "the first day.
 - "I am afraid the Leopard, with the convoy, will have

"made bad progress, and that it will still be some days

"before we can expect the arrival of the transports with

"the remainder of the detachment 3rd, 95th, and the dis-

"mounted squadron, and with our horses, mules, etc.

"From what I learn from Generals Beresford and Stewart,

"I should hope that nothing material is likely to occur

" before I can join the army with the necessary equipment,

"but I shall be ready to set off at a moment's notice

" should your Lordship wish me to join sooner. Not fore-

" seeing so much delay, I did not mention to your Lordship

" particularly the state of the staff at Cadiz.

"Lieut.-Colonel Ponsonby's appointment to the 12th "Light Dragoons created a vacancy at the head of that

"department. Lieut.-Colonel Capel of the Guards men-

"tioned his wish to succeed Lieut.-Colonel Ponsonby in a

"department in which he had been much employed for

"some years. I believe he has written to your Lordship

" himself on the subject.

"Captain Hare, an assistant in the department, is the "only staff officer, except those of my personal staff

"whom I brought from Cadiz; in order meanwhile to

" conduct the business of the department at Cadiz I ap-

" pointed Brevet-Major Wynyard to be an assistant.

"The Quarter-Master General's department was left in Captain Hamilton's care, Lieut.-Colonel Cathcart

"having gone home on leave for the recovery of his health.

"I find Captain Langton here on his way to Cadiz, having

"been considered, as he tells me, at home as always

"belonging to the staff of the Cadiz division. Either

"Captain Hamilton or Captain Langton, I should imagine,

"would conduct the business of the Quarter-Master-

"General's department there very unexceptionably during

"the absence of the head of it.

"I have furnished Major-General Cooke with extracts of "your Lordship's instructions to Major-General Stewart, and

" of those I received from home, and I have besides given

" him in writing, in the most detailed manner, every infor-

" mation that I thought could be necessary to enable him

"to carry on the duty at Cadiz in a satisfactory manner.

"There being no other General Officer there at present,

"the reserve companies of the Guards, 1st squadron

" Hussars, and two companies 95th, are under the command

" of Colonel Lambert, of the Guards. Lieut.-Colonel

"Prevost commands in Cadiz, having the 67th and de-

"tachment of Germans as a brigade, and Lieut.-Colonel

"Gough commands the other brigade at Isla, composed of

"the 2nd, 87th, and 20th Portuguese.

"I have the honour to remain,
"THOS. GRAHAM, L.G."

From Lt.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart.

"London Hotel, July 10th, 1811.

" My dearest Father,

"I have completed my tour of the Horse Guards, "where I met a most favourable reception, and have had "an interview with Bunbury. I do not see any prospect "of an opportunity of being presented to the Prince "Regent, therefore, as my term is so short, I shall not "delay my journey to Scotland on that account, but take "my chance of seeing him on my return. I should have "been on the road ere this, but on my arrival in London "found that a most impudent and mischievous publication " of General Lacy's had found its way to England, and "had been translated into English with great care, and "circulated by the Spanish Minister Assoduca. There "were some passages in this book so objectionable and "personal to General Graham, that he, when it first "made its appearance at Cadiz, found himself under the "disagreeable necessity of sending a message to both "Lacy and Lapena, desiring that these passages might be "expunged or that they must consider the chastisement "they so richly deserved from his hand had already been "inflicted, and which otherwise certainly would be the

"first opportunity. These gentlemen were all submission, "shrugged up their shoulders, and declared they did not " mean any disrespect to the General, were very sorry that "the language had been so strong, and were ready to "retract what he pleased. This was also expressed in "writing, and orders were given to the printer with regard "to leaving out the parts before alluded to. However, "some of the original copies were sent to England by some " of the mischief-makers with which Cadiz abounds, and "Assoduca was too happy to profit by the opportunity of "spreading the poison. Fortunately I have brought with "me copies of the letters, and I have consulted with "Macdonald and General Alex. Hope as to the best "course to pursue for making them public. It was Hope's "opinion that I should consult Bunbury and get Lord "Liverpool to interfere, as it is his business to support "General Graham. Bunbury, accordingly, promised to "enter on the business without loss of time. I shall not "trust entirely to him, but am going now to the Foreign "Office to speak to Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Cullen Smith, "both friends of General Graham. This is the only busi-"ness that retards me from flying to Salton, but I hope it "will be finished before Monday, which is the day I have " at present fixed for setting out.

"Believe me, ever your most affecte. Son,
"C. M. C."

To Messrs. Vogel & Schubye.

"London Hotel, Albemarle Street,
"Thursday, July 11th, 1811.

" Messrs.,

"Having on my return from Cadiz a few days ago "met with a translation into English (printed by you) of "a pamphlet written by Don Luis Lacy, Chief of the Staff "of the 4th army, in answer to Lieut.-General Graham's

"letter to the Right Honourable Henry Wellesley, relative to the action of the 5th of March, which was published at Cadiz some time since, it is my duty to address you as the channel through which your employers may be informed that in consequence of Lieut.-General Graham having, upon the original work appearing at Cadiz, objected in the strongest manner possible to several passages therein as personally reflecting upon his character, and insisted upon their being expunged, both General Lacy and General Lapena have consented to the same, and therefore the further circulation of this pamphlet was immediately ordered to be withheld at Cadiz until it could be prepared to reappear before the public in a less objectionable shape.

"And I must at the same time request that in like "manner the circulation of its translation in this country "may be suspended until further advices relative thereto are received from Cadiz, otherwise I shall be under the necessity, in justice to General Graham, of publishing the letters which have been written by General Lapena and General Lacy to him on that subject (certified copies of which are in my possession) which contain a most full and complete retraction of the above passages, as well as of everything that might bear a construction prejudicial to his honour and character.

"I have the honour to be,

" Messrs.,

"Your most obedient Servant,
"C. M. CATHCART, Lt.-Colonel,
"and Depy. Qr.-Mr. General at Cadiz."

From Lt.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart to Messrs.

Vogel & Schubye.*

"Lt.-Col. Cathcart has this instant received

^{*} From the Cathcart collection.

"Messrs. Vogel and Schubye's answer to his letter of yesterday, and is happy to find that the further circulation of Genl. Lacy's pamphlet is suspended.

"Lt.-Col. C., being desirous of knowing the extent to which this pamphlet has been circulated, requests Messrs.

"Vogel and Schubye will acquaint him with the number

"of copies that have been thrown off and sent from his

" office, as also whether any bookseller has had the charge

" of publishing it."

"July 11th.—Went down to Belem to look at horses "sent out as remounts for officers of cavalry. Dined at "Marshal Beresford's. Went to the play.

"12th.—Went down by water to the Admiral and rode with him and Captain Holloway to the works forming the lines round St. Julians.

"13th.—Went out to dine at Buenfica with Mr. Stuart.
"The Regents, Ministers, Spanish Minister, Marshal

"Beresford, and others, to the number of 30, were there.

"Sat next one of the Regents—very like a Scotch minister

"—speaks good English, and is reckoned a very able man.

"The Patriarch, a fat, proud-looking priest; and Principal

"Souza, a cunning one.

"14th.—Crossed to Almada and rode with Beresford "along the new works on that side. When finished the "line will be very strong.

"15th.—Received letter from Lord Wellington in answer to mine. Nothing likely to occur at the army."

From Lord Wellington.

" Quinta de St. Joao, 13th July, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"I have just received your letter of the 10th inst.
"You will have seen from my letter to the Secretary of
"State, which I requested Mr. Stuart to communicate to

"you, that affairs are in such a state that there can be

- "no reason why you should put yourself to any incon-
- "venience to come to the army sooner than you would
- " otherwise.
- "Nothing has occurred since I wrote to the Secretary of State, excepting that General Blake has embarked,
- "leaving General Ballesteros with his division, and the
- "cavalry of the 5th army, under the Conde de Penne
- " Villemur in the Condado de Niebla.

"Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

- "July 17th.—General Stewart having gone, we removed to Quentillas—an admirable quarter.
- "18th.—Rode to Belem; saw Ponsonby. Bought
- "Lord Aylmer's two mules. Chose three of the horses,
- " having obtained Lord Wellington's leave.
- "19th.—Some of the Cadiz transports came in, but not "our horses.
 - " 20th.—The transport with our horses at last came in.
 - "22nd.—Tarragona has been taken by assault. Col.
- "Skerrett had not landed, having only arrived a day or
- "two before, and been advised by Doyle and Codrington
- "not to land. Great part of the garrison was put to the
- "sword and the town sacked. It is stated that the
- "Governor made no defence of the breach. Rode to
- "Belem to see the mules from Cadiz."

From Lord Wellington.

" Quinta de St. Joao, 21st July, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"I have received your note of the 19th, and I "conceive that the same circumstances which render it "expedient that you should be supplied with horses by "some public arrangement, apply to your aides-de-

"camp, Captains Hope and Stanhope, and I beg you will

"take as many of the horses sent out for the officers of the cavalry as you may think proper.

"You will have seen in my despatch of the 18th that "the enemy have moved; the cavalry left Merida on the "17th, when Cocks arrived there, and the army of Portugal are going into cantonments on the two banks of the "Tagus. It is said that the 5th corps have moved like-"wise, and, as we are becoming very strong, I propose to endeavour to obtain possession of Ciudad Rodrigo. "Some time will elapse before the train, which is in the "Douro, can be brought up; in the meantime the troops "may as well be out of the sun.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

From Lord Wellington to Lord Liverpool.

" Quinta de St. João, 21st July, 1811.

" My Lord,

"It appears by accounts which I have received from Mr. Wellesley, dated the 15th instant, that Tarragona was taken by storm on the 28th of June; the 47th Regiment, and the other troops which General Graham had lately sent to that quarter from Cadiz, having arrived on the preceding day in the roads.

"I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to General "Graham's despatch of the 14th June, and its enclosures "upon the subject of sending to Tarragona the 47th "Regiment, and the plan of recruiting, upon which, I "request to have your Lordship's orders.

"I likewise beg to draw your Lordship's attention to "the future arrangements for the command at Cadiz, the "troops at which place, are now considered part of this "army. The General Officer in command there has, how-"ever, always reported directly to the Secretary of State, "and received his orders immediately from your Lordship, "and I have not always been made acquainted with your

"Lordship's instructions, nor have I known whether the measures adopted there have been founded upon them.

"As long as there was in command at Cadiz an officer of the rank and character of General Graham, I had no objection to this system. But I beg to inform your Lordship that I cannot conceive myself responsible for the acts or conduct of any General Officer on whom the command at Cadiz may devolve, unless the correspondence with the Secretary of State is carried on through me, and I am made acquainted regularly with your Lordship's wishes and intentions regarding that place.

"It appears to me that the best plan would be to con-"sider the troops at Cadiz as those at Gibraltar are, a "distinct command.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"July 23rd.—Dined at Buenfica, and rode on in the evening to Cintra, arrived late, the road bad, and the little Spanish horse weak. Found the Admiral and Lady Emily with the Marshal.

"24th.—Rode early with the Marshal to a mineral spring near Colares, and then on there; beautiful scenery, stayed dinner, and rode home late."

To Lt.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart.

"Lisbon, 27th July, 1811.

" My dear Charles,

"Our horses had a three weeks' voyage, but came safe. I have bought some more here and a great many mules. The necessary establishment of these for carrying baggage goes up to 14 or 15, besides riding mules for the servants.

"I understand Sir B. Spencer is going home imme-"diately, and that quarters are taken for me at Portalegre, "the head-quarters at present; so that, though I have not "heard a syllable on the subject it is pretty clear that I shall have the first Division, which Sir B. S. vacates. "This is not what I should have wished, as it is always I understand at head-quarters, but I came determined not to ask for anything, nor even make any observation. "Hill has the command of nearly half the army, and Picton commands two divisions, if not three, at Castel

"We shall now soon hear of Suchet and Soult (or at "least part of his force) shaking hands at Carthagena, "and when they get all the Mediterranean coast they will begin to think seriously of Cadiz, which is no better than "when you left it. In short, I never thought so ill of the affairs in the Peninsula as now, and indeed nothing can give a chance of going on but a total change of the "military system of Spain, and their submitting to be "under Lord Wellington, and our agreeing to pay them "to a large amount.

"Our Government is as much to blame about the loss of Tarragona, for they were well informed a year ago of the inevitable consequence of neglecting that most essential point—next in vital consequence to Cadiz itself. Adieu, my dear Charles, let me know you are getting well. Ponsonby has had a relapse here, and I want him to go home. General Lumley and Lord March are going—"both ill.

"Love to all; God bless you.

"Ever affecly,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

From Lt.-Genl. R. Hill.

"Torre de Moro, one league in the "rear of Campo Maior, June 22nd.

" My dear Sir,

" Branco.

"I have received your letter of the 6th. I can "assure you none of your friends were more rejoiced than

"I was at the result of your brilliant action, and I lament "much the jealousies and blunders of the Spaniards, which, "of course, by adding to your difficulties increase your "claims to approbation. You will have heard of events "in this country which have obliged us to abandon the "siege of Badajos. When the enemy advanced to its "relief I was at Almendralejo, and received orders to fall "back upon Elvas. The enemy have collected the whole " of their force opposite to us, at least I believe the greater " part are at Merida and the woods on this side of that "place. Lord Wellington on his part has assembled all " his force in this neighbourhood and seems determined to "oppose the enemy should he advance. The ground we " are likely to take up is not strong, but at the same time "it is rather favourable. The position talked of runs rather "in rear of Campo Maior, with the right towards Elvas " and the left on Oguela, in the direction of Albuquerque. "I imagine the enemy will be able to bring about 48,000 "into the field—we, I believe, not quite so many. Poor "Colborne I am sorry to say is very unwell in Elvas, he "has been very low and depressed ever since the business " of Albuera; the loss his brigade sustained on that occa-"sion was very severe, but it certainly was not Colborne's "fault, for he on that day, as well as on all others, has "shewn himself to be a most excellent officer. Blake, I " understand, is marching on Seville, of this of course you "will be informed. I thank you for your inquiries after "my health. I continue quite well, and trust this will " find you so.

"Yours most truly,
"R. HILL."

From Lord Wellington.

"Portalegre, 27th July, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of

"the 24th last night, and I write to let you know that "there is no reason why you should hurry yourself from Lisbon.

"Upon a comparison of the strength which he can bring upon one point with that which the enemy can collect in Castille, I think I have a chance of succeeding in taking Ciudad Rodrigo, and the preparations are in progress for that enterprise.

"I can certainly undertake nothing else at present which "would at all improve the situation of the allies in the "Peninsula; and adverting to the facility with which the "French march corps from one side of the Peninsula to "the other, and to the little detriment to their interests "which results from the abandonment of a province or "kingdom to collect a large force against us, I must consider it not improbable that I shall be obliged to abandon the enterprise. The preparation for it, however, will "take up a considerable time, and you will see that there is no occasion for hurrying yourself.

"We have reports as usual that Ciudad Rodrigo is but "ill supplied with provisions, for which I believe there is "no more foundation than for these reports in general.

"It may be advisable, therefore, that we should ap"proach the place a little earlier than I at first intended,
"and with this view, and because the whole of Marmont's
"army have crossed the Tagus, I am sending more troops
"across, and I have it in contemplation to make a general
"movement to our left. Soult certainly intends to avail
"himself of the large force he now has in the South to
"make an effort against the position of the allies at Cadiz,
"or to obtain possession of Carthagena. I do not think it
"quite clear which plan he will follow. He has certainly
"sent to Granada the division of the 4th corps which
"was lately in Estremadura, and, it is said, some troops
"under La Tour Maubourg, but I believe these last are
"cavalry only, which would not be of much use in an
"attack upon the Isla de Leon. These reinforcements

"may have been sent to enable Laval (who, I believe, now commands the 4th corps) to keep Freyre in check, as this last General had lately made some progress, and had got as far as Guadiz.

"I am inclined to believe he will attack Cadiz, as I "have not heard that any of the heavy ordnance, moved "out of Badajos, has been sent from Seville towards "Granada, and I suspect that it is going down the "Guadalquivir unobserved by those who are employed to "procure intelligence for the Spanish Government.

"I have written to my brother about the state of the works on the Isla de Leon; but from all I see and hear, "I am very apprehensive that the affairs of Spain are nearly irretrievable. There is no money, and there are no means of getting any; and there are no disciplined troops. Even if we should strike a fortunate blow, I fear that we should do them no good.

"Till Soult's design upon Carthagena is manifest, no"thing can be more absurd than to send Blake's corps into
"Murcia, where they have already 20,000 men opposed to
"5,000 French, which may have been increased to 12,000
"by the first reinforcement from Estremadura, and probably
"to 14,000 by the last. My opinion is that Blake's corps
"should be employed either in the Sierra de Ronda or in
"the Condado de Niebla, as this may be depended upon
"(although the Spaniards will not admit it), that they may
"increase the corps in Murcia to any extent they please,
"but they will not be able to drive the French out of
"Granada.

"The strength of their corps in Murcia, therefore, ought "to be fixed with a view to a defensive war in a very strong country, and should be increased in proportion as the enemy by the increase of his force, and his other measures in that quarter should manifest a design to attack Carthagena.

"A force stationed in Niebla or the Sierra de Ronda "would always have a secure retreat. From either situa-

"tion they would threaten Seville, which is the foundation of the enemy's existence in the south of Spain. In Niebla, they would be in direct communication with us, and they might be equipped in such a manner as to render it quite impossible for Soult to move all his troops with impunity upon us; and from Niebla or La Ronda the troops might be brought to Cadiz with facility if wanted. But this plan will not be adopted, because it does not afford ground for anybody to boast for a few days that the enemy will be overthrown, and that the southern provinces of Spain will be relieved.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"July 29th.—Sent off the horses and baggage to Villa-"franca; Stanhope and Calvert went with them. Wrote "letters and settled accounts. Dined with General Pea-"cocke.

"3oth.—Sir B. Spencer expected this morning at Quintellas. Embarked at 2 p.m. in Lord Balgonie's boat, leaving the large Portuguese one for Hope, etc. Wind foul and blowing fresh made the boat take so much water, that we were obliged to bale and bear up; got hold of the large boat. Contrary wind continuing, we could only reach Villafranca at 11 at night.

"31st.—Tide did not allow our departure till 6, got up
"to Villada, after sticking on several shoals, about 10 a.m.
"Landed and proceeded on horseback to Cartaxo across
"a cultivated plain of considerable extent. Much Indian
"corn, as it was too late for the spring grains when
"Massena began his retreat from Santarem. Cartaxo, a
"small round village on rising ground a mile or more
"from the plain; much vineyard all the way to the position
"near Santarem. Examined the French works; very
"strong against an attack in front. Baited there, and went
"on to Golega, where we overtook the baggage, etc.

"August 1st.—Set out at 5, and went on without halting

"to Abrantes; part of the road passes near the Tagus, and "through a cultivated and fertile country, but the road "crosses several high ridges of heath. Passed the deep "valley of the Zezere; a bridge of boats is established; the

"French had constructed works on both sides of the river.

" 2nd.—I rode in the morning all round the works and "across the river to Mr. Dalrymple's, Dy.-Commissary-" General.

"3rd.—Set out at 3 a.m., went down a very steep descent "from the town, which stands on a high ridge, and crossed " a wooded valley and narrow ridge into a deep glen, which "we followed for some time; the country all the way very " barren and desert; arrived at Cardigos where we stayed " all night.

"4th.—Set out at 5, went three leagues only to Sobriera "Formosa, passing through Cortexas, a beautiful village "in a wooded valley; passed the day at Sobriera Formosa. "5th.—Set out early and stopped for some hours "at Sarzedas, a village on a hill in the middle of heath, "and afterwards continued on to Castel Branco. " off an express to head-quarters.

"6th.-Remained all day at Castel Branco; late in the " evening received answer from Lord Wellington, by which "I learnt that head-quarters were advancing, and that I " was expected as soon as possible."

From Lord Wellington.

" Pena Macor, 6th August, 1811.

" My dear Sir,

"I have received your note of the 5th. I do not "know whether you received a long letter which I wrote "to you from Portalegre nearly a fortnight ago, in which "I explained the object of our movement to this side of " the Tagus.

"I have not yet received the intelligence which I expect at every moment, which will enable me to determine whether I shall move on Ciudad Rodrigo immediately or not. From the tenor of that which I have received, however, I think I ought to move on, and I therefore recommend to you to come here to-morrow. If I should leave this place, I shall send a note to Pedrogao in the morning early, where you will do well in that case to halt, and you will be able to overtake me at Sabugal the next day.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"August 7th.—Set out before 3; passed the Guards on "their march. Ponsonby, who had had symptoms of ague at Castel Branco, would not be persuaded to stay behind, but was so ill at San Miguel as to be obliged to remain there. We got on to Pedrogao without halting; breakfasted and dined with Sir Stapleton "Cotton. Went on in the evening between 7 and 8, and "travelled all night.

"8th.—As far as one could judge by moonlight, we passed through a pretty, varied, wooded country. The day began to break as we got near Sabugal, the head-quarters, where we arrived at 3 a.m. Remained all day, dined with Lord Wellington.

"9th.—Head-quarters moved to Casillas de Flores by "Aldea Ponte—much wood and brushwood. Remained "all day at Casillas de Flores.

"toth.—Rode in the morning to Songo, and then on towards Zamannah, by Martiago, the head-quarters of the Light Division; returned to Songo.

"11th.—Set off early and went the same road, and on "past Zamannah, crossed to the Salamanca road, and, "passing near and round Ciudad Rodrigo, went on to

"the ford of Palacios, which we crossed, and went to "Gallegos.

"12th.—Head-quarters established at Fuentes de Gui-"naldo; went there this morning.

"16th.—Set out at 3 a.m., and went by El Bodon and Pastores, and the ford of Pastores to reconnoitre the ground beyond Ciudad Rodrigo. The position on the nearest ridge to Ciudad Rodrigo by no means favour- able; extensive and very narrow, and the right thrown back across the plain towards the ford of Pastores, affording little advantage of ground but a bank and little water run.

"17th.—George and William Napier (the latter very ill) "came over from Songo. Rode in the evening with "W. Napier to Castelejo, a small village at the foot of "the hill, half a league north of Fuentes de Guinaldo, "returned by a considerable road—probably that of "Fuentes Onoro.

"19th.—Set out about 5 a.m. with an escort of Dragoons and Hussars; crossed the Agueda at a good ford to E1 Bodon and went on to the end of the ridge on which we were the first day.

"24th.—Went at 4 a.m. to the Sierra de Gata by Villa "Rubia. The pass itself is strong, but readily to be "turned by the right, which leads to a high woody hill "connected with the hill of the pass itself, and from "which a long ridge descends northward, turning the "whole position.

"25th.—Church service; rode over to Casillas de Flores; dined with General Stewart. Lord Wellington there.

"26th.—Wrote to Lt.-Col. Campbell 94th, and his brother, and to the Adjutant, Mr. Campbell, recommended by Miss Smith, of Methven.

"27th.—1st and 4th Divisions ordered up towards "Guinaldo, in consequence of the intelligence of the "movement of Marmont's division northwards."

To Lieut.-Col. the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

" Head-quarters, Fuentes de Guinaldo,
" 28th August, 1811.

" My dear Charles,

"The enclosed came lately from Cadiz, from "whence came your first letter, so that now I am in "possession of both your letters, the latter dated Salton "Hall, 2nd August, 1811. I had previously heard of you "and of your progress in recovery, and northwards from "Kinwood and Wolverton, with much satisfaction, as you "may believe; but I sincerely hope you will not hurry "out. It is quite inconceivable the number of sick officers "produced by this last march from the south; and Pon-"sonby, poor fellow, has, as near as possible, fallen a "victim to his zeal, for I don't like to call it obstinacy. "I did what I could to persuade him to go home from "Lisbon, but he came up with me as far as Castel Branco, "where he was taken ill, but continued the next day as "far as Lord Blantyre's quarters at San Miguel, where "we left him. He struggled on to Pedrogao, from whence "he was obliged to retrace his steps to Castel Branco, "but was taken so ill that he got no farther than San "Miguel; there, without a servant, or baggage, or any "comfort, he remained in a dangerous state, delirious, "till the 14th Light Dragoons luckily came up, when "Harvey got his surgeon to take care of him. He was "covered with blisters. He is recovering at Castel Branco, "where a medical board has desired leave of absence for "him to Lisbon; but, at my suggestion, has desired that "he may go home.

"I feel greatly obliged by the vigorous and prudent steps you took for the suppression of the translated dedition of Lacy. When I first heard of it I was very

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"indignant, but from all that Macdonald writes since, I " am persuaded they (Lapena and Lacy) have had nothing "to do in this attempt, though it was shabby not to say "that a translation had gone to England, for I believe "there is no doubt of its having been sent in that shape "from Cadiz, probably at the beginning and previous to "the explanation that took place, and, perhaps, from the "Government to Assoduca rather than from the indi-"viduals, so that nothing could come more à propos than "your interference. I rather think and hope the thing "will go entirely to sleep. Should it not, and that ex-"planation should become indispensable, I should think "that a short note from you to the printers, stating that, "having in your possession authentic documents to prove "the fact, you desire that a paragraph may be inserted " in the style of the following:-

"'We have authority to state that on a representation from Lieutenant-General Graham to Generals Lapena and Lacy, the paragraphs Nos. 15 and 16, which he considered as offensive to his private character, were agreed to be suppressed and withdrawn from General Lacy's statement.' Circumstances must determine on the necessity of entering into a further detail relative to the import of the paragraphs, but I should suppose in no case could it be necessary to publish the correspondence. However, that it may be complete in your hands, I send to Macdonald by this mail copies of my letters which are all that was wanting, as likewise an introductory letter of Ponsonby's to me, which does him much credit, and two others of his, though I could not admit the justice of his argument.

"In the persuasion that Lacy's pamphlet (after the "suppression of the paragraphs Nos. 15 and 16) would "obtain an extended circulation, probably a positive "publication, I had directed Macdonald to hold in readimess for circulation my different statements, with the "addition of my last letter from Lisbon to Mr. Wellesley.

"He and the wiseacres about town have reasoned much "to dissuade me from this measure as useless and only "serving to revive a forgotten dispute. I have from the " beginning shewn clearly that all I did or meant to do was " to be on the defensive and to repel attacks. Of course "Lacy's pamphlet not obtaining the circulation I sup-" posed, there could be no intention on my part, consistent "with my former conduct, to awaken the matter, and, "therefore, I have told him to hold hard, as I wish nothing "less than unnecessarily to call attention to the business, "though I think, from the first, people at home, feeling " only for the possibility of mischief arising from a dispute " of this kind, were not inclined enough to consider how "much bound I was to repel calumnies so industriously "propagated at Cadiz, and abetted there by the Govern-"ment-calumnies that no less affected the character and "conduct of the British division than my veracity in "reporting the circumstances. For example of this, I "appeal to the official account of the Regency Gazette, "copied no doubt into every newspaper in Europe; "however, I shall be very happy to hear no more of it in "one way or the other. I mean, however, for my own "private satisfaction and for the gratification of a few "personal friends, to have an engraving done in London "from a copy of the Duke of York's plan of the action, "which Hamilton is to send me by the first opportunity "from Cadiz, and which I shall send to Macdonald for "this purpose.

"this purpose.

"Marmont has collected his troops near the Puerto de

"Baños on both sides, and also near the other passages to

"the eastward; this relieves me from any apprehension of

"his making a diversion by an irruption into Portugal

"towards Castel Branco, and therefore our infantry di
"visions left behind are closing up nearer this. Cavalry

"remaining to patrol towards the enemy's left flank and

"rear from Pena Macor, etc.

" It is not improbable but that a corps assembling in

"Leon for the avowed purpose of invading Gallicia will "now be turned southward towards the Tormes, so as to be able to unite with Marmont and be ready to intercept any attempt they may suppose we may intend making against Ciudad Rodrigo. Our position, therefore, is likely to assist and give time to Abadia in the organization of a considerable force in Gallicia, a quarter now almost the most valuable left to Spain. It was strongly reported, too, that Marmont was to have detached from the Tagus to assist in an expedition against Valencia; if this was true he will be disappointed there likewise.

"There are rumours, too, of Buonaparte's coming to Bayonne, this will be known in England before we know it. He may come that far to be nearer to direct, but he will not come into Spain without bringing 60 or 70,000 men, and all we hear of is about 18 or 20,000 to make up the deficiencies of last campaign. Most of these are already arrived, and, being conscripts, take all the garisons on the other side of the Ebro, the men of which have come forward to Valladolid to form part of the army assembling in the plains beyond the Douro.

"There is, therefore, no appearance of anything active very soon on either side.

"Having discussed these points, I come to that of pointers. By a report of Mackenzie's, who had been lately at Balgowan, there are only two old bitches—
Black Juliet and Sappho—and a litter good for little.

I am afraid that Fintry, in his zeal to attend to my instructions to give you the preference, may have sent you my black puppies from Mundy of Derbyshire's famous dog and Juliet. I have enjoined him, should this be the case, to recall them all without delay, for I would not use them myself, knowing how entirely it is subversive of good education and strict discipline for puppies to go out with gentlemen sportsmen.

"All my hope of good dogs for years to come rests on this litter, and I should be grievously disappointed if

"they were to be spoiled in breaking, which must be the "case if they go out this season with anybody but the

Adieu, love to all.

" Ever affectly yours,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"August 29th.—Intercepted cyphered letter from Gene-"ral Foy to General Girard, stating Marmont's intention " of uniting with the army of the north, and attacking the "allied army blockading Ciudad Rodrigo with 40,000 "men. Dined at head-quarters with the Prince of Orange "and a large party. Rode in the evening to try coursing " without success.

"30th.—Intelligence of the march of General Montbrun "with cavalry and one division of infantry by the Puerto " de Baños towards Tamames.

"31st.-Montbrun had not come on to Tamames by the "last intelligence, but had stopped at Valverde and on "this side of the pass.

"Sepr. 1st.—Rode in the evening to the Puebla de "Azava and back by the left towards Casillas de Flores.

"2nd.—Settled to go to join the division which arrived "in the cantonments of Nava d'Aver and Fuentes Onoro

" this morning. "3rd.—Hope went over to settle about quarters. Saw "Lord Wellington, who has had a good deal of informa-"tion about the enemy's movements. Dorsenne, it would "appear, after driving back the Galician army from "Bañeza to Villafranca, is coming down by Zamora by "forced marches. One division, Dumourier's, had arrived "at Salamanca on the 1st, the others were expected. An "intercepted letter (of which there is some doubt as the "man gave it up to Don Julian, saying he had been "forced to carry it) speaks to the Governor of Ciudad

"Rodrigo of their intention to relieve him, and attack us

"in conjunction with Marmont. The intelligence from

"other quarters confirms this. In this, Dorsenne's army

"is called 25,000 Imperial Guards, which it cannot be,

"unless lately and considerably reinforced. Marmont has

"got some addition of both arms, so that his force is now

" estimated at 30,000, Dorsenne's—say 15,000, total 45,000,

"and between them from 5 to 6,000 cavalry. Some strong

" patrols have come to the other side of the mountains at

"Alverca enquiring the road to Montiago.

"6th.—Set out early from Fuentes de Guinaldo, sending "my servants and baggage by the short road, and went

"down the Azava and across from Campillo to Espeja,

"and by Fuentes Onoro to Nava d'Aver, where the Cold-

"stream Guards are, and where I fix the head-quarters of

" the division.

"8th.—Went early to reconnoitre the ground on each "side of the hills between this and Espeja, for water "principally; none on the left till Espeja.

"9th.—Rode by Fuentes Onoro towards Val Fermosa,

"where General Low, of the German brigade, is quartered,

"but finding him out with the brigade returned over the

"heights on which the right of the line was thrown back

" after or during the action of the 5th.

"13th.—Rode in forenoon to Frenedas and Castello Bom "to see the bridge; one arch on the left bank (a small one) broke down and ill repaired, the road on each side very bad for carriages.

"14th.—Set off at daybreak and rode by Campillo to

"Marzano, and so on opposite to Ciudad Rodrigo; re-

"turned by the course of the Agueda as far as the wooded

"heights near the fords of Palacios and Capello, and then

"by Gallegos home, about 9 or 10 leagues—had horses

" waiting for us.

"15th.—By the information received for some days past, it is probable the convoy for Salamanca will be very

"soon ready to set out. Rode to Batoco to see the

"division under Captain Ross' direction practise sapping

" and making fascines, etc.

"17th.-By the intelligence received, Marmont is in "motion, and there is no doubt of the enemy advancing "to cover the convoy for Ciudad Rodrigo with all the force "that can be collected, which Lord Wellington estimates "at 50,000, of which 5,000 cavalry—while ours will not "exceed 40,000, of which 3,000 cavalry.

"18th.—By the intelligence to-day it would appear "that Marmont was only to begin his march to-day; but "there is no doubt of the great preparations from every "quarter, and the great force with which the operation of "introducing the convoy into Ciudad Rodrigo is to be

"supported. The effect this will produce in Spain will "be very favourable to the French interest, and in propor-

"tion against us. The Spaniards do nothing, and are "unreasonable enough to expect us to do all.

"20th.—Went over early to head-quarters, Guinaldo, "by Castelejo; after seeing Lord Wellington went on by "Campillo down the Azava to Carpio, examining the

"banks and ground, especially on the left bank."

Extract from General Orders.*

"Head Quarters, 22nd Sepr., 1811.

"The following movements and arrangements are to "take place this afternoon and to-morrow morning:-

"Movements to take place this afternoon:-Major-"General Anson's brigade to be placed in bivouac at "Espeja, and to have outposts at Marialva, Carpio, "and upon the roads which lead from Ciudad Rodrigo

" upon Campillo.

"Major-General Alten's brigade of cavalry to be placed " partly at El Bodon and partly in the wood on the right "hand of the road going from El Bodon and Fuentes "Guinaldo, as near to El Bodon as a good situation for "bivouacking can be found. The outposts of this brigade

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"are to be at Pastores and on the right, and to com-"municate with Major-General Anson's outposts upon "the left.

"The 6th Division of Infantry is to be placed in bivouac immediately behind Espeja, and to give such support as may be requisite to Major-General Anson's cavalry.

"The 3rd Division to be assembled at El Bodon, and in the nearest bivouac in rear of that village. It will continue also to occupy Encina and Pastores, and will give such support as may be necessary to Major-General Alten's brigade of cavalry. The 5th Regiment will re-

"Alten's brigade of cavalry. The 5th Regiment will re"main in Fuentes Guinaldo till to-morrow morning.

"Major-General Don Carlos d'España will be in-"structed to place his infantry at Alameda, and his

"cavalry in the villages of Villa de la Yegua, Barquilla, "Cesinero, etc., to watch the fords of the Agueda. Major-

"General Anson will place an officer and detachment of

"his brigade with this cavalry to make reports to Espeja of whatever occurs of importance.

"Don Carlos d'España will also have a post at Barba "de Puerco."

"Movements to take place at day-break to-morrow morning:—

"The 1st Division to be assembled at Nava d'Aver, and in the bivouac at Pozo Velho.

"Brigadier-General McMahon's brigade of Portuguese infantry to move to Fuentes Onoro.

"Brigadier-General Madden's and Brigadier-General" Otway's brigades of Portuguese cavalry to move to

"the wood between Fuentes Onoro and Pozo Velho.

"The artillery now with these brigades is to remain at "Aginhal.

"Brigadier-General Pack's brigade of Portuguese in-"fantry to move by Campillo and bivouac there. General "Pack may move the brigade this afternoon to Gallegos.

- "The 4th Division to move to Fuentes Guinaldo and bivouac in the neighbourhood.
- "Major-General Slade's brigade of cavalry and Captain
- "Bull's troop of horse artillery to move to Ituero.
- "Major-General De Grey's brigade of cavalry and Captain Lefebre's troop of horse artillery to move to
- " Puebla de Azava.
- "The 7th Division to move to Alamedilla, the reserve of ammunition to Aldea de Ponte.
- "The Light Division to remain in its present situation,
- "but Major-General Crauford will be in communication
- "with the troops at El Bodon, and in the event of these
- "troops being driven back he will immediately move to "Robleda.
- "The 5th Division will remain at till further orders.
- "When the army is placed as above-mentioned, the
- "infantry at Espeja and Nava d'Aver and the several
- " corps which are to the left of that line will be under the
- "immediate orders of Lieut.-General Graham.

"GEO. MURRAY, Q. M. G."

Extract from General Orders.

"Fuentes Guinaldo,

" 23rd Septr., 1811.

- "In the event of the enemy advancing in superior force upon Espeja, Gallegos, or other points where he
- "would threaten the left of the army, Lieut.-General
- "Graham will draw back the troops that are placed under
- "his immediate orders as follows:-
- "The British and Portuguese troops to be concentrated at Nava d'Aver.
- "The Spanish troops under Don Carlos d'España to fall back upon Freneda and Castello Bom.
 - "Should the enemy still continue to press on, the troops

"at Nava d'Aver will retire, when necessary, upon Villa "Maior, and Aldea de Robeira, and maintain the strong "ground in the neighbourhood of these places.

"Lieut.-General Graham will also hold Malheada Sorda "and Arifana with a part of his infantry as long as he " may deem it safe to do so.

"The Spanish troops will cross the Coa when it be-"comes necessary to do so, and occupy Castello Mendo "and neighbourhood, and defend the bridge of Castello "Bom. Don Carlos d'España will also detach parties " of his cavalry to watch the ford and bridge of Almeida " and the other intermediate passes of the Coa.

"Major-General Anson will be instructed to conform "himself to the movements of the troops under Lieut .-"General Graham.

"As it may become expedient to move Brigadier "MacMahon's brigade of Portuguese infantry towards the "right of the army, Lieut.-General Graham will be so "good as not dispose of that corps in any way that might "impede such a movement—unless in the case of the left " of the army having to retire as above-mentioned.

"Lt.-General Graham will be so good as communicate "to head-quarters all events of importance that occur "upon the left of the army, as also all movements, in "change of position which he finds it necessary to make.

"GEO. MURRAY, Q. M. G."

"August 24th.-Rode before daybreak to Espeja, and " on to Carpio and the heights commanding a view of the "bridge and plain behind Ciudad Rodrigo. Between 6 " and 7 a.m., two regiments of cavalry came by the Carpio "and Espeja roads, pushing on at a trot with very little "advanced guard. We were then quite on the left, crossed "back towards Carpio, when on their gaining the summit, " and seeing that we had only the picquets, we were obliged "to gallop off and cross the Azava into the wood. General "Anson had sent for a squadron, which went down the

" broad lane; the rest of the cavalry mounted and advanced " across the open space, halting near where the lane comes "up into it. Four squadrons advanced very boldly through "the wood without any precaution, and after some skir-"mishing, and at the moment of their formation, were "charged by Capt. Hay with the 16th Light Dragoons-"very weak from detachments to watch the other roads, "and the absence of so many men sick. This attack had "complete success, the squadron of the Lanciers de Berg "were completely broken, their chef d'escadron killed, "and a captain wounded and taken with several men. " company of Light Infantry was sent down into the wood, "and as the enemy, after rallying, was advancing again, "a volley was given with great effect, a number of men " and horses being killed and wounded. Three squadrons "were charged again at that moment, and driven down "to the Azava, and did not attempt anything more. I "remained all day at Espeja and on San Christoval's "hill in observation; troops crossed the river, and marched "to Pastores and El Bodon, whence three battalions and "three squadrons resisted a far superior force admirably, "the 5th Foot charging the Lancers in line, and retaking "two guns which they had rode over in their charge. "The disparity of force, however, obliged Lord Wellington "(who happened to be there) to retire, during which, the "troops all behaved with the greatest steadiness; the three "squadrons of the 11th Light Dragoons and 2nd Hussars "charging repeatedly; the enemy had about 2,000 cavalry, "and a body of infantry. After gaining El Bodon, they "took post, and were reinforced that afternoon. "Wellington equally drew more troops to Guinaldo, where "our works were thrown up. In the evening, I got orders " to withdraw the 6th Division, and I desired General Anson "to bivouac behind Espeja, pushing forward his patrols "and picquets as usual, after the enemy retired in the " afternoon."

From Lord Wellington.*

"Fuentes Guinaldo,
" 25th Sepr., 1811.

" Dear Sir,

"I received last night yours of 6 in the evening; "you may rely upon the enemy's force and position at "Ciudad Rodrigo, as stated to you in my note of 7 last "night, and there was not at sunset, when I left Pastores "hill, any appearance of a movement towards your left.

"Such a movement cannot be made in the daytime "without being seen from Carpio, from Marialva, and from San Christoval, behind Espeja, from the moment it commences, nor can the enemy, at night, approach nearer without the knowledge of the posts at Carpio and Marialva, than those posts allow them.

"I conceive, therefore, that there must always be time "to retire the troops from Espeja. Indeed, I have always "found it so, and in my last, we did not retire the troops "from Espeja till the enemy was on the Azava.

"However, if you don't think the movement can be "made with security, I beg you to move the 6th Division when you think proper, leaving General Anson's brigade of cavalry, and let me know it, that I may have a corresponding movement made by the remainder of the army. There was nothing new last night. I believe the enemy to be fully as strong as they have ever been stated to be, the whole not less than 60,000 men.

"Ever yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

"N.B.—It is to be observed, that the enemy had an "excellent road on the right bank of the Agueda to "several fords that would have turned Gallegos entirely. "However, as I received the above in daylight, and when "we saw the enemy carrying all his infantry to his left

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"in support of the attack of El Bodon, which he had carried, I said no more, but remained at Espeja till evening, when we were ordered back.

"The next day we kept our cavalry as forward as "ever, and saw distinctly the whole French army move to El Bodon; but though at the time Lord Wellington would scarcely credit our reports, he saw that enough had been brought forward to make Guinaldo no longer tenable. By deserters it was known afterwards that the French army were put in motion at 3 a.m. of the 27th to attack Guinaldo.

" T. G."

Extract from General Orders.

"Fuentes Guinaldo,
"Sepr. 25th, 1811.

"Lt.-General Graham will be so good as to move back the troops on the left of the army to Nava d'Aver, and if necessary, will continue to retire as pointed out in the general instructions of the 22nd inst.

"Lt.-General Graham will be so good as order back the "Spanish troops as pointed out in the general instruc- "tions above referred to.

"Lt.-General Graham will keep a look out with his "cavalry as far to the front as it may be safe to do so, "and will report from time to time to hd.-qrs. (through "Albergoria), what is passing on the left.

"GEO. MURRAY, Q. M. G."

"Lt.-General Graham will be so good as bring Brigadier-"General MacMahon's brigade to his right to-morrow, "that it may be at hand to replace Brigadier-General "Colman's with the 7th Division, if necessary.

" G. M."

"August 26th.—By reports from Espeja the enemy made no movement this morning towards Carpio, etc.

"A large force was observed from the heights there, and at San Christoval, to accumulate at El Bodon, and later in the day the march of cavalry and infantry through and from Ciudad Rodrigo was continued without interruption till sunset, the road from the town to El Bodon being completely filled. Fixed a bivouac in the rear of Nava d'Aver for the 6th Division and General Lowe's and Stopford's brigades; rode in the evening to see General Anson at Las Aquilas, and on to San Christoval's Hill, where I could see the enemy's camp and line of march. Sent Hope, and then Stanhope, over to Guinaldo with the account. In the evening received orders to move early, and to make the other division (6th) move behind the Villa Maior rivulet; likewise Colonel MacMahon's brigade to the right at Rebolosa. We are

Extract from General Orders.

"to go to Besiumla. This day all remained quiet."

"Fuentes Guinaldo, 26th Sepr., 1811.

- "The army is to retire into the following position as undermentioned:—
 - "The 1st division to be at Besiumla.
- "The 6th division to be between Besiumla and Aldea de Ribera.
- "Brigadier-General MacMahon's brigade to be at Rebolosa.
- "Major-General Anson's Brigade and the Portuguese cavalry under General Madden to be on the most convenient ground near the 6th division.
- "The Spanish troops under Don Carlos d'España to be at Castello Mendo, and to guard the other passes of Coa as mentioned in the general instructions of the 22nd inst.
- "Lieut.-General Graham will send orders to the two "Brigades of Portuguese Artillery at Azinhal and Adja-

"cento to move without delay to Umiselha, and report "their arrival there.

"Lieut.-General Graham will be so good as to arrange the outposts of the left of the army along the line of the

"Villa Maior rivulet, holding also Malheada Sorda and

"Arifana in the first instance with infantry posts and

"communicating on the right with the outposts from

"Aldea de Ponte and neighbourhood.

"The cavalry on the left will keep a look-out as far in advance as may appear safe.

"Lieut.-General Graham will put the troops in motion for the above arrangements at daybreak to-morrow morning. "Head-quarters will be at Nava.

"GEO. MURRAY."

"Sept. 27th.—Moved early and got to Troops "kept in columns of brigades near the town. General "Campbell with the light division in advance on our "right between the two streams that run on each side of "Villa Maior. McMahon on his right next to General "Pack's brigade. This forenoon the enemy attacked the "troops near Aldea de Ponte, and this continued during "the day at intervals, the village being taken and re-taken "by each party. Later in the evening the enemy attacked "in greater force and kept possession of it, as also of the "hill where the convent is between it and In "the evening got orders to move the two divisions into "the position at Rendo very early next morning; the "Portuguese brigade going to de Coa, where "there is a good road and ford. These are to be watched "by McMahon and Brigadier-General Otway's cavalry."

Extract from General Orders.

"Nava, 27th September, 1811.
"The 1st Divn. and 6th Divn. will be at Rendo, as also
"Major-General Anson's brigade of cavalry.

"Lt.-General Graham will be so good as place one brigade of infantry at Rovina, and have outposts in front of that place, communicating with those of Major- General Crauford at Nava.

* * * * * * * * *

"Lt.-General Graham will be so good as to communi-"cate the orders to the troops on the left of the army "(including Br.-General McMahon's brigade) and will put "them in motion at as early an hour to-night as possible. "Major-General Madden's brigade to cross the Coa at the

" Puente de Sabugal.

"Br.-General McMahon's brigade of infantry and "Br.-General Otway's brigade of cavalry to march by "Val de Yegnas and cross the river at Raponta de Coa. "The 1st and 6th Divs. and Major-General Anson's brigade of cavalry to move by Besiumla. and "Rovina.

"GEO. MURRAY, Q. M. G."

"LT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"Sept. 28th.—These movements took place very early, "some of the troops missed their way before day-"light, but all arrived in good time. Placed the 6th "Division on the right of Rendo, the 1st near it. General "Anson's cavalry (to the left) arrived about 11 a.m., and "brought no report of any movement of the enemy. "Rode all about with Jackson to reconnoitre the ground "and see where the guns could be placed to advantage. "The left, though very strong ground, is exposed to attack "across the Coa, everywhere fordable at present. Some "works there would be very useful, and in advance on the "low white ridge opposite to the ford in front of the left. "By reports from head-quarters no movements are ob-"servable. Met Lord Wellington on the hill to the right " of Rendo. Late received intimation from head-quarters " of the enemy's having fallen back (they never advanced " more than two divisions of infantry and a strong body of . "cavalry to Aldea de Ponte) and in consequence the two

"divisions received orders to go into cantonments. The

" 1st in the villages in front of Celorico, the 6th more to

"the right and in advance."

From Lieut.-General Murray, Q. M. G.*

"Quadrazaes, 28th Sepr., 1811.

" My dear Graham,

"It would appear that the enemy do not mean "to attempt pushing us more. Gordon has come back "to-day and saw their troops returning.

"Lord Wellington is desirous of getting our people "under cover, but we keep the 4th, 3rd, and light divisions "and the cavalry together to-morrow.

"I shall let you have copy of the further distribution of the troops when fixed.

"Ever faithfully yours,
"GEO. MURRAY, Q. M. G."

"Sepr. 29th.—Marched about 6 a.m., crossed the Coa at a very good ford and by a good road, in front of the left of the position of Rendo, having Villa de Toro on the right; fell into the Sabugal road at Peja, and continued on over an undulated country, well watered and with a good many trees, to Gata, on the right of the road to Guarda. Rode up to Guarda, situated on the N.E. extremity of a high ridge, which continues to the S.W. about two miles, and is there interrupted by a bluff point and a gap of considerable depth. It is a pity this ridge was not fortified as an entrenched camp and depôt. Trancoso, too, on the northern ridge, is well situated for a strong military post; the two would guard the frontier of Almeida particularly well.

"30th.—Marched at 6, left Guarda on the left and fol-

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"lowed a narrow valley and over a little ridge on the left which led to the ravine by which the road descends to —very bad either way (there are two), that to the right only passable for artillery. Halted the troops beyond Celorico and before Trancoso, till a distribution of the cantonments could be made. Established my quarters in a very good house at Lagiosa. Rode round to examine the quarters and returned late.

"At Perth, the first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and eleven years.

"In a General Meeting of the Justices of the Peace, "Freeholders, and Commissioners of Supply of the County "of Perth.

" His Grace the Duke of Athole, Preses:-

"It was moved by the Right Honble. Lord Kinnaird, "and seconded by the Right Honble. The Earl of Bread-"albane, that the united and warmest thanks of the "County of Perth be presented to Lieutenant-General "Thomas Graham, of Balgowan, for his eminent services "in Spain; and particularly for his distinguished conduct "in the action of Barrosa on the 5th March, 1811.

"Which motion was carried unanimously, and the "Preses was requested to transmit a copy of the above "resolutions to Lieutenant-General Graham."

To Lt.-Col. the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

"Lagiosa, between Celorico and Guarda, 1st Octr., 1811.

" My dear Charles,

"Last mail brought me your letter at rather a "busy moment, and I could not answer it immediately. "However, you will see by Lord Wellington's despatches "there was no battle, and the enemy did not come on far

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"enough even to look at us in the position which the army "took up on the 28th ult. I don't know it all thoroughly, "but the left, of which I had charge, with two divisions "(the 1st and 6th) and a brigade of cavalry, could not "have been forced. The only risk would have proceeded " from the Coa being everywhere fordable, and the enemy " might have sent a column across, lower down, to attempt "to recross in my rear between my left and Sabugal. But " before I come to this, I should say that Lord Wellington "tempted the enemy by remaining at Guinaldo with two "divisions and some cavalry. The heights of Guinaldo "run parallel to the Agueda for several miles, and are on "an average about three in breadth. They fall down "very abruptly into the valley of the Azava on the left "(to the north); some ravines cut across in front, falling "into the Agueda on one side and into the Azava on "the other, rendering the position very formidable for a "sufficient force, if to be attacked in front only. On the "left of the Azava the ground rises by an easy slope to a "table land of great extent, partly covered by great "woods, partly great open plains immediately behind the "village of Espeja; near the northern part of the first "great road the 6th Division was placed, and Major-"General Anson's brigade (14th and 16th Lt. Drans.), "the 1st Division, remaining at, and near Nava d'Aver, " in direct echellon.

"in direct echellon.

"The distance from Guinaldo to Espeja about six miles,

"from Espeja to Nava d'Aver about the same, and from

"Guinaldo to Nava d'Aver a mile or two more. It must

"be evident that this was never meant for anything more

"than a position of observation; from an open high part

"in front of Espeja we could see all the plain between

"the Azava and Ciudad Rodrigo, as well as the ridge of

"Guinaldo; in the low part of the valley of the Azava the

"country is chiefly open. There was a brigade of cavalry

"and a brigade of Portuguese infantry at Campillo and

"Ituero—villages at the fall of the steep ridge of Guinaldo.

"On the evening of the 24th I was very close to Ciudad "Rodrigo, and saw large bodies of cavalry and infantry "cross the bridge and file off to their left. Lord Welling-"ton, himself on the hill of Pastores (the extremity of the "Guinaldo ridge next to Ciudad Rodrigo), saw them cross "the river, but lost sight of their movement, which, indeed, "did not take place till after sunset.

"On the morning of the 25th we were again near "Ciudad Rodrigo, everything quiet, till two regiments of "cavalry (8 squadrons) came up from the low haugh at "the end of the bridge at a trot, and obliged us to fall "back. Our cavalry picquet made some show in front of "Carpio, in hopes of retarding them, but as soon as they "gained the summit, and saw there was no support, the "heads of the two columns obliged us to gallop off, and "get into the wood across the Azava. There were three "roads leading up towards Espeja in the bottoms of little "open valleys of 100 yds. breadth. I expected either "that they would be satisfied with getting the line of the "Azava, or at all events that they would not come on till "infantry came up, and the position was altogether so "bad, liable to be turned on the left, that I never spent a "more uncomfortable day. However, you will see probably "by Anson's account, that the cavalry alone (4 squadrons) " most impudently came up about a mile through the wood, "driving in our advance, but were most gallantly charged "by Captain Hay, who commanded the 16th (very weak), "while they were forming, and with complete success, "breaking the Lanciers de Berg, and driving the whole "back by the way they came. By this time, the enemy's "cavalry had greatly accumulated at Carpio, and one "regiment advanced to support these, who had rallied " and were returning by this broad lane, but receiving an "unexpected volley from a light company I had ordered "forward, and being at the same moment charged again, "we saw no more of them. They remained before Carpio "till 5 p.m., having sent 4 squadrons down to the bridge

" of the Azava near where it falls into the Agueda, and "patroled on to Gallegos, and then went off towards "Ciudad Rodrigo. Our picquets resumed their stations "on the right af the Azava, and so ended everything on "the left. I was most amazingly relieved to have Lord "Wellington's leave to draw back the 6th Division after "sunset near Nava d'Aver. The cavalry keeping out all "the next day, gave us opportunities of seeing the succes-"sive march of the whole French army on the evening of "the 25th, and during the whole of the 26th, all to sustain "El Bodon, which you will read they had gained in the "morning of the 25th, and to carry their whole force "against Guinaldo at daybreak on the 27th. Why they "did not attack in the afternoon of the 26th seems very "odd, for their force was then much more than double "Lord Wellington's; their intelligence probably was not "good. Our people were all concealed by the reverse of "the ground; some works had been hastily constructed; " in short, they stood in awe of our troops. During that "night and early the next morning all the troops fell back, "occupying high ground behind the Villa Maior rivulet. "You will see they pushed on cavalry and infantry in the " morning of the 27th, and at times through the day there "was partial fighting. Not a shot fired on the left, no " enemy coming in sight of us, and by 10 o'clock on the "28th we were ready to receive them in the ultimate " position, both flanks resting on the Coa, and there Lord "Wellington wished to be attacked, confident of success. "For without that, it would not have been pleasant to "fight with our backs to the river and Sabugal, being a "complete défilé in case of being obliged to retire. I was " preparing to improve the natural strength of Rendo, not "doubting that all this retrograde movement would induce "them to attack us as soon as they could get up and make "their dispositions, which must have taken up two or three "days. But Lord Wellington received positive information " of their falling back towards Ciudad Rodrigo, and sent

"me orders to go the next day (the 29th) with the two divisions, and a brigade of Portuguese infantry which had joined, towards these cantonments where we arrived yesterday. I shall endeavour in the morning to make this more intelligible at Salton Hall, by a hasty sketch from an indifferent sketch of the country which I have. Meanwhile, good night.

"I have been so hurried this morning that I have time "only to send you the sketch, the observations will occur "at Salton Hall. It was very pretty, but spun rather fine, "and had the enemy behaved with common spirit on "the 26th, we should not have got away so easily from "Guinaldo. I should have preferred, from the time it was "ascertained that the enemy's force (54,000 infantry and "6,000 cavalry) was too formidable to be attacked beyond "the Agueda, to attempt preventing the convoy reaching "Ciudad Rodrigo, drawing back the infantry to the ulti-" mate position, which would have been made infinitely "stronger during that interval. There would have been "no risk whatever, nor to the troops any appearance of "retreat. The enemy, you will see, might have amused "us before Guinaldo, and by a night march from Ciudad "Rodrigo been assembled at San Felices Chico, and so "have crossed the river in force by the plain of Fuentes, "and, pushing on rapidly by Nava d'Aver, tumbled us "back in confusion. I always thought this would have "been the course, from their superiority in cavalry and "artillery; all that country is like Newmarket-heath for "galloping across. However, all is well that ends well.

"Head-quarters are now again on the right of the Coa, "at Freneda, at least they go there to-day from Regiosa. "The French armies have separated; what is to be done "next I don't know at all. Adieu. Love to all.

"Ever yours affectly,

"T. G."

[&]quot;October 1st.-Rode up the valley of the Mondego to

"the quarters of the German legion, Faya, near which the scenery of the bridge and river, and mountains cultivated high up with vineyards and fruit trees, is singularly picturesque.

"2nd.—General Walker came here this morning from "Gallicia; rode with him to Villa de Mozo, and then to "the left, by several villages, to Fraxidas, and back by "Alverça (General de Grey's quarters), Marçal de Coa, "and Barracal home; seven hours, about eight leagues. "Received notice of the head-quarters being changed to "Freneda, and the light, 3rd, and 4th divisions being "moved forward to Fuentes, Guinaldo, Alfayates, Nava "d'Aver, and Fuentes Onoro.

"3rd.—It has blown a hurricane in the night, and con-"tinues stormy in heavy squalls with much rain; fortu-"nately the troops are under cover.

"4th.-Rode to Celorico and then to Marcal de Coa, and "crossed into the Valley of Vellosa, and back by the ford. "Wrote to Stewart and Murray about the state of Celorico. "5th.—Rode up the valley of the Mondego as far as the "road is passable for horses; very beautiful and romantic. "At the head of the valley the mountains seem to close "with the wildest and most rugged rocks. One stream "comes from the S.W. through a chasm in the rocks, and "a larger one (probably the Mondego), whose source is "some leagues higher up, comes winding through a deep "ravine from the W. or N.W. Crossed the river on a "good stone bridge, and ascended the hill on the right "bank by a well-conducted road, paved with great blocks " of granite, for about 12 or 15 feet of width, to a village, "and from that across the hill to Guarda, about a league. "From this road, it seems, the valley of the first-mentioned "stream, which widens out to some breadth and appears

"down from Guarda into the valley of the Mondego.

"6th.—Rode to Trancoso, the situation of which is very

"commanding, and in former times it was a place of

"cultivated, returned by the zig-zag paved road, directly

"strength, being surrounded by a good high wall, flanked by square towers, and having a castle on the most elevated part, insulated with a reduit within it. Its situation is very important. This, with Guarda fortified, would render the invasion of Portugal from Almeida impracticable, at least it would delay an enemy till he could besiege and take one, if not both, places.

"7th.—Rode to inspect the Celorico bridge—requiring "repair; wrote to Murray about it and for carpenters' "tools.

"8th.—Lord Wellington called on his way back from Celorico, where he was satisfied of the abominable state of the town."

To Lt.-Colonel the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

"Lagiosa, 8th Octr., 1811.

" My dear Charles,

"That you may be au fait of the late move-"ments and of the way they are directed in this army, I "have made Hope copy over the communications to me "from the Qr.-Mr. Gl's. office, to which I add the copy of "a note of Lord Wellington to me, in answer to one I "wrote, expressive of some anxiety at the situation of the "6th division at Espeja, so exposed to be turned and "separated, according to my view of the thing. I think "the French never meant anything more than to bully a "little for the sake of the 'Moniteur,' otherwise they would "have played the real game from their right over the "finest cavalry country possible, which by a night march "from Ciudad Rodrigo they might have gained unper-"ceived; for what but immediate and precipitate flight "was to be expected from all that I had on my left for the " purpose of observation.

" I mean, on the appearance of a small force, preceding

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

"and covering the columns of which I should have known "nothing till they were on their ground, quite on my flank "and almost in my rear, with a galloping country for

"cavalry and guns all the way to Aldea de Ponte.

"Ever affectly yours,
"T. GRAHAM."

"Octr. 12th.—Rode (shooting) to Alverça by Marçal de "Coa, and returned by the Valley of Vellosa. Lord "Wellington called while I was out, having been again at "Celorico.

"13th.—Rode to the fair at Trancoso; the heat was so oppressive that I determined against the exercise of the division ordered for to-morrow morning.

"16th.—Marmont's army gone up the Tagus, some divisions as far as Toledo; query, whether with a view to assist Suchet or merely for subsistence. The cavalry to Avila and beyond it.

"Dorsenne's army cantoned on the Douro as far as "Valladolid, and extending to Benavente and Medina.

"The 4th division moved more to its left; one battalion across the Agueda to San Felices Grande to support Don Carlos d'España in the country between the Tormes and Agueda.

"17th.—Rode out with the greyhounds.

"18th.—Rode to Celorico, a good deal improved, but still requiring much to be done. Bridge mended; saw the large ash tree—very healthy and vigorous; calculated at about 18 feet circumference.

"19th.—Rode early to Guarda to breakfast with General "Hay, and to see the 5th division at exercise.

"21st.—Sent Lord Wellington the plan of the environs of Tarifa. Woodcocks seen.

"22nd.—Wrote for the English and Cadiz mails. Let-"ters from Cadiz of 10th. Expedition to Tarifa from "Cadiz, Colonel Skerrett with eight comps. 47th, and "eight comps. 87th, and one compy. 95th, under General

"Copons. Better much to have sent this reinforcement to

"join Ballesteros, in whose favour it is meant as a diver-

"sion. The enemy will go, with all their force, directly

"against him, and if successful Tarifa must fall.

"To the eastward, Valencia is on the point of being attacked with 20,000, some say 27,000, men. Blake had left 3,000 men there, garrisons in all the fortified posts, and had 13,000 at Valencia, having sent for the Cadiz division from Murcia and the troops under Bassecourt and Villa Campo from Arragon."

To Lt.-Col. the Hon. C. Cathcart.*

"Lagiosa, 22nd Octr., 1811.

"I have nothing new to tell you, my dear Charles." We remain quiet, but still very sickly. Till to-day the weather has been oppressive to a degree; a burning sun with a Levant wind, the heat much greater since the storm of the 3rd than I have felt since we came so far north. The vapour consequently immense every night in these valleys. You are well away.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Suchet is advanced as far as Saguntum. If Blake loses "Valencia, as is probable, I think he will be ousted. "Take the following paragraph from one of my Austrian "friends at Cadiz as a specimen of the vigour of the "Government.

"' L'on avait voulu envoyer Coupigny à Murcia, appeller "O'Donnel à Cadiz. Le premier a protesté de prendre un "commandement inférieur à celui de Blake. Lapena a

"également crié contre l'inconséquence despotique de la

"Regence (ainsi sont ses termes) qui nomme un autre

^{*} From Lord Cathcart's collection.

" commandant sans attendre l'issue de son procès. Ainsi

" tout reste en attendant dans son ancien ordre."

"It was full time for me to be off, I think.

"Skerrett is gone with a detachment of 8 comps. 47th and 8 comps. 87th, and 1 95th, with 4 field pieces, to Tarifa under Copons, who has some Spaniards (I don't know how many), to make a diversion in favour of Ballesteros who is at Gauçin, and the French have collected 10 or 12,000 men to attack him. I much fear he will be done up; the reinforcements should have gone to Algesiras to join him, and he should have been at San Roque. The French will not pay any attention to Tarifa till the thing is settled at Gauçin. Adieu.

"Remember me most affectionately to all. Ever yours.
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, October 29th, 1811.

"Dear Sir,

"About the end of last month, when Soult arrived at Seville, Girard came forwards towards the Guadiana, and General Drouet with the other division of the 5th corps to Zafra from Andalusia. That movement appeared to be connected with Marmont's objects, and Girard afterwards retired. He has since come forward again, however, and at first I thought his object was to throw a supply into Badajos, which we could not prevent; but he has besides pushed forward to Caceres, and has driven General Castaños' posts beyond the Salor, by which he has distressed him much for provisions and forage, and it was necessary either to receive these vagabond troops in Portugal or to replace them at Caceres.

"I, therefore, desired General Hill to make a movement with his troops, and to threaten Girard's communication

"with Merida by his right, while with the remainder of his troops he attacked him at Caceres.

"I have a letter from General Hill of the 26th informing "me that Girard had that morning retired from Caceres

"on Torremocha. General Hill was at Malpartida, and

"intended to move on the 27th to Aldea del Cano. As

"soon as Girard should cross the Guadiana, Hill would

"return to his cantonments, leaving the Spaniards in the

" country about Caceres.

"As Soult will hear of these movements much about the time that he will feel the necessity of reinforcing the corps sent against Ballesteros, I am in hopes that they may be of some use to Ballesteros.

"There is nothing new here this morning.

" Ever, dear Sir,

"Yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

"Octr. 31st.—Sent horses on to Fraxidas to be ready to-morrow at General Anson's to go on to Almeida.

"Novr. 1st.—Set off early. Rode the bay Belem mare

"to Almeida. Went round the works outside, and then into this ruined town. Called on the Governor. Rode

" on to Pinhel and thence to Alverça to Sir C. Cotton's

"to dinner, with the intention of sleeping there. Received

"orders from the Qr.-Mar. Genl. to move the 1st division

"next morning to Guarda and villages in advance towards

"the Ponte Liguro. Determined to return home. Called

"to see General Campbell. Ordered the brigades of the

" division to march independently.

"2nd.—Received this morning from General Hay at Guarda the Qr.-Mr. Genl's counter orders, and sent to

"halt and bring back all the troops that were in motion.

"Uncertain whether the movement was only suspended,

"I determined to go to head-quarters, to which I had

"been desired to draw near in advance of the division.

"Waited till 12 for Colonel Jackson's return; met him

"and learnt that the whole was over; the new Governor and some bullocks, with an escort of 3 or 4,000 men under Thiébault, having got in to Ciudad Rodrigo at night on the 1st, and that there was no truth in the great rassemblement reported from Salamanca."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 1st November, 1811.

"Dear Sir,

"I enclose a letter from General Castaños with "its enclosure from General Giron, which contains the "only account I have received of General Hill since the "26th. He has done his business very handsomely."

"I likewise enclose a letter of the 28th from Salamanca, and one from Don Carlos d'España, with an intercepted letter from Souham. This last shows the object of the collection of troops at Salamanca, and I think it not improbable that Dorsenne will move with the whole of the army of the north and the Plascentia division of the army of Portugal. Indeed, this is almost certain, from the number stated in the Salamanca letter to be coming from Toro. They generally diminish numbers at Salamanca; but adding even the numbers stated to the two divisions already upon the Tormes, the force is a good strong one, and forms altogether no inconsiderable part of the army of the north.

"I propose to endeavour to strike a blow, if possible, upon this occasion, and to bring the army up for that purpose. It is very desirable, therefore, that you should come to the front. I propose to move head-quarters to-morrow to Guinaldo; but as you will have to cross one of the bridges of the Coa, notwithstanding that the river is falling, you had probably better halt at Sabugal or Alfayates, or if you come by the lower bridges, somewhere hereabouts. General Crauford tells me that the Agueda was fordable yesterday, but that of course was

"above the junction of the Vadillo. If it should be fordable below the junction of the Vadillo, I shall not move more troops to the right of the Agueda than the light and 6th divisions. Otherwise I propose to collect the troops as they come up between the Agueda and the hills.

"Ever, dear Sir,
"Yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 3rd November, 1811.

" Dear Sir,

"After I had written to you the day before "yesterday, I went to the ford of Molino de Flores, and "found that horses could pass there; and I thought it "most probable that even then, but certainly if the fair "weather continued, the ford of Pastores would be "practicable for everything next morning.

"However, upon my return home I received further intelligence which showed that the proposed collection of troops would not be made, and that Thiébault had set out on the 30th from Salamanca to join the troops collected from Alba, and that they were within six leagues of Ciudad Rodrigo on the night of the 30th. It was useless, therefore, to move our troops excepting those in front, and I thought it just possible that Thiébault might have been delayed, and that we might have a chance of intercepting the convoy by crossing at the ford of Pastores yesterday. We were, however, too late, as the Governor and his bullocks arrived in the preceding night. Indeed I saw the enemy's fires in the Sierra de Gavilanes yesterday morning as I was going from hence towards El Bodon before daylight.

"The troops which moved will return to their quarters "this day.

"The enemy went off again before daylight yesterday, and took the road to Salamanca."

"I have not yet received Hill's report of his affair. His brother came here the day before yesterday, and it appears that Hill completely surprised the enemy. He was at Alcuescar on the evening of the 27th within

"three miles of them and they did not know it, and he

" moved before daylight next morning, and formed for the

"attack within two hundred yards of one of their sentries, who did not see our troops.

"The result is as stated by General Giron. The name of the General Officer is Brun. They hoped to take Girard.

"Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"Novr. 3rd.—Rode out with the greyhounds. Fly runs well; killed one hare.

"4th.—Rode out with Jackson over the ground between the Ponte de Ladron and the bridge over the

"rivulet to examine the ground for the manœuvre of the division.

"5th.—Received letters from Cadiz; Valencia holds out; "the Castle of Saguntum had been attacked again on

"the 8th Octr.; the enemy repulsed with considerable loss.

"7th.—Divisional exercise. Retreat over the Ponte de "Ladron, troops executed it extremely well; the day was "favourable, and the whole was beautiful."

From Sir John Macpherson.

"Farm near Tunbridge Wells.
"8th November, 1811.

" Dear General Graham,

"Among your numerous friends and admirers in

"this country no one has participated more truly than I have done in the satisfaction so universally given by your services in Spain. I was better acquainted than even Ministers with the services you formerly rendered abroad, and know fully the noble system of conduct on which you had so justly acquired the estimation of our allies wherever you had served, as well as that of your country.

"Never shall I forget the Marquis Monfredini's letter from "Sicily in which he first mentioned you, and in which he "declared that if you had been our Minister in Tuscany, "that country would have continued in the Grand Duke's "possession, nor would he have been at that time an "exile in Sicily. I keep it sacred. In vain did I state to "certain Ministers the truly confidential powers with "which the House of Austria wished to invest you, "and which would have most effectually preserved the "necessary good understanding between this country and "Austria. My last letter to you with a copy of the verses "to the Archduke, as well as my last letter to Consul Duff, "touched on your opening a communication with the "Archduke by Trieste, and improving on the wishes of "Catalonia in favour of that heroic Prince, the 'nephew of "Spain.' Be assured that no person in England enjoyed, "more than the Archduke did in Austria, your victory "near Cadiz, and though the political horizon of Vienna "is altered, the internal spirit of Pilnitz is still alive in "the hearts of Leopold's sons. Napoleon knows it, and "he is endeavouring to gain them to an ostensibly " corresponding system of enforcing general peace, but in "fact calculated to concentrate the power of Europe in "his own grasp, to divest us of our command of the ocean, " of our colonies, and public credit.

"Lord Wellington and our Graham are our great defenders against this deep deep system of the enemy. I have seen a private letter of his Lordship to an early Asiatic friend of his and mine. It proved his Lordship's

"political foresight and gallant ability beyond even the gazettes of his glories and battles.

"Should Lord William Bentinck not succeed amicably "and decidedly in Sicily, would that our Graham were "there. He knows the ground, and his attachment to the "House of Austria at Mantua is equally admired at "Palermo as at Vienna. The scene of Egypt he also "knows; and through Egypt, India might restore Naples "and Tuscany while Buonaparte was invading our coasts. "Lord Wellington is still adored by the Sepoys of our "three Presidencies. Let them be told that they are " coming to be led by him, and they will pass the Straits of "Bab-el-Mandeb with joy. In the valley of Valencia, which "I visited on my travels, they would think themselves "by the sides of the Ganges. But there are scenes in the "south of France where this favourite General might "lead them to real glory, and where the conscripted "people of France would not be sorry to see them. Oh, "what an event in our day, and in future glory! The old "standard of France floating with a proclamation in the "spirit of the unanimous declaration and resolutions of "the British Capital in 1803,—'We fight for the rights of "those who are blindly hostile to our cause. Amnesty "for the past, and no conscription for the future," if ably " practised, would do the rest.

"The Marquis of Wellesley has a great mind. The "Prince Regent, your kind correspondent, has a most "exalted love of real, of good, glory. This would be the grand retort on Napoleon, but success would depend on secrecy and the able management of certain leading springs. The present Minister at the head of our finances is peculiarly calculated, and superiorly well-informed relative to the best means for keeping up our public credit, and though I am not known to him personally, he knows my ideas, and has read what I foretold *India* would and could do. The present Minister of the India department, our worthy countryman, is equally well

"informed, and the successes of his good India admini-"stration are now at their height in the East, and so as to "aid most effectually in the West. The actual Sovereigns " of Austria, Saxony, and Prussia remember my old Pilnitz "ideas, viz., that our resources in the East were in a degree "their own. We had the fleets and finance, and they had "the land armies, which, properly united, would command "the peace of Europe on the real basis of the rights of "nations, and so arrest the ambition of Catharine in the "North, and the fire of revolution in the South. These "two, Leopold the wise said, were the contending whirl-"winds that would lay Europe waste, unless the hands of "Germany and of England and Holland embraced each "other. The late good Frederick of Prussia often paid me "the compliment at Frankfort in 1793, as Colonel Taylor " of Windsor remembers. 'Voilà le grand Gouverneur de "l'Inde qui veut partager ses trésors avec l'Allemagne "éclairée; voilà le vrai ami du vrai projet de Pilnitz.' But " alas! Leopold was no more. Mr. Pitt, whose confidential " instructions I had, through Mr. Ewart, to bring about the " meeting of Pilnitz, had been forced out of the true "by the violence of opposition. Valenciennes was to "be taken for Austria, and Dunkirk for England; and, " never, never could I, amidst my labours for years, though " in confidential correspondence with the Archduke Charles, "which I regularly produced-Ah, never could I manage "the sending one confidential able Minister on the proper "circulating mission to Brunswick, Berlin, Dresden, and "Vienna. But the force of affairs is the most powerful of "advisers. If necessity has no law, no more should she " permit the existence of party. Nil desperandum! while "England has her heroes in the field and on the ocean, "united with those of Albin and Erin. I would not, my "dear General, have entered so deeply on these subjects, "had not an opportunity offered for the conveyance of "this letter by one of my meritorious friends, who knows "all my political ideas fully, who has travelled over

"Europe, and visited the Caucasus, Constantinople, and "the Grecian islands, who liberated the gallant Romana "from the north, conciliated the return of the Russian "fleet to its own ports, but who, with the best exertions, "was not able to rescue our prisoners from Verdun. "Though my friend Mr. Mackenzie failed in that negocia-"tion at , he acquired there most important " national lights. He now visits Portugal and Cadiz, and "may proceed further. Receive him, my dear General, "as you would your old fellow student at Edinburgh-"yes, as you would receive me; you can depend on his " steadiness and honour, and he knows the state of affairs "in this country perfectly. His father, who is still alive, "was my early and particular friend. He will carry your "confidential letter to our friend Don Diego at Cadiz. "Would that he could ultimately after visiting Sicily "successfully pass from the Ionian islands to my friend "the Archduke Charles at Vienna, to the good Sovereign " of Dresden, and the worthy King of Berlin,-then to "Russia he could instantly find his way. He is the "only British subject that witnessed the Royal Imperial " meeting at Tilsit.

"Yours, with the highest esteem,
"JOHN MACPHERSON."

From Lt.-Genl. Rowland Hill.

"Portalegre, Novr. 17th, 1811.

" My dear General,

"I assure you that your letter of the 12th afforded me more real satisfaction than anything that has occurred to me for some time, because for the true reason that I value your good opinion so very highly, and I pray you accept my sincere thanks for such gratifying expressions of your approbation. I am persuaded you will not attribute my silence to you on the late occasion to inattention, but from a conviction I felt that you

"must be surely informed of what was passing by Lord "Wellington.

"With respect to the result of the business at Arroyo "del Molino, it certainly proved more fortunate than I "had reason to calculate upon. I was always confident "that there could be no difficulty in dislodging Girard "from Caceres, but I feared that as I advanced he would "walk off. The secrecy and good conduct, however, of "all concerned enabled me to come up with him, and "where there was so much good fortune, I ought not to "complain of a partial failure; but between ourselves, to "the eye of an infantry officer, some part of our force "did not appear to be very well managed. In praising "Captain Squire, I assure you I only do common justice "to him; I really think he is the most zealous and in-"defatigable officer I ever met with, having a great deal " of good sense, and an ardent desire to make himself "useful. Currie (90th) desires me to present his best "compliments to you. I have always had reason to be " pleased with him, and I trust my present recommendation "in his favour will give him promotion. We have a "tolerable pack of hounds here, but the country near "Portalegre is very bad, and I have been out very little. "I thank you for your enquiries after my health, I feel "at times a little bilious, and have since my return had "rather a severe attack. I am, however, quite well again, "with exception of a most uncomfortable sore mouth."

"I beg you will believe me to be your very faithful and "ever obliged,

"R. HILL."

[&]quot;Novr. 23rd.—Received a letter from Brigadier-General "Murray at night mentioning Lord Wellington's intention "of assembling some of the troops, in consequence of a "report of the enemy purposing to bring in another convoy "into Ciudad Rodrigo.

"24th.—The division marched this afternoon; the orders from head-quarters had arrived in the morning, and been circulated but slowly, as Stopford's brigade did not march till near sunset.

"25th.—Set out early, overtook the 26th going out of..., and the 42nd (which had likewise been misled by the guides, and had bivouacked near Guarda) near Gata. Rode on to ; found Lord Blantyre and the 24th Regiment there; proceeding on, overtook the German legion near , crossed

"the Ponte , and got up to Besiumla just after the Guards got there.

"26th.—The German legion remained at Villa Maior, the Guards moved to Nava d'Aver, where my quarters

"are to be, the other brigade (Stopford's) crossed (from)

"..... to Malheada Sorda. I rode on to head"quarters at Fuentes Guinaldo.

"Alamadilla being evacuated by the Royal Dragoons, "I moved into it.

"28th.—Rode over to dine at head-quarters, looked at the position—weak on the right. The information of the

"enemy having retired and abandoned their enterprise,

"determined Lord Wellington to put the troops into cantonments again.

"3oth.—Went over to head-quarters and accompanied "Lord Wellington to hunt. Drew the cover near the "Quinta d'Aguila, and found a fox, which, after a pretty

"run of about three-quarters of an hour over a fine country,

"we killed in the open field.

"Decr. 1st.—About noon rode with Lord Wellington by "Fort Conception to Almeida, where the battering train is arrived, and where a bridge is nearly constructed.

"2nd.—Went to Lord Blantyre's, and visited the cantonments he proposes near the Agueda. Authorised him to make the move to-morrow.

"8th.—Sent off horses for hunting at San Pedro to-"morrow. "9th.—Met Lord Wellington at 12 at San Pedro. Bad sport, cold and wet, and bad scent.

"I8th.—On a reference from the field officers of the "Guards to Lord Wellington, the Adjutant-General, in "answer to the question whether all the corn brought up "from the dépôt in the rear to the division should be "equally divided in proportion to the numbers of the "horses entitled to rations, whether general, staff, or "regimental, states that Lord Wellington has no hesita-"tion in saying 'that the horses that ought to be first supplied in a division of infantry are those of the general officers and their staff; next, those of the "artillery; 3dly, those of the field officers and regimental "staff of the infantry; 4thly, the camp-kettle mules; and "lastly, the baggage mules."

"20th.—Lieut. Wright, of the Engineers, having come from head-quarters to superintend the making of fascines and gabions according to the general order of yesterday, settled with Lt.-Colonel Jackson that the detachment from the different brigades should assemble at Val de Madura, from whence the artillery will move to-morrow to Fraxidas beyond the Coa, and to the north of the Sierra of Castello Rodrigo.

"December 21st.—Rode out coursing; greyhounds killed "a fox. Heard from General Calvert of MacKenzie's "appointment to the home staff for the purpose of "instructing in Light Infantry, according to my recommendation.

"22nd.—Went to head-quarters to dine and sleep for hunting to-morrow. Marmont has marched up the Tagus, whether to Valencia or not is not known.

"23rd.—Found a fox in the first cover we drew, and "ran almost without a check for 35 minutes very hard, "and killed in the open field.

"24th.—Rode home by San Pedro and fixed on a "quarter there to go to occasionally for hunting.

"25th.—Received letters from Cadiz as late as the 19th

"inst. The 13th was the last date from Tarifa. At that period the French were still near, and had their heavy artillery half-way between Vejer and Fascinas, and had made a second attempt, without success, to reconnoitre the pass of La Pena. It appears there had been rainy weather; they had retired from San Roque on the 12th; and Ballesteros, whose army was getting sickly on the neutral ground under the rock of Gibraltar, was there on the 13th. No late news from Valencia, nor is it known what Marmont is about, though it is evident several of his divisions have been moved backwards and forwards, and are now supposed to be concentrated about Avila."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, Dec. 25th, 1811.

" Dear Sir,

"I enclose some letters received this morning from my brother and General Cooke. There are obviously some despatches missing, as both my brother and General Cooke advert to circumstances of which I have no knowledge, and from the want of the other despatches, which are doubtless gone by Lisbon, I don't understand parts of these.

"I have nothing new on this side. All accounts con"firm the march of the French from Placentia towards
"Naval Moral on the 21st. It is believed that they have
"been obliged to retire, having eaten up the country.

"Ever, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"It appears by accounts from Madrid, which General "Castaños showed me, that Foy had returned to Toledo. "I can't comprehend these marches and counter-marches. "It can scarcely be that Suchet was so roughly handled

"in the affair stated to have taken place on the 2nd as to

"have been obliged to retire, and that Marmont concen-

"trates towards Madrid in case Blake should be tempted

" to move up from Valencia!

"There were preparations on the 10th for the King's "movement from Madrid, and you'll observe that this

"date does not disagree with that of the arrival of the

"courier and the consequent preparations at Placentia,

" mentioned by my Portuguese correspondent."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 26th December, 1811.

" Dear Sir,

"I enclose the letters and despatches from my brother of the 13th, from the perusal of which you will be better able to understand those which he sent me on the 19th.

"I likewise enclose General Cooke's letters to the 13th.

"General Castaños told me yesterday that he had heard "that the army of Portugal were to be assembled about "Toledo. I imagine that this is only a report from the "Alcaldes.

" Ever, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
" WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"Decr. 27th.—Returned Lord Wellington long de"spatches of Mr. Wellesley to Lord Wellesley, shewing
"the state of intrigue at Cadiz of the Government, the
"Cortes, and the Ministers. Blake's party strong in the
"Cortes. Castaños', too, considerable, and supported by
"Bardaxi. The persons they had in view were Blake,
"Rodriguez, Villavicencio, and two Americans, now in
"Mexico. Mr. Wellesley proposed Villavicencio, Duke
"of Infantado, and H. O'Donnell. Castaños and Abadia
"were named by Bardaxi as fit to be submitted. It is a

"crisis for Spain-a good energetic Regency reforming

"the abuses, acting with cordiality and confidence with us,

"giving the supreme command to Lord Wellington, might

"with great assistance in money from Great Britain still

" retrieve the desperate affairs of the Peninsula.

"29th.—By all accounts Valencia, making a greater "resistance than was expected, now becomes the object of the movements of the different divisions of Marmont's "army.

"30th.—Went to meet the hounds at San Pedro; just at "the end of the bridge of Pinhel, Patch slipped up and "fell on my right foot, which was much sprained and "housing much sprained and the proof of the down in much spring."

"bruised, so that I rode the rest of the day in much pain,

"and on my arrival at head-quarters was obliged to excuse myself from dining.

"31st.—Lord March arrived last night, brought me the Barrosa medal and a letter from the Duke of York.

"My foot too much swelled to allow of a boot going on.

"Much pressed to stay, but having company engaged rode home, which, as more expeditious, was preferable to a

" litter or carriage offered.

"January 2nd, 1812.—Confined by my accident but "getting fast well. Lord Wellington writes that he pro"poses to begin on Monday 6th. Head-quarters to be at Gallegos.

"3rd.—Still confined, but the swelling and inflammation "much reduced."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 5th January, 1812.

" Dear Sir,

"I enclose a letter from Avila yesterday. Ac-"cording to Grant's accounts I should imagine that there "is still one division on the Upper Tormes and at Avila.

"I enclose the intercepted letter which we have not been able to decipher.

"I am very much afraid that we shall not be able to "invest the place till the 8th; but I shall not relinquish

"the intention of investing it on the 7th till I shall be

"certain it is impossible. I hope that there will be no

"farther disappointments. At all events I will not move

"the troops, excepting the 3rd Division, till Tuesday.

"If it should be the same thing to you I would request you to fix your quarters at Gallegos, as I would request you to assist me in conducting the details of our operation, and it would be desirable that we should have a short communication.

"Ever, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"The mail is not yet arrived, but Batavia is taken; and "it appears that the Russians and Turks are about to "make peace.

"Janry. 6th.—Moved from Pinhel, rode to Gallegos, "having received Lord Wellington's orders to take my quarters there. Went to see the bridge. Lord Wellington "came in the evening."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 6th January, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"I enclose a letter from Salamanca, and one from my brother.

"I have not got the details of affairs at Tarifa, or any letter from General Cooke; but I see by the papers in-

"closed in my brother's letter that the French still persevere in their plans in that quarter.

"I have a letter from General Hill of the 2nd, from "Almendralejo. Drouet had retired from thence, and Hill

"had taken at that place and Merida about 600 fanegas of wheat. He intended to return to Merida on the 3rd or 4th.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"Janry. 7th.—Troops moved on to their cantonments." We rode out, Lord Wellington and Colonel Fletcher, to "reconnoitre Ciudad Rodrigo; determined to attack by "the hill on the lower side of the town, Colonel Fletcher "thinking that the redoubt will not prevent the first "parallel. It is much smaller than was imagined. The "enemy occupy as fortified posts the convents in the "suburbs.

"relieve the 1st. Captain Ross, R.E., had been killed by a grape shot from the convent early this morning. A very great loss to the service. The Guards not having had any relief in the night were quite exhausted when I rode over the hill to the trenches. I ordered them away. The Germans who had worked yesterday were brought

"back and continued on till 12, a bad arrangement.

"14th.—Just after the relief of the 1st by the 4th
"Division, the enemy made a sortie. The 24th and 42nd
"(300) being still in the trenches, charged over the parapet,
"while I took out some of the picquet from the square
"building opposite the convent."

Extracts from Lord Wellington's despatches to the Earl of Liverpool.

"Gallegos, 15th January, 1812.

" My Lord,

"We have continued our operations against
"Ciudad Rodrigo since I addressed you on the 9th instant.
"We opened our fire from 22 pieces of ordnance in

"three batteries in the first parallel, yesterday afternoon; and we opened an approach to and established ourselves

"in our second parallel, 150 yards from the place last "night.

"This measure had been facilitated by Lieut.-General "Graham having surprised the enemy's detachment in the "Convent of Sta. Cruz, close to the body of the place on "night of the 13th.

"Gallegos, 20th January, 1812.

" My Lord,

"I informed your Lordship, in my despatch of the 9th, that I had attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, and in that of the 15th of the progress of the operations to that period, and I have now the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship that we took the place by storm yesterday evening, after dark.

"Lieut.-General Graham assisted me in superintending "the conduct of the details of the siege, besides per"forming the duties of the General-Officer commanding "the 1st division, and I am much indebted to the sugges"tions and assistance I received from him for the success "of this enterprise."

To General the Viscount Cathcart.

" Head-Qrs., Gallegos,
" 21st Janry, 1812.

" My dear Brother,

"Charles will be in despair at having missed assisting at, or at least seeing, the assault of Ciudad Rodrigo. This last was all the share I had, for instead of its being stormed by detachments from the different divisions employed in succession from their cantonments

"for 24 hours, Lord Wellington determined that the diviis sion on duty, and the next to come on, should make the
attack as soon as the breach was practicable.

"It fell to the lot of General Picton's, the 3rd, and "Craufurd's, the light division, and though certainly the "other way would have been more gratifying to the 1st " and 4th divisions, which had an equal share in the pre-"ceding corvée, yet it could not have been better done "by any élite whatever. Every part of the plan of attack "(which Lord Wellington wrote out on the spot a few "hours before) succeeded to a tittle, and Major Sturgeon, "whom I had recommended to Lord Wellington as a most "intelligent officer to be employed in reconnoitring different "points, suggested the attack of the fausse braye, by the "5th regiment, which certainly facilitated greatly the "whole operation. I shall endeavour to send you a plan. "I fear General Craufurd's wound is a most dangerous one. "My friends Colonel Colborne, of the 52nd, and Major "Napier, do., have both severe wounds-the last lost his "right arm.

"On the whole this enterprise (à la barbe de ces Messieurs), "planned and executed with such good combination and activity, and terminated so bravely, will, I think, raise the character of the British army in the Peninsula, and of its Commander all over Europe, beyond anything that has yet happened. The enemy were three months before it, and I believe 17 days open trenches, with an immense army and a Spanish garrison. We have got it in 11, or rather 10, days. Adieu. Kindest remembrances to all.

"Ever affectly yours,
"T. G."

The British troops were now employed in repairing the works and placing Ciudad Rodrigo in a state of defence, after which they returned to their cantonments near the Agueda.

From the Earl of Liverpool.

"War Department, 26th February, 1812.

"Sir,

"His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having been pleased to nominate you to be a Knight Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, the insignia of which order are herewith forwarded to you, I am to acquaint you that the Earl of Wellington has received His Royal Highness' commands to avail himself of the first opportunity to invest you therewith in a manner suitable to the occasion.

"I am Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant, "LIVERPOOL."

"TO LT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

" In the name and on behalf of His Majesty.

"George, P.R.

"George the Third, by the Grace of God, the United "Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender " of the Faith, etc., and Sovereign of the most Honourable "Order of the Bath. Whereas we have nominated and "appointed Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham to be a "Companion of the said Most Honourable Order, in case "he qualifies himself according to the Forms prescribed; "and whereas he is at present employed in our service "beyond sea, we, therefore, hereby dispense with the "said Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham for his non-"observance of the rights of Bathing, Vigils, and of all "other concomitant Forms which by the ancient cere-"monials of conveying the Knighthood of the Bath, or by "the statutes of this most Honourable Order are required "to be performed antecedent to the reception or act of "conferring this Knighthood, and we likewise authorise "the said Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham to consti"tute his Proxy or Deputy, to be installed for him on his behalf, according to the tenor of the said statutes and in regard of his public employment in our service beyond sea. We hereby grant him permission to wear and use, on his upper garments, the badge and ensigns of the said Order, from the time that he shall be invested therewith. Given under the seal of our said Order, the 26th day of February, in the fifty-second year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and twelve."

Lord Wellington, now determined to attempt the capture of Badajos, remained at his quarters on the Coa until the begining of March, when he moved the divisions of his army in the direction of Elvas, which he reached on the 11th March. On the following day he invested Lieutenant-Generals Graham and Hill with the Order of the Bath; a distinction which they had both well earned, the former at Barrosa, the latter at Aroyo del Molino.

From Lord Wellington.

"Portalegre, 10th March, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"I enclose a letter from the Secretary of State for yourself, and the copy of one addressed to me, directing me to invest you with the Order of the Bath, the insignia of which I likewise send you. I go to Elvas to-morrow, and if it should be convenient to you to come there on the 12th I shall be happy to invest you.

"I shall be much obliged to you if you will request the General and Staff officers of the 1st division, and the Commanding Officers of the two regiments of Guards, and Blantyre, to be present on the occasion. I will take care that there shall be quarters for everybody at Elvas.

"I enclose the only news which I have received since "I left Freneda. I do not believe that Marmont will

"make an attempt on Ciudad Rodrigo, and if he does I do not think he can succeed.

"I have made arrangements to assemble the militia "on the Coa, if the enemy should collect upon the "Tormes.

"Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

" LIEUT.-GENERAL GRAHAM."

"Bring the insignia of the order with you to Elvas."

Sir Thomas Graham with the 1st, 6th, and 7th Divisions and two brigades of cavalry, moved by Zafra on Llerena to act in conjunction with Sir Rowland Hill, and to watch the armies of Soult and Marmont.

On the 25th of March, hearing that some of Drouet's troops were in Llerena, General Graham made a movement in their direction, but the enemy's force, consisting of three battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry, retired before him into the mountains. General Hill at the same time drew near to Medellin in order to co-operate with Sir Thomas Graham, and force the approaching enemy to retire. They were so far successful that the enemy withdrew to Cordova, leaving only a small body of infantry and cavalry in front of Belalcazar. On the 29th, however, the two Generals received orders to draw nearer to the corps besieging Badajos.

From Lord Wellington.

"Camp before Badajos, 29th March, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"I enclose some letters which I have just received "from my brother, from which you will see that Soult "broke up from Cadiz on the 23rd and 24th, and "commenced collecting his troops upon Seville. It is "probable that the corps from thence will march upon

"Guadalcanal in order to communicate with, or join "Drouet.

"It is very desirable that you should come back to "Villafranca, Zafra, etc., keeping your cavalry out in "front; and that Sir R. Hill should come to Merida. I "write to him immediately to request him to fall back.

"The troops will commence crossing the river to-"morrow morning.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K. B."

From Lord Wellington.

"Camp before Badajos, 1st April, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"We opened our breaching batteries yesterday with great effect. The wall is a good one, however, and it will not be well breached probably till the evening of the 3rd. In the meantime, I hope to be able to get the better of the inundation, which hitherto has been very detrimental to us.

"If Soult should move forward when your troops shall be in the stations mentioned in my letter of the 29th, I should wish you to collect them in the wood in front of the position at Albuera. I mean that Hill should remain at Merida as long as possible, in case Soult should prefer to endeavour to relieve the place by the right bank of the Guadiana. He would in that case retire upon Montijo if the enemy should be too strong for him, and I will have the bridge down between this and Talavera, in order to join him with the remainder of the army.

"If Soult should keep his troops collected on the left of

"the Guadiana, Hill would join on the left of the army by Lobon and Talavera. If he should be too late, and the enemy should be in possession of Lobon, he will always be able to pass by our bridge, which I shall move to the neighbourhood of Talavera as soon as I find that Soult collects.

"I have a letter from Lima, without a date, in which he "says, that, on the 20th an aide-de-camp of Marmont's "had come to Talavera de la Reyna, and had stated that "Marmont was about to move his head-quarters to "Alfayates, and that Suchet was to join Soult by forced "marches. Indeed, he said that he expected that Marmont was already at Alfayates.

"I believe that the rain which annoyed us so much here, will turn out to have been our best friend, as it must have delayed the execution of all Marmont's schemes.

"Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K. B."

The news of the capture of Badajos on the 6th reached Soult, who was with his army at the Villafranca, on the 8th. He immediately withdrew towards Andalusia, followed by the cavalry of the corps commanded by Sir Thomas Graham. A part of this force, two brigades under Sir Stapleton Cotton, attacked and defeated the French cavalry at Villa Garcia on the 11th.

To Lord Wellington.

"Sta Marta, 12th April, 1812.

" My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship "the enclosed report of Lieut.-General Sir Stapleton "Cotton, giving the details of a brilliant and successful "attack against the enemy's rear guard. It must be "unnecessary for me to call your Lordship's attention to

"the distinguished ability with which the Lieut.-General planned and conducted this enterprise, so admirably seconded by the gallantry and judgment of Major-General Le Marchant and Lieut.-Colonel Ponsonby, as well as by the great exertions of the officers and men of the two brigades employed on this service.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

Badajos taken, Lord Wellington hoped to have been able to attack Soult in Andalusia with a force sufficient to ensure his overthrow, but the Spaniards to whom he had entrusted the completion of the works of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the revictualling of that fortress and Almeida, as usual, did nothing. He was, therefore, forced to abandon his project for a time, and return to secure the safety of places, which, even when wrested from the enemy, could not be left to the care of their natural guardians. Leaving General Hill with two divisions in Estremadura, Lord Wellington proceeded northwards, and compelled by circumstances to give up all idea of carrying out his scheme against Soult, he placed his army in quarters extending from the Douro to the Tagus.

From Lord Wellington.

"Fuente Guinaldo, 27th April, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"I have nothing new from the front; I have not "yet heard that Marmont had arrived at Salamanca.

"I was yesterday at Ciudad Rodrigo, and I am sorry to say that the works are but little more forward than they were when I saw them last on the 5th of March, yet the Spaniards had till the 1st of April, to work without any enemy being near them.

"It is difficult to know what to do with these people. I have this day tried to excite them to work by feelings of national vanity and honour, but I fear I shall not succeed.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K.B."

Early in May, Sir Thomas Graham was ordered to Portalegre with the 1st and 6th Divisions and Cotton's Cavalry, for the purpose of covering General Hill's attempt upon Almaraz, which defended the only bridge across the Tagus left open to the French.

From Sir Rowland Hill.

"Almendralejo, 5th May.

"Secret.

" My dear General,

"I conclude Lord Wellington has made you "aware of my march upon Almaraz. Everything is "nearly ready, except the bridge at Merida, which I "hope will be put to rights by the time I receive Lord "Wellington's order to get in motion. Dickson has "arranged all the heavy equipment for me at Elvas.

"I will keep you informed of everything that occurs.

"Yours most truly,
"R. HILL."

"SIR T. GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington.

"Fuente Guinaldo, 7th May, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"I have desired Sir Rowland Hill to undertake the service which I have long had in contemplation for the destruction of the enemy's establishments at Al"maraz, and I hope that he will have marched about this time with about 5,000 or 6,000 men for that object.

"I am not quite certain whom Sir Rowland will leave "in command of the troops in front of Badajos.

"It appears by a letter which I have from Hill this

"morning that some of Bonnet's troops were in motion in the beginning of the month towards Zalamea, etc.; and

"I hear from Clementi Pereira that the 2nd Division of

"the army of Portugal was likewise in motion towards the

"Puerto del Pico, while Marmont, with a part of the army

"of Portugal, remains at Salamanca. I conclude, therefore, that the first measure of the King's command has

"been to draw closer the two armies, and that they will

"be in direct communication by Talavera, but nothing

"offensive can be intended with troops so widely ex-

" tended.

"As some time must elapse yet before we can attempt anything, I shall be very much obliged to you if you will move your quarters to Portalegre, and if you will have your eye upon what is passing in front of Badajos, and will go there, if you should find any serious movement is likely to be made by the enemy on that place during Hill's absence.

"I have ordered the 6th Division from Castello de Vide "to Portalegre, in order to be nearer Badajos, in case you "should think more troops there to be necessary.

"I enclose the copy of the instructions which I gave "Sir Rowland Hill when I left Estremadura, which I shall be obliged to you to return to me, as I have no other copy. Brigadier-General Power's brigade, and "the 22nd Regiment, still remain in Badajos, and Penne "Villemur's Cavalry and Infantry are at Burguillos, etc., "the Spanish Government having as yet given neither answer nor orders respecting the garrison for that place.

"The communication with Almendralejo is carried on through Badajos and Elvas to Portalegre, and as that road is but little about, it may probably as well be con-

"tinued by that line. The 6th Division would be three

"days marching from Portalegre to Badajos, of which

"two to Campo Maior, or the left of the position of Sta

"Engracia, referred to in the enclosed letter.

"I write to Hill to request him to desire the officer in command of the troops in front of Badajos to report to you at Portalegre, as well as to me.

" Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K.B."

General Hill's bold attack on the works at Almaraz was crowned with success on the 19th, but false reports of Soult's strength and position having been circulated, he retired on Merida, and General Graham advanced to Badajos, whence, after the withdrawal of Drouet's force, he returned to Castello de Vide.

In June, when Lord Wellington advanced against Marmont in the direction of Salamanca, Sir Thomas Graham commanded the 1st, 6th and 7th Divisions forming one of the three columns which crossed the Agueda on the 13th.

" Head-quarters, Fraquas,
" June 16th, 1812.

" Movements of the troops for the investment of Salamanca.

"The 3rd Division, Brigadier-General Pack's brigade of Portuguese Infantry, Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese Infantry, Major-General Anson's brigade of Cavalry, and the troops under the command of Don Carlos d'España are to cross the river Tormes at the ford of El Canto to-morrow morning, the 17th instant.

"The above-mentioned troops are to move from their ground at 4 o'clock in the morning by their left (the

"troops under the command of Don Carlos d'España

"following the British and Portuguese troops) and pro-

" ceed to Doninos, and from thence to the ford of El Canto.

"The Light Division to move upon Tejares. It will "proceed by its left from the ground it at present occupies

"in such time as to show the head of the column on the

"heights on this side of Tejares (where the Commander

"of the Forces remained for some time this morning) at

"the same time that Lieut.-General Picton arrives at

" Doninos.

"The 1st Hussars are to accompany the movements of the Light Division.

"Major-General Le Marchant's and Major-General

"Bock's brigades of Cavalry are to arrive at the same time as the Light Division reaches the heights, behind

"the heights on the ground now occupied by the 1st

"Hussars, and to remain in reserve there.

"The 5th Division, followed by the 4th Division, (both Divisions moving by their left) are to arrive nearly at

"the same time, and to remain near the reserve of the

" Cavalry.

"The 6th Division and 14th Light Dragoons are to "move by their right at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning "towards the ford of Sta. Marta, about a mile above the

"town of Salamanca.

"Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham will be pleased "to cause the passage of the Lurguen to be ascertained "this evening.

"The 1st and 7th Divisions are to move by their right along the great road from Matilla towards Salamanca

"at 4 o'clock to-morrow morning, and are to be placed

" in reserve behind the heights where the picquets of the

" 14th Light Dragoons are now stationed.

"When the troops under the command of Lieut.-

"General Picton have crossed the ford of El Canto they are to turn to their right and move towards Salamanca.

"leaving Villa Maior to the left. Lieut.-General Picton

"will then occupy the position on the heights of Peria" del Terra opposite to the gate of San Vincente.

"Major-General Alten, on his arrival at Tejares, will be pleased to ascertain the nature of the ford across the river Tormes immediately above the gardens of Tejares,

"by which he might be able to pass the river and assist

"the operations of Lieut.-General Picton.

"The 6th Division is not to cross the ford of Sta. Marta until Major-General Clinton receives orders for that purpose.

"The baggage of the army to be in readiness on the ground which the troops occupy this day, and not to move from it till ordered.

" WM. DE LANCY,
" D. Q. M. G."

"To LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

On the 20th, Marmont moved forward from Fuente el Sanco with about 25,000 men to relieve the forts of Salamanca. Leaving the 6th Division to carry on the siege, Lord Wellington took up a position with the remainder of his army on the Christoval heights, and awaited the attack. On the 22nd, Marmont's force being augmented to nearly 40,000, he pressed on and seized part of the British position. From this point he was driven by General Graham with the 7th Division, and retired some distance to his rear, where he remained during the whole of the 23rd. On the following day, 12,000 French Infantry crossed the Tormes, and advanced against the British right. Sir Thomas Graham was at once sent across the river with the 1st and 7th Divisions, and stood ready to receive the enemy, while Lord Wellington prepared either to attack Marmont at Aldea Rubia or cross the river. Foiled in this attempt the foe again retired. and awaited the arrival of further reinforcements. In the meantime the siege of the forts was pressed, and on the morning of the 27th they capitulated. Marmont received the news of their fall in the evening, and on the 28th he withdrew towards the Duero.

For some time past Sir Thomas Graham had been suffering from a severe disorder in the eyes which threatened to end in blindness. Unable properly to treat such a case in the field, the principal medical officers with the army strongly urged his withdrawal to England in order to obtain the advice of, and to be treated by, some skilled oculist.

The General, unwilling to leave the Peninsula at such a critical period, continued to neglect this advice until the present time, when the disease had so increased as to prove to him the necessity of instant departure. Much against his will he found himself forced to apply for permission to leave the army for a time.

To Lord Wellington.

" Medina del Campo,
" 3rd July, 1812.

" My Lord,

"I am prevented from waiting on your Lordship to-day by a fall yesterday which has bruised my ancle and obliges me to keep my leg in a horizontal position. But the too-certain increase of the symptoms of disease which affect my right eye, and the daily remonstrance of Staff-Surgeon Hume, oblige me to avail myself of this day's halt, to state to your Lordship the painful necessity of my withdrawing from my duty in order to have a chance of saving the sight of my eye by such a course of treatment as is recommended, and which it is quite impossible to follow here. The most irksome symptom, called by the faculty the spectrum ocular, is very much aggravated of late, and, anxious as I feel to devote myself to the service and to stay to the end of this campaign, I am forced now to lay

"my case before your Lordship. Dr. McGrigor may probably have already mentioned to your Lordship that
this symptom often precedes the gutta serena, which
cocasions the total loss of sight. I cannot have proved
the better my reluctance to absent myself from duty for a
time, than under such circumstances to have persevered
nearly two months since this disorder of the organ of the
eye first appeared, and I am sure I need not assure your
Lordship that nothing but the conviction of the necessity
of the case would induce me to propose to leave the
army at so interesting a moment as the present.

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient
"humble servant,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington.

"Villa Verde, 3rd July, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"I returned here about an hour ago and received "your letter of this day. I have for some time been apprehensive that you would be under the necessity of confining yourself in order to apply the remedies which may be necessary for your eye, but I cannot avoid feeling the utmost concern that this necessity should have become urgent at the present moment, and that I should now be deprived of your valuable assistance. I must, however, make up my mind to this loss, as, from what I have heard, I am apprehensive that no time is to be lost in applying the remedies to your eye which are most likely to recover it.

"I propose to go to Rueda in the morning to look more "accurately at the ground in front of the bridge than I "could yesterday, and I propose to establish head-quarters

"there, in order to be more in the way. I will call upon you in my way.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K.B."

From Lord Wellington.

"Flores d'Avila, 25th July, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"I cannot allow the despatches to go off without "writing you a few lines respecting our action of the 22nd. "You will see our previous movements detailed in my despatch of the 21st and that of yesterday.

"I took up the ground which you were to have taken "during the siege of Salamanca, only the left was thrown back on the heights, it being unnecessary, under the "circumstances, to cover the ford of Sta. Marta. We had "a race for the large Arapiles, which is the more distant of the two detached heights which you will recollect on the right of your position; this race the French won, and "they were too strong to be dislodged without a general action.

"I knew that the French were to be joined by the "cavalry of the army of the north on the 22nd or 23rd, "and that the army of the centre was likely to be in motion. "Marmont ought to have given me a pont d'or, and he "would have made a handsome operation of it. But "instead of that, after manucevring all the morning in the "usual French style, nobody knew with what object, he at "last pressed upon my right in such a manner, at the same "time without engaging, that he would have either carried "our Arapiles, or he would have confined us entirely to "our position. This was not to be endured, and we fell "upon him, turning his left flank, and I never saw an "army receive such a beating.

"I had desired the Spaniards to continue to occupy the "castle of Alba de Tormes. España had evacuated it, I " believe, before he knew my wishes, and he was afraid to

"let me know that he had done so, and I did not know it

"till I found no enemy at the fords of the Tormes. When

"I lost sight of them in the dark, I marched upon Huerta

"and Encinas, and they went by Alba. If I had known

"there had been no garrison in Alba I should have "marched there, and should probably have had the whole.

"Marmont, Clausel, Foy, Ferrey, and Bonnet are "wounded badly; Ferrey it is supposed will die. Tho-

"mière is killed. Many Generals of brigade killed or

" wounded.

"I need not express how much I regret the disorder in " your eyes since this action.

"I am in great hopes that our loss has not been great. "In two divisions, the 3rd and 5th, it is about 1,200 men

"including Portuguese. There are more in the 4th and

"6th; but there are many men who left the ranks with

"wounded officers and soldiers, who are eating and

"drinking, and engaged in the regocijos with the inhabi-

"tants of Salamanca; I have sent, however, to have them " all turned out of the town.

"I hope that you received benefit from the advice of the " oculist in London.

> "Believe me etc., " WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K.B."

From Major-General Clinton.

"St. Vicente de Medina, " 28th July, 1812.

" My dear Sir Thomas,

"I had the pleasure to receive your very kind "letter a few days ago, and I have not failed to com-"municate to the officers of the 6th Division the kind "and flattering expressions which it contained towards us, and for which I beg of you to accept their and my grateful acknowledgments. I do assure you it was with real concern that I heard of your departure from the army; I was very anxious to go over to Medina for the purpose of bidding you farewell, but I was unfortunately on that day unwell. I sincerely hope that by having at last been induced to spare yourself from the extraordinary degree of fatigue which you did not cease to undergo when with the army, you will completely get rid of the very unpleasant complaint in your eye, and should your fate again bring you into the field, it would give me and my division a great deal of pleasure to be again placed under your orders.

"I remain, my dear Sir Thomas,
"With unfeigned regard,
"Your faithful and obedient servant,
"H. CLINTON."

From Dr. McGrigor, P. M. O. in Peninsula.

" Madrid, 31st August, 1812.

" My dear Sir,

"I assure you the result of the consultation, and the account which you yourself give of your health, diffused a great deal of satisfaction here. Lord Wellington says he will by-and-bye write you himself, but in the meantime, he desires me to say, that when it was communicated to him that Sir Edward Paget was coming out here as second in command, he desired that they would distinctly make him understand that the instant you were able to resume your situation, no other person could fill it, and that he still confidently looked forward to the prospect of getting you back again.

" My dear Sir,
"Your most obedient Servant,
"I. McGRIGOR."

After staying a few weeks in London, Sir Thomas Graham went to Scotland, where, on the 9th of September, he was made a Burgess and Freeman of the Burgh of Dunbar; and on the following day, a similar honour was conferred upon him by the Burgh of Haddington. As soon as his return home became generally known, he was requested to contest the county at the forthcoming general election. Having had no opportunity of personally appealing to his constituents since his return to Parliament in 1806, owing to his absence on service, General Graham reluctantly acceded to the wishes of his friends, and issued an address explaining his views and soliciting his return as member for the County of Perth.

To the Freeholders of the County of Perth.

"Gentlemen,

"Were it not for circumstances of a very peculiar "nature which have occurred since I had the honour of addressing you from Castello Branco, I should now "confine myself to an earnest request to my friends to "attend on the day of election.

"However decided my opinion ever has been, that the "relation between a representative and his constituents "should be founded on entire confidence, yet there are points of momentous importance, on which, a full and explicit declaration of opinion seems to be reciprocally the duty of the freeholders to demand, and of the candidate to avow.

"Such, I consider the Catholic question to be; and more especially so, from the belief of there being at the time a very considerable difference of opinion on it among the freeholders.

"It would not have been manly nor becoming in me to "have expressed myself with such cautious reserve as "might still have secured to me the confidence of the "friends of the Catholics, while it flattered those who are " altogether hostile to their claims, with the belief that I had altered my opinions upon that subject.

"Since I wrote that address, I have had the high satisfaction of seeing that a general sense of the policy and justice of the measure prevades all ranks, and that few are to be found who now avow unqualified resistance to the Catholic claims.

"The late House of Commons gave a memorable "example, during the last session, of the favourable "change which discussion and reflection have produced in "their deliberations on this great question; and I am war-"ranted in entertaining the hope that the objection to my "declaration on that subject, which some few individuals "presumed to hold up to me in 1807, as the general sense " of the freeholders (but which I now believe was far from "being the case), is not only done away, but that my "declared opinions in favour of a communication of civil "rights to the Catholics, with proper security for the "Protestant establishments (thereby insuring cordial re-"conciliation with, and support from, this numerous and "valuable body of His Majesty's subjects), will be received "as an additional recommendation to the favour of the " freeholders.

"Professions of independence, of loyalty, and of attach"ment to the constitution, are common on these occasions.
"I have lived too long among you, gentlemen, to make it
"necessary for me to repeat them.

"Let me be judged in these points by my actions,—let "my pretensions to the high honour I aspire to, be judged of by my general conduct in and out of Parliament. Never having had any personal advantage in view, I cannot be accused of ever having given a vote in Parliament, or withheld one, from motives of self-interest; elsewhere, I have ever endeavoured to merit the approbation of the freeholders.

"I have received the most honourable testimony of your thanks. Should you then, gentlemen, think me entitled

"on these grounds to your confidence, you will not confine

"your approbation to that public expression of it, which

"I so highly value, when you have it in your power to bestow upon me the noble reward of electing me your

"representative in Parliament.

"I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most faithful "and obedient humble servant,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"Lynedoch, October 3rd, 1812."

Sir Thomas Graham's avowed favour of the Roman Catholics, whose rights he had always urged, lost him many votes, and the result of the election was the return of his antagonist, Mr. James Drummond, of Strathallan,* by a majority of seven.

From Colonel Torrens.

" Horse Guards, Decr. 7th, 1812.

" My dear Sir Thomas,

"Notwithstanding that the Government as well as the Commander-in-Chief have been most anxious that your improving health should again render your valuable services available to the country, nothing has been said to you on the subject of your return to the Peninsula, lest any intimation of these wishes acting upon your well-known zeal might induce you to make an exertion injurious to you. The misfortune, however, which the service has sustained in the capture of Sir Edward Paget, and the communication I had the pleasure to make to the Duke of York of your improving health, induced His Royal Highness to authorize my enquiring of you when you think it probable that you may be enabled to join Lord Wellington. It is not meant to press you to

^{*} Afterwards Viscount Strathallan.

"any decision that your oculists may think injurious to you. All I can say is, that, from my own knowledge, every authority will rejoice in your resuming your command in the Peninsula, and I assure you that none more than Lord Wellington himself.

"Ever, my dear Sir Thomas,
"Yours most sincerely,
"H. TORRENS."

To Colonel Torrens.

"12, Park Place, St. James', 8th Dec., 1812. "My dear Colonel,

"In answer to your letter of yesterday's date, "I beg you will assure His Royal Highness the Com-"mander-in-Chief of my readiness at all times to obey "His Royal Highness' orders as far as the state of my "health permit, and that I shall be particularly anxious to "have it in my power to return to the army in the Penin-"sula, since, on the occasion of the unfortunate capture " of Sir E. Paget, it appears to be the wish of His Royal "Highness, of the Government, and of the Marquess of "Wellington, that I should go back to the army. I beg "leave, however, to state, that, though I am persuaded "Messrs. Phipps and Ware, the oculists, (whom I have not "yet seen since my return from Scotland) will be of the "same opinion as formerly concerning the nature of the "affection of my right eye, which they considered as not "endangering the sight, I have other reasons of material "importance to my private affairs for not wishing to leave "the kingdom for some weeks.

"I should also suppose that there must necessarily be a "Relâche au théâtre' for some time from the state of the "weather and of the armies, which would allow of the delay I propose without any inconvenience to the service."

"I shall have horses and other equipments to provide too. I therefore trust His Royal Highness will not think me unreasonable if I ask to the middle of January for preparing to return to the Peninsula.

"I remain, ever, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

"St. James', Wednesday, noon,

" Dear Sir,

"The instant I heard the country was again to "have the advantage of your services in the Peninsula, I "recollected your kind promise to my second son Henry, " to take him as your aide-de-camp, but after the kindness "and affection the Prince Regent has shown my boy, it "would not have become me to have written to you with-"out the entire approbation of my brother. I have now "the happiness to assure you I claim the promise you so "kindly made Henry at Cadiz, and the Prince Regent "is very anxious my second son should have the good "fortune to proceed to our army under Lord Wellington "in your family. I hardly need add with what pleasure I " commit my son into your able and gallant hands; it is I "believe pardonable in a father to be partial towards his "child, and I plead guilty, but permit me at the same time "to add, Henry has had the advantage of serving under "the best officers for three years in the navy, was a "twelvemonth at the Military College at Marlow, and "has been better than eleven months with the German "Legion, under the immediate care of General Linsingen; "he speaks and writes English, French, Spanish, and "German. My son is most sincerely attached to you "and most anxious to have the honour of being your " aide-de-camp.

"My eldest son will deliver this and waits your com-" mands.

> " Ever, believe me, " Dear Sir, "Yours sincerely, "WILLIAM."

From H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence.

"Carlton House, Wednesday,

" Dear Sir.

"I wrote the enclosed thinking you was in town, "but understanding you were at Woburn, I direct there, "and trust to receive a favourable answer to my son's "wishes and my most earnest desire.

> "Ever, believe me, "Yours sincerely, "WILLIAM."

" 12, Park Place, St. James', " 11th Janry., 1813.

"Sir,

"I had the honour of receiving your Royal High-"ness' very flattering letter yesterday as I was leaving "Hertfordshire to return to town, and I sincerely wish it "were in my power to testify the sense I have of your "Royal Highness' confidence in me by the most prompt "acquiescence in the wish expressed in it. But circum-"stanced as I am, the prospect of my being able to avail "myself of your Royal Highness' preference in honouring "me with the care of Mr. Fitzclarence, must I fear, be a "very distant one. When I left the army on leave, I "engaged all the young men on my personal staff in the "event of my return to the army, and I, besides, con-"tracted several other engagements in succession, so that "besides the regulated complement of two aides-de-camp,

"I have four more young men who consider themselves "as extra aides-de-camp when Lord Wellington and "their commanding officers will allow them to act as "such. It is likewise very uncertain whether I shall be " able to remain with the army during the hot weather, the "symptoms of the complaint in my leg remaining the "same, but being pressed to go, I am determined to "make the trial. I feel it to be necessary to assure your "Royal Highness that Mr. Fitzclarence must have mis-"understood me at Cadiz. I was naturally anxious to "shew him every attention, and I should much oftener have "had the honour of his company at my quarters at the "Isla de Leon, had not Sir Richard Keats expressed his "apprehension that frequent intercourse with young men " of the army might estrange his mind from the profession "which your Royal Highness had chosen for him. I could " not, therefore, mean to make him the promise of appoint-"ing him my aide-de-camp.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, Janry. 26th, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I have the honour of enclosing a draft of the "letter I propose writing to Lord Wellington on the "subject of our conversation.

"I have endeavoured to draw it up as accurately as I "am able; if I have in anything mistaken you, or omitted "anything which you wish me to add, pray say so with-"out scruple.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard and "respect,

"Your very obedient servant,
"BATHURST."

From Lord Bathurst to Lord Wellington.

" My dear Lord,

"The indisposition and the engagements of Sir "Thomas Graham, and the necessity I was under of going into Gloucestershire for a few days, in consequence of my steward's death, prevented my having an opportunity of seeing Sir Thomas before Monday last.

"In my former letter I apprised your Lordship that I "should speak to him very openly, as I knew that no "political differences would effect his conduct in anything "in which the good of the service was concerned.

"He was, I know, already informed of Sir William "Beresford's claims, and the prospect of our losing Sir "William's services in Portugal if these claims were not "allowed.

"I told Sir Thomas Graham that I had much reason "to believe that Sir-William had not in contemplation "Sir Thomas' return to the army at the time that he "advanced these claims in the first letter to your Lord-"ship, or even in his second letter to you. That I was "satisfied you were not aware of Sir Thomas' intention "when you transmitted to me Sir William's letters, and "that nothing could have been further from your thoughts "than the throwing any difficulty or impediment in the "way of Sir Thomas' return to the army; on the contrary, "you had never named Sir Thomas to me in your private "letters without expressions of regret at his loss, and "your wish for him to be sufficiently recovered to resume "his command. That neither you nor Government could "have given any countenance to a proposition of Sir "Thomas' return to the Peninsula in a situation different "from what it was fully understood he held as second in "command. That, however, I had understood that Sir "Thomas at the time he had announced his intention of "returning had coupled with it a resolution, that if any"thing should interrupt your exercise of the command, he did not feel his health sufficiently re-established to allow him to undertake the laborious occupation of Commander-in-Chief.

"If this was the case, it would make a great difference in the question.

"Sir Thomas told me his health was such as would "induce him to decline the chief command, if by any accident it were to devolve upon him. That on the subject of Sir Wm. Beresford's claims, he was the last man in the world who felt inclined to make difficulties on the question; that in the outset of his military life he had served a junior officer to Sir William, but on the other hand his obligations to the service bound him not to sacrifice the rights of the British officer from a spirit of accommodation purely personal.

"I told him that if he had resolved to waive the com-"mand, the difficulty might be waived also. That I "knew he was as willing as any man to acknowledge the "eminent services of Sir Wm. Beresford, and was aware " of the loss which the service would suffer in the Penin-"sula if Sir William were to withdraw. That this " question of command could only come under discussion "by your being disabled from the personal exercise of it, "either by illness or the chance of war; that in the one "case it could only be for limited periods, that in the "other it would only be between the time when that "accident had taken place, and the time by which the " pleasure of the Prince Regent, respecting your successor, "could be known; that if, therefore, it was the intention " of Sir Thomas in neither of these cases to exercise "the command, it appeared to me that if he waived his "right, and consented under these circumstances to be " commanded by Sir W. Beresford, the right of the British "officer would not be thereby compromised, and that "hopes might be reasonably entertained that the general "officers, who were junior to Sir Thomas, but senior to

"Sir William, would not object to being also commanded "by Sir William. It being also understood that this

"command was only to be exercised so long as the British

"army was acting as part of the allied army of Great "Britain and Portugal.

"Sir Thomas said that with the distinct understanding "that this was only to be considered as a temporary " arrangement during either of the intervals above referred "to, and in no way deciding the question of rank, he " should be very willing to lend himself to accommodations "by which he hoped the country will continue to enjoy "the advantage of Sir W. Beresford's exertions in the "Peninsula, and the right of the British officer be in no " way committed."

To the Earl Bathurst.

" 12, Park Place, 27th Janry., 1813.

" My Lord,

"I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's "obliging note enclosing the draft of your letter to Lord "Wellington on the subject of Marshal Beresford's claims. "I now return the draft of the letter, which so precisely "states what I meant to convey to your Lordship in "conversation two days ago, that there is not a word "which I should wish to have added or altered.

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord, "Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant, "THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 31st January, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I received last night your letter of the 11th inst.

"and I send this to Sir Charles Stuart to Lisbon to be delivered to you upon your arrival.

"I was happy to learn from Lord Fitzroy Somerset that "you were able to return to us, and I hope that we shall be able to make a good campaign of it."

"Affairs are exactly in the state in which they were at "the end of November. I think that if there is any "change Soult has collected more of his army on the "Tagus about Toledo, but he has made no movement "which could at all indicate his object, neither has any "movement been made on this side.

"I propose to take the field as early as I can, and at "least to place myself in Fortune's way.

"Many of the regiments are already very healthy; others, particularly the new comers, remarkably otherwise. We have, as usual, lost many men in the last two months of cold weather, but the troops are all well cantoned, and I hope that a continuation of rest for a month or two in the spring will set us up entirely. I hoped to take the field with 70,000 British and Portuguese. I think I shall have 40,000 British and possibly 25,000 Portuguese, and I shall be better equipped in artillery and much stronger in cavalry than we have yet been.

"I have been at Cadiz where I have placed military affairs on a better footing than they were before in the way of organization, and I have provided some means to pay and subsist the armies, and we are beginning with discipline. I am not sanguine enough, however, to hope that we shall derive much advantage from Spanish troops early in the campaign.

"O'Donnell is certainly an able and well-intentioned man, of whom a great deal is to be made.

"I believe that upon your arrival you had better direct your steps towards this village, which we have made as comfortable as we can, and where we shall all be happy to see you. The hounds are in very good trim and the foxes very plentiful.

"Major Hope shall be in either of the departments you choose. You know that Stanhope and Cathcart are both in the Quarter-Master General's department, and I beg you will choose whom you will have with you, whether of those already in the department or to be appointed.

" Believe me, etc.,

"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K. B."

The movements in the Peninsula subsequent to General Graham's departure had been most brilliant, and though but one battle had been fought the result had been to free the south of Spain from the presence of the invader.

The glorious victory of Salamanca had been won, and the Spanish capital evacuated by the French had been occupied by the British troops. The armies of Marmont and King Joseph had united, and anxious to retake Madrid, the King had sent peremptory orders to Marshal Soult to raise the blockade of Cadiz and proceed to their assistance.

In the meantime a part of Marmont's army under General Clausel, retracing its steps, had re-entered Valladolid, forcing Lord Wellington to move from Madrid for the protection of his communications with Portugal. Leaving two divisions for the defence of the city and directing Sir Rowland Hill to move up with his corps to cover it from the rapidly approaching forces of Soult, he advanced against Clausel and drove him back upon and from Burgos, the citadel of which was, however, left strongly garrisoned.

To this place Lord Wellington laid siege, but being illprovided with materials and pressed by the united forces of the King, Marmont, and Soult, he had been forced to retire.

At Salamanca he was joined by General Hill, who had retired from Madrid on the advance of the enemy, whence, skilfully evading the attack of the French, amounting then to 95,000 men, he continued his march, and about the end of November had placed his troops in cantonments around Ciudad Rodrigo, where Sir Thomas Graham rejoined them in April. The enemy, unwilling to continue the strife, retired to the north of the Tagus and went into quarters in Old Castile.

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 7th April, 1813.

"My dear Sir,

"I think it probable that you will arrive at Lisbon "nearly about the time that this letter will reach that "place, and that you will receive it and that which I "wrote to you some time ago at the same moment from "Sir Charles Stuart.

"King Joseph has moved his head-quarters to Valla"dolid, by orders from Paris, as I understand, and the
"armies are concentrated very much towards the Duero.
"The enemy have now very few troops in La Mancha,

" and they are all in state of preparation for an immediate " movement.

"Soult is gone to France with from 3,000 to 5,000 men of drafts for the Imperial Guards, Marines, Cadres, Estropiés, etc. The Guards which remained in Spain

"have likewise been sent to France.

"A few conscripts, from 5,000 to 7,000, have arrived; but I do not hear that more are expected soon.

"Our army will be at least as strong as I expected. "We have now more than 37,000 rank and file of cavalry "and infantry present and fit for duty, and there are more than 3,000 men on their march to join, not included in the states. The Portuguese army have 27,000 men present and fit for duty.

"The Spanish concerns have not gone on well yet, but "I have still hopes that they will succeed.

"Believe me, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K. B."

From Lord Wellington.

"Freneda, 23rd April, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I have just heard of your arrival at Lisbon on the 20th instant. You will have received my letters there.

"There has been no material change since I wrote last.
"I propose to move as soon as I can after the beginning of
"the month, and rather think, between ourselves, I shall
"direct my march across the Lower Duero, within the

"kingdom of Portugal.

"Ever, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. GRAHAM, K.B."

From Sir Rowland Hill.

" Coria, May 9th, 1813.

"My dear Sir,

"I am much obliged by your kind note, and "indeed, I should have written to you before this time but I "thought my letter would miss you on the road. Yesterday "I was very glad to hear of your arrival at head-quarters, "as it is, I trust, a proof of your being recovered. I am "persuaded the whole army feels the greatest satisfaction "at your return to the Peninsula, and I flatter myself that

" you will believe that it is felt by none more sincerely than by myself.

"Believe me to be,
"Your very sincere and faithful friend,
"R. HILL."

The French armies, spread about in different positions from the Tormes to Burgos, had strengthened the defences along the road by the Tormes to the Douro, over which they expected Lord Wellington would advance, and awaited in fancied security the attack which they had every reason to anticipate.

The British Chief, however, well aware of the preparations made for his reception, determined to turn the right of the French armies with a strong force, which was to move round through the province of Tras os Montes. He, with the centre of his army, would move on Salamanca while Sir Rowland Hill, with the right, advanced on Alba de Tormes.

The left wing, amounting to about 40,000 men, was placed under the command of General Graham, and commenced its march about the 18th of May.

From Lord Wellington.

" Ciudad Rodrigo, 22nd May, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I arrived here this day, and the Light Division and cavalry, and the Conde de Amarante's division, are encamped on the river of Santi Espiritus in front. I go to-morrow to Tamames.

"Ever, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

On the 30th, Sir Thomas Graham arrived at Carvajales, where he was joined by Lord Wellington, and on the 1st of June his corps crossed the Esla and entered Zamora, driving the French, under General Villate, back on Toro, from whence they retired the following day.

From Lord Wellington.

" Toro, 2nd June, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I have received yours, by the peasant, of 10 a.m., and I am obliged to you for the intelligence it contains. I was aware that the enemy had crossed the Duero, but not of the exact spot in which the army was likely to be concentrated. I have likewise heard that the troops from Segovia have crossed the Duero. I do not think we are so close up or so well concentrated as we ought to be to meet the enemy in the state in which he will appear on the Horniza, probably to-morrow, and, therefore, I propose to halt the heads of the different columns to-morrow, and to close up the rear of each, and to move Hill preparatory to our farther movements.

"Ever yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

On the 3rd the columns of the British army closed up and moved forward the next day. The first blow was struck on the 12th, when the French were driven over the Rio Urbel, and on the 18th General Reille, who had been sent to protect the road into France, found himself confronted by three British divisions, under General Graham, who had thus penetrated to the rear of the French right. A sharp fight ensued which resulted in the repulse of the enemy, who retreated towards France. Sir Thomas Graham advanced to Murguia on the 20th, and on the 21st

attacked Reille's corps at Gamarra Maior, while Lord Wellington, with the remainder of the army, attacked the bulk of the French forces in position near Vitoria.

Lord Wellington's despatch to Earl Bathurst.

"Salvatierra, 22nd June, 1813.

" My Lord,

"The enemy, commanded by King Joseph, having "Marshal Jourdan as the Major-General of the army, took "up a position, on the night of the 19th instant, in front " of Vitoria, the left of which rested upon the heights "which end at La Puebla de Arganzon, and extended "from thence across the Valley of the Zadorra, in front of "the village of Ariñez. They occupied, with the right of "the centre, a height which commanded the valley to the "Zadorra. The right of their army was stationed near "Vitoria, and was destined to defend the passages of the "river Zadorra in the neighbourhood of that city. They "had a reserve in rear of their left at the village of "Gomecha. The nature of the country through which "the army had passed since it reached the Ebro had " necessarily extended our columns, and we halted on the "20th in order to close them up, and moved the left to "Murguia, where it was most likely it would be required. "I reconnoitred the enemy's position on that day, with a " view to the attack to be made on the following morning, " if they should still remain in it.

"We accordingly attacked the enemy yesterday, and I am happy to inform your Lordship that the allied army under my command gained a complete victory, having driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, etc., and a considerable number of prisoners.

"The operations of the day commenced by Lieut.-General "Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of

"La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which "heights they had not occupied in great strength. He "detached for this service one brigade of the Spanish "division under General Morillo; the other brigade being "employed in keeping the communication between his " main body on the high road from Miranda to Vitoria " and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, "however, soon discovered the importance of these heights, "and reinforced their troops there to such an extent, "that Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill was obliged to "detach, first, the 7th Regiment and the Light Infantry "battalion of General Walker's brigade, under the com-"mand of Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. H. Cadogan, and "successively other troops to the same point; and the " allies not only gained, but maintained, possession of these "important heights throughout their operations, notwith-" standing all the efforts of the enemy to retake them.

"Under cover of the possession of these heights, "Sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadorra, at "La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the "river Zadorra, and attacked and gained possession of the "village of Subijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, "which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain.

"The difficult nature of the country prevented the com"munication between our different columns moving to the
"attack from their stations on the river Bayas at as early
"an hour as I had expected; and it was late before I
"knew that the column, composed of the 3rd and 7th
"Division, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie,
"had arrived at the station appointed for them. The
"4th and Light Divisions, however, passed the Zadorra
"immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had possession of
"Subijana de Alava—the former at the bridge of Nan"clares, and the latter at the bridge of Tres-Puentes;
"and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column
"under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendoza; and

"the 3rd Division, under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas "Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by "the 7th Division, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the height on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Lieut.-General Sir "Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana de "Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as "he saw our disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vitoria.

"Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, " notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the "meantime, Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, who "commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st "and 5th Divisions, and General Pack's and Bradford's "brigades of infantry, and General Bock's and Anson's "of cavalry, and who had been moved forward on the " 20th to Murguia, moved forward from thence on Vitoria, "by the high road from that town to Bilbao. He had, "besides, with him the Spanish division under Colonel "Longa; and General Giron, who had been detached to "the left, under a different view of the state of affairs, "and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on "the 20th at Orduña, marched that morning from thence, "so as to be in the field in readiness to support Lieut .-"General Sir Thomas Graham if his support had been " required.

"The enemy had a division of infantry, with some cavalry, advanced on the great road from Vitoria to Bilbao, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Maior. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied as têtes de pont to the bridges over the Zadorra at these places. Briga-dier-General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with his Spanish division, were directed

"to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major"General Anson's brigade of Light Dragoons, and the
"5th Division of infantry, under the command of Major"General Oswald, who was desired to take the command
"of all these troops.

"Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham reports, that in the execution of this service the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th battalion of Caça-dores and the 8th Caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa, being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Maior.

"As soon as the heights were in our possession, the "village of Gamarra Maior was most gallantly stormed and carried by Major-General Robertson's brigade of the 5th Division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon.

"The Lieut.-General then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the 1st Division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse artillery; and under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalions having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. This attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry.

"by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry.
"During the operation at Abechuco the enemy made
"the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village
"of Gamarra Maior, which were gallantly repulsed by
"the 5th division, under the command of Major-General
"Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on
"the left of the Zadorra two divisions of infantry in
"reserve, and it was impossible to cross by the bridges
"till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre
"and left had driven them through Vitoria.

"The whole then co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark.

"The movement of the troops, under Lieut.-General "Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra "and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the "high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to "the road towards Pampeluna, but they were unable to "hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow "their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, "therefore, of the latter which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions "taken up by the enemy, in their retreat from their first position at Ariñez and on the Zadorra, and all their ammunition and baggage, and everything they had, were "taken close to Vitoria. I have reason to believe that the "enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer "only.

"The army under King Joseph consisted of the whole of the armies of the south and of the centre, and of four divisions and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the north. General Foy's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilbao, and General Clausel, who commanded the army of the north, was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by General Taupin, and General Van-der-Maesen's division of the army of the north. The 6th Division of the allied army, under Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham, was likewise absent, having been detained at Medina de Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores.

"I am particularly indebted to Lieut.-General Sir
"Thomas Graham and to Lieut.-General Sir Rowland
"Hill, for the manner in which they have respectively
"conducted the service entrusted to them since the
"commencement of the operations which have ended

"in the battle of the 21st, and for their conduct in that battle.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Graham to General the Marquis of Wellington.

"Zuazo de Salvatierra, 23rd June, 1813.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to report to your Lordship "that having in the morning of the 21st instant placed "the left column of the army, according to orders, on the "great road from Murguia to Vitoria, near the bottom of "the hills, with the roads opened to us on the left, I con-"sidered myself justified (about half-past twelve o'clock "at noon) in advancing towards Vitoria, in order to draw "the enemy's attention to his right, and so to assist the "progress of the army from the side of Miranda, where "the enemy seemed to make an obstinate resistance in the "successive strong positions which the country afforded.

"The enemy had a division of infantry, with some cavalry advanced on the great road, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Maior. Both Gamarra and Abechuco, on the great road, were strongly occupied as têtes de pont to the bridges at these places over the Zadorra. Major-General Pack, with his brigade of Portuguese infantry, and Colonel Longa, with his Spanish corps, were directed to turn and gain these heights, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of Light Dragoons and the 5th Division of infantry, commanded by Major-General Oswald, who was requested to take charge of all these troops.

"In the execution of this service the Portuguese and "Spanish troops behaved admirably. The 4th battalion "of Caçadores of General Pack's brigade, and the 8th

"Caçadores of the 5th Division, particularly distinguished "themselves. Colonel Longa, being on the left, got pos-" session of the village of Gamarra Maior, and as soon as "the heights were cleared of the enemy, the village of "Gamarra Maior was most gallantly stormed by Briga-"dier-General Robinson's brigade of the 5th Division "(formed in three columns of battalions, which advanced "under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without "firing a shot), assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's "brigade. The enemy suffered severely by this attack "and lost three guns. Meanwhile, the great road being "now opened through the plain, all the artillery of the "left column (excepting the two guns above mentioned), "Major-General Block's brigade of cavalry, and the 1st "Division of infantry, were advancing on the great road, "and Major-General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese "infantry (detached early in the morning to the hills on "the right to endeavour to communicate with the centre "column of the army at Las Guetas) was ordered back. "At this period I received your Lordship's orders, dated "at 2 p.m., to move forward and press the enemy on our " side.

"A disposition for attacking the village of Abechuco, "defended by a numerous artillery on the left bank of the "Zadorra was immediately made by forming a strong battery against it, with Captain Ramsay's horse artillery and Captain Dubourdieu's brigade on the left of the chaussée, and under cover of their well-directed fire "Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced by it to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalions charging and taking three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. At this critical time Brigadier-General Bradford's brigade arrived on the right of the chaussée and supported the attack of the village.

"During this operation on the right the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Maior by a heavy fire of artillery and

"musketry, and having at least two divisions of infantry "in reserve on strong ground behind. But the enemy's "repeated attacks were successfully repulsed. It was, "however, evidently impossible to push a column across "the river by this bridge in the face of such a force so "posted. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on "Major-General Oswald for the dispositions he made to "defend this village, and he speaks in the highest terms " of the conduct of Brigadier-General Robinson and the "troops of his brigade, which suffered severely in main-"taining the post they had so gallantly won, and of that " of Major-General Hay and Major-General Spry, suc-"cessively called to support the second brigade. "whole of Major Lawson's brigade of guns having joined "the 5th Division performed excellent service by their "well-directed fire on this occasion. I am sorry to say "Lieut.-Colonel Fane, of the 59th, and Lieut.-Colonel "Campbell, of the Royals, with many other officers, are " among the wounded at this point.

"Major-General Oswald particularly recommends to "your Lordship's notice Captain Hay, Major-General "Hay's aide-de-camp, who was wounded in the active dis"charge of his duty in the village.

"Your Lordship, with the army, being now in possession of Vitoria, the enemy fled from every point, and so rapidly that it was impossible for any of the troops of the left column, having all to file over narrow bridges, to come up with any of them till they had gained the wooded plain (intersected with deep brooks and ditches) by which they retreated.

"But the greatest eagerness in the pursuit was mani"fested by all the different corps. The Caçadore battalions
"of both the Portuguese brigades, supported by their
"respective line battalions, followed with the cavalry,
"while part of Colonel Longa's troops harrassed the
"enemy on their flank.

"The enemy's flight was, however, so rapid that no

"material impression could be made on them, though

"more than once charged by squadrons of General

"Anson's brigade. The pursuit was continued on the left

"to El Burgo, when night obliged the troops to halt.

"I cannot conclude this report without assuring your "Lordship that I feel particularly indebted to the great

" assistance I received throughout from Colonel De Lancey,

"Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and Lieut.-Colonel

"Bouverie, Assistant Adjutant-General, and to the zeal of all the officers of my personal staff.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

As soon as his troops had recovered from the effects of the victory of the 21st, General Graham was sent in pursuit of the retreating enemy, who, however, managed to get into France without further molestation. General Foy, who, on hearing of the disaster at Vitoria, had hastened up to protect the retreating convoys, had taken up a strong position at Villafranca, where he was found by Sir Thomas Graham on the 24th. After an ineffectual attempt to hold their ground the French retired to Tolosa, whence they were driven, with a loss of about 500 men, in the evening of the 25th.

To Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K.G.

"Tolosa, 26th June, 1813.

" My Lord,

"It was so late on the 23rd when I received the "order to march by the Puerto San Adrian on Villa"franca, and the weather and the road were so extremely bad, that but a small part of the column could get over the mountain that day, and it was not till late on the 24th that I could move from Segura on Villafranca, with Major-General Anson's brigade of Light Dragoons,

"the light battalions of the King's German Legion, and "the two Portuguese brigades, the rest of the troops not being yet come up.

"The rear of the enemy's column was then just passing on the great road from Villa Real to Villafranca, and he occupied, in considerable force, some very strong ground on the right of the great road and of the river oria, in front of the village of Olaverria, and about a mile and a-half from Villafranca.

"Major-General Bradford's brigade marched by Ola"verria, and was employed to dislodge the enemy on the
"right, while the remainder of the troops advanced by the
"chaussée, defended by the enemy's tirailleurs on the
"heights, and a strong body at the village of Veasaya.

"As the enemy reinforced the troops on his left, it became necessary to push on by the chaussée, which was done by the light battalion, under Colonel Halkett, assisted and flanked by some companies of Major-General Pack's Portuguese brigade, and this service was performed in the most gallant style by these brave troops, who drove the enemy from the village of Veasaya.

"The enemy having troops ready posted on the suc"cession of strong heights on each side of the deep valley,
"at the bottom of which the road runs, a considerable
"time became necessary to reach his flanks, during which
"he evacuated Villafranca without further dispute.

"The Portuguese brigades on the right and left of the "valley pushed on their advance to Isasondo, and the "troops assembled at Villafranca. Here, likewise, the "head of General Giron's corps and all Colonel Longa's "arrived in the course of the evening.

"The next morning, the 25th, the enemy evacuated "Celequia, and as he had taken up a very strong position between that and Tolosa, covering the Pampeluna road, "the Spanish corps of Colonel Longa was marched by "Alza towards Lezaca to turn his left, while Lieut.- "General Mendizabel was requested to despatch some

"battalions from Aspeytia to turn his right, appuyed on a high mountain with an inaccessible ravine in front.

"The enemy was driven from the summit of an im"portant hill, lying between the Pampeluna and Vitoria
"roads, by a very skilful attack of Lieut.-Colonel Williams,
"with two companies of the Grenadiers of the 1st Regiment and three of the 4th Caçadores, belonging to
"General Pack's brigade.

"The conduct of Lieut. Queiros, and of Ensign Vas"concellos, of the 4th Caçadores, was distinguished on
"this occasion. The latter officer lost an eye by a musket
"shot.

"This hill was immediately occupied by Major-General "Bradford's brigade, supported by the three line battalions of the King's German Legion.

"The rest of the day was chiefly spent in skirmishing with the enemy's tirailleurs to give time for the Spanish corps arriving at their destination.

"A general attack began between six and seven in the evening. Two guns of Captain Ramsay's troop and two nine-pounders of Captain Dubourdieu's, under an escort of Captain Childer's troop of the 11th Light Dragoons, and of the advance of Colonel Halkett's light battalions, were brought rapidly forward on the chaussée, and fired with effect against several formed bodies of the enemy in the plain near the town; while the column, consisting of the German light battalions, the brigade of Guards, and a Spanish division of General Giron's continued to advance by the chaussée.

"Two Spanish battalions and one Portuguese, forming a separate column on the left of the chaussée, passed quickly on the left of the town. General Bradford and the line battalions of the Germans driving in the enemy on their front by the Pampeluna road, and Colonel Longa from the side of the mountain, still more on the right, turning and forcing from very strong positions all the posted bodies of the enemy on the right of the town.

"Still the enemy held possession of the town, which "was much more capable of defence than had been represented."

"The Vitoria gate was barricaded, and also the Pam"peluna gate on the bridge, and both were flanked by
"convents and other large buildings occupied by the enemy,
"and the town was nowhere open. A nine-pounder was
"therefore brought up, under cover of the fire of the
"light battalion, close to the gate, which was thus burst
"open.

"It was now dark, and it was not possible to distinguish the troops of the different nations engaged, which gave the enemy, now flying from every point, an opportunity of escaping with much less loss than he must have suffered had we had daylight.

"The conduct of all the troops concerned in this attack "was highly creditable; that of the line battalions on the Pampeluna road, and of the light battalions at the Vitoria gate, was such as was to be expected from these distinguished corps.

"Colonel Longa's corps, after a repetition of long and severe marches, undertook and executed, with the greatest spirit, the fatiguing duty of this day, and behaved in the most gallant manner. The battalions sent from Aspeytia by Lieut.-General Mendizabel repulsed with great steadiness an attack of the enemy, and afterwards pursued him down from the mountains, taking a good many prisoners.

"I have not yet got the return, but I believe above 200 prisoners were taken by the two Spanish corps, and many wounded men were left here. The enemy's loss in killed, too, must have been considerable.

"This place has, besides the defences of the gates, new towers to flank the exterior wall, and a strong wood blockhouse in the square, which shows the importance the enemy attached to its occupation.

"It would be unjust to troops employed in this assault,

"not to mention their exemplary conduct when in pos-"session; there was no excess committed. The German "Legion and Colonel Longa's corps passed on and formed

"immediately beyond the town.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"T. GRAHAM, Lieut.-General."

Most of the passes of the Pyrenees were now in the possession of the allies, but in order to hold the frontier line it was necessary to reduce San Sebastian.

Accordingly Sir Thomas Graham, who had been wounded in the hip in the action of the 25th, was, on his return from Tolosa, directed to invest it. He arrived in front of the fortress on the 9th of July and commenced the siege operations a few days after. The batteries opened fire on the 13th, and on the 17th the redoubt and convent on the San Bartolomeo hill were stormed and taken.

From Lord Wellington.

" Lesaca, 17th July, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I have just received your note of noon this day, "and congratulate you upon taking the redoubt and con-"vent.

"Ever yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

Despatch from Lieut.-General Sir T. Graham, K.B., to Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K.G.

"Hernani, 18th July, 1813.

"The convent of San Bartolomeo, and the ad-"joining work on the extremity of the steep hill towards "the river, were taken yesterday by assault. "The natural and artificial strength of these fortified posts occupied by a large body of troops, and the imposuishility of access to either but by the fronts, made it very desirable to have destroyed the defences as much as possible, and a new battery on the left was begun the preceding evening, but not being ready in the morning, the attack was determined on.

* * * * * * * * * *

"About ten a.m. the left column began the attack on the convent, while the right passed the ravine near the river. Both attacks were made with such vigour and determination that all obstacles were overcome without the loss that might have been expected.

"The enemy were driven in confusion down the hill, "carrying a strong reinforcement, just sent from San "Sebastian, along with them in their flight through the burnt village of San Martin.

"The impetuosity of the troops in pursuit could not be "restrained by the exertion of the superior officers, who "had received Major-General Oswald's directions not to "pass San Martin, and some unavoidable loss was sus-"tained by those who followed the enemy to the foot of "the glacis on their return to San Martin.

"FIELD-MARSHAL THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON, K.G."

Two batteries were constructed on the captured height of Bartolomeo, and they and the other batteries of both attacks being armed, opened fire on the 20th. By the 24th a breach was formed, and the assault was ordered to take place. The troops acted with their accustomed gallantry and forced their way to the top of the breach, where they were stopped by the remaining wall of the rampart. While hesitating on the edge of this impassable obstacle, so heavy a fire was brought to bear upon them that, reluctantly, they were compelled to retire.

To the Marquis of Wellington.

"Casa de Ayte, St. Sebastian's,
"25th July, 1813.

" My Lord,

"The attack has failed owing to the quantity of "musketry and hand-grenades the enemy brought upon "the column in its advance and on its arrival at the "breach.

"I shall have the honour to transmit a particular report as soon as I am better informed of all the circumstances.

"I cannot now form an estimate of the loss; but there is a number of officers wounded, and probably from two

"to three hundred men. Sir R. Fletcher has a contusion of his leg, and Capt. Lewis and Lieut. Jones of the Royal

"Engineers, who led the columns, were wounded and

"taken. Major Stanhope, too, is severely wounded. I have not yet heard the names of other officers.

"I have the honour to remain,

"Your Lordship's most humble obedient servant,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

To Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington.

"Hernani, 27th July, 1813.

" My Lord,

"The attack of the breach in the line wall on the "left flank of San Sebastian took place on the morning of the 25th, when the fall of the tide left the foot of the wall dry, which was soon after daylight. I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, some of whom did force their way into the town, the attack did not succeed. The enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way, and from which, and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire

"of grape and musketry, flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary to desist from the assault.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

The siege was now, by Lord Wellington's orders, converted into a blockade, and a part of the troops were taken by the Commander-in-Chief, to enable him to meet, with sufficient numbers, the French forces under Marshal Soult, who had reappeared on the frontier. While the battles in the Pyrenees were being fought and won by the British armies, Sir Thomas Graham was doomed to wait until the siege could be renewed, and watch the garrison make daily progress in their work of reparation. During this brief period of rest, the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were conveyed to the veteran General, and he was informed that the freedom of the City of London had been unanimously voted to him as far back as April, 1811.

"A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Monday the 12th day of April, 1813.

"SCHOLEY, Mayor.

"Resolved unanimously that the Freedom of this City

"having been voted to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas "Graham, on the fourth day of April, 1811, and no opportunity having since occurred for the Chamberlain to present the same, the said Freedom be presented to Sir Thomas Graham, on his return to this country, in a gold box of the value of one hundred guineas, as an additional testimony of the high sense this Court entertains of his eminent public services on the twenty-first day of June last.

" WOODTHORPE."

From Lord Uxbridge.

"Southampton, July 13th, 1813.

" My dear General,

"I was much gratified at receiving a line from "you the other day from Torre de , and still "more so since, by having received the accounts of your glorious achievements about Vitoria. No one, I believe, "more sincerely rejoiced than I did at your having been placed where you ought to be, in the army, because I "felt the importance of it to the army, and knew how gratifying it would be to you. You have since certainly "taken pretty good care that no one should complain of the measure, and I do most cordially congratulate you "upon all your brilliant career. Had Lord Wellington's "advancement, too, depended upon my voice, he certainly "would have had it. His movements are magnificent, "and his results prodigious.

"I was much pleased at the conduct of Grant and "the Hussars. I feel sure that they will do the thing well. My heart is with you all.

"Believe me,

"Very sincerely yours,
"UXBRIDGE."

The enemy having been forced by a series of defeats to leave Spain, and a supply of ammunition having arrived from England, the siege was renewed on the 5th of August. On the 26th fire was opened on the town, and so well sustained, that before long most of the artillery of the place was silenced, and many buildings were set on fire. A large breach was made in the demi-bastion on the left of the hornwork, and by the 30th everything was ready for a second assault, which was ordered for that night. Our troops devoted themselves as is their wont, and forced their way up the breach, only to be shot down, when there, from behind the ably planned defences of the besiegers. General Graham, who was watching the progress of the assault from the Chofree sand hills, boldly determined to clear a passage for his stormers by directing the artillery to fire over their heads at the loopholed walls and other obstacles which barred their way. The idea was daring in the extreme and deserved success, but although walls and breastworks were torn away, such was the determination of the defenders, that the stormers could not get beyond the breach. Fortune, however, at length smiled upon the survivors of the noble band who for nearly three hours had been struggling to force an ingress. Taking advantage of the premature explosion of a number of powder barrels, which had been prepared for their own destruction, the British troops sprang forward through the flames, and spreading along the curtain, speedily possessed themselves of the outworks. The French retired into the town, and the struggle was continued from street to street, but as the assailants continued to pour in, the brave defenders were gradually forced back, step by step, into the Castle of La Mata, on the Monte Orgulla.

The anxiety and fatigue attending this achievement had again affected Sir Thomas Graham's eyes, and feeling that he could not remain much longer in the field, he wrote to Lord Wellington on the subject.

To Lord Wellington.

" Oyarzun, 15th August, 1813.

" My Lord,

"As I foresee that my health will not enable me to continue my services long in a useful or creditable way, I think it my duty to give your Lordship the earliest notice of my wish to retire, that there may be sufficient time to make such arrangements as may be expedient for replacing me in the very distinguished command your Lordship has confided to me.

"I was anxious to make the trial of serving again under your Lordship's command, and I returned to the army in the hopes of being able to continue. But of late, the increase of stomach complaints to which I have been subject, and which require great attention, as well as the aggravation of the symptoms which affect my right eye, warn me, that it is time to relinquish the duties of active service.

"In making this communication to your Lordship, I "would not wish to be understood to be desirous of "withdrawing myself till my services can be dispensed "with without inconvenience, which, probably, may be the "case in six or eight weeks hence. I have the honour to "remain,

"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient and
"Most humble servant,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington to Sir T. Graham.

"Lesaca, August 15th, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I was very much concerned to find from your "note delivered to me by General Oswald, that your

"health was in such a state as to induce you to think of returning to England. However much I regret this circumstance, I cannot but think you are right in giving up if you find your health not equal to the calls upon your exertions; and I can only return my thanks for returning to us when you did. I will make the King's Government acquainted with the state of your health by the first opportunity.

"Ever yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

To Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington.

"Oyarzun, 1st September, 1813.

" My Lord,

"In obedience to your Lordship's orders of the preceding day, to attack and form a lodgment on the breach of San Sebastian, which now extended to the left, so as to embrace the outermost tower, the end and front of the curtain immediately over the left bastion, as well as the faces of the bastion itself, the assault took place at eleven o'clock, a.m., yesterday, and I have the honour to report to your Lordship that the heroic perseverance of all the troops concerned was at last crowned with success.

"The column of attack was formed of the 2nd Brigade of the 5th Division, commanded by Major-General Robinson, with an immediate support of detachments, and having in reserve the remainder of the 5th Division.

"Having arranged everything with Sir J. Leith, I "crossed the Urumea to the batteries of the right attack, "where everything could be most distinctly seen, and "from whence the orders for the fire of the batteries "according to circumstances could be immediately given.

"The column, in filing out of the right of the trenches, "was, as before, exposed to a heavy fire of shells and "grape shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle "of the counterscarp of the hornwork, which did great "damage, but did not check the ardour of the troops "advancing to the attack. There never was anything "so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach; "without some description, the almost insuperable diffi-"culties of the breach cannot be estimated. "standing its great extent, there was but one point where "it was possible to enter, and there, by single files. All "the inside of the wall, to the right of the curtain, formed "a perpendicular scarp of at least 20 feet to the level of "the street, so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, "formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the "only accessible point. During the suspension of the "operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the "enemy had prepared every means of defence which art "could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered "by intrenchments and traverses in the hornwork on the "ramparts of the curtain and inside of the town opposite "to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire " of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of "the narrow ridge of the curtain.

"Everything that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge; and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy's musketry, yet still the nature of the stone rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working parties from being able to form a lodgment for the troops exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, as was particularly directed, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions; and at all events, a secure lodgment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain.

"In this almost desperate state of the attack, after consulting with Colonel Dickson, commanding the Royal Artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it, passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example.

"Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge, at all hazards, at the same time

"that an attempt should be made to storm the hornwork.

"It fell to the lot of the 2nd Brigade of the 5th Division, " under the command of Colonel the Hon. Charles Greville, "to move out of the trenches for this purpose, and the "3rd battalion of the Royal Scots, under Lieut.-Colonel "Barns, supported by the 38th, under Lieut.-Colonel Miles, " fortunately arrived, to assault the breach of the curtain, " about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the "curtain (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created " some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was "gained, and was maintained after a severe conflict, and "the troops on the right of the breach, having about this "time succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of "the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses "that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above "two hours under the most trying circumstances, a firm " footing was obtained.

"It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat to the castle, and leaving the whole town in our possession.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

The castle on the Monte Orgullo held out until the 8th of September, on which day the garrison surrendered, claiming to be allowed to march out with the honours of war. After so gallant a defence this demand was at once granted, and on the 9th the place was handed over to the Allies.

To Lord Wellington.

"Hernani, 8th September, 1813.

" My Lord,

"I have the satisfaction to report to your Lord"ship, that the Castle of San Sebastian has surrendered;
"and I have the honour to transmit the capitulation,
"which, under all the circumstances of the case, I trust
"your Lordship will think I did right to grant to a gar"rison which certainly made a very gallant defence.

"Ever since the assault of the 31st ult., the vertical fire " of the mortars, etc., of the right attack was occasionally "kept up against the castle, occasioning a very severe "loss to the enemy; and yesterday morning a battery of " seventeen 24-pounders in the hornwork, another of three "18-pounders, still more to the left, having been com-"pleted by the extraordinary exertions of the officers of " artillery and engineers, aided by the indefatigable zeal " of all the troops, the whole of the ordnance, amounting " to 54 pieces, including two 24-pounders, and one howitzer " on the island, opened at 10 a.m. against the castle, and "with such effect that before 1 p.m. a flag of truce was " hoisted at the Mirador battery by the enemy, and after "some discussion, the terms of the surrender were agreed "on; thus giving your Lordship another great result of "the campaign, in the acquisition to the allied armies of "this interesting point on the coast and near the frontier.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOMAS GRAHAM."

From Lord Wellington.

"Lesaca, 9th Sepr., 1813.

"My dear Sir,

"I have received the capitulation, and sincerely "congratulate you upon your success. I write you a few "lines officially upon the capitulation.

"Ever yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

From Lord Wellington.

"Lesaca, 24th September, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I enclose letters from the Secretary of State and "Commander-in-Chief, which I trust will be satisfactory "to you. Sir John Hope is to come out, as you will see, "to succeed you.

"I have received directions to invest Lord Dalhousie, "etc., with the order of the Bath, and have fixed on the 27th for the ceremony, if you could make it convenient to come over here. The pontoons will not be ready till that day, and I doubt the river being low enough in these parts for our operations before that time.

"Ever yours most faithfully,
"WELLINGTON."

From the Duke of York to Lord Wellington.

"Horse Guards, 16th September, 1813.

" My Lord,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lord-"ship's letter of the 2nd instant, covering the copies of "your despatch to the Secretary of State, reporting the "capture by assault of the town of St. Sebastian on the "3 oth ultimo, and of the other military operations connected with the attempt made by the enemy to relieve
that fortress.

"I have great pleasure in assuring your Lordship that "the manner in which Sir Thomas Graham conducted the "siege of St. Sebastian, the judicious dispositions he "made for the assault, and the determined bravery of the "troops in carrying the breach against the most obstinate difficulties, have attracted the full approbation of the Prince Regent; and although the loss sustained upon this important occasion must be a subject of regret, yet, considering the obstacles opposed to the brave exertions of our troops, it can be viewed in no other light than a necessary sacrifice to the attainment of an object most essential to the continued success of the brilliant campaign your Lordship is conducting.

"It is with these sentiments, in which I entirely concur, "that I am commanded to request your Lordship will "convey the thanks of his Royal Highness to Sir Thomas "Graham, and the general officers, officers, and troops "who have been engaged in this gallant service.

"I am, my Lord,
"Yours sincerely,
"FREDERICK,
"Commander-in-Chief."

From Lord Mulgrave.

"Mulgrave Castle, Sepr. 19th, 1813.

" My dear Graham,

"I was unwilling to trouble you with a letter during your most important and complicated evolutions in the command before St. Sebastian, merely to assure you that I would pay the best attention in my power to your Horse-Artillery recommendations, because I felt persuaded that you would give me credit for a dispo-

"sition to consider your wishes with all the zeal of very old friendship.

"I feel myself, however, now at full liberty to offer you my
"warmest congratulations on the glorious success of your
"long and arduous exertions, and it is a particular gratification to me to find that all those who have acted under
your orders do you the most ample and cordial justice.
"Whenever your health shall require repose from an
activity of no ordinary degree and quality, you will
have the satisfaction of passing your years of retirement
in the full enjoyment of the military glory which has been
the uniform and steady object of the persevering pursuit of
your life, and you will find abundance of friends gratified
by your fame and attached to your personal qualities.

"' Somewhat too much of this!' but there is something "in the expressions in your letter which stirred up these feelings, and as you will attribute them to the right source, I will not repent of having said more than is necessary between those who have been so long acquainted.

"I rejoice that the artillery so ably and so effectually executed your orders at the moment of the storm; the skill and zeal of that valuable corps seem to have attained the summit of perfection.

"Ever, my dear Graham,
"Yours most faithfully,
"MULGRAVE."

Contrary to his wishes, but in deference to the opinion of the Government, Lord Wellington now prepared to attack the enemy in his own country. His plan was to seize the Rhune mountain, the possession of which would place him within striking distance of the centre of the French position, and to pass a corps of about 25,000 men, under Sir Thomas Graham, over the Bidassoa by the fords near the mouth of the river. The forward movement was

made on the morning of the 7th of October; the first troops to enter France being those of the 1st and 5th Divisions, who, led by General Graham, crossed the stream in three columns. The French, who little expected an attack would be made on that side, were completely surprised, and allowed the British to cross the river without molestation. They were no sooner on the right bank than, giving the enemy but little time to recover from his astonishment, they attacked and captured the works which had but lately been constructed to defend the passage, and by the time his adversary received reinforcements Sir Thomas Graham was in a secure position on French soil.

On the right, our troops had also been successful; but at the end of the day the Rhune mountain remained in possession of General Clausel. He held his position throughout the 8th, but during the night, finding himself isolated and almost surrounded, he withdrew in the direction of St. Jean de Luz.

Sir John Hope had now joined the army, and profiting by his arrival, General Graham handed over his command, and left with regret the gallant troops with whom he had served so long.

"Column Orders, at noon, 7th Octr., 1813.

"Lieut.-General Graham, in resigning the dis-"tinguished command which he has had the honour to "hold during this glorious campaign, has infinite satisfac-"tion in being certain that the good conduct of the troops "will ever be justly appreciated by Lieut.-General Sir " John Hope, while his name must, on all occasions, secure "their utmost confidence.

"He is happy to congratulate them on the signal "success which their gallantry so quickly obtained this "morning, in the attacks of the formidable position of the " enemy.

"He requests Major-General Howard and the officers " of the 1st Division, Major-General Hay and the officers "of the 5th Division, Major-Generals Bock, Vandeleur, "Bradford, Lord Aylmer, and Brigadier-General Wilson, "with the officers of their respective brigades, will be assured that he feels sincerely his obligations to them for their uniform and zealous support on all occasions."

"In taking leave of the troops of the left column, he begs the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers to accept of his best thanks and his sincere good wishes, and that they will believe him ever deeply interested in their welfare and renown."

Lord Wellington in his despatch to Lord Bathurst, dated 9th October, mentions the withdrawal of his Lieutenant in the following flattering terms:—

"Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham having thus established within the French territory the troops of the allied British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to Lieut.-General Sir John Hope, who arrived from Ireland on the preceding day."

In his reply the Secretary of State for War requested that the Prince Regent's approbation of his conduct might be conveyed to General Graham thus:—

"Your Lordship will convey to Major-General Hay, "and the officers and privates lately under the command of Sir Thomas Graham, His Royal Highness' most gracious acceptance of their meritorious services, and your Lordship will express the satisfaction which His Royal Highness feels, that Sir Thomas Graham has concluded his command by an action so worthy of the splendid manner by which he has repeatedly distinguished himself, and more particularly in the course of this campaign."

At the time of his leaving the army, the Cadiz newspapers contained paragraphs accusing Sir Thomas of having set fire to the town of St. Sebastian. False as these accusations were, and were generally known to be,

they found favour with those despicable Spaniards, who, destitute of all feelings of patriotism, hated the English for their noble endeavours to save their country. Seeing the harm such libels might do to the cause, by embittering the minds of the fickle population of the Peninsula against their friends, and eager to clear the character of an innocent and absent comrade, Lord Wellington indignantly denied the assertions, and proved their utter fallacy in a letter to the British Minister, Sir Henry Wellesley.

"Lesaca, 9th October, 1813.

"Sir,

"I enclose a letter which I have received from the Minister of War of the 28th September, in which he has enclosed the copy of one of the 5th Sepr. from the Conde de Villa Fuentes, the Xefe Politico of the province of Guipuzcoa, complaining of the conduct of the allied British and Portuguese army in the storm of the town of San Sebastian; and as I received, at the same time, the enclosed newspaper (the 'Duende'), which contains the same charges against that army in a more amplified style, and both appear to proceed from the same authority, I shall proceed to reply to both complaints; and I trouble your Excellency on this subject, as it is one upon which your Excellency will recollect that I have orders to correspond with His Majesty's Minister alone.

"I should have wished to adopt another mode of justi"fying the officers concerned on this occasion; but as there
"is no redress by the law for a libel, I must be satisfied
"with that which is in my hands.

"I shall begin with that charge which the enclosed "newspaper contains, and which is not made in direct "terms in the letter from the Xefe Politico, though it "is directly charged against Lieut.-General Sir Thomas "Graham that he intended to burn the town; viz., that "the town of San Sebastian was thus ill-treated, because

"its former trade had been exclusively with the French nation, and to the disadvantage of Great Britain."

"This charge cannot be intended to apply to the common soldiers, who cannot be supposed to know, or to reflect much upon what passed before they attacked the place. This infamous charge applies exclusively to the principal officers who, from motives not of commercial policy, but of commercial revenge, are supposed so far to have forgotten their duty as to have ordered, or suffered, the sack of this unfortunate town, and thus to have risked the loss of all they had acquired by their labours and their gallantry; and you will more readily conceive than I can venture to describe, the feelings of indignation with which I proceed to justify the General and other officers of this army from a charge officially made by a person in a high office, that they designed to plunder and burn the town of San Sebastian.

"I need not assure you that this charge is most positively untrue. Everything was done that was in my power to suggest to save the town. Several persons urged me in the strongest manner to allow it to be bombarded, as the most certain mode of forcing the enemy to give it up. This I positively would not allow, for the same reasons as I did not allow Ciudad Rodrigo or Badajos to be bombarded; and yet if I had harboured so infamous a wish as to destroy this town from motives of commercial revenge, or any other, I could not have adopted a more certain method than to allow it to be bombarded.

"Neither is it true that the town was set on fire by the British and Portuguese troops. To set fire to the town was part of the enemy's defence. It was set on fire by the enemy on the 22nd of July, before the final attempt was made to take it by storm, and it is a fact that the fire was so violent on the 24th of July, that the storm, which was to have taken place on that day, was necessarily deferred till the 25th, and, as it is well known, failed.

"I was at the siege of San Sebastian on the 30th of "August, and I aver that the town was then on fire. It "must have been set on fire by the enemy, as I repeat "that our batteries by positive order, threw no shells into "the town; and I saw the town on fire on the morning of "the 31st of August, before the storm took place.

"It is well known that the enemy had prepared for a serious resistance not only on the ramparts, but in the streets of the town; that traverses were established in the streets formed of combustibles with the intention of setting fire to and exploding them during the contest with the assailants. It is equally known that there was a most severe contest in the streets of the town between the assailants and the garrison; that many of these traverses were exploded, by which many lives on both sides were lost, and it is a fact that these explosions set fire to many of the houses.

"The Xefe Politico, the author of these complaints, "must have been as well aware of these facts as I am, "and he ought not to have concealed them. In truth, "the fire in the town was the greatest evil that could befall the assailants, who did everything in their power to get the better of it, and it is a fact that, owing to the difficulty and danger of communicating through the fire with the advanced posts in the town, it had very nearly become necessary at one time to withdraw those posts "entirely.

"It is very hard that I and my general officers are to be so treated as we have been by the Xefe Politico and unrestrained libellers, because an unavoidable evil has cocurred in the accomplishment of a great service, and in the acquirement of a great advantage. The fault does not lie with us; it is with those who lost the fort, and obliged us, at great risk and loss, to regain it for the Spanish nation by storm.

"I wish that the Xefe Politico had not made the charge "against so respectable a character as Lieut.-General Sir "Thomas Graham, that he omitted to apply for his assist-" ance to extinguish the fire in the town till it was entirely "destroyed, leaving the inference to be drawn that he there-"fore wished that the town should be destroyed, as it "would have saved me the pain of observing, that the "total neglect of the Spanish authorities to furnish any "assistance whatever that was required from them to "carry on the operations against San Sebastian did not "encourage Sir Thomas to apply for the assistance of the "Xefe Politico in any shape. In fact, everything was "done that could be done to extinguish the fire by our "own soldiers; and I believe that the truth is, that the "assistance was asked by me, not only to endeavour to "extinguish the fire, but to bury the dead bodies lying "about the town and ramparts, and it was not made "sooner because the want of it was not felt at an earlier " period.

"I hear frequently of the union of the two nations; but "I am quite certain that nothing is so little likely to pro"mote that union as the encouragement given to such "unfounded charges, and the allowing such infamous "libels to pass unpunished.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"WELLINGTON."

Soon after his arrival in England General Graham received the thanks of the House of Lords for his eminent services in Spain. He was also elected a burgess of the Borough of Plymouth and was made Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.

Borough of Plymouth.

"At a common hall of the Mayor and Commonalty

"of the said Borough of Plymouth, held at the Guildhall of and within the said borough, on Thursday, the Twenty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and thirteen, by virtue of a regular notice of three clear days, from Henry Wool-combe, Esquire, Mayor, for the purposes hereinafter mentioned:—

"It is Resolved, that in consideration of the splendid "actions performed in the service of his country by "Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, Knight of the "Most Honourable Order of the Bath, during the long "continuance of a war distinguished by unexampled "instances of military prowess, from the period of his "joining the army of his Sovereign as a volunteer at "Toulon in the year One thousand seven hundred and "ninety-three, to the recent resignation of the high and "important station of second in command of the forces of "his Majesty and his allies of Spain and Portugal, where "his valour and conduct, eminently contributing to the "general success of the glorious contest, were yet more "especially displayed in the signal victory obtained by "the division of the allied army under his command over "Marshal Victor on the heights of Barrosa, by the siege, "assault, and capture of the formidable fortress of Saint "Sebastian, and finally by leading into the enemy's "country, and establishing within the territory of ancient "France, on the seventh day of October of the present "year, those troops of the allied British and Portuguese "army which he had so often before conducted to victory " and triumph. And the said Mayor and Commonalty of "the said Borough of Plymouth do hereby resolve that the "freedom of this borough be conferred by patent on "the said Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham in "testimony of such his highly distinguished and meri-"torious services; and it is ordered that the same be "presented to him in a silver box, handsomely orna"mented, on his arrival in this borough, by a committee of the commonalty.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"It is also resolved that the Mayor be requested to communicate the above resolutions to the said Sir Thomas Graham, and to acquaint him that a deputation will wait on him whenever he shall come within this borough."

"Die Luna, 8º Novembris, 1813.

"Resolved, Nemine Dissentiente, by the Lords
"Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, that
"the thanks of this House be given to Lieutenant-General
"Sir Thomas Graham, Knight of the Most Honourable
"Order of the Bath for the eminent services performed by
"him in the course of the late military operations in Spain,
"particularly for the ability, enterprise, and perseverance
"with which he conducted the siege and capture of the
"town and castle of Saint Sebastian.

"GEORGE ROSE, Cler. Parliamentor."

" Novr. 16th, 1813.

"Sir,

"I have the honour, by command of the House of Lords to transmit the enclosed Resolution of that House of Parliament.

"I hope I may be permitted to add my assurances of the very sincere satisfaction which I derive from being the instrument of conveying to Sir Thomas Graham, to whom the gratitude of the country is so universally directed, the expressions in which the House of Lords has attempted to convey their sense of his public merits. I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard,

"Sir,

"Your most faithful servant, "ELDON."

From the Principal, Glasgow College.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you that this day the University of Glasgow has elected you their Lord Rector for the ensuing year, and I have in their name to request your acceptance of the office.

"By the statutes of the University the Lord Rector's acceptance or declaration of his willingness to accept the office is required within a fortnight. On this account I am obliged to ask the favour of a letter from you to that effect, with your first conveniency; this is all that is immediately necessary. Admission into the office may take place at any time when you shall find it convenient to be in Scotland; this can be arranged afterwards.

"The high sphere in which you have acted has com"manded national respect and gratitude, and it will give
"me much pleasure to have the honour of seeing you here,
"to remind you that I had the happiness of being known
"to you in early life, though it is impossible you can have
"any recollection of me after the lapse of more than forty
"years.

"I have the honour to remain, with the highest "esteem, Sir,

"Your very faithful and most humble servant,
"WILLIAM TAYLOR,
"Principal."

"Glasgow College, 15th Novr., 1813."

From Lord Archibald Hamilton.

"Hamilton Palace, Novr. 16th, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"You will, probably, be surprised at receiving a "letter from me at all, and still more so, perhaps, at the

"contents of this. Without any further preface, however, "I shall proceed to state the object of my addressing you "upon the present occasion. For the last two years I have "held the office of Lord Rector of the College of Glasgow; "yesterday was the day for a new election, when the "choice fell upon you, in opposition to Lord Melville. I "attended the election in the expectation of deciding in "your favour by my casting vote, but no reference to me "was necessary, as your pretensions were sanctioned by "three of the nations out of four. You will, probably, re-"ceive official information of all this along with this very "letter. My chief object in writing is merely to apprise "you (in case you should be ignorant of it) that the office "is one of honour merely, not requiring any attendance, "except once for the purpose of instalment. As your "acceptance, however, must be signified within fourteen "days (I think), and as I am anxious, after the keen contest "and honourable victory with which your name has been "attended, that you should not decline the office, I have "troubled you with this note to acquaint you with the "nature of the situation, and to express my anxiety and "that of your numerous friends at the college who sup-"ported you, that you would signify your acceptance as " soon as the official notice of your election reaches you. "I know not where to direct this letter, and have, there-"fore, sent it to my friend Lord Ossulston, that he may "find out your address and forward it accordingly. It only "remains for me to apologise for the liberty I have thus "taken, and to assure you (what I trust is unnecessary) "that my only motive has been to assist your decision "about accepting or refusing the honour. A refusal, I "believe, is without precedent. If you should come to "Glasgow to be installed before the expiry of this month, "I shall still be here, and of course shall be most happy "if you will take up your quarters at this house, only ten "miles from the theatre of your new glory, and indeed, "'tis the only sort of glory that could be new to you.

"I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir, with esteem and regard,

"Your faithful and obt. servant,
"ARCHD. HAMILTON."

From Mr. Robert Græme.

"Edinburgh, 16th Novr, 1813.

" My dear General,

"I was a good deal surprised to hear this morning " of your being elected Rector of the University of Glagow. "As I rather think you will be in some degree surprised "yourself, I think it right to give you the history of the "election as far as it has come to my knowledge, from "what I conceive to be good authority, more especially as "the first communication to you on the subject may be " merely an official one. The Rector is chosen annually "in the comitia or meeting of the whole Members of the "University. Every matriculated student has a vote the "same as the professors, and it is completely a popular " election. Of course the choice has often fluctuated ac-"cording to the politics of the day, etc. Lord Archd. "Hamilton held it last. Lord Melville was proposed as a " candidate last year, but lost it against Lord A. Hamilton. "There was, I understand, some kind of arrangement "among the professors, by which Lord Melville was to "have been elected on this occasion. This arrangement, "however, was not quite agreeable to the students, and "they accordingly set up the most popular candidate they "could think of, and the result has been electing you, as I "suppose you have by this time heard. The form of the "election is by nations, that is, the country is divided into "four districts, and the Members of the University coming "from those districts vote in their respective classes. " England is attached to the division of the country south " of the Forth, and Ireland to the western district. These "districts choose each a delegate, and these four delegates

"choose the Rector. Three of the delegates voted for you, "and one for Lord Melville. Lord Archd. Hamilton, as "last Rector, was entitled to a casting vote in the event of "an equality, and is said to have attended to vote for you "if it had been necessary. The professors, I understand, "took no part as a body, but resolved to vote according to "their private sentiments, without a previous communi-"cation of them, and one of the delegates who voted for "you was a professor who did not consider himself as a " party to the arrangement by which Lord M. was to come "in. These are all the particulars which I have picked up "to-day, which I thought it would be useful to you to send "off in the meantime. As far as I can learn, the idea of "your being proposed arose among the young men them-" selves, chiefly the young Irish. The duties of the Rector " are merely nominal. The Chancellor is the head of the "University, who is the Duke of Montrose.

"Adieu, ever affectly yours,
"ROBERT GRÆME."

" Brighton, 19th Novr., 1813.

"Sir,

"I have just had the honour of receiving your most obliging letter, announcing to me the high honour of my having been elected Lord Rector of the Uni"versity of Glasgow.

"However unworthy and unfit I feel myself to be to fill adequately such a distinguished situation, it would ill become me to decline accepting the office since the choice is meant to mark the approbation of your learned and illustrious body of my conduct with the army of the Peninsula. I request, therefore, that you will signify to the University my grateful acceptance of the office.

"I shall not be in Scotland for some time, but I shall take the first opportunity of having the honour of attending you. Meanwhile, I request, Sir, you will accept my best thanks for the flattering expressions of your letter,

"and the assurances of the great regard with which I have the honour to be,

"Your most faithful and obedient servant,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

The following letter, in answer to one sent by General Graham on the 9th Novr., proved that Lord Wellington considered the insolent falsehoods so industriously circulated by the disaffected in Spain were beneath contempt.

From Lord Wellington.

"St. Jean de Luz, Novr. 17th, 1813.

" Dear Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 9th. Before "you left us I had heard of the libel on the St. Sebastian "affair, and had written to my brother about it. I did not "say anything to you about it, because I did not wish "to annoy you, immediately on your departure, with a "matter really not worth your attention.

"You'll have since seen the libel in the 'Duende,'
"which, however, I'll enclose if I can find it, and I now
"enclose the letter which I wrote my brother on the 9th
"October upon that, and the letter from the Xefe Politico
"of Guipuscoa, from which the 'Duende' is taken, of which
"I enclose the copy which was sent to me by the Minister
"at War. I then called upon General Hay for a report
"of what passed, and when I received it, I wrote a second
"letter on the 23rd October.

"In the meantime, the libels on this subject multiplied throughout Spain. The 'Duende' repeated his assertions, and went so far as to call upon the people of Spain to rise and revenge the injuries the British soldiers had done to the people of St. Sebastian.

"The 'Duende' was prosecuted at the suit of the Am-"bassador before the Junta de Censura, and was acquitted. "The Government, upon the receipt of my first letter to my brother, published the enclosed Supplement to the "Regency Gazette," in which you will observe that they have translated the word plunder, into 'Saquia.' This "translation bore out in some degree the assertion of the 'Duende,' and, therefore, I thought it best to write a "third letter, of which I enclose the copy, in which I have explained what I meant by the word 'plunder,' which, I think, ought to be construed by 'Pillar,' or 'Robar,' and I have desired that this letter may likewise be published. If you choose to publish these letters in England, you have my full consent to do so. Probably that part in the letter of October the 23rd which relates to the inhabitants of St. Sebastian might as well be omitted, but you will judge of this.

"You will have seen the account of an attack on the enemy's position on the 10th. Soult had a very narrow escape; if I had had an hour or two more of daylight, or if I could have kept two divisions in reserve, I must have caught his right before they could have got into the intrenched camp at Bayonne.

"We have been remarkably well received by the French —indeed, fully as well as in any part of Spain, and I am happy to add that our troops and the Portuguese have behaved very well. The sentiment of the people in this part of the country respecting Buonaparte is exactly what one would suppose it to be under such a Government as his. None but the persons in office, and the higher class of the officers of the army are attached to him. They tell us the same sentiment prevails throughout France.

"Ever faithfully yours,
"WELLINGTON."

"LT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K. B."

Two months had barely elapsed since his return home, when Sir Thomas Graham was again called upon to serve

his country. The Dutch, rendered bold by the contemplation of the enormous odds arrayed against Napoleon, determined to throw of the yoke. They were without arms, and every fortress in Holland was in the hands of the French, but England promptly supplied their wants, and promised to send a force to assist them. With some difficulty, a corps of 8,000 men was gathered together, the command of which was pressed upon General Graham.

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, Novr. 21st, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"A deputation has arrived from Holland; they "state that the French authorities have quitted it; that "what there is of a French army is evacuating it; that "the States have resumed their functions in the Hague; "that they are, however, without arms, but unanimous in "resolution to rise, and as yet they have not got pos-"session of any fortified place, for want of arms. The "Government have detetermined to give them instant "assistance. 20,000 Stand of arms, with a proportional "quantity of ammunition, has been for some time at the "Nore to meet any sudden emergency. They will be "ordered off by telegraph this evening. We propose " sending the Guards on Tuesday morning, and the re-"mainder of the force, if possible, in the course of the "week. We shall add about 1,500 marines. I am afraid " much cannot be said in favour of the general discipline " of this force, but we have done our best-I may say, our " all. Our dependence must be on the general spirit of the "Dutch, and on a good choice of our officers. You will "see, by the enclosed paper, the Major-Generals whom "we have selected; they are on the spot, and are very "good. But it is most desirable that the Commander-in-"Chief should be of established character, accustomed to "act with foreign troops, and to struggle with all the "difficulties to which this command may subject him.

"He ought also to be one under whom our volunteering militia will feel confidence in acting whenever we may be enabled to avail ourselves of their services.

"Under these circumstances you will, I trust, pardon my begging you to accept the command. I shall not press you to accept until you have seen me, as there may be many questions which you will like to ask; but I hope that this letter will induce you to set off very early from Brighton to-morrow, that I may have the pleasure of seeing you at this office in the course of the day. You will find me here from eleven to five.

"I have the honour to be, my dear Sir, with great truth,
"Your very sincere

"BATHURST."

From Sir T. Graham to Lord Bathurst.

" 5, George Street, 22nd Novr. 1813.

" My Lord,

"I was just preparing to leave Brighton yes-"terday evening, when I had the honour of receiving "your Lordship's letter by the messenger.

"Having an engagement on business of consequence at 10 o'clock this morning, I shall go down to your office between 11 and 12.

"I must confess, my Lord, that the proposition in your "Lordship's letter was so unexpected that, independent of "all the circumstances which you refer to as natural "objects of enquiry, I feel the greatest difficulty to bring "my mind to think of the possibility of accepting this "command unless I am to consider it to be an order, for, "having requested to be relieved in the distinguished "situation I held in the Peninsula on account of the state of my health, which I considered was such as to make it advisable that I should give up service at the time, I feel that, though now much better, I should be thought "very inconsistent, and might even be suspected of having

"left the army rather on pretence of bad health than from its really being so.

"I am well aware, however, that after the signal marks of favour I have received it is particularly my duty, as it has ever been my wish, to devote myself to the King's service whenever an opportunity of being of use occurred. I cannot help troubling your Lordship with this note for your consideration till I have the honour of seeing you.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

The arguments used by the War Minister had the effect of inducing Sir Thomas to accept the command, and on the same day he wrote to Lord Wellington apprising him of the fact.

To Lord Wellington.

" London, 22nd Novr., 1813.

" My Lord,

"Your Lordship cannot be more surprised to hear that I am going with some troops to Holland than "I am myself to find that it is so.

"I certainly considered that it was quite understood that in leaving your army and the distinguished command I held in it I was relinquishing service for ever, as I thought necessary from the state of my health; but having got better and being on the eve of going to Norfolk to shoot, I have been pressed into this service in a way that precluded refusal. All I could do was to bargain for a trial only, and I now sincerely regret having left the army before the conclusion of the campaign, as I should thereby have escaped this corvée, for I cannot look forward to its being otherwise than an irksome service, with scarce a chance of any material success; I shall be well pleased if we avoid disgrace.

"I shall not delay your Lordship longer as Lord Bathurst

" told me he was to write to you on the subject.

"With sincere wishes for your Lordship's continued success and good health,

"I have the honour to remain,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant, "THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Mansfield House, Novr., 22nd, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I met the Prince of Orange to-day at dinner and informed him of your having accepted the command.

"He expressed the greatest satisfaction at this intelligence.

"As he proposes to leave London on Wednesday will you

"forgive my suggesting to you to call upon him to-morrow.

"I have the honour to be,

"Yours very sincerely,
"BATHURST."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

"Downing Street, Decr. 1st, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"I enclose to you a draft of the instructions for your comments; let me know if you wish to have any additions or further explanations.

"A Mr. Grant has arrived from Holland, having left "Scheveling early on Monday morning. He paints "strongly, I understand, the enthusiasm of the people, "and their total want of any means of defence. I will send him to you when I see him. I shall be obliged to "you to send me back the draft of the instructions to my house if you can do so before half-past six, if not, to me "at Fife house.

"I have represented to the Duke of York the advantage "which you would derive by having the local rank of

"General in Holland in your communications with the allied powers, and His Royal Highness will recommend it to the Prince Regent.

"I have the honour to be,
"Yours sincerely,
"BATHURST."

While preparing again to quit England for his new scene of action General Graham received the pleasing intelligence that on the 7th of December, 1813, he had been unanimously elected a freeman of the incorporated trades of the City of Perth, and that, besides conferring these honorary distinctions on their gallant countryman, the above-mentioned incorporated trades were preparing to present him with a massive silver cup, which, when presented, bore the following inscription:—

"To
GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B.
from

THE INCORPORATED TRADES OF PERTH,
in testimony of
Their respect for his Personal Virtues
and
Gratitude for his Public Services,
1 January, 1814."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, Decr. 14th, 1813.

" My dear Sir,

"The Hereditary Prince is to be put upon your staff, but it is by no means intended that you are to assign to him any division, unless any circumstances should hereafter arise to make it desirable in your opinion that such an arrangement should take place.

"At present there is no division vacant, nor do I foresee "any vacancy. He will, on his landing, proceed to the "Hague, and will probably have a command given him of some Dutch troops.

"You are, I believe, sufficiently acquainted with the "ingenuousness of his character, not to know how ready "he is to accept advice, and his love for the British "service. You will, I hope, therefore, enforce, what I "have endeavoured to persuade him, that young troops, "however zealous, are not in action to be depended upon, "unless supported by a regular force, and that he must "not lead his Dutchmen to battle unless he has some red "coats near him.

"I am,

"Yours ever sincerely,
"BATHURST."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, Decr. 14th, 1813.

"My dear Sir,

I send you a duplicate of my letter which I wrote " yesterday, and directed to Deal, as I find that you sailed "yesterday. I received this morning several letters from "Major-General Taylor. I have enclosed an extract of " one which relates to an advance on Antwerp, by which it "appears the Prince of Orange himself wishes it. This re-" moves all delicacy, as far as Dutch feeling is concerned. "Of the practicability of the attempt, you must be the best "judge. The information contained in other parts of "Major-General Taylor's letter is either of too old a date "to be of use, or will be more amply afforded by Major-"General Cooke. Major-General Taylor intended to go "to the head-quarters of Generals Witzingerode and "Bülow on the 13th instant, and after visiting those of "General Benkendorf, will present himself to you, and "will, I hope, be able to give you a satisfactory, at all

"events an accurate, statement of the respective force and disposition of the allied forces.

"In your communications with the Prince of Orange, "you will address him (and the Hereditary Prince) by the "title of 'His Royal Highness.'

"I am, my dear Sir,
"Yours very sincerely,
"BATHURST."

"GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

The British force arrived at the anchorage of Stavenine on the 17th of December, and disembarked on the island of Tholen as rapidly as circumstances would allow. General Graham at once placed himself in communication with Generals Bülow and Benkendorf, the Prussian and Russian commanders, with a view to concerting measures for an active co-operation, being too weak to undertake any offensive operation by himself. The necessary supplies of material were detained by contrary winds, and did not arrive for some time after the landing of the troops, who were consequently unable to move. By degrees, however, the small army was put on an efficient footing, but before anything could be attempted against the enemy, Sir Thomas determined to revictual both Willemstadt and Breda-the latter, at that time, threatened by a French corps of about 7,000 men, which was daily expected to advance against it.

Towards the end of the month, General Benkendorf, whose head-quarters were at Breda, signified to the British Commander his intention of withdrawing his corps in accordance with orders received from Marshal Blücher, who intended to cross the Rhine on the 31st. Should this movement take place, Sir Thomas Graham would, of necessity, be forced to detach troops from his small force to garrison the place until he could be relieved by Prussian troops or some of the newly-raised Dutch levies.

To General Benkendorf.

"Willemstadt, 26 Decr., 1813.

" Mon Général,

" Je viens d'avoir l'honneur de recevoir la lettre de "votre Excellence d'hier. C'est la nouvelle la plus fâ-"cheuse possible pour moi, vu la nécessité absolu que les "circonstances m'impose pour faire tout ce qui dépend " de moi de défendre cette place de Willemstadt comme " poste de mer et entrepôt de tout ce qui doit arriver " de l'Angleterre à toute outrance. Je ne pourrais faire "beaucoup pour Breda, mais je désirerais faire tout ce "que je pourrais pour l'approvisioner pour deux mois, en "y placant un peu d'infanterie, mais au moins de huit jours " je ne pourrais pas être assuré de pouvoir envoyer ce "convoi. J'espère donc que votre Excellence en tout cas " ne sera pas obligé de quitter Breda avant ce terme. "attendant je hâterai tout le plus que je pourrais. Nous "n'avons pas un homme ni cheval de cavalerie encore. Il " y a d'artillerie qu'on débarque actuellement.

"J'ai l'honneur, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

Eager to share in the general move on Paris, the Russian general could not be induced to stay longer than the 2nd of January, 1814, on which day Major-General Gibbs, with the 33rd, 54th, and 56th Regiments, was sent to take his place.

To General Bülow.

"Klundert, 1er Janvier, 1814.

" Monsieur le Général,

"J'espère que votre Excellence saura déjà longtemps avant l'arrivé de cette lettre à votre quartier générale que j'ai déjà prévenu le désir de votre Excel"lence, mais j'espère toujours que votre Excellence rem"placera par d'autres troupes celles que j'enverrai à
"Breda et que je ne pourrais pas y laisser. Je viens de
"savoir par une lettre de Milord Clancarty que le Prince
"d'Orange fait marcher sur Breda 1,800 hommes de nou"velle levée, et que d'autres les suiveront de près. Je
"prierais votre Excellence de vouloir bien agréer l'assu"rance de la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'hon"neur d'être, etc.

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"P.S. Les trois bataillons du Général Gibbs ne monteront qu'à mille baionettes."

To the foregoing request General Bülow acquiesced so promptly that within a week the three English regiments were able to be withdrawn, and he had made Breda his head-quarters.

Two regiments of cavalry having by this time joined the English force, and the troops being now fairly equipped, General Graham was enabled to consent to take part in a forward movement in the direction of Antwerp, which General Bülow proposed should commence on the 11th.

To Lord Bathurst.

" Head-quarters, Calmthout,
" 14th January, 1814.

" My Lord,

"General Bülow, Commander-in-Chief of the 3rd corps of the Prussian army, having signified to me that on the morning of the 11th inst. he was to carry into execution his intention of driving the enemy from their position at Hoogstraten and Wortel-on-the-Merk in order to make a reconnaisance on Antwerp, and that he wished me to cover the right of his corps, I moved such parts of the two divisions under my command as

"were disposable from Roosendaal, and arrived here at

"daybreak on the morning of the 11th.

"The enemy were driven back from West Wezel, "Hoogstraten, etc., after an obstinate resistance, by the "Prussian troops to Braaschat, Westmalle, etc.

"Dispositions were made to attack them again the fol-"lowing day, but they retired in the night of the 11th,

" and took up a position near Antwerp, the left resting on

" Merxem.

"General Bülow occupied Braaschat in force that even-"ing (the 12th).

"I moved to Capelle on the great road from Bergen-"op-Zoom to Antwerp to be ready to co-operate in the "intended attack yesterday.

"Major-General Cooke's division remained in reserve at Capelle, and Major-General McKenzie's moved by

"Ekeren and Douc towards Merxem, so as to avoid both

"the great roads occupied by the Prussians.

"While the Prussians were engaged considerably more to the left, an attack on the village of Merxem was made by Colonel Macleod's brigade, led by himself in the most gallant style, and under the immediate direction of

"Major-General McKenzie.
"The rapid but orderly advance of the detachment of
"the 3rd battalion of the Rifle Corps, under Captain
"Fullerton's command, and of the 2nd battalion 78th,
"commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, supported by
"2nd battalion 25th, commanded by Major MacDonell,
"and by the 33rd, under Lieutenant-Colonel Elphinstone,
"and an immediate charge with the bayonet by the 78th,
"ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, decided the
"contest much sooner and with much less loss than
"might have been expected from the strength of the
"post and the numbers of the enemy.

"Colonel Macleod received a severe wound through the "arm in the advance to the attack, but did not quit the "command of the brigade till he became weak from loss "of blood.

"I am happy to think that the army will, probably, not be long deprived of the valuable services of this distinguished officer.

"The enemy were driven into Antwerp with considerable loss, and some prisoners were taken.

"I have the greatest satisfaction in expressing my warmest approbation of the conduct of all these troops.

"No veterans ever behaved better than these men, who

" then met the enemy for the first time.

"The discipline and intrepidity of the Highland batta-"lion, which had the good fortune to lead the attack into "the village, reflect equal credit on both officers and men.

"The same spirit was manifested by the other troops employed.

"Two guns of Major Fyer's brigade were advanced in support of the attack, and by their excellent practice soon silenced a battery of the enemy.

"The 52nd Regiment, under the command of that "experienced officer, Lieut.-Colonel Gibbs, was afterwards "moved into the village of Merxem, in order to cover the "withdrawing of the troops from it, which was ordered "as soon as the Prussian column arrived by the great "road, the head of which had already driven in the out-"posts when our attack began.

"Lieut.-Colonel Gibbs remained with the 52nd and 3rd battalion 95th till after dark.

"This reconnaissance having been satisfactorily accom'plished, the Prussian troops are going into cantonments,
and this corps will resume nearly those it occupied
before.

"The severity of the weather has been excessive; the soldiers have borne it with great cheerfulness and patience, and I hope will not suffer very materially from it. I send enclosed a return of killed and wounded.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, Janry 28th, 1814.

" My dear General,

"I just write a line to tell you that we have not heard of you since the 10th. Colonel Bloomfield tells me he saw a copy of your despatch to me in the hands of Lord Clancarty some days ago, but neither the original nor the copy has arrived. I am happy, however, to hear that your movement on the 11th, 12th, and 13th was satisfactory, as far as it went. I have seen General Bülow's account to the King of Prussia, which speaks very handsomely of your co-operation.

"I am, my dear General, etc.,

"BATHURST."

Nothing of any importance occurred for some time after this skirmish; the troops were employed at drill, and their chiefs in awaiting anxiously, but vainly, for siege artillery and rockets, which report said had been shipped. They had not, however, arrived by the end of the month, when General Bülow again expressed his intention of making another attempt against Antwerp. The troops left their cantonments on the 27th, and on the 31st were before the town, when the village of Merxem having been retaken, batteries were thrown up, from which to shell, and, if possible, burn the fleet in the basin, with what result the following letter will show.

To Lord Cathcart.

" Merxem, 5th Febry., at night.

" My dear Brother,

"I write you two lines by another officer going to "the Austrian head-quarters, to tell you that we cannot "burn this fleet, our means in mortars and ammunition "being too small for the undertaking where the enemy "have so many men to employ in extinguishing fire "whenever it breaks out. The easterly winds detained "all the great ordnance train, rockets included, at home, "and the ice in the river at Willemstadt prevented our "getting the small ordnance equipment that had arrived, " so that we were obliged to depend chiefly on such Dutch "and French mortars as we could pick up. The shells "bad, the fuses worse, so that the practice could not be "good. We have this evening expended our last shell, "and though several ships were on fire, we have had the " mortification to see that, notwithstanding a good breeze, "the enemy was able to smother it. General Bülow has, "too, received orders to advance, to favour the general "movement, and for the present we must give the thing "up, after having deserved success from the immense "exertions made by the troops, and particularly by the "two branches of the Ordnance Department. We shall "remain for some time in this country, however, that is "between this and Breda, to keep up communication, etc. "Many people expect that either by a great battle, or by "negotiation, a general peace will soon take place. "shall not be sorry for my own part to have this service "over, which I undertook reluctantly, and from which "there never was any prospect of gaining any credit-"the number and composition not admitting such an "expectation. Adieu. All this time I forgot to say that "a very fine young man, Lieut.-Col. Prince Reuss, in the "King's German Legion (formerly in the Austrian cavalry), " is the bearer. He served with great distinction with us "in Spain where I saw a great deal of him. I beg most " especially to recommend him to your notice.

"God bless you all. Ever affectly yours,

"T. GRAHAM."

To Lord Bathurst.

"Merxem, 6th February, 1814.

" My Lord,

"I should have been happy to have had to

"announce to your Lordship that the movement on "Antwerp, fixed by General Bülow for the 2nd instant, "had produced a greater effect, but the want of time, "and of greater means, will account to your Lordship "for the disappointment of our hopes of more satisfactory " result, for General Bülow received (after we had got the "better of all the great obstacles in the way of taking up a "position near the town) orders to proceed to the south-"ward, to act in concert with the grand army, and the "state of the weather for some time back not only pre-"vented my receiving the supplies of ordnance and " ordnance stores from England, but rendered it impossible "to land much of what was on board the transports at "Willemstadt, the ice cutting off all communication with "them. I have, however, sincere pleasure in assuring "your Lordship that the service was conducted by the " officers at the head of the different departments with all "the zeal and intelligence possible.

"To make up for the want of our own artillery, all the serviceable Dutch mortars, with all the ammunition that could be collected, were prepared at Willemstadt; and Divisions that could be spared from other services were collected at Braaschat, and next morning this village (fortified with much labour ever since our former attack) was carried in the most gallant style in a much shorter time and with much less loss than I could have believed possible.

"Major-General Gibbs, commanding the 2nd Division (in the absence of Major-General McKenzie confined by a dangerous fall from his horse), ably seconded by Major-General Taylor, and by Lieut.-Colonel Harris, commanding Major-General Gibbs' brigade, conducted this attack, in which all the troops concerned behaved with the usual spirit and intrepidity of British soldiers.

"I feel particularly indebted to the officers already named, and also to Lieut.-Colonel Cameron commanding the detachment of the three battns. of the 95th, to Lieut.-

"Colonel Hompesch with the 25th Regiment, Major A. "Kelly with the 54th, Lieut.-Colonel Brown with the 56th, "and Major Kelly with the 73rd, for the distinguished "manner in which these corps attacked the left and centre of the village, forcing the enemy from every stronghold, and storming the mill battery on Ferdinand's dyke; while Major-General Taylor, with the 52nd under Lieut.-Colonel Gibbs, the 35th under Major Macalister, and the 78th under Lieut.-Colonel Lindsay, marching to the right, and directly on the mill of Ferdinand's dyke, threatened the enemy's communication from Merxem towards Antwerp.

"Two pieces of cannon and a considerable number of prisoners fell into our hands. No time was lost in marking out the batteries which by the very great exertions of the Artillery under Lieut.-Colonel Sir George Wood, and the Engineers under Lieut.-Colonel Carmichael Smyth, and the good-will of the working parties, were completed and armed by half-past three of the 3rd. The batteries opened at that hour.

"During the short trial of the fire that evening, the defective state of the Willemstadt mortars and ammuinition was too visible. Our means were thus diminished, and much time was lost, as it was not till 12 at noon on the 4th that the fire could be opened again. That day's fire disabled five of the six 24-pounders.

"Yesterday the fire was kept up all day. The practice "was admirable, but there was not a sufficient number of shells falling to prevent the enemy extinguishing fire whenever it broke out among the ships, and our fire ceased entirely at sunset yesterday.

"It is impossible for me to speak too highly of the "indefatigable exertions of both branches of the Ord-"nance Department.

"I have much reason to be satisfied with the steadiness of the troops, and the attention of the officers of all ranks during the continuance of this service.

"Detachments of the Rifle Corps did the most advanced

"duty under the able direction of Lieut.-Colonel Cameron,

" in a way that gave security to the batteries on Ferdinand's

"dyke; and though this line was enfiladed, and every part

" of the village under the range of the enemy's shot and

"shells, I am happy to say the casualties on the whole

"have not been numerous.

"As soon as everything is cleared away, we shall move back into such cantonments as I have concerted with General Bülow.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing "my admiration of the means in which General Bülow formed the disposition of the movement and supported "this attack.

"The enemy were in great force on the Deurne and "Berchem roads, but were everywhere driven back by the gallant Prussians, though not without considerable loss.

"I have the honour,

" etc., etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

"P.S.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence returned from the Hague on the 1st inst., and has accompanied this advance on Antwerp.

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, 15th Febry., 1814.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting your proceedings against Antwerp, and I am to acquaint you that your conduct on this occasion has been entirely approved of by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"His Royal Highness has commanded me to desire you will express his approbation of the gallantry and

" spirit displayed by Major-General Gibbs, Major-General

"Taylor, Lieut.-Colonel Harris, and the several officers

"and soldiers engaged in the attack on the village of "Merxem, and subsequent operations detailed by you.

"His Royal Highness has likewise observed with much satisfaction the indefatigable exertions of the Artillery and Engineers."

"I have the honour to be,
Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"BATHURST."

"GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

From the Duke of York.

"Horse Guards, 15th February, 1814.

"Sir,

"Colonel Torrens having laid before me your "letter of the 7th instant, covering the copy of your "despatch of the 6th to Earl Bathurst, with an account "of your late proceedings before Antwerp, I avail myself "of the earliest opportunity of expressing my full approval "of the judicious arrangements which you made for the "execution of that service, and my satisfaction at the "gallant and steady conduct of the troops under your "orders, being convinced that your not having had com "plete success is to be attributed to circumstances which "you could not possibly control.

"I am,
"Sir,
"Yours,
"FREDERICK."

"GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

The allied forces now settled down to watch the fortresses of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, and to prevent their garrisons from being reinforced. On the 19th a strong Dutch brigade was joined to the British force, and further reinforcements were expected. As his strength increased, General

Graham became anxious to again attempt the destruction of the fleet at Antwerp, and arrangements were being made between him and General Bülow for that purpose, when the latter received orders to move his corps southward. Alone, the number of the English was barely sufficient to maintain the blockade of the fortress, and therefore, all idea of assuming the offensive had to be abandoned. By the end of February Sir Thomas had succeeded in getting his force thoroughly equipped, and entertained no doubts of being able to hold his ground against all the French troops then in Holland. Such a state of inaction, however, was entirely foreign to his nature and his demands for an addition to his force, to enable him to strike a blow, became more and more urgent.

On the 18th, the Duke of Saxe Weimar informed the English General, through Major Stanhope, his A.D.C., that he had also been ordered to join the grand army. This movement by withdrawing the force at Lin, entirely disconnected the British corps, and left his flank uncovered. Major Stanhope was at once ordered to proceed to the Crown Prince of Sweden (Marshal Bernadotte) and to request reinforcements. He met the Prince at Cologne, and in reference to meeting states:-

"I immediately waited on the Crown Prince, and had "interesting conversations with him, which I am enabled "to state with great exactness, having taken memoranda " on leaving him after each interview.

"On being shown into a room where the Prince was in "conversation with another officer, I delivered him the "letter from General Graham, saying-'your Royal High-"ness is perhaps already acquainted with the intended "advance of the Duke of Saxe Weimar.' The Prince said "he was-'vous venez donc me demander des renforts. "J'aurai le plus grand plaisir en les envoyant au Général "Graham qui est un homme trop estimable, trop Europié,

"vous me comprenez, qu'il est trop bien connu en Europe,

"que son caractère doit perdre faute des moyens. Je lui "enverrai le corps du Général Walmoden qui est déjà sous "la solde de l'Angleterre."

* * * * * * * * *

"The Prince then asked me to dinner next day, and I took my leave.

"I dined with the Prince; the dinner lasted a con-"siderable time-no general conversation, but everyone "talking to his neighbour. After dinner the Prince retired "into his closet and sent for Mr. Thornton and me. "gave me the answer, saying, that he did not express "himself in detail about the reinforcements, leaving me to "state that Count Walmoden would immediately receive " orders to march on Holland. Some conversation ensued " as to the best point to direct them on, and as to the rank " of General Graham. On my expressing to him General "Graham's regret at not being able personally to pay his "respects to him, the Prince said, 'Mais, mon Dieu, cela " est impossible! J'aurais le plus grand plaisir d'exprimer " de bouche les sentimens que j'ai pour le Général Graham, " non seulement quant au rapport de sa gloire militaire, " non comme Anglais, mais comme Européan, mais pour "ses qualités personelles. Dites-lui je vous prie que "j'irai dix lieues pour rencontrer ce digne second de "Lord Wellington. Voilà des bons Généraux. Si Lord "Wellington était à la tête des armées alliés, Buonaparte "serait perdu sans remède. Mais j'espère que, quatre "mois plus tard ou quatre mois plus tot, l'Europe sera "sauvé. Ce sont vous autres qui l'ont sauvé en Espagne "au moins qu'ici avec quelque bêtise on ne perd pas "le jeu."

While waiting for the promised reinforcements Sir Thomas Graham was astonished to receive a notification from the Secretary of War, informing him that his corps would probably have to be broken up for service in other parts.

From Lord Bathurst.

" Secret.

"War Department,
"London, 28th Febry., 1814.

"Sir,

"The circumstances of the war make it appear probable that His Majesty's Government will find it advisable, within a short time, to break up the army which is employed at present under your command, and to direct that a large proportion of the troops should proceed direct from Holland to North America.

"You will receive further instructions before it will be "necessary to make any communication upon this subject "to the troops, or to separate from the rest the battalions "which I have specified, but it is desirable that you should "be prepared to detach these battalions upon the shortest notice, and to cause them to embark with their baggage and camp equipment on board the troop ships and transport, which may be sent to Helvoet to receive them.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
"BATHURST."

"GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

This unexpected intelligence made General Graham more than ever desirous of getting possession of one, at

least, of the many strongholds held by the enemy before the means of so doing were taken from him. Early in March he was informed that a large body of Hanoverian troops might be expected to join him shortly; but experience had taught him that weeks might pass before he could receive their help, consequently if anything was to be done it must be done at once.

From the Duke of Clarence.

" Hague, March 5th, 1814.

"Dear Sir,

"Last night I received yours of 3rd instant and "its enclosed from the Crown Prince, who writes as he "acts. I send a copy of it to the Duke of Saxe Weimar, "and request you will forward the letter.

"I cannot make out where the French came from that "forced the Prussian force at Courtray; if they reinforce "Antwerp I am afraid you must remain inactive, yet I "hope shortly the Hanoverians will join our troops.

"Lord Clancarty is endeavouring to put life into the "Dutch exertions, and to clothe the regiments in and "about Breda. The Prussian officer, Major Dumouslier, "and myself are also supporting his Lordship, and I am, "at last, inclined to think things will proceed faster; they "really have three-and-twenty thousand troops, and we have made the Prince acknowledge that he has complete uniforms for sixteen thousand men, which he intended for the Militia that does not yet exist. The regiment of Nassau Wildberg, being perfectly ready for service, ought to join our troops at once, as should the Dutch regiment, hourly expected from Yarmouth, and a regiment now on the march from Germany; they also promised another brigade of four thousand infantry,

"entirely and completely equipped, to join the British before the end of the month.

"I have by the last post received directions to return to

"England and am now waiting at this place for the ship to carry me home. I cannot leave Holland without returning you my sincere thanks for your kindness and attention to me during the different times I had the advantage of being at the British head-quarters. I lament the exertions of the Dutch do not keep pace with your earnest wishes and desire of being useful to both countries. Should my destination be again changed I shall write, and hope in that case to be present at the capture of Antwerp. For the present, Adieu. God bless and preserve you, and ever believe me,

" Dear Sir,

"Yours sincerely,
"WILLIAM."

The great desire of the British Government was that Antwerp should be wrested from Napoleon, as he had positively refused to allow it to be included among those places which it was proposed should be given up by France. While making every effort to carry out these wishes by urging upon the Dutch and Hanoverian Governments the necessity for sending troops to assist in the undertaking, Sir Thomas Graham received information concerning Bergen-op-Zoom, which was sufficiently reliable to induce him to attempt the capture of that place by a coup de main.

The despatches and letters which follow describe fully the operation, which has been justly termed, "one of the "most daring enterprises that have ever been undertaken."

Orders for the Attack on Bergen-op-Zoom.

" March 8th, 1814.

"The Pellik water or centre attack will be made by "the under-mentioned regiments, under the command of "Lieut.-Colonel Morrice, 69th Regiment, viz., 55th and "69th Regiments, to be supported by the 33rd Regiment.

- "These regiments will be conducted from Huybergen by
- "the bearer, and will march as soon as possible after the
- "receipt of this order. Proper officers to point out the
- " places to be attacked will meet the column on its march.
- "Lieut.-Colonel Morrice will give instructions to the 33rd
- "Regiment, which is to support his attack, in order that
- "this regiment may at once avail itself of any opportunity
- " of profiting by any impression made by the attacking
- " party.
- "Lieut.-Col. Smith, of the Royal Engineers, will make
- "the necessary arrangements for attaching officers and
- "men of his department to conduct this attack, and for
- "the supply of scaling ladders and other means necessary.
- "The centre attack, having forced its way into the
- "place, will immediately gain the rampart and put itself
- "in connection, as soon as possible, with the troops which
- "have attacked to its right and left, and be in readiness
- " for any further operations against the enemy which may
- " be necessary.
- "In order to avoid any mistakes that might arise from "not being able to distinguish our own troops clearly the
- "instant any men are perceived, the watchword 'Orange
- "Boven' will be loudly called out, which will be answered
- "by 'God save the King.'
- "Should the centre attack succeed in entering the place " before the other attacks, Lieut.-Colonel Morrice will take
- "measures to facilitate their entry by moving to his left
- " along the rampart.
- "The Halteren attack, consisting of the 44th Regiment "and flank companies of the 21st and 37th Regiments,
- "supported by the Royal Scots, will assemble at the
- "junction of the two dykes at 9 o'clock (p.m.).
- "The south-west or left attack, consisting of 1,000 "guards under Lord Proby, will be met by a guide at
- "Borgerhet, and be led by him to the point of attack.
- "Major-General Skerrett will be pleased to order the "following regiments, which are to attack on the side of

"Halteren, to assemble at that place as soon as pos-"sible:—

· " 44th Regiment.

"21st 37th } Flank Companies.

"To be supported by the Royal Scots, which are now in that neighbourhood. The troops will be placed under the orders of Lieut.-Colonel the Honourable G. Carleton, of the 44th Regiment.

"The above troops will march from Halteren so as to arrive at the two dykes next the Scheldt precisely at o'clock (p.m.), when they will be met by the guides who are to conduct them to the point of attack."

To Lord Bathurst.

" Head-quarters, Calmthout, " 10th March, 1814.

" My Lord,

"It becomes my painful task to report to your "Lordship that an attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, which "seemed at first to promise complete success, ended in "failure, and occasioned a severe loss to the 1st Division "and Brigadier-General Gore's brigade.

"It is unnecessary for me to state the reasons which determined me to make the attempt to carry such a place by storm, since the success of two of the columns in establishing themselves on the ramparts, with very trifling loss, must justify the having incurred the risk for the attainment of so important an object as the capture of such a fortress.

"The troops employed were formed in four columns.

"No. 1, the left column, attacked between the Antwerp

"and Water-port gates. No. 2 attacked to the right of

"the Woir gate. No. 3 was destined only to draw atten
"tion by a false attack near the Steenberg gate, and

"to be afterwards applicable, according to circumstances.

"No 4, right column, attacked at the entrance of the har-

"bour, which could be forded at low water, and the hour

"was fixed accordingly at half-past ten, p.m., of the 8th

"instant. Major-General Cooke accompanied the left

"column; Major-General Skerrett and Brigadier-General

"Gore both accompanied the right column. This was the

"first which forced its way into the body of the place.

"These two columns were directed to move along the "rampart, so as to form a junction as soon as possible,

"and then to proceed to clear the rampart and assist the

" centre column, or to force open the Antwerp gate.

"An unexpected difficulty about passing the ditch on the ice having obliged Major-General Cooke to change the point of attack, a considerable delay ensued, and that column did not gain the rampart till half-past eleven.

"Meanwhile, the lamented fall of Brigadier-General Gore and of Lieut.-Colonel the Honourable George Carleton, and the dangerous wound of Major-General Skerrett, depriving the right column of their able direction, it fell into disorder, and suffered great loss in

"killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The centre column having been forced back with considerable loss by the heavy fire from the place (Lieut.-"Colonel Morrice, its commander, and Lieut.-Colonel

"Elphinstone, commanding 33rd, being both wounded),

"was reformed under the command of Major Muttlebury

"69th, marched round and joined Major General Cooke,

"the left wing of the 55th remaining to remove the wounded from the glacis.

"However, the Guards, too, had suffered very severely during the night by the galling fire from the houses on their position, and by the loss of the detachment of the start Guards, which having been sent to endeavour to assist Lieut.-Colonel Carleton, and to secure the Antwerp gate, was cut off after the most gallant resistance, which

"cost the lives of many most valuable officers.

"At daybreak, the enemy having turned the guns of the place opened their fire against the troops on the un"protected rampart, and the reserve of the 4th column (the Royal Scotch) retired from the Water-port gate, followed by the 33rd.

"Major-General Cooke, then, despairing of success, directed the retreat of the Guards, which was conducted in the most orderly manner, protected by the remains of the right wing 55th and 69th Regiments (which corps repeatedly drove the enemy back with the bayonet), under the Major-General's immediate direction.

"The General afterwards found it impossible to withdraw these weak corps, and having thus with the genuine feelings of a true soldier devoted himself, he surrendered to save the lives of the gallant men remaining with him.

"I should wish to do justice to the great exertions and conspicuous gallantry of all those officers who had the opportunities of distinguishing themselves. I have not as yet been able to collect sufficient information.

"Major-General Cooke reports to me his highest appro-"bation generally of all the officers and men employed " near him, particularly mentioning Colonel Lord Proby, "Lieut.-Colonels Rooke, commanding the 3rd Guards, "Mercer, commanding the light companies of the brigade "(the latter unfortunately among the killed), Majors "Muttlebury and Hogg, of the 69th and 55th, as deserving " of his warm praise. He laments, in common with the "whole corps, the severe loss to the service of those dis-"tinguished officers Lieut.-Colonel Clifton, commanding "the 1st Guards, and Lieut.-Colonel the Honourable "James Macdonald of that regiment. These officers fell, "with many others, at the Antwerp gate, all behaving "with the greatest intrepidity, and Lieut.-Colonel Jones "with the remainder of the detachment was forced to " surrender.

"The service of conducting the columns was ably pro-

"vided for by Lieutenant-Colonel C. Smyth, commanding Royal Engineers (he himself accompanied MajorGeneral Cooke, as did also Lieut.-Colonel Sir G. Wood,
commanding Royal Artillery), who attached officers to
lead each column, viz: Captain Sir George Hoste and
Lieutenant Abbey to the left, Lieutenant Sparling to the
right, and Captain Edward Michell, Royal Artillery,
who volunteered his services, to the centre columns, each
having a party of sappers and miners under his command. Lieutenant Abbey was dangerously wounded, and
Captain Michell was covered with wounds in the act of
escalading the scarp-wall of the place, but I trust there
are good hopes of his not being lost to the service.

"Your Lordship will readily believe that though it is "impossible not to feel the disappointment of ultimate "failure in this attack, I can only think at present, with "the deepest regret, of the loss of so many of my gallant "comrades.

"I have the honour, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

To Lord Bathurst.

" Private.

" Head-quarters, Calmthout,
" 10th March, 1814.

" My Lord,

"As I send Major Stanhope on purpose to enable "your Lordship to know much more of the details of this "unfortunate attack than I could possibly give in a letter, "I need not enter into much explanation.

"My chief inducement to undertake at last what I had "all along resisted the temptation of, arose from three points of attack being satisfactorily explained by Dutch engineers well acquainted with the place, instead of one, and by the consideration of the increased importance of getting hold of such a barrier, should the events of the war in France bring the enemy back in force to this frontier.

"It was necessary to carry into execution the plan "almost as soon as it was determined on, to prevent the "enemy from receiving information of the movements of "the troops. It was not less so to watch Antwerp with "increased vigilance. This prevented the concentration "of as large a force as possible round Bergen-op-Zoom; "but in truth, every account of the number and quality " of the garrison led me to believe that if a footing could "be gained on the rampart, success would be the result-"there were near 4,000 men employed. The garrison was "stated to be reduced to less than 2,000-two thirds of the "worst quality. In all this uniform information I have "certainly been grossly deceived. There were 2,800 men "who behaved well, though never standing for a moment "a charge of our men, except where the numbers were "greatly disproportionate. In short, the attack must have "succeeded had the orders been obeyed. I enclose copies " of them.

"We had considerable reinforcements at hand soon after daylight from the 2nd Division, who, I had the mortification to find, arrived too late. Still, had the — main-tained the Water-port gate, General Cooke would have held his ground, and the place must have fallen. But I will not trespass longer on your Lordship's patience in the details, which you will have more satisfactorily from Major Stanhope, on whose accuracy your Lordship may rely.

"I have the honour, etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

To Lord Clancarty.

"Calmthout, March 11th, 1814.

" My Lord,

"It has not been in my power sooner to give you

"an account of an attempt I made to gain possession of Bergen-op-Zoom, but being anxious to put into your hands all the information on the subject which you may wish to lay before His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, I send copies of the despatches I have sent home by Major Stanhope. I trust in all this His Royal Highness will see not only a proof of my zeal to be useful to the cause, but will be satisfied that the enterprise must have been successful had the troops, particularly the right attack, not been sacrificed in small unsupported bodies—a misfortune which I endeavoured to prevent by the orders that were given to the different columns of attack.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

To one so little accustomed to failure, this unsuccessful attempt was a severe blow, but considering that the troops employed were mostly recruits, that the assault was made in the dark, and that the orders, carefully framed and issued, were carelessly ignored, the most prejudiced must grant that General Graham had no cause to blame himself.

The intelligence furnished by persons within the fortress, supposed to be reliable, as to the strength and composition of the garrison, was quite sufficient to induce a man of General Graham's stamp to make an attempt to seize it. The information was incorrect, and although every precaution was taken to insure secrecy, still, as it afterwards became known, General Bizanet, the commandant, was aware at noon on the 8th that an attack was to be made. Success, therefore, would have been miraculous.

The answers to the plain unvarnished tale as contained in Sir Thomas Graham's despatch, prove that, however distasteful the news may have been, no one dreamt of attaching any blame to the commander of the British troops in Holland, whose conduct on the occasion was in after years described by one well able to judge, as composed of a "hardihood and daring which would alone place him

"amongst the foremost men of enterprise of which Europe can boast."

From the Duke of Clarence.

" Hague, March 14th, 1814.

" Dear Sir,

"Yours of the 12th instant reached me last evening, and I have of course seen all the various papers
you have sent to Lord Clancarty; I perfectly agree with
you that the attack on Bergen-op-Zoom ought to have
succeeded, as two of the columns got into the place. I
regret the event on public grounds, but permit me to
assure you I feel it most sensibly from private and
personal attachment to yourself; your character was well
known to me before I came to this country, but having
been an eye-witness to your exertions and constant
attention to the King's service, I entertain the highest
sense of your merits, and knowing as I now do the
different Generals and commanding officers under your
command, I feel singularly interested in the welfare and
success of the gallant troops under your Excellency.

"I am most anxiously looking for the Hanoverians, and in the event of being still here when you think you may recommence active operations, send me word, and I shall be happy and proud to be present at your capturing Bergen-op-Zoom, and completing the business at Antwerp.

"God bless you, and ever believe me,

"Dear Sir,

"Yours unalterably,
"WILLIAM."

From Lord Clancarty.

"The Hague, March 14th, 1814.

"My dear Sir,

"I received your despatch of the 12th last night,

"with the details of the late event at Bergen-op-Zoom, "and very heartily condole with you upon results which "neither from the nature of the information received " concerning the strength and composition of the garrison, "from the judgment with which the plan was laid, or the "gallantry of the British troops, could reasonably have "been apprehended. However mournful the length of the "list of casualties, or however much to be lamented the "loss of such brave and skilful officers as are therein "designated, it will be some consolation to the British "nation (and ought likewise to have this effect on you) to "reflect that in neither of the latter there has been any "failure; that if, whether in civil or military affairs, we "are to act at all, we are all necessarily exposed to "frequent and unavoidable deceit from misinformation; "that, in the present instance, this could not have been "avoided; that there is no enterprise of war which is not "subject to mischance; that with respect to Bergen-op-"Zoom, every reasonable probability existed of your success "so as amply to warrant the risk, and the object shewn "not to be the subject of a visionary plan from the very "circumstances which attended the operation, of such " magnitude not only to the cause of Holland, but to that " of the allies, as fully to justify the hazard encountered " for the purpose of its attainment.

"I have not a doubt that your conduct will be approved by our Government, and however much I am sensible that your mind very poignantly feels the loss of the gallant fellows who have fallen on this occasion, and anxiety for those who have been wounded, you may rest assured that the fame which you have so loyally and bravely won will not be clouded by the recent failure.

"Yours, my dear Sir,
"Very sincerely,
"CLANCARTY."

"GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, 15th March, 1814.

"Sir,

"I have had the honour of receiving your des-"patches, and I lost no time in laying them before the "Prince Regent.

"I have the satisfaction to say, that I am commanded by his Royal Highness to assure you that, however much he must regret the loss of so many brave officers and men, he is fully sensible of the daring spirit which dictated the enterprise, and the distinguished ability which, with a stricter attention to the directions given, would have ensured its success.

"Had that success been complete, the exploit would "have redounded to the honour of the British arms, and "would have largely contributed to the defence of Holland, "should the fortune of war oblige the Allies to retreat from their present advanced position.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"BATHURST."

"GENERAL SIR THOMAS GRAHAM."

Major Stanhope, in his notes, mentions his visit as follows:—

"I waited on Lord Bathurst, and was taken to Carlton House. Having explained to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in detail everything that had passed, I concluded in expressing my hopes that his Royal Highness would not conceive that General Graham had wantonly thrown away the lives of his soldiers on a rash and impracticable plan, but that the attempt had been long considered, was well combined, and, as far as he was concerned, succeeded. The Prince said, 'So far, by God, from any blame being attached to Graham, I don't

"think he ever deserved more credit for any victory he "ever gained, than for the combinations which ended in this failure."

"Lord Bathurst communicated to me afterwards from the Prince, that he desired me to consider myself as a "Lieutenant-Colonel, although it was perfectly unprecedented to give promotion for failure; but in this case he would give it to mark his peculiar approbation of Sir Thomas Graham's conduct."

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, March 15th, 1814." My dear General,

"I hope my public despatch will be satisfactory to you. Major Stanhope will tell you how graciously he was received by the Regent. As His Royal Highness has been for some time confined, and is still very weak, I had at first a little difficulty in prevailing upon him to see Major Stanhope, particularly as His Royal Highness was just sitting down to his dinner; but I felt it to be of so much advantage that the case should be stated by the Major, that I pressed it upon His Royal Highness, and I had the pleasure of seeing, not only that the account was completely satisfactory to the Regent, but that it recommended the reporter in a particular manner to him.

"As Major-General Taylor is fully instructed on every point I have to communicate to you, I have only to assure you that no one blames your conduct, and every one admires your enterprising spirit.

"I am,
"Ever yours most sincerely,
"BATHURST."

From Mr. Adam.

"Lincoln's Inn, 15th March, 1814.

" My dear Graham,

"I wrote to you, as the date will shew, about "Mrs. Maclaurin the day before the news of Bergen-op-"Zoom. My son Francis, for a civilian, wrote a very good account of it, and of the causes of its misgiving, "which will happen to the wisest and best-concerted plans. Still, your feelings must be different from those that accompany success. You will, therefore, not think me officious, having the most anxious desire for your comfort as well as your glory, if I tell you what the Duke of York said to me yesterday, 'That the plan was most judicious, the measure well contrived for success, and the failure, however distressing, was the result of what you could neither have foreseen nor have counter-"acted.'

"Most affly and truly yours,
"W. ADAM."

From Lord Mulgrave.

" March 22nd, 1814.

" My dear Graham,

"I saw Major Stanhope soon after his arrival (at the cabinet), and he fully convinced me of what I had before confidently anticipated, that your enterprise against Bergen-op-Zoom had been undertaken after cautious and measured deliberation, that the object was ascertained to be feasible, and that the best disposition had been made to secure success; in fact, as far as depended upon the General, the place was captured, and the subsequent reverses were what no providence could foresee and no vigilance avert, and what every night-operation must be liable to, even with the best

"troops, in a too-great eagerness for success; but where the "instructions have not been followed by those entrusted "with the execution, no responsibility can attach to the "Commander-in-Chief. Regret, therefore, only attaches "to the loss of the complete success of an enterprise, "which, had it followed, would have secured an operation "equally brilliant and important.

"Ever yours most truly,
"MULGRAVE."

From Lieut.-Col. C. M. Cathcart to Viscount Cathcart, K.T. (From Lord Cathcart's MSS.)

"Head-quarters of the British army in Holland, "Calmthout, April 1st, 1814.

" My dearest Father,

"I cannot sufficiently thank you for your most kind and affectionate letter of the 3rd ult., which did not reach me until lately, having arrived in England just after I had left it for this country.

* * * "I was perfectly satisfied with my situation in Lord "Wellington's army, who was on all occasions particularly "civil and kind to me, and on the most intimate and con-"fidential terms with Sir Stapleton Cotton, with whom I "lived. Never having heard from Sir Thomas Graham " since he left that army I had not the least expectation of "being called upon by him, particularly as an officer had "been appointed to the only situation with him which "could well be offered to me. However, on the morning "of the 19th of January, whilst at breakfast, a courier "arrived from head-quarters with a letter from Lord "Wellington. The offer it contained, and the manner in "which it was made was so flattering that I could not "hesitate a moment in accepting it; I therefore mounted "my horse and rode as fast as I could to head-quarters

"and told Lord Wellington that I was fully sensible of his "kindness, that I came to place myself at his disposal, "and should be guided entirely by his advice and wishes. "He said it was an offer I ought by all means to accept, "and should lose no time in embarking for England. I "accordingly sailed from St. Sebastian on the 27th of "January, but had a tedious passage, and did not reach "England until the beginning of February. On my "arrival at the Horse Guards I found Torrens very much "astonished to see me, and at the whole proceeding, for "although aware that Sir Thomas was not satisfied with "his Quarter-Master General, and wished one to be sent "from Lord Wellington's army, he had not the slightest "idea that they had gone so far, and that Lord Wellington "himself had been written to. The Marquis, being ac-"customed to prompt measures and to carry everything "his own way, never doubted that other people could do "the same, he therefore packed Mr. Dunmore, Deputy "Commissary-General, and myself off, writing merely to "say that he had sent us home at Sir Thomas Graham's " request, to be at the head of our departments in Holland. "This, of course, caused considerable embarrassment and "delay; reference was made to the General, who, when "he found how far matters had gone, made a bold effort "himself to complete the business by saying that if he was " not to be allowed the privilege which almost every other " officer going on command had enjoyed, viz., that of choos-"ing his own confidential staff, or at least of approving of "their appointment, he should apply for leave to return "home and quit the command altogether. This had the "desired effect, and they were then as eager to get me "away from London as they had been before to detain "me. My predecessor behaved very well on the occasion, "he is gone home on a month's leave, and is to return "again to be an assistant under me.

"I arrived, I believe, on the 3rd of March, the very day "your letter was dated at this place, Sir Thomas Graham's

"head-quarters. Our little corps has however, been engaged in no operations of any consequence, excepting
the unfortunate attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, on the night
of the 8th of March, the particulars of which you have
of course seen long ago in the Gazette.

"The attempt was certainly bold, but is fully justified by the success which crowned the efforts of two of the columns of attack. In the first instance, they succeeded in surmounting every obstacle and establishing them selves on the ramparts; had the troops there been more experienced and better managed this important fortress must have been ours.

"The information which induced the General to make "this attack was very correct in every respect except with " regard to the strength and quality of the garrison, which "was represented as not exceeding 2,000 men, chiefly "recruits and very old worn-out men; experience proved "the contrary, as their numbers exceeded 3,000, and un-"common good troops. Notwithstanding the promptness " with which the measure was carried into effect after it was "determined upon-which was only about three o'clock "the same morning-and the secrecy and caution with "which the arrangements were made, the French Governor "afterwards informed us that he had received informa-"tion of our intentions about noon that day, and was, of "course, in some degree prepared. I will not take up more "of your time in recapitulating the details of this affair, "but enclose a small sketch of the works, which is suf-"ficient to show the different points by which the several "columns were to enter. The two that got into the place "you may recollect were the Guards, to the left of the "Antwerp gate, and the column, commanded by General "Skerrett, and led by Lieut.-Colonel Carlton, which forded "at low water at the mouth of the haven, and entered by "that means. If the orders given previously had all been "properly executed there was no reason why the centre "attack near the Antwerp gate should not have succeeded

"also. The false attack commenced too soon, which "placed the other troops under considerable disad-"vantages.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Sir Thomas is quite well and his eyes do not suffer "much, although he uses, or rather abuses, them too much "by writing night and day.

"Believe me, my dearest Father,

"Ever your most affectionate Son,

"C. M. C."

To the Viscount Cathcart.

"Calmthout, 4th April.

"I have but a moment, but I must take the op"portunity of sending you two lines by Dawson, returning
"to Walmoden, to thank you for your two letters received
"last night from the Hague. You may imagine we shall
"be most impatient to hear of the great results which
"may be expected from the decisive movements on Paris.
"God grant they may be such as we all wish and hope.
"You are very kind in all you say about B.-op-Zoom; it
"ought to have been ours if the orders had been in any
"degree obeyed. The right column went on like a pack
"of fox-hounds into cover, and in all directions, and
"were annihilated before the Guards got in.

"It was a sad loss and disappointment, and for some time I could not muster philosophy enough to think of it without the deepest concern. You will see by the enciclosed abstract what the intention was, and that is enough for your satisfaction. Everybody, from the Prince downward, at home has been kind beyond measure on the occasion, to a degree that I am almost ashamed of.

"Adieu! we are heartily sick of this swampy country, "and wish ourselves further south. God bless you all. "Charles is quite fat, in perfect health, and a great comfort to me.

"Pray say everything kind to all my friends with you.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"THOS. GRAHAM."

"P.S.—I have mislaid the order and Charles is not in the way, but the 1st and 4th columns had positive orders to unite, the 1st by moving on the ramparts to its left, the 4th to its right, with that object, and then to move to assist the entry of the centre column and the opening of the Antwerp gate.

"Captain Harris, Stewart's A.D.C., passed with the "news from Paris of the 30th."

From the Duke of Saxe Weimar.

"Bruxelles, le 6 Avril, 1814.

" Mon Général,

"Reçevez mes sincères remercimens pour tout ce "que vous avez la complaisance de faire pour nous. Le "moment est très beau, et j'espère que nous sommes tous "très près du grand but.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec les sentimens d'une con-"sidération distinguée,

"De votre Excellence,

"Le tout dévoué serviteur,

"CHARLES AUGUSTE."

About the middle of April the British force in Holland was joined by the corps of the Duke of Brunswick, which, with that of General Walmoden, was placed under the command of General Graham.

Before, however, any operations could be commenced the provisional Government in Paris proclaimed the fall of Napoleon, and called upon the armies of France to give up the contest. The result of these proclamations was a suppression of hostilities in Holland, during which negotiations were entered into for the evacuation of the fortresses.

While occupied with these affairs, Sir Thomas Graham was informed that it was the intention of the Prince Regent to raise him to the Peerage.

From Major-General Hope.

"Horse Guards, April 29th, 1814.

" My dear Graham,

"I was yesterday called to London by Lord "Melville and saw Lord Liverpool on my arrival.

"His Lordship communicated to me an arrangement favoured by the Regent for raising Lord Wellington to the rank of Duke, and to the Peerage

"Sir J. Hope,

" T. Graham,

" Beresford,

" Hill,

" Cotton,

"adding it was thus intended to mark to the army and

"the country how much their long course of honourable

" service had contributed to the glorious issue of the war.

"Lord L. desired me to speak for my brother and you.

"Although fully possessed of your objections to a Peerage,

"I considered this a case in which no individual feeling

"ought to prevail, as an exclusion from such a list would

" have hurt your name for ever.

"I, therefore, accepted for John and you, and have sought in the title of Lynedoch both to commemorate

"your military fame and, in private life, to keep alive a

" memorial of your pursuits and favourite improvements.

"I shall write again in a few days, when I can address you by another title.

"Your affectionate,

"ALEX. HOPE."

"SIR THOMAS GRAHAM, K.B."

Early in May Generals Carnot and Bizanet, commanding respectively at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, evacuated those fortresses, the former being occupied by the British, the latter by Dutch troops.

To Lord Bathurst.

" Head-quarters,

"St. Gravenwesel, 3rd May, 1814.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship that "Bergen-op-Zoom is to be occupied this day by the troops "of the Dutch army, under the command of His Royal "Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange, the French "garrison retiring on Antwerp. The forts on the Scheldt

"were delivered up to us this morning.

"On the 5th inst. the French garrison will be withdrawn from Antwerp, and the place will be occupied by British troops in the name of the allied sovereigns.

"I have the honour, etc., etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

" Head-quarters,
" Antwerp, 5th May, 1814.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to state to your Lordship "that, agreeable to the terms of the convention of Paris "of the 23rd ult., this fortress, with the different forts "depending on it, was finally evacuated by the remaining "French troops this morning.

"powers, having signified to me his wish that, according to his instructions, British troops should occupy it, the 1st Division, under the command of Major-General Cooke, with the 1st brigade of the 1st Division were marched in,

"Major-General Künigl, the commissioner of the allied

"and after the different guards were relieved, the new garrison received the commissioner with military honours.

"The Magistrates then assembled on the parade and the

"Mayor, recommending Antwerp to the protection, and

"its future fate to the favour of the allies, presented the

"keys of the town to General Künigl, who received them

" in the name of the allied sovereigns.

"It is impossible to describe with what demonstrations of enthusiastic joy the inhabitants expressed their approbation of this interesting scene.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"THOS. GRAHAM."

On the 3rd of May, General Graham was raised to the peerage by the style and title of Baron Lynedoch, of Balgowan, and a pension of £2,000 a year was granted him at the same time.

From Lord Mulgrave.

" Harley Street, May 4th, 1814.

" My dear Lord,

"I cannot refrain from sending you a few words of congratulation on the high military honour which your manly perseverance has attained. No one of your numerous friends, either private or professional, can feel more truly rejoiced or more cordially gratified at the justice which has been done to your eminent services than I do.

"Believe me, with great regard, ever yours most sincerely and faithfully,

"MULGRAVE."

"TO THE LORD LYNEDOCH."

After the withdrawal of the French, Lord Lynedoch moved his head-quarters to Brussels, where he received orders to assume the command of the whole of the allied forces in the Netherlands. " Paris, May 10th, 1814.

" My Lord,

"The Prince Royal of Sweden having resigned "the command of the allied armies in the Low Countries, "and it being essential to the due distribution of the "forces that the several corps should be re-united under "a common head, we are authorised, as members of the "British and Hanoverian Governments, to signify to your "Lordship the Prince Regent's pleasure that, in addition "to the British troops now under your orders, you do "assume the chief command of the 2nd corps of the "German army, and also of the corps of Swedish troops "under General Bozè, in conformity to the Prince Royal's "authority already signified to General Bozè to this effect. "Your Lordship will transmit a copy of this instruction "to the officers commanding corps as an authority for "placing themselves under your Lordship's orders.

"We have the honour to be, "My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servants,
"CASTLEREAGH.
"MUNSTER."

From W. Adam.

"My dear Lord Lynedoch,

"I cannot let the letter which accompanies this go to you without expressing the sincere satisfaction which I derived from having to address you as this letter commences. I well recollect what you imparted to me as to your being advanced to the peerage. It was quite consistent with the high-minded character which belongs to you, and at another time it might have been well to have rested upon your determination, but at this time it would have been unfortunate if your view had prevailed. It might have led to conclusions which could not have been explained, equally injurious to the employer and the employed.

"It has been my fate lately to have much intercourse "with Lord Bathurst, and I cannot avoid telling you an "anecdote which is equally creditable to you both. I "was with him when the Gazette with the peerages was "brought in, and I expressed my delight to see your "name there rather significantly, when he said 'I knew "from Alex. Hope what Graham's view was, and I told "him that I had received the notification, and should deal "with it according to my view of what was right. And "I can assure you that there never was a period in the "war that I should have consented to any promotion to the " peerage without Graham being one, and that this became "more imperative on me from his services in Holland." "He then said what everybody has said respecting it, and "what I wrote to you the Duke of York had said at the "time. This silences all the Spanish cavillers, and is a " better answer to them than any publication.

"Has anybody written to you the conversation which "Buonaparte held with Colonel Campbell the day before "they set out from Fontainebleau? In that conversation "(it is in a letter from Campbell to Torrens) he spoke of "the Duke of Wellington's great military talents and of yours, and mentioned no others of our Generals. He "particularly mentioned the attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom displaying great military talent and enterprise, and he added, 'its failure is nothing against it, that is incident to "all military enterprise, and without such attempts, there would be no great military success; its failure was owing to causes which the General who planned it could neither "forsee nor prevent.'

"Are we likely to see you here, or shall you go on to "Paris?

"Yours ever,
"W. ADAM."

"Lincoln's Inn,
"May 10th, 1814."

To Lord Cathcart.

"Brussels, 15th May, 1814.

" My dear Brother,

"A messenger going to Paris has just called, and "leaves me but a moment to acknowledge the receipt of "your different communications of the 10th, on which "matters of business-to me not of the most agreeable "nature, especially if it should oblige me to a protracted "residence in this country—I can scarcely have anything "to answer, seeing that there is a great want of neces-"sary information, but which I hope you will soon be "enabled to supply. I shall, therefore, not trouble you "with conjectural arrangements, but merely assure you "that we shall do our best to avoid the confusion likely to "arise, as far as circumstances will enable us to do so "The time will not allow me to answer your long, kind, "and friendly letter, as I could wish, but briefly. "The reports of newspapers prevailed so much last year "that I gave my friend Alex. Hope eventual instructions "to decline, with every assurance of grateful respect from "me, the offer of a title, which, under all circumstances, "must be useless and burdensome. These were renewed "in conversation on my return home from Spain, and I "thought he was fully convinced; and indeed, besides, "from other information, I thought no more of the matter, " considering it a vague and unfounded report.

"My surprise, therefore, was not small when I received the intimation from Lord Bathurst, and from him of the thing being done. He chose the title, of which from what I have said, I had never thought. I should have preferred, if the Duke of Montrose would have agreed to it, not changing my name at least; but he might not have liked it on account of interfering with the second title in his family. Alex. Hope should at least have known how to spell Lynedoch and Balgowan, as the pronunctiation of the first is quite changed by the omission of the "ee" He has since, after a consultation with Mr. Butler,

"accepted of a pension for me; this, as I have written to "him, obviates an objection, while it increases my dislike "to the whole thing. I have thought it necessary to tell "you, my dear brother, freely, my feelings on all this, "though I have very little doubt of your having done just "as A. H. has, and therefore I try to persuade myself "that I must be wrong. It seems, however, in itself a "ridiculous thing for me to be taken out of my sphere of "life when so much of it must be gone by; and I confess, "when I look round and judge myself fairly, I feel ashamed " of having somehow got distinctions so much beyond my "deserts. I shall not, of course, make these remarks "common; in the first place, they would not be believed "to be sincere, and therefore I am aware that the less "that is said about it the better. I wish much to get "home, and had intended to have spent two or three days "on the way at Paris; now I despair of being able to "go there, but trust I shall meet you in England. God "bless you all. Charles received his packet, but did not " hear of this opportunity in time.

" Ever affectionately yours,
" LYNEDOCH."

The difficulties which arose in settling the claims of the many small potentates who had, at the last moment, brought forward their unarmed contingents, and the necessity for securing the frontier fortresses, compelled Lord Lynedoch to remain at Brussels. At length, in July, a successor having been found, agreeable to the Dutch government, he received permission to give up his command; but it was not until the following month that he was enabled to avail himself of it.

From Lord Bathurst.

"Downing Street, 8th July, 1814.

" My Lord,

"Having laid before His Royal Highness the

"Prince Regent the wish your Lordship has communi"cated to me of returning home, I am commanded by
"His Royal Highness to inform you that His Royal
"Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange has been
"promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the
"British service, and that His Royal Highness will pro-

" bably proceed shortly to Brussels.

"As soon after the arrival of His Royal Highness at "the Head-quarters as to you may be perfectly conveinient, you will deliver over to His Royal Highness the
command of the British and Hanoverian force, and the
instructions under which you are acting.

"In communicating this instruction to your Lordship
"I am specially commanded by his Royal Highness the
"Prince Regent not to omit conveying to you his high
"sense of the distinguished services which your Lordship
"has performed to His Majesty during the whole course
"of your military career.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"BATHURST."

"GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH."

"General Orders.

" Head-quarters,

"Adjutant-General's Office,
"Brussels, 16th Augt., 1814.

"No. 1.—The Commander of the Forces having received "His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's permission to "resign the command of this army, cannot quit his situation without recording in general orders his sense of the merit and conduct of the officers and soldiers commonsing the British corps entrusted to his direction.

"A witness of their gallantry in the field, he would "ever have had implicit confidence in their conduct before an enemy had the circumstances of the service "called for a continuance of their exertions. "But there is scarcely less merit in having behaved with such exemplary discipline, and with such kind attention to the inhabitants of the countries which they have had to defend and protect. He will be bold to say, that the conduct of these troops was never surpassed by that of any army whatever, so circumstanced.

"It will be his pleasing task so to report of them to "their Royal Highnesses the Prince Regent and the Com-"mander-in-Chief. With such feelings of satisfaction in "the discharge of the duties of the high situation he has "held, the Commander of the Forces cannot but wish to "assure the different corps composing this army that he "will ever cherish, with grateful sentiments, the recollec-"tion of having had them under his command. He is "happy to think that this army as well as all the other " corps serving in the Belgian provinces are placed in the "hands of General the Hereditary Prince of Orange. It "would be unnecessary and improper to say more of His "Royal Highness than that, inheriting the military talents " of his great ancestors, he has been bred under the illustrious "chief who has, in the estimation of Europe, carried the re-"nown of the British arms still higher than it ever was at "any former period. In the course of that career of victory, "His Royal Highness has endeared himself to the whole "British army. Under such a commander, the troops "will ever, in peace or war, uphold the high name of "British soldiers. The Commander of the Forces of the " allied troops under his command in the Belgic provinces, " emulating the British in discipline and good conduct.

"emulating the British in discipline and good conduct.

"He regrets that circumstances have rendered it im"possible for him to see these corps. He has heard, with
"much pleasure, of the orderly behaviour of the Dutch
"garrison, at Namur, under Major-General Statman.
"He trusts that the Hanoverian corps now entering
"Brabant will follow the excellent example of that dis"tinguished cavalry, which (with their countrymen, the
"infantry of the Legion) has exalted the name of the

"King's German Legion to the greatest pitch of glory. "He cannot doubt of the Belgian levies—these troops, "when fostered by the care of a paternal Government, "will form, with their brothers in arms belonging to the "united provinces of the Netherlands, an invincible "barrier for the defence of their common country, so "fortunately rescued from the iron rod of oppression by "the wonderful achievements of the allies. They will "rival, in discipline and military fame, those chosen bands "drawn from the Low Countries, which formed a pillar of "strength to the Austrian empire, and which never went "into the field but to be admired. The Commander of "the Forces cannot conclude this farewell address without "returning his sincere thanks to all the officers and " soldiers of the army, and assuring them he will ever feel "deeply interested in their welfare and honour. "wishes, in a particular manner, to express his entire "approbation of Major-General Cooke and the other "General Officers, from whom he has ever received such " cordial support in the execution of the service. As also " of Colonel Graham, and the other officers of his per-"sonal staff; of Deputy Quarter-Master General Lord "Greenock; * Deputy Adjutant - General Lieut.-Colonel " Macdonald; of Colonel Sir G. Wood and Lieut.-Colonel "Smyth of the two branches of the ordnance department; " of Inspector of Hospitals Grant; Acting Commissary-"General Dunmore, and Deputy Commissary-General of "Accounts Bayley, and Deputy Paymaster-General Smith. "All of these officers at the head of their several depart-"ments with the officers belonging to them respectively, "by their diligence and ability have rendered him the " most essential assistance, which he acknowledges with "grateful satisfaction, and the Commander of the Forces " is no less indebted to Captain Hill, of the Royal Navy,

^{*}Lt.-Col. Hon. C. M. Cathcart became Lord Greenock on his Father being created an Earl on the 16th July, 1814.

"for that cordial co-operation and support which he has on all occasions experienced from him.

"No. 2.—General the Hereditary Prince of Orange will

" please to assume the command this day.

" Signed, E. BARNES, M.-Genl.

" Adjutant-General."

To Lord Bathurst.

"Brussels, 16th August, 1814.

"My Lord,

"Having now settled the claims and other points, "particularly relative to quartering the troops, which it "was essential to do before quitting the command, I am "just going to deliver over the charge I have been en-"trusted with to His Royal Highness the Hereditary

"Prince of Orange, and I shall leave this to-morrow to accompany the Duke of Wellington to some of the

"frontier places according to His Grace's wish.

* * * * * * * * * *

"I beg leave to return your Lordship my sincere thanks "for the many proofs of kind attention which I have "received during the time I have held this command.

"I have the honour to remain, my Lord, etc.,
"LYNEDOCH."

With the command of the forces in Holland Lord Lynedock gave up his active connection with the army; and, after twenty years' uninterrupted service, returned home, respected and beloved by all with whom he had served.

On visiting Scotland in October he was presented with the freedom of the Guildry and Wright Incorporations of Perth, and his reception by all classes was most cordial and enthusiastic.

On the 4th October, 1814, at a General Meeting of the Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply of the

county of Perth, on the motion of the Earl of Kinnoull, seconded by the Duke of Athole, it was resolved unanimously-" That, in order to mark in a distinguished and "permanent manner the admiration and grateful sense "entertained by the county of Perth of the important "military services rendered to his country by Lieut .-"General the Right Hon. Baron Lynedoch, Knight of "the Bath, on various occasions, but more especially while " second in command of the army in the Spanish Peninsula " and in France, under Field-Marshal His Grace the Duke " of Wellington, and subsequently when Commander of "the Forces in Flanders, his Lordship be requested to " afford to an artist of the first eminence an opportunity of " painting his picture at full length, in his military uniform, "decorated with the insignia of the Orders of Knighthood "conferred on him, to be placed in the public hall of this, "his native, county, alike as a testimonial of the pride his "countrymen feel in claiming as such so illustrious a "personage, and as a bright example to be followed by "their sons and posterity. Resolved unanimously, that "the expense thereof be defrayed by the voluntary con-"tributions of the noblemen and gentlemen of Perthshire. "and that the persons under-mentioned be appointed a "Committee for carrying into effect these resolutions, vizt. "His Grace the Duke of Athole, the Right Hon. the "Earl of Kinnoull, the Right Hon. the Earl of Mansfield, "the Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, Sir Patrick Murray, of "Ochtertyre, Bart., Colonel Belshes, of Invermay, Maj.-"Genl. Stewart, of Raitt."

In compliance with the foregoing resolution, Lord Lynedoch arranged to give Sir Thomas Lawrence an opportunity of painting his portrait.

It was not till the year 1818 that the picture was completed. On the 29th of September of that year, at the General County Meeting, Col. Hepburn Belshes, of Invermay, referring to the former resolution of the county with

respect to Lord Lynedoch's portrait, moved "That the "picture being now arrived in Perth, it should be placed "in a conspicuous part of the new County Hall; Sir "Patrick Murray, Bart., seconded the motion. The "meeting resolved unanimously that the picture be hung "over the fire-place, and authorise the Right Hon. Lord "Gray, Chairman of the Committee for Public Buildings," to give directions accordingly."

In May, 1815, he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a gold box, and the thanks of the Town Council for his services.

When staying in London on this and previous occasions Lord Lynedoch had noticed the want of a military club on the footing of some of the civil ones then in existence. He accordingly set on foot an inquiry as to whether such an establishment would be acceptable to the army generally, and, finding that the majority of the officers were greatly in its favour, he arranged a meeting at the Thatched House on the 31st of May to discuss the matter.

Their Royal Highnesses the Prince Regent, the Duke of York, the Duke of Kent, and the Duke of Cambridge were represented at the meeting, which was also numerously attended by the General and Field Officers then in England.

Lord Lynedoch, as Chairman, read the following memorandum:—

"The want of a General Military Club, permanently established in London, and possessed of a suitable house, appropriated solely to its use, has been generally felt by officers of all ranks of the army; the advantages of such an institution are almost too obvious to require enumeration. It must materially contribute to the comfort and respectability of officers of every rank, to have a place of meeting where they can enjoy social intercourse with economy, where they can cultivate acquaintance formed on service, and where officers of different ranks can have frequent opportunities of knowing each other, where a

"good collection of books and maps will always be ready for the use of the members, and where officers may meet in the most creditable manner, and on moderate terms."

It was then decided that a General Military Club, on the footing of the "Arthur" or "Alfred" clubs, should be formed. A branch committee was established with the British army on the Continent, which met at Lord Hill's quarters at Paris on the 23rd July, when Colonel Carmichael Smyth, of the Royal Engineers, was requested to act as secretary, and transmit to England the names of those who wished to join.

From Lord Hill.

" Paris, July 28th, 1815.

" My dear Lord Lynedoch,

"I received your letter and the papers relative to the General Military Club just about the time we were commencing our operations, consequently had not an opportunity of consulting with the officers on the subject of them until very lately. I have now the pleasure to inform you that the branch of the committee with this army have had one meeting, a short account of the proceedings of which I beg to send you. When we get the names of the officers wishing to become members, an official communication on the subject will be sent to the secretary of the General Committee.

"I am inclined to think that the names will be very "numerous.

"Believe me to be always,
"Yours most truly,
"HILL."

"LIEUT.-GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH."

In August Lord Lynedoch received the insignia of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, of which order he had been created a knight. His spare time was now devoted to his duties as chairman of the new club, which was, thanks to his exertions, as far as regarded the number of members, progressing favourably. No house had, however, as yet been obtained, and an application to rent ground in the neighbourhood of Little Charles Street for the purpose of erecting thereon a suitable building met with a decided rebuff. Indeed, the undertaking was unfavourably considered by many.

From Mr. Huskisson.

"Eastham, Petworth, 27th Novr., 1815.

" My dear Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt "of your letter of the 23rd inst.

"If the object of it had been confined to a personal "request that I would direct an early answer to be given "to a letter which was received at the office of Woods " about a week ago from Mr. Smirke enquiring the rent " of the ground at the east corner of St. Alban's Street, "north of Little Charles Street, but without specifying "for what purpose it was wanted, I should have had "no difficulty in stating to you (as the fact is) that Mr. "Smirke's letter had been referred to Mr. Nash for his "report, and that I would desire him to expedite it as "much as possible. But when I received a letter from "your Lordship, as 'Chairman of the Committee of Ma-"nagement of the General Military Club,' it would not "have been proper in me, as you will perceive from the "following statement, to give an answer without commu-" nicating with Lord Liverpool on the subject.

"In the last spring an application, similar in substance, was made by an officer (if I recollect right, Sir Colin Campbell), who acted as secretary to the Committee of Management. At the time I mentioned the matter to Lord Liverpool, and had a conversation with him respecting it. Having taken his opinion, therefore, on this first

"application, I could not answer your letter without again "referring to him. What his sentiments now are you "will be able to collect from the enclosed letter, which I "received from him yesterday. In sending it for your "perusal, I should wish it to be considered as a private "communication to yourself. In the same manner you "must allow me to state, that as far as I have any expe-"rience of Parliament or the feelings of the country, it "would in my opinion be desirable, as much as possible, "to avoid anything which tends to give an over-promi-" nent character to the General Military Club. The incon-" veniencies of such an institution may be imaginary; but "the jealousy of a club so extensive, so exclusively mili-"tary, having at its head the Prince Regent and the "Commander-in-Chief, and holding its meetings at a con-"spicuous building, to be erected for the purpose, close "to the residence of the Sovereign, would not be the less "felt and manifested, not only with reference to our peace "establishment (a consideration of no trifling difficulty), "but on many other occasions of public discussion. Can "you suppose, for instance, that with the general feelings "(prejudices, if you will) of Englishmen respecting mili-"tary interference, they will not be asking themselves, "and one another, whether such an institution might "not be objectionable, either in approving or censuring, "supporting or opposing any measures pending in Par-"liament connected with the military service or establish-"ments of the country? Whether it might not have "been inconvenient if such an institution had existed, "for instance, pending the parliamentary enquiry into "the Walcheren expedition, or (however unprincipled in its " origin and motive) that which was carried on respecting "the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief? And are there "not questions of courts-martial, military punishments, "half-pay and allowances, limited and unlimited service, " and many others arising every year, which might suggest "similar doubts? I am aware that there has long existed "a naval club, and such military clubs as Lord Liverpool alludes to; but besides other obvious differences, it will be observed that none of these associations do more than meet occasionally at some tavern to dine together. None of them have a 'local habitation,' or such a permanent existence as it is proposed to give to the General Military Club.

"In stating to you a few of the circumstances which "may lead to inconvenience, I beg to be understood as " offering in a private manner my individual opinion that "they will not escape public animadversion. In my official "character, I shall direct an early answer to be returned "to Mr. Smirke's inquiries, and if he or Mr. Burton, taking " a lease of ground from the Crown and erecting dwelling "houses upon it according to the plan laid down by our "Board for such houses, should let one or more of them " for the accommodation of a General Military Club, it will "be a matter entirely between the parties; but you will "naturally perceive that I shall not feel myself at liberty "to let ground for a building of a distinct class from such "dwelling houses, and for the distinct purpose which your "letter contemplates, without the previous sanction of the "Treasury.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"W. HUSKISSON."

Lord Liverpool to Mr. Huskisson.

" Fife House, 25 Novr., 1815.

" My dear Huskisson,

"I entirely concur with you on the subject of "Lord Lynedoch's letter. I think it not at all unnatural "that as there has been a Flanders, a German, and an "American club, that the officers who have served in the "Peninsula, in France, and in Flanders should be desirous "of forming a similar association. If this had been done "quietly, there could have been no objection to it. But

"I am at the same time of opinion that a general military "club, with the Commander-in-Chief at the head of it, is "a most ill-advised measure, and so far from its being "serviceable to the army, it will inevitably create a " prejudice against that branch of our military establish-" ment, and we shall feel the effects of it even in Parliament, "when we consider the question of a peace establishment. "I never heard till I saw Lord Lynedoch's letter that "there was a naval club; if such an institution exists of "the same general character, it makes it more difficult to " object to a similar club for the army. But I am never-"theless of opinion, that neither the Prince Regent nor "the Duke of York should have anything to do with it, "and that the attention of the public ought not to be "unnecessarily directed to it by anything unusual in the "mode of instituting it." With these sentiments, I should "be very adverse to the Board of Works treating with "such a club for a plot of ground in the new street, unless "I was satisfied that the regulations to be adopted relative " to the institution were such as to obviate the objections "which I have stated.

"It is, I conceive, impossible for you to object to treating "with Lord Lynedoch or any other individual on his own "account, but I see no reason why you should not communicate to him my sentiments and feelings as well as "your own on this subject, and that I am satisfied that "the intended institution, to the extent to which it is "proposed to carry it, so far from it being advantageous "to the army, will have a direct contrary effect.

"Ever sincerely yours,
"LIVERPOOL."

Conscious of his rectitude of purpose, and supported by the approval of such men as Lord Hill and Sir Thomas Troubridge, the gallant chairman continued to exert his influence in favour of an institution of which he, at any rate, foresaw the value. The club was instituted for the purpose of enabling officers to meet respectably when in London, and not periodically in taverns, and a house in Albemarle Street which had been hired, was found so convenient, that no ideas were entertained of giving it up, until a more suitable building could be found.

Lord Lynedoch in his reply to a letter from Lord St. Vincent clearly explains the system of the club and the reasons for its establishment.

From Lord St. Vincent.

"Rochetts, 25th Janry. 1816.

" My dear Lord,

"I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of "the 22nd, inclosing certain resolutions of the Committee "of Management of the Military Club in Albemarle "Street,

"Having been fortunate in maintaining a good under"standing with the army from the expedition against
"Quebec, under Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, and
"Major-General James Wolfe, on which I commanded a
"small detached squadron at the falls of Niagara to
"the last hour of my services, I was disposed to judge
favourably of a measure tending to harmonize the two
professions, but upon taking a more enlarged view of
the subject, I must confess, and am free to declare, that
such a vast extension of military association in this free
country, coupled with other signs of the times, wears an
unconstitutional aspect, and cannot fail to attract the
attention of Parliament.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect regard and esteem,

"Your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant, "ST. VINCENT."

From Lord Lynedoch to Lord St. Vincent.

" My dear Lord,

"The same sentiments of real respect, and I may say veneration, for your distinguished character which induced me to trouble your Lordship before, on the subject of the Club, force me to endeavour to do away, if possible, the prejudice which has of late gained admittance into your mind against the institution.

"It is little to the purpose, and, therefore, unnecessary to assure your Lordship that I should have been the last person to have taken an active part in promoting such an establishment, if I could have supposed it ever could be dangerous to the constitution of this free country.

"The idea originated from its being a subject of general "complaint, that officers coming to town occasionally, "and for a short time, and being thereby precluded from "belonging to the best established clubs, were necessarily "driven into expensive and bad taverns and coffee houses, "without a chance of meeting their friends, or any good "society during their stay in town. To remedy this evil, "a general club was formed. We have ever since been "exposed to calumnious charges; on the one hand that "we would become the ready tools of despotism; on the "other, that our club would be a hot-bed of grievances, "and that we should thereby prove embarrassing to "the executive government of the country. We con-"tented ourselves to submit in silence to such unmerited " censures, trusting to the nature of our constitution and to " our conduct to remove such alarms. The Club was from the "first open, not only to the actual field officers of the " regular army, militia, and East India Company's service, "but to all who had ever held that rank in these "different services.

"We have since made a proposal of union with the "Navy, which has been favourably received. Now,

"considering how these ranks in these different services are filled, it seems next to impossible that any mischievous or dangerous combination should ever be formed in so mixed a society, so connected as they must be with all that is best in point of character and property in the country, and having ever had it in their minds that, while fighting under the King's colours, they were defending their country's cause.

"Should, unhappily, corruption ever spread itself so universally over the land as to carry its baneful influence into the bosoms of men bred up with a peculiar sense of duty and honour, nothing can save the country from merited ruin.

"One word more on the point of members, as your "Lordship seems to think that the 'vast extension' of "the association is an aggravation of the mischief to be "apprehended. In the first place, it is morally impos-"sible, without an enormous expense to subscribers, to "keep up a constant daily club, in town, composed of "professional men only. Such members must necessarily "be absent on duty even in time of peace, and so few, "comparatively speaking, having fixed residences in the "capital. In the next place I should really think that "your Lordship, on consideration of the subject, would be "inclined to alter your opinion on the point of extension, "for the greater the number drawn from the variety of "services, surely the less risk of any fatal combination "taking place. I should be most happy to think that this "explanation could be satisfactory to your Lordship, but "at all events, I trust our institution, already formed, will "not be made a subject of parliamentary animadversion, "thereby throwing obloquy upon such men as compose it, "without preventing the continuance of the mischief, if " there is any.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,
"LYNEDOCH."

"To THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT."

From Lord St. Vincent.

"Rochetts, 1st Febry. 1816.

" My dear Lord,

"Could a club, ever so extensive, be formed of "military men resembling your Lordship, I should feel no "apprehension for our happy constitution.

"Permit me to assure you that no difference of opinion upon this subject can in the smallest degree affect the pure regard and esteem with which I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's, etc.,
"ST. VINCENT."

In February it was proposed that the Military Club should purchase the farm of 'La belle Alliance' and the Castle of Hougoumont.

From Mr. Sinclair.

" 236, Oxford Street, 28th Febr. 1816.

" My dear Lord,

"I have lately returned from a short excursion to the continent, where I spent some days at Brussels, and examined the plains of Waterloo. I saw Mr. Ramsay at Brussels, who purchased the house and farm of 'La belle Alliance.' He wishes to dispose of it, and would sell it for about £1,000. I also understand that the Castle of Hougoumont, and land about it, might be had for £1,200 or £1,500. It is a great pity that they were not bought for the Duke of Wellington, and it has occurred to me, that, perhaps, the Military Club could afford it from its funds. If the idea were approved of by the Committee, I would ascertain exactly what they

"would cost. Mr. Ramsay, I am pretty certain, would take £1,000, but I am not sure as to the exact price of Hougoumont.

"I remain, etc.,
"JOHN SINCLAIR."

The following notes were made by Lord Lynedoch after some conversations which he had with the Duke of Wellington, and although they contain nothing new, are, perhaps, of sufficient interest to bear repetition:—

"July 8th.—Hampton Court, set out at 11, and went on "during the night; arrived at Cheltenham at one, p.m., on "the oth. Called on the Duke of Wellington, went with "him to Colonel Bathurst's. The Duke spoke a good "deal about the campaign. Neither he nor Blucher ever " believed that Buonaparte would venture to attack, the "superiority of numbers being so much against him. The "Duke calculated his force at about 130,000, the Prussians "were at least equal, and his own army consisted of "80,000. If he (Buonaparte) did attack at all, the Duke "was convinced that it would have been between Mons "and Tournay, in which case the different divisions of the "army would have fallen back on the position which I " pointed out to him in front of Halle,-a position which, "on further examination, he considered as a very good "field of battle; that in consequence, he had an exact "survey of it made by Colonel Carmichael Smyth, and "that afterwards he had ordered him to extend to the left, "so as to embrace all the country in front of the forest of "Soigny, by which means he had got an accurate plan " of the position of Waterloo, and by which plan he had "directed Delancy to place the troops on the 17th. That "to the very last, the Prussians when attacked and driven " across the Sambre, did not believe that Charleroi was to "be the real point of attack. That the Prince of Orange "had come on to Brussels on the 15th, and told that he

"had withdrawn the post at Ath, in consequence of "the French having succeeded in drawing the Prussians " from Charleroi (this was the first notice he had received "of that event); that he ordered Ath to be re-"occupied, and directed all the troops to concentrate on "Nivelles. That on the morning of the 16th, he had "moved himself from Quatre Bras to Blucher's head-"quarters, and had seen their disposition, and had told "them that he would not have occupied it in that manner; "that they held the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, on "the enemy's side of the ravine, which formed their true " position, having large masses of infantry dotted all over "the country between these. That he had returned to "Quatre Bras sometime before the French appeared, and "that their attack on his troops and on the Prussians "began much about the same time (between two and "three in the afternoon); that as our troops came up they "regained all the ground that had been lost; and that "nothing prevented his attacking Ney that evening after "the arrival of the Guards but the want of daylight to be "able to gain any decisive advantage. That Ney would "have been in a very critical situation—the whole of the "French army besides engaged with the Prussians.

"He thinks the Prussians did not make a good fight of it that afternoon, though they lost enormously by the cannonade against their masses, as well as by the repeated attempts to recover the villages. That he received very frequent reports from them during the action, and all favourable till late in the evening, when Colonel Hardinge's brother came to say that they were beaten (he himself severely wounded); that, however, a part of their army kept their ground on this position, and that the French did not venture to follow up their advantage. That he sent Gordon with two squadrons of the 10th Hussars early in the morning of the 17th, and that he did not find a Frenchman on the Prussian side of the ravine except a few videttes whom he drove back. That

"he communicated with General Ziethen, who told him "that after the loss of the villages, the enemy had moved "a very large body of cavalry of the Guard across the "ravine, and had made a successful attack on the Prussian "line and had broken it. That on that occasion Blucher's "horse had been killed, and he and his A.D.C. had been "rode over; that the Prussians had rallied and driven back "the French, who rode over Blucher a second time; that " on that occasion he had laid down to save himself. That "the Prussian army was retreating on Wavre where Bülow "would meet them, and that he (Ziethen) would commence "his retreat with the rear guard about nine that morning, "and that he had done so unmolested. That as soon "as he (the Duke) was informed of this, he ordered the "infantry to retire on Waterloo, and then in the afternoon "he began the retreat of the cavalry without any molesta-"tion. That had it not been for the attack which Lord "Uxbridge made on the head of the column coming out "of the village of Jemappe, first, with the 9th Hussars, " and then with some of the household troops, this retreat "would have been made without the loss of a man more "than the fire of the outposts might have occasioned. "That it was late in the day before the enemy appeared "on the ground which the Prussians had occupied the "day before (near the villages and on the same ridge of "country). That his belief is that Buonaparte intended "to have retired himself till he found the allied armies " had retired.

"Next day, the 10th, we rode out, and during the time, "I had an opportunity, not of getting a detailed account of the action from first to last, but partially, and at intervals, I obtained much interesting information, which I shall endeavour to recollect and put down as it occurs to my memory.

"He thinks the action began at about half-past eleven at latest, though on this point there is a difference of opinion, some making it considerably later, but he had

"rode out early and gone several times from one flank "to the other, and at ten, had observed a large body of "Prussians assembling from the défilé on the eastern "extremity of the ridge which formed the enemy's "position. That not long after his return towards the "post of Hougoumont, which he had ordered to be "banquetted in the inside of the garden wall, a large "body of the enemy's infantry were observed to be in " motion, and soon after they advanced, supported by a "very heavy cannonade, to the attack of that post in "columns of great masses (so that he is confirmed in "the belief of the time of commencement of the action). "That he directed the fire of the artillery to be reserved "and not directed at all against the French guns, but "against the masses, when near enough. That in this "way three or four brigades of guns were employed "with great effect against these columns, which, however, "advanced till attacked and beaten handsomely back "by the troops which formed line from masses of half "battalions, and charged the enemy, not allowing him to "deploy. The enemy next attacked the left and centre in "the same manner and with equal ill-success. He supposes "that Buonaparte, hearing that his troops were in line, "determined to make a general attack of cavalry, which "was done with the greatest intrepidity on their part. "Our troops formed in squares and repulsed them "however; other attacks followed, and they succeeded "in establishing themselves in the line of the position " of our guns, where they remained about half-an-hour, "waiting for an opportunity to charge the squares, which "reserved their fire; luckily no French infantry supported "this cavalry, and unluckily our cavalry was too much "dispersed to be able to find a sufficient force to attack "them with. I asked the Duke how the guns were "recovered at last, and his answer surprised me, 'by "moving the squares forward to the guns the cavalry " was forced to retire."

"After the enemy had gained possession of La Haye "Sainte, by the ammunition of the defenders being ex-" pended, he found great masses of infantry under cover " of it, and advanced up to the hedge and road forming "the left of our position, driving the detachment of the "95th, which occupied a little detached mound in front; "and for some time it remained in suspense who would " attack across the hedge. The Highlanders did (infinitely "inferior in numbers), and broke the enemy. Picton was "killed at this time, and Ponsonby's cavalry completed "their rout, and would have taken an immense number " of prisoners, with little comparative loss, but for the "ungovernable impetuosity of the cavalry, which, not con-"tent with what they had done, galloped in a disorderly "manner quite into the French position, took their "12-pounder battery and disabled their guns, and some "went quite into the rear of the French army-of course "many were taken and destroyed. In another attack " (after Generals Alten and Halket were both wounded) "the enemy drove off the whole of the division, except "one brigade; this the Duke learnt, with astonish-"ment, by an aide-de-camp sent to know how things "were going on there. No enemy, however, took advan-"tage of this gap in the line. A Hanoverian gentleman "had succeeded to the command by the others being "disabled.

"The Duke, seeing that the squares did not now give sufficient fire to drive off the enemy quickly, and apprehending that Buonaparte, after having failed in his attacks of infantry and cavalry separately, would certainly attack with both, determined to change the disposition. A first line was formed four deep, by doubling one wing of each battalion behind the other, and leaving interval between these as the numbers of the troops and the extent of the ground to be occupied would admit of.
The second line was in squares still; this formation

"proved itself proof against every attack of cavalry and infantry, and was never broken.

"The reserve artillery was obliged to be brought up
"to supply the place of the guns abandoned, in a great
"degree, by the artillery men and officers, who ought to
"have retired into the squares, and to have been ready to
"come out again. On my observing that this must have
"been owing to so much of the artillery being new on ser"vice, he said that he had earnestly urged to have every"thing that had been in the Peninsula, of every description
"of troops sent out, as he was sure that he could depend
"on them; but that the idea of its being necessary to
"give all in their turn an opportunity of serving prevailed
"so much here, that his request had not been attended to,
"and that even the staff was chiefly filled up with officers
"quite unacquainted with the duties of their stations.

"The Duke had likewise been obliged to bring Lord "Hill's corps, which was much in reserve, and en potence, "back on the right towards the left much sooner than he "had intended. The post of Hougoumont was left perfectly "quiet, it not being of the same importance to the enemy "after they possessed themselves of La Haye Sainte. "One French account states their having carried Hougou-"mont, which is perfectly false. They at one time got "possession of the wood in force, and a column came "round to the rear and set fire to a haystack which com-"municated with the house; but till the fire obliged our "troops to quit the house, they never left it for a moment, "and it served as a reduit to the garden, walled in front "and on the two sides, but having only a hedge next the "house. The garden, too, was never lost, and if it had " been, the enemy could not have remained in it while the "house was ours; the wood was regained, too, and main-"tained, and served to give a jealousy to the enemy of " having their flank turned.

"The Duke thinks that it was between 5 and 6 that

"Sir H. Clinton pointed out to him the first cannon-firing " of the Prussians. They had tried successfully some "cavalry attacks before, and the general delay of their "advance may be attributed to various causes. First, to "their desire to have a large body established across the "ravine before committing themselves; secondly, to the "great difficulty of getting forward their artillery through "roads almost impracticable; and, perhaps chiefly, to the "apprehension of being in a scrape had he been com-"pletely beaten. Bülow's corps, which was quite fresh, "was that which was observed in the morning, and which "afterwards attacked the enemy by Planchenoit; but "Blucher brought up another corps or two directly towards "our left, and the Duke sent to him, about the time of the "enemy's preparing their great attack of the guard, to "request he would relieve the left of our line by occu-"pying all the ground on the left of the Charleroi road, "so that his whole force might be concentrated between "the two roads; but observing, soon after the repulse of "the Guards, that the enemy was apparently in much "confusion—large bodies moving in different directions— "he determined to advance the whole line, and to attack "the enemy's line, which was instantly done; and a second "message to announce this intention, and to request his "moving to the front instead of the flank, was sent to "Blucher. After the troops had descended the hill "rapidly, it was necessary to halt them and correct the "line, as the enemy stood with an apparent determination "to defend their ground. He was riding along the line "at this moment, when a cannon shot passed over the "neck of his horse and struck Lord Uxbridge, who was "riding with him on his left. It was close behind La "Haye Sainte, too, that Delancy, while speaking to him, " received a ricochet shot, which tore the back of his coat, " but did not break the skin.

"The Duke spoke in the highest terms of Lord Angle-"sey's behaviour—'active, gallant, and intelligent.' On

"this occasion the Duke spoke of the absolute necessity "of altering the system of the cavalry discipline; he "attributes their ungovernable state to be much owing "to the desire of making their movement with too great "rapidity, making it impossible for the officers to have "their men under command, and, from the nature of our "horses, still more impossible that the men should have "their horses in hand. Altogether, this makes our cavalry " so dangerous an arm to meddle with at all, that he never " could employ it with confidence, and without apprehen-" sion of much more mischief than good resulting from it. "In short, he stated strongly his doubt whether he would "not almost rather not have such cavalry with an army. "He said that all the most intelligent foreigners admired " our infantry beyond measure, and by no means thought " much of either our cavalry or artillery, though admitting "the superiority of the horses, appointments, etc. "spoke of the Emperor of Russia as a man of very great "acuteness and information-extremely difficult to con-"tend with in argument. It was generally his premises "that could be attacked to most advantage, as he advanced "facts to reason on without their being well established, " frequently.

"The Duke spoke of the report against Sir H. Clinton which Lord Fitzroy Somerset had told him of, but he thinks quite unfounded, and instanced the circumstance of his being the first to observe the attack of the Prussians, which he could not have seen at all if he had not been very forward, and that was at a time when he had no cocasion to be so, as his people were not then engaged.

"In answer to my question about the most critical "moments of the battle, he mentioned three very awkward "situations. When the enemy's cavalry had possession of our guns and there was no other means of regaining them but by advancing the squares. When it became necessary to alter the disposition of the troops, forming the first line four deep; and when the left wing was so

"weakened by the retreat of the Hanoverians. There was likewise an occasion when the Brunswickers gave way entirely, and were rallied and led back by himself. He reckons he had not quite 60,000 of all arms and all kinds in the field on the morning of the 18th—a vast proportion of these who had never seen a shot fired, and many foreigners of a very bad description.

"This is the substance of different conversations and enquiries as opportunity offered occasionally. It was impossible to ask for half of what one would have wished to know from such an authority. There never was an instance of more hard-fought battles on our part than those of the 16th and 18th, for the same troops, almost without relief, stood this long and bloody contest, while the enemy, according to his custom, and which his superiority in numbers enabled him to do, almost always attacked with fresh troops.

"It is one of the greatest battles ever fought in its "immediate trophies, and certainly the greatest in its "results, and there is not on record one where so much depended on the personal exertions of the Commander-"in-Chief. Nothing but such unremitting exertions, opera-"ting on the minds of men placing implicit confidence in his skill and judgment, could have won this battle.

"N.B.—He found the King of the Netherlands as im"practicable as ever about his army. The Duke wished to
"divide them, as was done with the Portuguese, making
"a division to consist of two British, one Dutch, and one
"Hanoverian brigade. The King would not hear of it,
"though he used very strong language on the necessity of
"it, and it was with difficulty he got him to agree to have
"the Dutch troops divided, and one-half, under Prince
"Frederick, to be put under Lord Hill's command. Strange
"infatuation—seeing what he owes to us and how his
"army was composed.

"The Duke of Wellington in talking of the cavalry seemed to give cuirasses the preference to lances. The

" intrepidity of the French cuirassiers was very conspicuous, "from the confidence the men had in this armour, which "undoubtedly saved them from mortal wounds on many "occasions, as no ball except fired near, and hitting the "cuirass in a perpendicular line, penetrated. He attributes "the failure of our cavalry very much to the system of ex-"treme rapidity of movement, as before mentioned, and "which undoubtedly ought to be corrected, that the men "may have their horses in hand at all times, and the " officers have the power of halting them in proper time. "Though the horses and all the equipments were the " subject of admiration, yet neither our cavalry nor artillery "(at the Paris review) was much noticed. These reviews "surprised the foreigners from the total want of pre-"paration in the management of them. The Russian "review, entirely conducted by the Emperor himself, was "a very astonishing performance, as 150,000 men were "moved without confusion, but the parts were given in "detail to the army, and the different places of the "different corps marked on the ground. The Austrian "review, too, had been rehearsed, and was executed "according to a written disposition, whereas in the two "reviews of the Duke's army there was no disposition. "The Deputy Quarter-Master General had merely looked "at the ground by his orders, and the General Officers "knew that it was his intention at the first to represent "the movements of the battle of Salamanca, and at the " second, those of the retreat by the same ground, when "Soult had got possession of the direct road by which the "retreat on Ciudad Rodrigo should have been made. "was well said by Prince Schwartzenberg, 'Ma foi, Mon-" sieur le Maréchal, il n'y a que vous qui sache jouir de " cet instrument,"

All objections to the existence of the Military Club having been overcome, and the officers of the two services desiring to meet under the same roof, the institution was styled the "United Service Club." A suitable site for the club-house had been obtained in Waterloo-place, and on the 1st of March, 1817, the foundation stone was laid. It bears the following inscription:—

"TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THOMAS, LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B.

THE UNITED SERVICE CLUB,

As a memorial of the high sense it entertains of his judicious exertions, which led to its establishment,

and of the zeal with which he so beneficially devoted his unceasing attention to its interest,

has caused

this plate to be inserted
and to be deposited,
with the foundation-stone of its House,
on the 1st day of March,
and the 55th year of the reign of
George III,
MDCCCXVII."

His Lordship, having now carried his point, betook himself to the continent, whence he returned the following year, at the end of which he received notice of having been created a Commander of the Order, of William, for his services in Holland.

"Bruxelles, le 9 Decembre, 1818.

" Milord,

"J'ai l'honneur d'adresser à votre seigneurie la "décoration de Commandeur de l'Ordre Militaire de "Guillaume, qu'il a plu à sa Majesté le Roi mon maitre "de conférer à votre Excellence par son arrêté du 1er "Decembre, 1818.

"Je suis flatté, Milord, d'avoir à vous transmettre cette "marque éclatante de la bienveillance Royale, et vous " prie de vouloir agréer les assurances de la haute con-" sidération avec laquelle,

> " J'ai l'honneur d'être, " Milord,

"de votre Excellence,
"Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
"etc., etc.

"A MILORD LYNEDOCH,

"Général au service de la Majesté Britannique, Com-"mandeur de l'Ordre Militaire de Guillaume."

In the summer of 1819 Lord Lynedoch again quitted England for the purpose of visiting Russia. He arrived at Cronstadt on the 9th of September, and on the following day went to St. Petersburgh, where he was met by his brother-in-law, Lord Cathcart.

- "Saturday, 11th.—Went with Lord Cathcart to the pro-"cession of the Blessed Virgin to the Convent of St. Alexr.
- "Nerosky. The Empress, with the Grand Duke Nicholas,
- " and many of the nobility attended.
- "12th.—Went to dine at the Duke of Serra Capriola's "(the Sicilian Minister), a pretty place up the Neva and "on its banks; the garden very extensive, à l'Anglaise.
- "14th.—Went to see the Hermitage. Part of the palace dedicated to the arts; very large collection of pictures.
- "16th.—Went with General Dornberg to see the Em-"peror's stables and travelling caléches. There are new
- "stables building for 200 horses as a place of instruction
- " for the cavalry. Every regiment in the service is to send
- " four persons to be instructed, that there may be unifor-
- " mity in the manner of riding.
- "17th.—Went with Lord Cathcart to the parade; it was held in the riding-house near the palace on account of
- "the weather. It was only part of the ordinary guards
- "of the town. They marched past the Emperor in slow
- "and quick time; in the first there is a good deal of the

"old school, raising the toe and bringing the feet down, so as to tell on the ground; in the quick, the step seemed short. There is perfect uniformity in the dress and manner; the men wore white trousers almost covering the shoe. The Emperor was very gracious, and called me up near him to mention several things about the troops and the parade after the first compliments of recognisance.

"At half-past one, launch before the Emperor and the "two Empresses of the 100-gun ship. At five, went to the "palace with Lord Cathcart; he had a long audience. "Frederick (Hon. F. Cathcart) and I were then called in; "he (the Emperor) shook hands with us à l'Anglaise; asked "about my stay and journey, saying many civil things; "regretted that he was to be absent and could not show "his troops. What arm had I served in? the English "infantry was his admiration. Spoke of the manœuvres "at the review as admirable, and the spectacle as singular. "'Des Russes, des Anglais, des Danois, des Autrichiens, "des Bavarois, des Hanoveriens; tous réunis sous le "commandement d'un Maréchal Anglais et en France!!! "Que les heureux résultats étaient dues aux vrais bons " principes, aux principes d'amour et de bonne foi qui " regnaient entre les."

"I observed that the march on Paris had decided the thing, and that that was his doing; he returned to the 'r' principes,' that without them the march on Paris would never have taken place. That there was not a plan which was not communicated with the greatest openness. Spoke a little doubtfully of France, and particularly of Spain; but that there was nothing else to give any inquietude. Spoke of my command in the Pays Bas; of the Guards at Antwerp; of the uniformity of system in our infantry. After ten minutes' audience he took leave of us, shaking us by the hand. Lord Cathcart remained a few minutes after.

[&]quot;18th.—Visited the church of Notre Dame de Kasan;

"50 or 60 most magnificent polished granite pillars of great dimensions, the shafts all of one block. Cabinet defourrures of the Emperor, where the furs paid as tribute from Siberia are received and manufactured into pelisses, etc. There is an annual sale, when the trade or any individuals may purchase. The finest are not offered for sale; sable pelisses, which cost 75,000 roubles (about 3,000 guineas), are reserved for presents. There is one of black fox so fine that no price can be put upon it.

"Ighh.—At 12 went to the palace to be presented to the Empress Mother, a fine portly woman, very civil, and saying most obliging things in a more courtly manner than the Empress (regnant) Elizabeth. She spoke of the Duke of Wellington, and regretted the shortness of my stay; recommended the view from her cabinet in the Kremlin.

"21st.—Saw in the citadel church numbers of drapeaux, "tombs, or rather coffins, of the Imperial family, and in a "small adjoining building a strong handsome boat of "Peter the Great's building. Afterwards went to his "wooden hut on the same side of the river; it is built "of logs notched in at the corners, and consists of three "rooms and a lobby. In order to preserve it, there is an "arcade, which surrounds it, roofed over its roof; at one "end, under this arcade, there is a long light boat, built by himself for four oars (these are kept in the house); "this boat is about 15 feet long, clinker-built of fir.

"Called on the Town Général-en-Chef, Comte Milo-"radovitz, a distinguished officer and a plain unaffected "man."

Lord Lynedoch left St. Petersburgh on the 27th, and arrived at Moscow on the 30th of September.

To Lord Cathcart.

"Moscow, Monday, 4th Octr., 1819.

" My dear Brother,

"I write two lines that you may know about us. "We were detained a little by a fracture, owing to the "rapidity of our movement across some of the wooden "roads, but got here on Thursday.

"roads, but got here on Thursday.

"While my carriage is getting a new fore axle, etc.,

"I am going (to-day) to see the Champ de Bataille de

"Borodino, to return to-morrow. Having been advised by

"M. Bugakoff, the post director, not to attempt the road

"between Smolensko and Kioo, we mean to go on

"Thursday direct on to Kioo; and so to Brodi, etc., giving

"up Smolensko altogether. M. de Nesselrode's letter to

"M. Bugakoff has been a most valuable one; the others

"have manquéd, General Count Formanzoff being ill, and

"none of your correspondents here at present. Rowan is,

"as you said, full of obligeance. Since our arrival there

"has been much rain; it looks well to-day, however, and

"I trust the weather is going to settle, and that it will

"continue favourable for your journey. Kindest remem
"there was to all, and believe me, ever most

" Affectionately yours,
" LYNEDOCH."

From Moscow he went to Vienna, where he met his old friend and comrade, Lieutenant-General Radetsky, and then returned home by way of Genoa, Nice, Toulon, and Paris, arriving in England at the end of February, 1820.

Although seventy-three years of age, his Lordship was as keen a sportsman as ever, and on every possible occasion followed the hounds. On his return from the continent he hastened to Cosgrove Priory* to get what hunting there was to be had before the close of the season.

^{*} In Northamptonshire, which he rented from Major Mansel as a hunting seat.

To Earl Cathcart.

"Cosgrove Priory,
"Stoney Stratford, 17th April, 1820.

" My dear Brother,

"George will have given you some account of our proceedings in these parts, from whence I have had nothing interesting to write about, not even relative to our principal occupation—the chase, for never was there so unpropitious a season. Latterly the rain has made the parched ground moist enough, and the scent has improved from that and a more genial air, but this week will conclude all attempts at sport.

"I had thoughts of making General Mackenzie (my old "Major of the 90th) a visit in the New Forest, and so "seeing a little of the late spring hunting there, which I "believe is continued on late into May—following the "custom of our forefathers of finding a fox by means "of running a drag at sunrise.

"But I am not sure whether I shall be able to make "this out. Towards the end of this or the beginning of "next month I shall take possession of my apartments at "Warren's Hotel for a short time, when I shall have the "pleasure of taking a share of your family dinner now "and then. I heard with much interest of Frederick's "appointment to replace poor Casamajor; when does he "start? My landlord, Major Mansel, has had with him "for the last week or ten days a fine young man, Sir "Charles Smith, a nephew of Lady Northampton's. He "is going soon on a northern tour, and I could not refuse "him an introduction to Frederick, which I put into his "hands this morning.

" Love to all, ever yours,

" L."

The further enquiry into the conduct of Queen Caroline, which began in June, prolonged Lord Lynedoch's stay in the South to his great annoyance. Apart from his wish to visit his estates in Scotland, from which he had been absent for some time, he was also very averse to taking any part in this discreditable affair.

To Earl Cathcart.

" Quiddenham, Harling,

" 13th July, 1820.

"A thousand thanks, my dear brother, for the trouble you have taken. I had no idea of your going yourself into the city on the occasion of my robes. I am thrown aback sadly by these resolutions of the House of Lords; I shall try, if possible, to get off on the real plea of urgent private business in Scotland. I wished to avoid having anything to do in this dirty business, but if I am forced to attend, I shall regret not having been in town on some of the preliminary questions, and especially on Lord Erskine's to-night. For the nature of the case sets all precedent at defiance in my opinion, and entitles her to the utmost possible facilities of vindication, in order to resist the influence of such power as is wielded by her adversary.

"Adieu, kind remembrances to the ladies, and believe "me ever affectly yours,

"LYNEDOCH."

"This French intrigue for the establishment of a South American monarchy in a person of the Bourbon family is a very curious discovery, and must give something to do to our diplomatists. The acknowledgment of the independence of Buenos Ayres, etc., would be far the best way of our resenting this ungrateful conduct, one of the strongest instances that ever occurred of the

"universal jealousy entertained against our commercial prosperity."

The unfortunate scandal before mentioned, which was happily terminated by the triumph of the Queen, had no sooner come to an end, than Lord Lynedoch hastened to Scotland, there to pass his time in superintending the improvement of his estates. These once arranged to his satisfaction heresumed his rambles, and in June, 1821, he returned to London en route for Spain.

To Earl Cathcart.

"Warrens, 11th June, 1821.

" My dear Brother,

"You will of course know that the coronation is positively fixed for the 18th July. As I have my leave, and am only detained by law business, I am anxious to be off, as soon as may be, that there may not be too much awkwardness in setting off very near the time. I must, however, arrange with the furrier or robemaker you employ. Pray send me his name and address by return of post, that I may lose no time in negotiating with him.

"There is to be a batch of new peers, among whom are our two old fox-hunting friends, Forester and Cholmondeley of Vale Royal.

"His Majesty dines at Devonshire House on Thursday, and in the evening there is to be a splendid full dress party, or ball. I wish you had all remained in town, as I suppose it will be as superb as anything that has been given.

" Affectionately yours, " LYNEDOCH."

"P.S.—I made a most successful patrole after we parted, "making for the red-tiled farm-house you pointed out, and getting with little difficulty, through a field or two, to

"the great road to Bagshot, which I crossed at Broomhill or hall; then, without going so much to the right as

"Chobham, I kept the ridge of the heath direct on Otter-

"shaw, the grounds of which I traversed, and soon, by

"Byfleet, Chobham, Leatherhead, and Headley, to Yatton "Park.

"The Derby was a fine race; the Oaks won in a canter, by friend filly, which I told you was bred close to Cosgrove Priory. He sold her to Lord Exeter for a trifle, but having put her into the Oaks, bargained

"to get a quarter of the stakes if she won."

To Lord Greenock.

"Tolosa, 19th August, 1821.

" My dear Charles,

"I think you will like to hear from me from this "side of the Pyrenees. Though at Bordeaux, and even "at Bayonne, they dissuaded me, I was convinced the "country was quiet, and I find it perfectly so. I spent all "yesterday afternoon at Bergara with Alava. He is much "better, and gave me such an account of the country, that "I shall extend my tour from Pampeluna (where I was "determined to see the scene of Soult's bold attempt to "relieve it) to Saragossa, returning over the mountains by "way of Jaca. After visiting Bagnères, Barèges, etc., I "shall proceed by Toulouse to Bordeaux; by which, I "shall have seen every place of any interest after I left "the army in 1813.

"I bought some little horses near Pau, where I left my barouche, and to-morrow I set out in the true old style, with my muleteer and my baggage mules; the country is, however, fast losing its genuine and distinctive marks. The men all wear round hats. The posadas are infinitely improved, and I travelled post yesterday and this morning in a calèche, going to Bergara and returning, faster than one can go in France. There is a diligence going post

"twice a week from Bayonne to Madrid in three days, "and it is to be carried forward from thence to Cadiz and "Corunna.

"I was surprised two hours ago by a visit from your "Cadiz friend, Mr. B. (I forget his name already), whom "you had such intimacy with about the topography of "the country towards Tarifa. He is now employed as "chief to have a new map of Spain made by the best "people he can find in the different parts of the country. "He inquired much after you. I had a visit, too, from "a young Lardizabal, a brother of the General, who is "dead.

"I had a colonel of Mina's army with me on my expe-"dition to Bergara. Birmingham would not let me walk "out at St. Sebastian till dusk, as he said they still " believed that we had burnt the town on purpose. The "bridge is much the same; that is, as impracticable as "ever. The town is revived, and handsomer than ever. "The inn where I slept had escaped, and is still a good "specimen of a Spanish posada; the landlord, they said, "had been murdered by our soldiers, but as the widow "seems to have thriven since, I was not afraid of her "kitchen. Just now I dined here in company with two "travellers, one from St. Sebastian's; the other, talking " of this country, said, "* "and, if he had been a day sooner, the French would "have been cut off.' I expected my other friend would "have followed this up by some observation about the "destruction of his town; but, however, he did not, and "I did not provoke the subject by any questions. I trust "this will find you and yours as well as I could wish; " remember me kindly at Binfield Park when you have an "opportunity. I trust to your coming this season into "Northamptonshire; I mean to be there early in November. "Good bye.

"Ever affectionately yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

"P.S.—I am just going to write to Stanhope to Scone "Palace, to tell him that his friend Torrero is a bishop."

With increasing years, the veteran General's powers of endurance seemed in no wise to diminish; for, in the early part of 1822, when in his 74th year, he rode twenty miles to cover to see Chaworth's hounds (the Pytchly), and followed them throughout a fairly successful run.

In May of that year, he acted as second to the Duke of Bedford when that nobleman met the Duke of Buckingham, fortunately with no fatal result.

To Earl Cathcart.

" My dear Brother,

"You will not be surprised at not having found "me at home yesterday, when I tell you that I took the field this morning as the Duke of Bedford's friend, called on by the *new Duke* for expressions used at a Bedford-shire meeting. Sir Watkins and I agreed they should fire together; the Duke of Bedford reserved his, and fired in the air, happily terminating this disagreeable

"business without bloodshed and to general satisfaction.

"Ever yours,

" L."

" 2nd May, 1822."

To Miss Græme, Robt. Scott's, Esq., Gothic House, Clapham.

"Havre de Grace, 4th July, 1822.

"I received, a few days ago, yours of the 21st
"ultimo, which came to Paris while I was at Fontaine"bleau. Though I have not yet determined on my ulterior
"plans, I shall return to Paris almost immediately, having
"only taken the opportunity of coming home with my
"friend, Mr. Scott, of Bordeaux, as I never had been

"before in this part of France. The country is very beautiful, much varied as to surface, and the hills, as well as valleys, highly cultivated or covered with fine woods. I heard nothing of young Graham, of Gartmore, as I passed through Paris, but shall make further enquiry concerning him on my return there; I shall be happy to make his acquaintance and show him all the civility in my power. I am far from criticising your taste in going to the parade of the Guards at the Horse Guards. It is a sight I often see with pleasure; the men are so fine, and the music not less so; indeed, it is the only kind of music that I have any pleasure in hearing.

"Though you care little about painting I think there " are two pictures that you might wish to see, and I should "be glad you did, in order to tell me what you think of "them compared with that in the County Room at Perth. "One is a full length, as that is, and also by Lawrence. "I believe he gives it the preference, and thinks it one of "his chef d'œuvres. He certainly took uncommon pains "with it. It is at the United Service Club. The house is "worth seeing. To put it in your power, I enclose a note " to the steward, and any time in the morning, from ten to "four, he will show it. I also enclose a note to Mr. Hayter, "who has done a half-length of me for my friend, Lord "William Russell, who begged of me to sit to Hayter. "Some of my friends think this the best likeness of any. "This note will likewise procure you a sight of Hayter's "picture of the Queen's Trial, provided there should be "no one sitting to him at the time-for, not being near "finished, it is in his painting room. There are a vast "number of portraits in it, and it will become a most "valuable picture in future ages. Adieu. My kindest " remembrances to your mother and sisters.

"Ever most affectionately yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

On the occasion of the King's visit to Scotland in the

autumn, Lord Lynedoch, who was then in the north, had the honour of meeting His Majesty at Hopetoun House, and was selected, with other Scotch noblemen, to represent the Sovereign at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the building on the Calton Hill.

From Mr. Robert Peel.

" Edinburgh, 26th August, 1822.

" My Lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship "that His Majesty has been pleased to name your Lordship, in conjunction with the Peers whose names are "subjoined, to represent His Majesty on the occasion of "laying the foundation stone of the building which it is "intended to erect on the Calton Hill in commemoration of the naval and military victories of the last war.

"The ceremony is to take place to-morrow at one o'clock, and I request your Lordship will be good enough to communicate with the Duke of Atholl with respect to the preparatory arrangements.

"I have the honour to be, "My Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,
"ROBERT PEEL."

"THE LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B., etc., etc."

"The Duke of Atholl,

"The Duke of Montrose,

"The Earl of Elgin,

"The Earl of Roseberry,

"The Earl of Hopetoun,

"The Viscount Melville."

Lord Lynedoch's connection with the 90th Light Infantry,

which had extended over a period of twenty-nine years, was brought to a close in 1823 by his appointment to the Colonelcy of the 58th regiment.

To the Earl Cathcart (Cathcart MSS.)

"Cosgrove Priory, Stoney Stratford,
"22 February, 1824.

"I write you two lines, my dear brother, to tell "you that this morning I received, from the most " undoubted authority, notice that there will be an imme-"diate vacancy of the Governor of the Military College. "Murray, I believe, is to succeed Lord Beresford at the "Ordnance. This notice was kindly sent to me by a friend, "with the further addition that the Duke of Wellington "had expressed himself warmly in my favour for that "appointment, and, therefore, urging me to take such steps "as I might think best to secure the good will of the King " or the Duke of York on the occasion. I am quite aware "that I have no means of access to His Majesty, and I "cannot reconcile it to my feelings of independence to "attempt to separate the Commander-in-Chief from the "Government, from whom I can have no title to personal "favour, nor could I suppose, that were I to make any "such application, it could produce any other effect "than to expose myself to ridicule. This is the answer I "have made a few minutes ago. Now all I expect is that "you will not by any possible means give the smallest "hint of my having communicated this secret to you. "Indeed, perhaps, to-morrow it will no longer be one. "Should it not be so soon divulged you can probably act " for yourself as effectually by an application, in case of a "vacancy occurring, as by stating that you know posi-"tively that one is to occur forthwith. Adieu, I have no " time for more.

" Ever affectionately yours, "LYNEDOCH."

To the Earl Cathcart (Cathcart MSS.)

Cosgrove Priory, 26th Febry., 1824.

" My dear Brother,

"My being from home and hunting have pre-"vented my answering your kind letter sooner.

"Till you put the question to me I never thought of the "thing as at all possible (nor do I yet), and, therefore, "never considered whether I would accept if offered. I " have, however, little hesitation in stating, notwithstanding "the flattering manner you express yourself about me, "that I am quite conscious of not being possessed of those "qualifications which I think such a situation requires, "and that, therefore, it could not be one agreeable to my "own feelings to be placed in. My habits are so totally "different that I should not expect even that I could enjoy "my usual health under that species of confinement. It "would indeed be very convenient to have a larger free "income, as our friend J. Butler knows, but as I would "infinitely rather have a much smaller income without the " restraint, I could only bring myself to accept the situation "by way of trial, and with the determined purpose of "availing myself of the first possible opportunity of "giving it up for something much less valuable. This is "my real feeling on the subject, but my firm conviction is "that it never can by any chance be brought within my " option.

"I shall be most anxious to know that nothing which I said in my former letter has deterred you from taking any steps which otherwise you might have done, for my communication was for the very contrary purpose. I am interrupted, and must bid you adieu.

" Ever affectionately yours,

" L."

His Lordship, after an unusually long sojourn at home, left in May, 1826, for Ostend, purposing to proceed, viâ the

Rhine, into the Tyrol and then into Switzerland, in order to inspect Napoleon's roads across the Alps. He returned home in time to pay the last tribute of respect to his friend the Duke of York, who died on the 5th Janry., 1827.

From Major-General Sir Herbert Taylor.

"Arlington Street, Janry. 15th, 1827.

" My dear Lord,

"I have been prevented replying earlier to your "letter of the 10th instant, and acquainting you that you

" are one of the Generals appointed to support the canopy

"at the funeral of my late dear and lamented Master, and

"I conclude that the official notice will reach you before this does. Lest it should not, I beg to mention that the

"dress is full-dress black, and the Collar and Star of the

"Order, and the hour of attendance at the Chapter door

" at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 7 P.M. on the 20th.

"The death of the Duke of York is a sad blow to the army and the country, and I need not express to you

"how I feel it. I am quite sure your own feelings to-

"wards him would lead you to wish to pay the last

"tribute of respect and affection to his memory.

" Believe me ever,

"My dear Lord,

" Most faithfully yours,
" H. TAYLOR."

In the summer he returned to Lynedoch for a short time, and in the autumn revisited Paris.

To the Earl Cathcart (Cathcart MSS.)

"Perth, 9th August, 1827.

" My dear Brother,

"I was most happy in the opportunity of having "a glimpse of you all, and of Cathcart, which far exceeded

"my expectations in all respects. Should you continue there, we shall meet often next year, as at Martinmas I resume possession of Lynedoch, which, indeed, was a great inducement to take a look at it now. I made out my journey (lengthened by ten miles) famously—17 miles of excellent road to Cumbernauld Inn (where it would be well for you to bespeak horses), then a very few miles on the Edinburgh Road brings you to a drawbridge on the Canal, very soon after which, at a hamlet, the Stirling Road branches off at right angles to the left, and crosses some steep ridges of country for some miles, till, at the village of Dansey, I think is the name, you fall into a new and scientific line of admirable road till, close to St. Ninians, it joins the great road from Edinburgh.

"I went from Stirling to Crieff with a very bad pair of "horses (22 miles), and there got pretty good ones, which "enabled me to accomplish my purpose of making a "visit to my friends and relations, Mr. and Mrs. Maxtone, " of Cultoquhey; and then, proceeding to the village of "Methyen, I crossed to Lynedoch gate and saw my "factotum there (Mr. Goodsman), not unworthy of his "name; visited my new gamekeeper's lodge, and took "from Pitcairn Green across by Pitmurthly into the "Dunkeld Road, so seeing the new bridge over the "Almond (opposite to Scone Palace), with a piece of new "road, which after a hard battle with Sir A. M. McKenzie, "I got leave to make. It will cost me a good deal, but "without injury (but au contraire) to the public, will enable "me to have a beautiful access, in the way of a riding, all "the way from this bridge to Lynedoch through a chain " of plantations on the heights, which form as it were (at "a distance), the left bank of the Almond, and which "command views on both sides of the estate, bounded on "the south by that river till after Methven Wood, where "my property crosses the river, and gives me the right "bank too, and on the north by the Duke of Atholl's " estates. ing promise to him the new to certain a

"This has long been a favourite plan of mine. It may "be thought too extensive a one for the property, but in "point of fact these woods in time will become of great "value-had they been originally planted with oak by "Mr. Burt they would be so now. As it is, I have cut "down a great deal of fir, etc., and have been for some " years employed in replanting with oak. The fir, though "cheap from the country being over stocked, paying a "good deal more than this operation costs. But I hope "to show you all this one day; meanwhile, Adieu. My "horses are at the door to take me for this night to "General Mackenzie; I return to-morrow, when I shall "know how long I can stay, but fear it will only be a few "days. What a sad account of Mr. Canning! I lament "much the prospect of his inevitable loss. Kindest " regards.

"Ever affectionately yours, LYNEDOCH."

"I was twelve hours on horseback yesterday at and about Lynedoch."

When in Paris he went with his friend, de Vérac, to a rendezvous of the Chasse du Roi; the Dauphin, the Captain of the Guard, and the Comte de Girardin, director of all the Chasses, were the shooters. Nearly 900 head of game was killed, some of which was sent by the King's order to Lord Lynedoch, who said to his companion, "I "scarcely imagined it possible, when I led him a dance on "a steep brae at Glenbrewer, ever to have seen him "at Versailles, en Roi."

C. Loraine Smith, Esq.

" Euston, 28th Octr. 1827.

"I have got yours, my good old soul, of the 22nd, "which I wish had been written in better spirits and health. "I don't like the account of your not being able to profit

"of the plenipotentiary powers you were nvested with at Belvoir Castle. But come among us this year, and we will try to give you a fillip; for my part I feel quite sure that sport alone will not do for me, for my eyes, even should they enable me still to follow the chase, are useless by candlelight, even with the best printed book, so of course I must mope or sleep of an evening if alone at the Priory. This will drive me away when I cannot get my friends to come there, but I must make the best of it. We have had a large party here this week, twenty generally—plenty of shooting. To-day they are all gone to Newmarket, except the family.

"I mean to see the races there to-morrow and Tuesday, "now that I am on the turf I feel more interested than "usual. Should I be obliged to give up hunting on "another year, I shall like to have a horse or two in "training, just to enjoy the sight of such beautiful animals "at Newmarket.

"Good bye, and God bless you,
"Ever yours,

"LYNEDOCH."

The Governorship of Dumbarton Castle was bestowed upon his Lordship in May, 1829, by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hill, who wrote to his old Colonel on the occasion, expressing his pleasure at being able to offer him the appointment.

" Horse Guards, 22nd May, 1829.

" My Lord,

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that His "Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint you to "the Government of Dumbarton Castle, vacant by the "death of General Lord Harris.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"HILL."

"GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B."

From Lord Hill.

"Horse Guards, 22nd May, 1829.

" My dear Lord Lynedoch,

"I cannot forward the official notification of your appointment to the Government of Dumbarton Castle, without at the same time assuring you that I have never in my life had an opportunity of conferring a favour which has afforded me more sincere satisfaction, and I am sensible you will feel gratified by learning that my recommendation has met with the cordial approbation of His Majesty.

"Believe me to be, my dear Lord,
"Ever faithfully yours,
"HILL."

"GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B."

To Lord Hill.

"12, Stratton Street, 22nd May, 1829.

" My dear Hill,

"In transmitting you the enclosed official answer, "allow me to assure you that nothing in this appointment gives me so much satisfaction as having received this proof of your friendship and attention to my services at your hands.

"Believe me, ever most faithfully yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

"P.S. I cannot help adding that I feel additional satisfaction from not having deviated from the rule of my
conduct through life, never to ask a personal favour of any
kind for myself—because our intimacy since Toulon, now
thirty-five years ago, might have justified me, perhaps,
in making an exception, when such a friend came to
be at the head of the army. But independent of other

"reasons, I have ever felt gratification from unsolicited " marks of distinction."

For a good many years previous to this appointment, Lord Lynedoch had suffered much uneasiness in consequence of the frequent attacks of the complaint in his eyes, which first developed itself when engaged in active service in the Peninsula. He had more than once been couched for cataract, which afforded temporary relief. This circumstance, combined with his advancing years, rendered him from time to time very dependent on the companionship and assistance of his more intimate friends. His cousin, Mr. Robert Graham, devoted all the time he could command from his own profession and engagements, to perform to his Lordship the duties which a son might be expected to render to a father. Towards the year 1829, however, a more constant and permanent arrangement became necessary, his Lordship securing the services of Mr. Alfred Waller, as private secretary, with whom he went abroad at the end of that year.

Having stayed some time at Aix-la-Chapelle, he was advised to spend the winter in Italy, and he writes to his cousin, Miss Græme, the following letter from Pisa.

" Pisa, 2nd Janry., 1830.

" My dear Eliza,

"I have long intended writing to you, but ever "since my return from Aix-la-Chapelle I have been con-"stantly either very busy, very suffering, or moving about. "My journey here was a tough job for me, and I frequently "repented of having undertaken it, but I had been very "strongly advised, particularly by my friend Sir James "Macgregor, who passed twice through Aix-la-Chapelle "during my stay there, to avoid passing the winter in "England—not only as particularly unfavourable to rheu-" matic complaints, but as also preventing me from taking "that kind of exercise on horseback, which, from habit, " has become necessary to my constitution. I determined.

"therefore, to join my friends General and Mrs. Trevor. "They had passed the summer in the Pyrenees, and "meant to come into Italy with the intention of remaining "two years. They had fixed on Genoa, chiefly, I believe, "because it was the first considerable town on coming into "Italy by the way of Nice, and there they knew they could "get all kinds of masters for their youngest daughter. "They purposely wished to reserve Florence, Rome, and "Naples for next winter, when Miss Gertrude, now at the "Hoo, would join them. This was so much the better for "me, as all I wished was to find agreeable society without "any temptation ever to go out of an evening. Even in "the summer-time at Aix-la-Chapelle I never went to "Lady Keith's, or any other of the small society there, "without suffering from the hot rooms, open windows, or "coming home at night. I think now I have got consider-"ably better, chiefly owing, I believe, to Mr. Vance's "Sarsaparilla decoction; but I must still be very cautious, "for the fine blue sky and bright sun tempt me to go out "when the wind is very cold, coming from the mountains "covered with snow at no great distance. This was the " case yesterday, and I suffered a good deal from riding out, "having had a good deal of pain in the night, and by no "means to-day so free from rheumatic symptoms as I was "yesterday morning. I have been thus particular about " my health, knowing that you would not have been satis-"fied had I passed it over without any detail of particulars. "We shall certainly remain here at least a couple of "months longer. Pray tell Robert that I got his letter of "the 9th ulto. two days ago, and that I shall write to him "soon. He does not say one word of your mother's health, " or any of the family, so I hope all are well. I must not " conclude this letter at this season without most cordially "wishing you 'a happy New Year." "With the best wishes of the season-good bye, and "God bless you, my dear Eliza.

"Ever affectionately yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

To the same.

"Varesa di Lombardia,

"Provinsia di Como, 18th June, 1830.

"I will not attempt to make any excuse for my

"long silence, as I feel that it would be a difficult task to "have any chance of succeeding; but at least I can assure "you that I have very often thought of thanking you for "your last kind letter. I was very glad to hear from one " of R. G's. of an old date, but only lately arrived, that "you were now able to walk about as well as ever, after "the provoking and long confinement to your sofa. We "remained very quietly at Pisa till the heat of the sun "and the dust made it desirable to look out for a cooler "residence. We went to a little sea-bathing fishing "village called Viareggio, in the state of Lucca, where "we spent ten weeks close to the sea, with a tolerable "beach to ride on. The environs, however, were dis-"agreeable enough. A great deal of blowing sand with-"out any shade. We looked at places in the hills near "there, where people retire to during the dog days. One " called Seravizza is a straggling village full of iron-works "and other manufactories on a mountain torrent, which "fills up the bottom of the ravine, scarcely giving room "for a narrow road by the side of it. The morning and "afternoon sun is kept off by the steepness of the hills on "each side; but, on the whole, it is a very confined and "disagreeable place, I think. The other, the Bagni di "Lucca, fifteen miles from the town, is certainly very "beautiful. Wild and romantic from the steepness of "various hollows that look like great craters of extinct "volcanoes-and the number of still very hot springs "that come out from the rocks justifies this supposition. "Chestnut trees cover most of these hills and valleys. "It has, however, the character of being extremely hot "during the day, with a cold and damp air towards even-

"ing. This I believe to be the case, which would have " made it a very hazardous place for my rheumatic com-" plaints. But what chiefly determined our coming north-"wards was to be in the way of meeting sooner those of "this family who are coming to join our party. We had "expected them much earlier, but Mrs. Cotterell was "strongly advised not to risk the journey till after her "confinement in August, and her sister, Mrs. G. Brand, "who is with the Dacres in town, waits to come out "with the Cotterells. It will probably be late in October "before they can join us. We had intended to take a "house on the borders of the Lake of Como, but many " of the best are only accessible by water, and those on "the other side of the Lake (the west), where there is a "carriage road for some miles, were objectionable to us, "as our rides and drives must have been confined to that "single road. We have, therefore, taken an excellent "house at this place, which in the autumn is the resort " of many of the Milanese families. It is thirty miles from "Milan and fourteen from Como, in a beautiful country, "with excellent roads. I made an expedition of three "weeks from Viareggio into the old Venetian States "(now entirely Austrian). I was one night in Venice; it " is lately made a free port, which was a popular measure "at first, as it was expected that the trade of the place "would revive; but such are the absurd and oppressive "regulations of the Austrian government that the ex-"pected benefits have not been realised, and there is "almost a complete barrier between the country and the "town. By a more liberal policy, there is little doubt "that the revenue, instead of suffering by a diminution of "duties, which amounts to a prohibition at present, might "be increased, as there is water-carriage all the way up to "Milan. Almost ever since we came into the country "within sight of the high range of Alps covered with "snow we have only had cold to complain of. Two or "three days of thunder storms cooled and refreshed the

"air; but since that we have had a good deal of cold rain "with a fresh fall of snow on the mountains, which sends "us November winds. I have suffered considerably from "the change of weather, not only by considerable return " of pain in my shoulders and arms, but from a general "derangement of stomach, etc., from having caught cold. "I feel, however, that this is going off, and I trust that "another winter's residence in the south of Italy will rid " me entirely of this rheumatic attack, so as to enable me "to return home without a risk of a relapse. I could not "have passed the winter anywhere so well as at Pisa, "where the cold was more moderate than anywhere else. "We avoided making any acquaintances that would have "made it necessary to go into society, and we never "once went out of an evening. I could not have sup-"ported such confinement without having the benefit of "kind and agreeable friends at home. I beg you will "make my kindest regards to Mrs. G., and that you will "assure all your sisters of my best wishes. Are the "Maxtones settled in Edinburgh, and how is he in "health? There is a German system of medicine getting "into vogue in this country, called the 'Homœopathic,' "which is to cure every disorder with the ten-thousandth "part of a grain at a time. It requires more faith than I "feel disposed to give to so incredible a system. General "Trevor is a convert, and has now been one month going " on with this plan, and thinks that he has not for years "enjoyed such health. Nux vomica was the first medicine. "and since that another poison called Briony.* Good "bye, my dear Eliza.

"Ever affectionately yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

About the month of October, 1830, Mr. Brougham stated in a speech to his constituents that it was his intention to

^{*} Not long after this Lord Lynedoch became a convert to the system himself, and continued to adhere to it for the rest of his life.

call for a reform in the elective franchise in Scotland. This speech so perfectly coincided with Lord Lynedoch's sentiments on the subject that he sent off to the *Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Globe*, and other papers an address to the Scotch landowners, calling on them not only to support the appeal but to act for themselves.

"To the unrepresented owners and holders of land, and the householders of the Royal Burghs in Scotland.

" 1st Novr., 1830.

" Friends and Countrymen,

"Though circumstances for some time have made "it necessary for me to reside on the continent, about a "thousand miles from our shores, I am not an indifferent "observer of all that more immediately concerns the "interest and happiness of my native land.

"In a late No. of an English paper, printed at Paris "(Galignani's Messenger), there is a report of a speech "of Mr. Brougham's at a public dinner at Leeds, since "his election for Yorkshire. He there announces his "intention of moving for a reform in Parliament, and "particularly mentions that the state of the representation "in Scotland will be one of the principal articles of his "intended motion.

"I could have wished that this part of the subject had been taken up by some member from that part of the "United Kingdom were it only for the honour of my country. The question seems to me to lie in so narrow a compass, to be of so easy a proof, and success so much within our reach, that such a cause does not require to be advocated by the transcendent abilities of Mr. Brougham. Will any man be found hardy enough to deny the flagrant abuses of the system of the elections of Boroughs by self-elected magistrates, or to pretend that the counties can be said to be represented as freemen ought to be?

"Ever since the passing of the great measure of Catholic "emancipation in Ireland I have looked with impatience for an application from my countrymen on this subject. Is it possible to suppose that the same Government which at that time extended the freehold qualification in Ireland can refuse to extend it in the counties of Scotland?

"Let not the obstinate adversaries of all reform have it to say, in answer to Mr. Brougham, 'Why the Scotch, a "wary people, are satisfied! why force on them a reform "which they do not wish for?"

"Meet then forthwith, not to crave for a dissolution of "that union (an eternal bond of fraternity between the " nations), which, though long opposed by national vanity "and interested prejudice, has proved the source of such "rapid improvement as no other country in the same " space of time can boast of, but to vindicate yourselves by "an immediate and unanimous application to Parliament "from the foul aspersion of indifference to this most in-"valuable privilege. Call on the enlightened men on the "Bench and of the Bar in Scotland, to assist in getting "rid of the difficulties arising out of the remains of the " exploded feudal system, and let real property be every-"where so represented as that the men henceforth sent to "Parliament for Scotch counties may feel that they are "independent, and are no longer nominated by some one " or more of the feudal chieftains who still dream of their " being at the head of vassals.

"I remain ever, no agitator, but your most sincere well"wisher.

"A SCOTCH LANDOWNER."

To Messrs. Spottiswoode and Robertson.

"Viareggio, Lucca, 1st Novr., 1830.

"Gentlemen,

"Having very much at heart that the favourable

- "opportunity that will probably soon offer of the state of
- "Scotch representation being brought into the considera-
- "tion of Parliament may not be lost, I wish the enclosed
- "address to be forthwith published on the same day in
- "the Times and Morning Chronicle, in the Courier and
- "Globe, and I beg also you will send copies to the principal
- "Edinburgh papers such as the Caledonian Mercury, the
- " Courant, and the Scotchman, and also to the newspaper
- "which circulates in Perthshire and Angus, under a name
- " which I forget, but which, I believe, is published at Dundee.
- "I would rather that you did not speak of me as the writer
- " of this address unless in instances where you may be
- "closely questioned concerning it. The publication need
- " not be repeated in these papers more than once.
- "You will of course put down the expense to my "account.

"I remain, with great regard, etc.,
"LYNEDOCH."

From Messrs. Spottiswoode & Robertson.

"London, 25th November, 1830.

" My Lord,

- "We have had the honour to receive your Lord-"ship's letters of the 1st and 3rd inst.
- "On receipt of these, we immediately took measures for publishing the address, on the subject of the Scotch
- "representation, in the manner pointed out by your Lord-
- "ship. We have not yet had a return from our corre-
- "snip. We have not yet had a return from our corre-"spondent at Dundee.
- "The address has been published in London, in the
- " Times, Morning Chronicle, Courier, and Globe of Friday
- "the 19th inst. In Edinburgh, in the Courant Mercury and
- " Scotsman of Saturday the 20th. In Glasgow, in the Scots
- " Times of Saturday the 20th.
- "Your Lordship will have seen ere now the entire
- "change which has taken place in the Administration.

"Earl Grey and his friends stand pledged to endeavour to bring about a moderate reform in regard to the representation of the House of Commons. At an early period of the session, Mr. Kennedy, the member for the Ayr Burghs, gave notice of a motion to be made after Christmas for an extension of the elective franchise in the counties, cities, and burghs of Scotland.

"We have the honour to be, etc.,
"SPOTTISWOODE AND ROBERTSON."
"THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD LYNEDOCH."

To Lord Glenorchy.

"Florence, 24th April, 1831.

"Dear Lord Glenorchy,

"It is with heartfelt satisfaction that I have just heard of your having advocated the great cause of reform at a Perthshire meeting held at the requisition of its enemies on the 31st ult.

"The exertion of your talents in support of the popular "rights of your fellow countrymen cannot fail to be re"warded by their esteem and gratitude. Had it been
possible for me to have received information of this
intended meeting in time, I should not have omitted to
write to some friend to make an explicit avowal of my
sentiments for the purpose of vindicating myself in the
eyes of my countrymen.

"Though, perhaps, I might trust to the whole tenor of my life to screen me from the imputation of the want of liberal principles on political subjects, yet I cannot withstand the temptation of bringing forward the most undeniable proof of my most anxious desire to see Scotland rescued from the state of degradation in which she has so long been held, relative to the representation in Parliament, by the disgusting limitation of the right of franchise (a positive mockery of all popular rights), as established at the Union. You will find by the

"following copy of my letter, under the signature of 'a "Scotch landowner,' this proof established beyond the possibility of a doubt.

"I was induced to take this step in order to rouse my countrymen from the sullen apathy of despair, and in the hope that a strong appeal to Parliament, and to the Government that then existed, might obtain for Scotland what had been so recently fixed for Ireland.

"Need I say that holding such sentiments with regard to Scotland, it is quite impossible that I should not approve of the extermination of the abuses of the close and rotten borough system in England. The term "revolutionary' has been in my opinion unjustly applied to this great measure. With much of its details I am unacquainted, but my confidence in the abilities and true patriotism of the present Ministers, as well as in their devoted attachment to the true principles of the constitution, leaves me no anxiety on the result of its success.

"I am fully convinced that no half measure could be satisfactory to the just expectations of the people; and in my consience I believe, that, so far from being revolutionary, nothing less than some such sweeping correction of abuses could save our invaluable institution.

"I remain, my dear Lord, etc.,
"LYNEDOCH."

"To the Præses of the General County Meeting of Perthshire, to be held at Perth on the 16th inst. (Decr. 1831.)

"Sir,

"Deeply regretting that it is quite impossible "for me to attend the General Meeting, over which you preside, I beg leave to address myself to you in the confident hope that the sentiments which I shall declare in this letter may be fully committed to the meeting, as, according to the best information I have received, the attempts to work upon the feelings of the agricultural

"class of the community is the manœuvre of the antireformers of the county of Perth, by endeavouring to
create a jealousy in their minds of the superior benefit
to be bestowed by the Reform Bill on commerce and
trade, I wish particularly to address myself to that most
respectable class.

"The boon, universally acknowledged to be conferred on Scotland by the Reform Bill, seems to me so incontestably manifest, that I own I should have had some curiosity to hear in what terms of sophistry the voice of any Scotchman could be raised in opposition to the great measure. Is there a Scotchman to be found hardy enough to deny the flagrant injustice of the treaty of union between the two countries in as far as regards popular representation in the Commons House of Parliament.

"Whatever may be said on this side of the Tweed "against the necessity of Reform, I should hardly have "expected that any Scotchman could so far forget the "interest of his native land as not to accept with gratitude "the proferred redress of the injury inflicted by corrup-"tion on his country by those who basely bartered the "rights of Scotland for their own selfish interests. The "redress comes from the Liberal Government of an "enlightened King, desirous, as far as possible, of doing "this tardy justice to a faithful and loyal people. Is this "inestimable boon to be rejected with outrage, as putting "to hazard the constitution of the country? Is it possible "that any man, however wedded to the form of institutions "sanctioned by time, can stand forth not only the ad-"vocate of their acknowledged abuses, but attempting to "stultify the common sense of his countrymen, and thus "to entrap them into the signature of an anti-reform "address? Vain, however, must the attempt be!

"You will, I am sure, my countrymen, listen with distrust to those who endeavour to sow dissension among you on an occasion where all must reap the sweet fruits of being called into independence, and to a

"just share of power in the choice of your representatives "in Parliament.

"Look back for the last seventy years to the conduct of the electors and of the elected in Scotland. Judge for yourselves from this examination of the characters which truly attach to each of those parties, and say whether you are not inclined to agree with me, who may be supposed to have been let somewhat into the secret.

"Is not the blind adherence of the Scotch members to the Minister of the day become proverbial. Why is this remarkable uniformity so notorious? the best recommendation a candidate could pretend to, was his influence at head-quarters. I have some right to speak feelingly on this subject. I was myself the object of the unanimous choice of the electors of Perthshire, without any pretensions to that distinguished favour. A few years afterwards, when perhaps I might have fairly claimed some attention by my devotion to the service of my country, I was rejected because I publicly declared my hostility to a minister who could condescend to supplant a rival (the present distinguished head of His Majesty's Government) by the hypocritical cant of the 'No Popery' watchword.

"Give a signal proof of the grateful sense you feel of the benefits conferred on Scotland by this great measure of reform, by your firm determination to show your loyalty and attachment to the King, by strict obedience to the laws, and place unlimited confidence in that Liberal Government which has originated and displayed its best exertions to carry into effect a measure which will tend to perpetuate the invaluable blessing of a free constitution to these United Kingdoms.

"I have the honour to remain, etc.,

"LYNEDOCH."

" 12, Stratton Street,
" 12 Decr. 1831."

The foregoing stirring appeal had the effect of inducing the chief inhabitants of the Burgh of Perth to follow its tenets as evidenced by the following letter.

" Perth, 7th May, 1832.

" My Lord,

"By desire of the Magistrates and Town Council
"of the City, I have taken the liberty to transmit to your
"Lordship by this post a petition to the House of Lords,
"praying that their Lordships may be pleased to pass
"the Reform Bill unimpaired, and we shall feel greatly
"obliged by your Lordship taking the trouble to present
"the same on such occasion as your Lordship may deem
"suitable.

"I trust your Lordship will forgive this trouble, and I have the honour to be, etc.,

"JOHN WRIGHT,
"Lord Provost."

"To THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD LYNEDOCH."

His Lordship was present when the Bill received the Royal assent in June, but owing to an operation which had to be performed on his eyes he was unable to attend the banquet given in the Guildhall of the City of London, on the 11th of July, to celebrate the passing of the Bill.

To Miss Græme, 18, Heriot Row, Edinburgh.

"12, Stratton Street, London, 15th June, 1832.

"As I wrote a few days ago to Robert that I had determined to have an operation performed on my eyes, you will be glad to hear that on Wednesday last Mr. Alexander extracted cataracts from both my eyes. It is now about forty-eight hours since this took place, and as no inflammation has come on hitherto, everything promises well. I know how glad you will all be to hear this. I am not yet allowed to see anybody, and

"scarcely to hear a book read, so of course I must not dictate longer. Good bye.

"Ever affectionately yours,

Though this letter was written to dictation it was addressed and franked by his Lordship.

From this time onwards, his life was varied by visits to the Continent in winter and spring, and a return to London towards summer, from whence he paid visits to his friends throughout England, almost invariably spending the early part of autumn at Lynedoch, where it was his delight to assemble a large circle of his friends, who visited him in relays during the period of his sojourn there. It was here that, assisted by Mr. Graham and his sisters, his Lordship dispensed that delightful hospitality, which rendered a visit to Lynedoch so charming to those of his acquaintances who had the privilege of enjoying it. Excursions to various parts of the county were planned and carried out with a spirit in which it was his delight to excel. These, sometimes by carriage conveyance, and sometimes on horseback, not unfrequently carried the party for more than a night from home. Having no grouse on his own estate, he usually rented a moor in his own or in an adjoining county; while the home coverts, abundantly supplied with game of every kind, afforded ample opportunities for sport to his shooting friends. His love of husbandry and the rearing of stock, still continued a favourite pursuit, and a visit to the Home Farm, or to the paddocks devoted to his brood mares and stud, usually terminated his afternoon's ride. His success in rearing horses was considerable, his name as a breeder frequently appearing in the catalogues of the Highland and Agricultural Society. Not many years prior to his decease he ran two fillies at Newmarket, and was the fortunate winner with "Jeffy," a filly of his own rearing, which event gave him unbounded

gratification, while he received the hearty congratulations of many friends, and his success was specially honoured by a congratulatory notice from Her Majesty. He was greatly beloved by his tenantry, and indeed by everyone employed on his estate. He had ever a kind word for all with whom he came in contact, ready to relieve distress or to offer advice, with that amount of tact and delicacy of feeling which eminently characterised everything he did.

He had great regard for his faithful and attached factor, Mr. Goodsman, who had been so long in his service, and to whom he was in the habit of sending the most minute directions for the management of his property, from whatever part of the globe he happened to be residing in.

To General Anderson.

"Stratton Street, 29th March, 1833.

" My dear Anderson,

"When we met last night at the United Service "Club, and when you confirmed what I had only heard "for the first time in the morning, that Mr. Carrick "Moore was going to publish a new and enlarged edition " of his brother's life, it immediately occurred to me that "I ought not to let slip such an opportunity of stating to "Mr. Moore such circumstances as have not been noticed " in any former publication, and which came immediately "under my observation on the fatal day that terminated "the invaluable life of our lamented friend, and deprived "the British army of one of the most distinguished officers "that its proud annals can boast of. You recommended "to me to write to you without delay, and, in consequence " of that advice, I have taken up my pen. Still, though "the impression was indelibly engraven on my mind, and "that at this distance of time I can bring the scene of "horror into my mind as if it were before my eyes at this "moment, I feel I can scarcely add anything to the facts "so feelingly described by Sir Henry Hardinge, who at

"the time I had not the pleasure of being personally "acquainted with. It must therefore be attributed to the "natural feeling of a desire on my part that it should be "known that I was at my post that I make this communi-"cation. Indeed you must be aware, that during the "whole of the anxious time of the retreat from Sahagun "to Corunna I was always near the General, except when "sent by him with special orders; this gave me the "opportunity of seeing how deeply he felt the disappoint-"ment of not being attacked by the enemy at Lugo. But "for having observed that, I could scarcely have believed "it possible for a man so worn down with fatigue and "anxiety to have been so transformed as he was on the "16th January, 1809. It was a transition from fixed "gloom, bordering almost on despair, to a state of exul-"tation at the prospect of being attacked before the " embarkation could take place.

"After having been out in the morning to see that his " orders for the occupation of the position had been pro-"perly obeyed, he returned into the town to take some "refreshment. On a summons from Sir J. Hope, he called "for his horse, and I shall never forget, not only the "animation, but the almost boyish gaiety of his manner "and countenance, as we rode out to the lines. "repeatedly expressed to me his delight that Soult was "at last going to give him an opportunity of trying the "stuff which their respective troops were made of. "did not entertain a doubt of the successful issue of the "battle, though the position was by no means a strong "one, particularly on our right. Observing how much "the enemy, in repeated masses, passed on that side, and "aware of the immense importance of retaining posses-"sion of the village of Palacio, he sent me to Sir "Edward Paget and to General Frazer with orders to "keep their relative distances, but to advance so as to be "ready, at a moment's warning, to support the gallant "4th Foot and the troops in the village. I hastened back

"and found the General in the best spirits, as the troops everywhere stood firm, repulsing the attacks of the enemy, though Lieutenant-General Sir D. Baird had been severely wounded, and was carried off the field. He moved to different points of the line, and it was evident that the enemy, having a distinct view from the commanding height occupied by a powerful battery, watched his motions, and volleys of cannon shot and howitzer shells were directed against head-quarters whenever he became stationary for the purpose of giving orders.

"Captain Hardinge having come up to report the near "approach of a battalion of Guards which he had sent " for, was close to the General's horse on his right, while "I turned my horse's head and remained facing the "General close on his left. A cannon shot, at the "moment he was directing Captain Hardinge to post "the Guards, struck his left shoulder and turned him "round on his saddle, so that he fell to the ground on "his back, almost under my horse's fore feet. I threw "myself off my horse, and was horror-struck at seeing "the nature of his wound. Captain Hardinge and some "men of the 42nd Royal Highlanders coming up, I imme-"diately mounted my horse and galloped off for a surgeon, "and as soon as I had succeeded, I went to inform my "friend and relation, Sir John Hope, of the sad necessity " of his taking the command of the army immediately. "I led him to the fatal spot; we were informed that the "General had been carried off in a soldier's blanket, and "was accompanied by you. Sir John Hope then desired " me to stay with him, and we did not return to the town "till the action had ceased entirely, the enemy every-"where falling back, and darkness concealing all objects. "There is no doubt, that with some hours' more daylight, "the enemy must have been driven back over the Burgo "River on his right, for Sir Edward Paget had entirely "routed the troops the enemy had pushed forward on his

"left, and had actually got possession of the wood on "which his (the enemy's) left rested, in the rear of the battery above mentioned. Soon after we returned to head-quarters that noble spirit fled. How wonderfully sublime his self-devotion, his genuine patriotism, his anxiety for the honour of his gallant army! How touching his kindness about the fate of us all! Never was a general more deserving of the confidence, the affection, and the admiration of his army; nor was ever a general more universally beloved or more sincerely lamented.

"Yours sincerely,
"LYNEDOCH."

"TO MAJOR-GENERAL ANDERSON."

Early in the year 1833, an offer was made to the old General to take command of the forces of the Queen, Donna Maria, in Portugal.

It was most decidedly declined; and when one considers that the appointment was offered to a man in his eightysixth year his remarks seem very appropriate.

To Lord William Russell.

"12, Stratton Street, 17th April, 1833.

"Were it not, my dear William, that I am morally
"certain you could not for a moment think of quizzing me
"under any circumstances, I should be puzzled about your
"motive for your letter of the 30th inst., received two days
ago at Holkham, but I attribute it to your overweening
"partiality that prevents your making use of your own
"sound sense and discriminating judgment, so I must set
"you right.
"In the first place, many years ago, I declined Lord

"In the first place, many years ago, I declined Lord "Clarendon's offer to recommend me to the Regency at Lisbon for the command afterwards bestowed on Lord"

"Beresford, because I did not choose to serve otherwise "than with British troops. In the second place, besides "the number of years that have passed over my head, "with the natural consequences of age, I have had a most "violent rheumatic attack, which at the time disabled me "entirely from any exertion; and the apprehension of "bringing on such another attack obliges me to adopt "a degree of caution very much against my habits, and "which would be quite incompatible with the due per-"formance of such a command, where the greatest energy "and activity must be required to give a chance of success "by establishing the confidence of superiority in the troops " of Donna Maria. But enough, my dear friend; I wish "well to her cause, and think, most conscientiously, that "it would be ruined in my hands. There would be a degree " of ridicule thrown on me by such an appointment, as "would entirely destroy all confidence in me; but I will "not say a word more, as I am sure that you must see "that I judge rightly. Let me beg of you to let Lady "William read this; I am sure she will approve, though "I flatter myself that she would not dislike to see me " arrive in Lisbon in any character. Good bye.

"Ever affectly yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

To the Earl Cathcart.

"Lissadell, Sligo,
"Thursday, 21st August, 1833.

" My dear Brother,

"All my plans were much deranged by my being "obliged to stay in London till almost the last days of the session. I then set off and travelled as expeditiously as I could to fulfil an engagement made last year in Scotland to pass some days here with an Irish family, Sir Robert Gore Booth's, that passed last summer in the north of Scotland, near Inverness, and on their way home made

"me a visit at Lynedoch of ten days. On my way I took "the road by Derby, Matlock baths, and Buxton to Man-"chester, in order to have an opportunity of going by the "railway to Liverpool. It is a wonderful triumph of art "and science over almost insuperable difficulties; how-" ever, after the first impression of astonishment passes by, "I would rather go with a pair of good horses on a good " macadamised road, and so be my own master to call a halt "when one pleases, than be carried along without a jolt "at the rate of twenty miles an hour at the tail of fifteen "great omnibusses full of passengers, and preceding "nearly as many open carriages with benches for the "operatives who chance to visit their friends. This was "what is called the light train; the heavy not only draws "very heavy waggons, with goods of all kinds, at a rate "when they move little less rapid, but they stop to take "in passengers and receive bulky things by the way very "often, which the light train was not allowed to do. A "friend of mine at Liverpool told me he had accompanied "the Duke of Orleans, who wanted to be conveyed as fast " as possible, and the managers did all they could to meet "his orders; but it happened to be on a Saturday, when "they could not stop all the traffic, but they gave orders for " all the trains that could be got ready, going from Liverpool, "to start very early. Their rapidity, however, was such, "that, though giving these some hours' law, they ran into "them, and were obliged to halt before they reached Man-"chester; they said they went at the rate of thirty-five " miles an hour, having only the Duke of Orleans' carriage "attached to the steam-carriage. Now for the disastrous "part of my story. I cannot by any means get to Belfast "so as to embark for Greenock sooner than on Saturday "morning, the 30th inst., and I promised some friends "from the south to be at Lynedoch on the 31st, as they "engaged to be there on that day. This will only leave "me the possibility of stopping five minutes to shake "hands with you, if I should not pass in the night, at

"Glasgow. If I could have got away from the House of "Lords I should have managed to pass two or three days "with Lady Cathcart and you, and which, before I return to the south, I trust I shall be able to do. Addio.

"Ever affectionately,
"LYNEDOCH."

The vacant command of the Royal Regiment was bestowed on Lord Lynedoch at the end of the year 1834, His Majesty King William IV himself conveying the gratifying intelligence in a letter to his old companion in arms, dated,

"St. James' Palace, Decr. 11th, 1834.

"The King, recollecting that Lord Lynedoch is "the only General in the British service with whom H.M., "when Duke of Clarence, had the advantage and plea"sure of serving against the enemies of Great Britain, "has the highest satisfaction in now conferring on his "Lordship the vacant regiment of the Royal Regiment of "Foot.

"WILLIAM, R."

From Lord Hill.

"Horse Guards, Decr. 11th, 1834.

" My dear Lord,

"I have the highest satisfaction in acquainting you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to nominate you to the command of the Royal Regiment, in succession to the Duke of Gordon, who is appointed to the Scotch Fusileer Guards.

"I beg to offer you my warmest congratulations on the "occasion.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,
"Yours most truly,
"HILL."

"GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B."

To the Earl Cathcart (Cathcart MSS.)

"Glynde, Lewes, 20th Decr., 1834.

"I have to acknowledge and thank you, my dear brother, for the kind letter which has just come into my hands. It was fully my determination to have communicated the appointment on which you congratulate me, and with all the details which render the favour more flattering as a positive proof that to the King alone I owe this distinction. Well, to the point. Last Saturday, for inst., I came to town, on my way to this place, (General Trevor's) where I had been long engaged. I found on my table, among other letters, one from Sir Herbert Taylor, enclosing a note from the King, written in his own hand, and couched in the following terms:—

"I immediately referred to Sir H. Taylor in what man"ner, according to etiquette, I was to acknowledge to His
"Majesty the high honour conferred on me, and in the
"evening (the King having gone to visit the Duchess of
"Gloucester, at Bagshot Park), I received an answer
"ordering me to call at St. James' the next day (Sunday),
"at half-past two, when the King would see me.

"I was accordingly ushered in by Sir Andrew Bernard, and, after some civil things from His Majesty, I took an opportunity of saying that what I felt most deeply was the most gracious manner in which the great favour and mark of His Majesty's approbation was communicated to me by a notification in His Majesty's own handwriting, as it was a sure proof that I owed the appointment to His Majesty alone. He then added that he was sure the whole army would approve of his choice. I kissed His Majesty's hand on this appointment, when he said 'You must come back and dine here at 7 o'clock, that your new commission may be wetted by having your health drank as Colonel of the Royals.' He also desired me to dine at the Pavilion at Brighton on the

"day that was to be kept as St. Andrew's day, the 29th inst., and not to forget to bring General Trevor along with me on that day. This left me at liberty to leave London immediately. I have had a great accumulation of letters to answer, which, after following me about, were sent to Stratton Street, and which has occupied me every day since my arrival here. With kindest regards to Lady Cathcart and the young ladies,

"I remain,

"Ever most affectionately yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

In 1837, Henry Cockburn, a senator of the College of Justice of Edinburgh, met his Lordship and was much struck with his appearance and manners. In his journal, since published, the following eulogy is found:—

"24th Octr., 1837.-I dined at Craig Crook, the residence " of Lord Jeffrey, near Edinburgh, on the 21st, and at the "'New' club yesterday, for the first time since he was " couched for cataract, met with one of the finest specimens " of an old gentleman, Lord Lynedoch; he is better even "than the Chief Commissioner, in so far as he is a year or "two older. At the age of about 88 his mind and body are "both perfectly entire. He is still a great horseman, "drives to London night and day in an open carriage, eats "and drinks like an ordinary person, hears as well as "others, sees well enough, after being operated upon, for " all practical purposes, reading included, has the gallantry "and politeness of an old soldier, enjoys and enlivens "every company, especially where there are ladies, by "a plain, manly, sensible, well-bred manner, and a "conversation rich in his strong judgment, and with "a memory full of the most interesting scenes and "people of the last seventy years. Large in bone and "feature, his head is finer than Jupiter's. It is like a "grey, solid, war-worn castle. He did not enter the "army, I believe, till he was past 40, and then, beginning "as a sort of sagacious, brave, voluntary adviser at the "siege of Toulon, early in the revolution, and proceeding "in the same capacity, but recognised by the British "Government at Napoleon's siege at Mantua; he was " afterwards in Egypt, and then had a command under his "friend Moore, at whose dying request his full rank was "conceded; after which he shone in every transaction in "the Peninsula, and his assault on Antwerp (gallantly "conducted but unsuccessful) was, if I recollect right, the "last military event in the war which ended in 1814. "Nor has it only been in the affairs of war that his manly, "chivalrous spirit has made him admired and loved. "has always taken a decided part in politics, on the "popular side, and is one of the old Whigs who find " nothing good prevailing now but what he fought for and "anticipated long ago. He is one of the men who make " old age lovely."

In 1839, Lord Lynedoch visited the continent, and again in 1841. When *en route* to Malta, he sojourned for a short time with his old friend Marshal Radetsky, to whom, on his return home, he sent a valuable horse as a present.

To Sir Alex. Woodford.

" Malta, 3rd May, 1841.

"I lose no time, my dear General, to send you "my best thanks for your kind and most obliging letter "received last night. Should no clever Ronda pony be "to be got at the next fair, and the little Barb or Arab be "approved of, I should be glad to have him, as, if he "should not quite suit me for my riding, he would do well "as a stallion to breed ponies from our little mountain "mares, especially in the islands of Argyleshire.

"I had some good mares when the failure of my sight "from cataract in both eyes obliged me to give up hunt-

"ing, and I hired one of Sir John Malcolm's Arabs for some years, and bred some very valuable stock from them. But my distance from good markets made me give up that kind of farming; but, being very fond of horses, I now keep two or three entering Newmarket, where I go as an amusement, for I never bet or risk more than the stakes.

"I regret much that circumstances will not allow me to "pay my respects to Lady Woodford and you, having "engaged to meet a friend in Lombardy to cross the "Alps together when the weather gets a little warmer. "The Admiral has promised me the use of a steamer, "and I shall leave this about 10 or 12 days hence, and "land at Ancona.

"Ever most faithfully yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

From Marshal Radetsky.

"Milan, le 10 Septembre, 1841.

" Mon très cher Ami,

"Comme j'ai parcouru depuis plusieurs semaines "les différents garnisons de mon Généralat pour connaître "leur progrès, ce n'est que hier que j'avais le plaisir de "voir le beau Osman, que je dois aux largesses de mon "très cher et aimable ami. Acceptez de votre camarade "pour votre marque d'amitié et d'attachement mes vifs "remerciments. Ce cadeau m'est d'autant plus cher "qu'il me parvient de vous, et je crois de vous devoir "autant plus d'obligation que le caractère doux de ce "cheval aurait pû rendre à vous même d'excellentes "services encore. Que Dieu m'accorde la grace de pouvoir "un jour sur ce même cheval en vainqueur en face de "l'ennemi terminer mes jours.

"Le bon Osman, qui a l'approbation générale, est "d'une proportion rare et belle, dont la taille me con"vienne parfaitement; son regard fier et loyale m'est garant que toute sorte de mauvaise habitude lui sont inconnu. En un mot, il est reconnu en général pour un cheval rare et très distingué, et je ne peut attendre le moment de le monter, à quoi je dois pourtant renoncer pour quelque temps à cause de l'enflure de ses jambes produit par le feu que lui fut donné sur les jointes de derrière et par des onguents très fort, ce que je présume lui ont oté le poil à différents endroits; néanmoins j'en doute nullement qu'il se remettra avec le temps et que sa bravour correspondera à sa beauté.

"Agréez mon très cher et honorable ami de nouveau mes remerciments et donnez-moi bientôt de vos nou"velles.

"Votre tout dévoué et très attaché,

"RADETSKY, M."

Notwithstanding his great age, Lord Lynedoch's love of travel seemed to increase rather than diminish. The continent, too, had special charms for him, as he had almost as many friends abroad as in Great Britain. On his return from Malta, where he had been enthusiastically received by all classes, he remained at home a few months, visiting some of the many who claimed his presence, but at the end of the year he resumed his wanderings, and in November was at Toulouse.

To Robert Graham, Esq.

"Toulouse, Wednesday, 24th Novr., 1841." Dear Robert,

"After a stay of three weeks, I left Bordeaux on "Saturday the 20th of November, and got here the next "day, having made a long day's journey; for though I "had given my horses some days' start, and the weather

" had been unfavourable for their making regular journeys,

"I calculated that they would have had a day's rest, and

"would be ready to start on Monday, which was the case. "So I just got here in time to stop them, to take a long "ride on Monday, in hopes of being able to follow "the movements of our troops on the day of the great "battle better than I had had an opportunity of doing "before. But I had little success, for there are numbers " of new houses and gardens now where, at that time, it "was open field, and all the redoubts are levelled, and no "trace left of them, excepting at one end of the ground "where the redoubt which was not taken is left unde-"stroyed, and a column in honour of Soult is lately "erected. They say after rain it is hardly accessible but "on foot; no wheel carriage, I believe, would get to it, but "I did not know anything of it on Monday. There were "some hundreds of people at work in the fields and "gardens, but chiefly women and lads, that know nothing "of the battle; indeed, the women were unintelligible, "speaking only a patois that is not like French. Yester-"day I found an intelligent hackney coachman, who took " me as near to Soult's column as a carriage can go. "an obelisk, and was only finished about three years ago. "It has some inscription on it, and I was in hopes of finding " an engraving of it with the inscription, but hitherto there "has been no drawing or engraving of it made.

"I hope to be able to get the inscription unless it should be a very long one. By my friend the hackney coachman's account it is something of this sort—

' Ici repose le salut de la Patrie.'

"I dine at the table d'hôte, but have not met with anybody that I could ask on this rather delicate subject.

"Yours, etc.,
"LYNEDOCH."

From France he went on to Italy, where he remained until the early summer of 1842, when he returned home.

To Mr. Goodsman.

" Rome, March 4th, 1842.

" Mr. Goodsman,

"I wish you had said something about your own health and eyes in the letter I received from you a few days ago. The bad state of the produce of the last harvest will, I fear, bring on you many claims for indulgences when the rent day comes, which it will be difficult to resist. This is one of the examples of a farmer depending upon corn crops in our climate, whereas a part of every farm might be in grass with live stock, which are less dependent on weather. I hope the weather will at least prove favourable for seed time.

"I wish you to send to Mr. Waller a very correct list

"I wish you to send to Mr. Waller a very correct list "of all the horses at Craigengall, with their respective pedigrees, ages, etc.

"You will be surprised to hear that the old lame Tuscan "mare's filly, by Romeo, turns out to be an extraordinary good hunter and fast withal. Grant should get the usual "caution relative to all the horses remaining under his care at Craigengall, that I only want them made quiet, "and to be as little ridden as possible.

"If the show of the Highland Society be anywhere near, "I should like to send the horse 'Young Mogul' there, to "be seen as extra stock; undoubtedly if Edinburgh be "the place as I expect, he will be the best specimen of a "true Cleveland ever bred in Scotland.

" Ever truly yours,
" LYNEDOCH."

To Miss Græme.

"Constance, 7th August, 1842.

"I have been driven out of Lombardy by the "excessive heat, which disagreed with me beyond all belief, affecting my nervous system in an unspeakable

"degree. Such a change does 25 or 30 years (from the time that I braved the mid-day sun in Andalusia without any precaution) make! Even here the sun is hotter than I like; my great anxiety, however, is that we may fall in with Robert on the Rhine, between this and Cologne. We shall then make the best of our way to the North, giving up all idea of Rome for this next winter. You will not be sorry for all this, nor your mother, that Robert should not get beyond the Alps. Remember me most kindly to her and your sisters, and

"Believe me, ever most affectionately yours,
"LYNEDOCH."

At the end of August, his Lordship went to Lynedoch, where he remained till the end of October, paying a visit to his relations at Hopetoun House on his way to London, where he passed the winter. He was greatly affected by the death of his old comrade, Viscount Hill, which took place at the end of that year—with whom it may be said, he had served for 50 years, since their first meeting at Toulon.

In the spring of 1843, Lord Lynedoch rented Codrington, in Bedfordshire, from his friend Mr. Whitbread, and in the month of May he attended a dinner in the United Service Club, given by the officers who served with him at Barossa.

In the beginning of June, he took lodgings at Windsor for the Ascot week, and soon afterwards started for Scotland. In August, he spent a short time at Gannochy Bridge, in Forfarshire, where he rented a moor for the season, and one day accompanied the sportsmen on horseback, but the exertion was more than he could endure, and he was glad to return to Lynedoch, leaving his friends to continue their sports.

On the 19th of November, he went with Mr. Graham to Hastings for a little change, but the weather becoming stormy, and Lord Lynedoch feeling the cold more than he expected, he immediately returned to London. On his

arrival, he sent for his physician who found he had a considerable amount of feverish cold, and enjoined great care. He was then under the Homœopathic treatment of Dr. Lawrie, who usually attended him. The uneasiness continuing, of his own accord, on the 3rd December, he called in Dr. Guthrie, who, with Dr. Lawrie, continued in constant attendance. On the 13th Mr. Graham wrote,-" The doctors have been obliged to speak out last " night, and to declare their great doubts of being able to "carry Lord Lynedoch through his present illness. They "do not apprehend anything immediately, but they think " it their duty to state, that after they have done everything "in their power, and having been well supported by those "immediately about him, it is their opinion now, that he "is gradually failing." He continued in this state for several days, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing ground.

On the 18th, Mr. Graham writes,—"He passed a very "restless night, but slept between three and four hours, and "a quarter-of-an-hour at a time, occasionally, afterwards. "A message from the Queen comes regularly every "morning before nine o'clock to enquire. We have not "anything to warrant us in the belief that he considers "himself in a dangerous state. He saw General Trevor, "Lord Dacre, and Hare for a minute or two each, but he "does not show any inclination to see anybody. He sent "for me yesterday and dictated a long memorandum about "a permanent march wall between the Logie and Lyne" doch estates."

Later in the day Mr. Graham wrote,—"Lord L. is in a "tranquil, placid, and calm state, breathing as easily as "many people do when they are asleep. He has not "spoken for an hour-and-a-half, and his pulse is next to "gone. The doctors have gone away in the belief that it "will not be necessary to return to-morrow. But I cannot "bring myself to think that it is quite so near his last, "his countenance is so unchanged." The doctors returned

about nine o'clock that evening, and before they left, Seymour (who had been called in) addressed him with a few words indicative that skill could do nothing more. At this announcement, the import of which he seemed fully to understand, tears ran down his cheeks, and he had still strength enough to lift his hand to wipe them aside. He then fell into a gentle and quiescent state, like sleep; and at eleven o'clock, after one long drawn breath, life was extinct.

Lord Lynedoch's death was keenly felt by all his friends, who truly loved him for his genial kindliness, and many to whom he was scarcely known lost in him a benefactor. But though great their sorrow, they felt that their old friend had been mercifully dealt with; his life had been spared for ninety-six years, and in that time he had been permitted to win the gratitude of his country, and the respect and affection of all who had the good fortune to know him.

Lord Lynedoch was one of those fortunate beings whose actions are so intimately connected with history, that their names can never die.

As long as the world exists, the Victor of Barossa will be remembered.

APPENDIX.

- WILLIAM DE GRAHAM settled in Scotland under King David the First, and obtained from that Prince the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith in 1128.
- SIR WILLIAM GRAHAM, of Kincardine, 11th in descent from the above, married secondly
- MARY STEWART, second daughter of King Robert the Third, and by her had five sons, of whom
- WILLIAM, of Garvock, his third son, 1443, was succeeded by his son
- MATTHEW, of Garvock, 1502, who was succeeded by his son
- ARCHIBALD, of Garvock, slain at Flodden in 1513, and was succeeded by his son
- JOHN, of Garvock, who died in 1545, whose second son
- JOHN (1st of Balgowan), married Marjory Rollock or Rollo, daughter of Andrew Rollock or Rollo of Duncrub. He purchased Balgowan in 1584 from James, Lord Innermeath, subject to a right of reversion, which was renounced by John, Earl of Athole, son of Lord Innermeath, and John Græme's title thus became irredeemable. He was succeeded by
- John (2nd of Balgowan), his son, who married (1605) Isabella Bonnar, daughter of Ninian Bonnar, of Keltie. He was succeeded by his son
- JOHN (3rd of Balgowan), who married (1647) Helen Blair, daughter of Sir Thomas Blair, of Balthayock, Knight. He was succeeded by his son
- THOMAS (4th of Balgowan), who married (1), in 1671, Anna Drummond, daughter of Sir James Drummond, of Machony, Knight, by whom he had nine sons and seven daughters; and (2), in 1716, Christian Leslie, third daughter of Lord Newark. He entailed the lands of Balgowan on his heirs male, and was succeeded by his son
- JOHN (5th of Balgowan), who married Elizabeth Carnegie (1702),

daughter of James Carnegie, of Balnamoon, Esq., by whom he had five sons and two daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son

- THOMAS (6th of Balgowan), who married Lady Christian Hope (1749), daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun, by whom he had three sons, Charles, John, and
- THOMAS (7th of Balgowan), his two elder brothers dying in infancy. He married in 1774 the Honourable Mary Cathcart, daughter of Charles, 9th Baron Cathcart. On her death, in 1792, Mr. Graham obtained service in the army under Lord Mulgrave, and afterwards raised the 90th Regiment of Light Infantry, of which he obtained the command. After distinguished service in Italy and Spain, he was raised to the rank of General, made a Knight of the Bath, and afterwards created a Peer of the Realm under the title of BARON LYNEDOCH.

LIFE OF LORD LYNEDOCH.*

If for no other reason than that Lord Lynedoch died within the memory of persons only now entering on middle age, and yet was nearly 12 years old

cedents in his favour, he had rendered good service this bio-in the field, he had held the rank of Brigadier; was a General, and had performed the remarkable feat of vived to General, and had performed the remarkable feat of rived to General, and had performed the remarkable feat of rived to Charles arising three regiments. The Duke of York was, Charles however, obdurate, and, though the 90th escaped however, obdurate, and, though the 90th escaped however, obdurate, and Colonel Graham could obtain no being disbanded, Colonel Graham could obtain no being disbanded, Colonel Graham could obtain no being disbanded, Colonel Graham could obtain no between the few years he divided his time between the few years he divided his time between the er good A man Quartermaster-General's Office in Ireland, his own county, and Parliament. In 1808 he accompanied Sir John Moore, first to the Baltic as panied Sir John Moore, first to the same capable and afterwards in the same capable. panied Sir John Moore, first to the Battle as py his aide-de-camp and afterwards in the same capable, saw first to spring from his horse and pick up the decent of the same of the same capable. The same capable is the same capable in the same capa the midst of his agony, Sir John Moore sent h from through an officer of his staff an earnest re- in the urrough an omcer of his stan an earnest term in the quest that Colonel Graham's services might be re-? from the cognized by his rank being made permanent. The ments result was that Colonel Graham's commission was There treated as if it had been permanent from the first, is life. and a few weeks after his return to England he became Arming and a rewweeks afterns return to England he became Arming a Major-General. In July, 1809, he sailed and took brush, part in the bombardment of Flushing, and on re-laction turning was given the command of the troops about ntally turning was given the command of the troops about ntally Sandgate. In the following February he was despot of 45, spatched to take command of the British garrison ulonel, at Coding with the rank of Lieutenant-General. In coord at Cadiz, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. In meral. that capacity he won the victory of Barrosa. In E may July, 1811, he joined Lord Wellington's army.

A. his year later, suffering from an affection of the eye, when year later, suffering from an affection of the eye, when year later, sunering from an affection of the eye, when he was forced to return home, but in April, 1813, 12 need he resumed his command. In October his health and he again compelled him to proceed to England. Six home weeksafter his arrival hereceived from the Govern-agThe ment so pressing a request to assume the commandos and

* "Life of Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch," by Alexand Sp. off.
ander M. Delavoye, Captain 56th Foot (late 90th L.I.). quithen the second of the

DRURY-LANE THEATRE.—The Prince and Princess

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THE LIFE OF TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,-In The Times of the 11th inst. you published a review of Captain Delavoye's life of Lord Lynedoch. In the review, and I suppose in the original work, it is stated that Lord Lynedoch, then Colonel Graham, was the first to spring from his horse at the battle of Corunna and pick up Sir John Moore, after he had received his death-wound. In a letter written by Captain Hardinge (afterwards General Viscount Henry Hardinge), and which has since been published, that gentleman states that-

"He had just reported to his General that the Guards were coming quickly, when Sir John was struck on the shoulder and left breast by a cannon-ball. He fell from his horse, and was believed to be dead, but before he (Hardinge) could dismount Sir John had half raised himself, and, with a standfast, eve and unchanged countenance. was looking a steadfast eye and unchanged countenance, was looking after the 42d and the other troops engaged in the front. He grasped Hardinge's hand, and when that gallant and grieving officer said, 'They are advancing,' his countenance brightened up. Colonel Graham (afterwards Lord Lyuedoch) now came to the spot, and from the composure of the General's countenance, imagined that he was not much hort, until he saw the blood welling from the wound. He General's countenance, imagined that he was not m hurt, until he saw the blood welling from the wound.

then went in search of surgeons. The above extract is from a published account of the battle of Corunna, and the author quotes largely from Captain Hardinge's letter. I think, Sir, that this pointviz., which of these officers was the first to go to the assistance of Sir John Moore after he had received his death-wound—is both historical and well worthy of being settled.

WILLIAM WILFRID WEBB. settled.

Seaview, Isle of Wight, Sept. 12.