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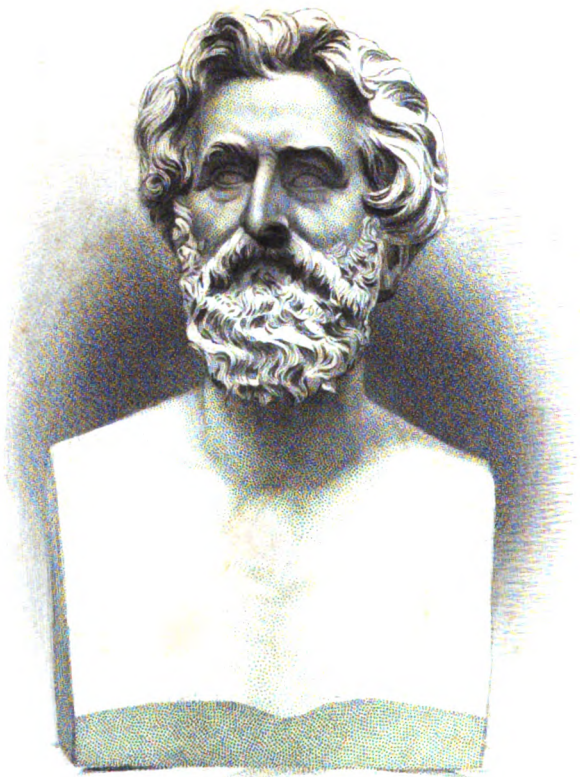

W. Napier

THE

LIFE AND OPINIONS

OF

GENERAL

SIR CHARLES JAMES NAPIER,

G.C.B.

BY LIEUT.-GEN. SIR W. NAPIER, K.C.B.

ETC. ETC.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

WITH PORTRAITS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
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Map of Scinde and Lines of Operations.

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LIFE

OF

CHARLES JAMES NAPIER.

TWELFTH EPOCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

ENGLAND was at the commencement of 1839 in a very sullen mood. The working classes, suffering and justly angry at having been shuffled out of representative power, were accepting the Whig lesson of physical force: and many persons of influence in the state were willing, even eager, to bring affairs to that issue before the discontented could consolidate their strength. In the north insurrection was only prevented by the military, and command there was a most responsible post for a conscientious officer. It was suddenly offered to Charles Napier, and he accepted it though thoroughly sensible of its difficulties:—for him most onerous, as he had on many occasions entirely recognized the right of franchise demanded by the discontented: but he was as entirely opposed to its attainment by arms, for civil war was to him a sound of horror. He however remembered that his father, in 1798, with like commiseration for the wronged multitude, and like contempt for the government of the day had, though only a private person, stept between contending parties and staved off many terrible inflictions. He there-

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fore hoped to do the same; and the more easily that the government was certainly not so anxious for the sword as irresponsible politicians were. He also felt conversant with the feelings of the working classes, having marked during his political career, how far designing agitators influenced wilful men and where honest delusion begun. His correspondence and journals shall now shew his secret sentiments, that they may be compared with the fair outside exacted by the world from public men however vexed by folly and wickedness, and he will not be found a *whited sepulchre*. His command did not however begin immediately; it was indeed offered in February and his desire was to proceed at once to the north, but delays were interposed, and meanwhile the following letters were addressed to his brother William.

"March 9th. Count Alfred de Vigny wrote a book to prove that soldiers were helots: Colburn offered me money to edit a translation, with preface and notes; and I have shewn that the British soldier is no helot but an integral part of a constitution superior to any other in Europe, and to all republics. This led to a tirade against the American system, shewing the necessity for military men to put down force by force. The folly of riotous assemblies assuming to represent the whole people of England, and a right to change laws by violence, is also strongly commented upon, and declaration made, that as an officer and a citizen I am bound on principle, and resolved, to maintain the constitution against Republican innovators. Hence, if it be my fate to fire on rioters it cannot be said I excited people to violence by my radicalism and then turned upon them; never did I excite any persons to violence, and I would fire on rioters. All that my editorial notes say is in my belief just and true, and consistent with my radicalism. Let this make you easy, for my notes were printed long since.

"March 15th. You were right. Matters are worse at Easter than they were when I was put off. I had no doubt

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you were right, though you said Lord Fitzroy had a different opinion. Bunbury tells me McDonald, the Adjutant-General, writes, that the Chartists are preparing for extremities. Yet the ministers have kept me away from my district, and will probably send me in the midst of a blow-up when I shall not know what troops I have, or where they are; or what towns they may be most safely drawn from: in short without a knowledge of any of the things that ought to be at the ends of a man's fingers. My wish was to go privately to Nottingham before being appointed, but they threw cold water upon that, and McDonald said, By no means, see how D'Urban has been blamed for remaining at the Cape! as if there was the least resemblance in the two cases. O'Connell is very bad. His words have great effect here in making one people hate the other, for he tries to father everything on the English, no matter what their politics are. Colburn has my romance, *Harold*, but I can't get an answer from him! Davenport, who is a good fellow, is managing for me with Colburn, who wants me to edit the life of the duke, but I refused. I saw a letter from Alaric Watts, which says, that to his knowledge the duke's dispatches don't sell, and he is out of pocket a thousand pounds: this is curious.

"March 22nd. It is irritating to hear attacks on good government because the Chartists go wrongly to work; but I avoid all political argument, for by the time the stories reached the Horse Guards I should be made out a Republican Chartist. Poor men! they are giving vigour to the worst Toryism and the prospect is gloomy: if they fail an oligarchy becomes triumphant; if they succeed we shall have carnage. It looks as if the falling of an empire was beginning. Here all is ripe for a fight, O'Connell's fear alone keeps things quiet. Your notion of organizing gentlemen, armed for self-defence, is good."

This was not a project for arraying gentlemen against labouring men, but for uniting them with the steadier por-

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tion of the operatives to shew the more violent how strong the opposition would be to a republic: it was contemplated only as a demonstration.

"Journal, March. The northern district embraces eleven counties, and it is said arms are being provided for insurrection: this is a result of bad government, which has produced want, and the people are rather to be pitied than blamed. They are indeed putting themselves in the wrong, but that does not make those right whose misgovernment has produced this terrible feeling, leading them to believe in every demagogue who preaches violence as a remedy for distress. Poor people! It is very painful to those who, like my brother William and myself, have long foreseen the result of Whig and Tory policy, to find now what we feared come to a head: however the Crown and constitution are not to be overset because a portion of the people follow the mad counsel of men like O'Connor, when by a juster course they could gain their rights without convulsion. My hope is that some better advisers will keep them quiet; for though of all misfortunes of this nature the most terrible is to fire on our countrymen there is no shrinking from duty, and mine shall be done at all hazards: but accursed be they who cause or begin civil war.

"I expect to have very few soldiers and many enemies: hence, if we deal with pikemen my intent is to put cavalry on their flanks, making my infantry retire as the pikemen advance. If they halt to face the cavalry, the infantry shall resume fire, for if cavalry charge pikemen in order the cavalry will be defeated; the pike must be opposed by the musquet and bayonet, in which the soldiers must be taught to have confidence: it is the master weapon. I am inclined to use buckshot, which would seldom kill or wound dangerously; yet with mobs it would hurt so many that fright would cause dispersion. The great point is to defeat without killing. With a foreign foe, who recovers to fight you again, we must kill; but insurgents we should seek to save,

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not destroy, because the chances are that the rebellion will be over before the wounded can re-assemble: having no hospitals they will fly to their homes. A general brings up his recovered men; an insurgent chief does not even know where they are, and they will not come back of their own accord: a brave enthusiastic man, here and there, may rejoin, but generally wounds will be an acquittance of further fight which men will profit from.

"March 27. A summons from Lord John Russell.

"29th. In London, twenty-fours after receiving the summons! Well done steam! Smoke thou art wonderful, and a reformer! The government seem to me alarmed, and yet not vigorous. My hope is, if civil war begins, to moderate that monstrous spirit of inhumanity which history, and my own experience, teaches me to have prevailed on such dreadful occasions.

"30th. Saw Lord John, a mild person in manner. Poor man, he is in affliction which makes it hard to judge, but he seems unaffected and thoughtful. He spoke with good sense, and without violence against the Chartists, which pleased me. Saw Mr. Phillipps also, a sensible man: he rather exhibited his own knowledge than tried to measure mine, which I was glad of as he seems to take a just view of affairs. Lord Fitzroy Somerset seems to me an abler man than either, and with the right feeling of abhorrence for civil war: his dread of bloodshed is strong. Sir John McDonald did not speak of affairs. —— was in the room, and McDonald seemed to avoid speaking before him; but Sir John is a good fellow with right views. —— and I are old acquaintances. He is in my opinion narrow-minded and time-serving: perhaps I do him wrong for our acquaintance has not been intimate, but he appears to me one who would soon make civil war ruthless and sanguinary, being full of small spite like a wasp, which he resembles.

"As to myself light begins: matters may perhaps be kept

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quiet, but if not we have force to overthrow the Chartists. They have, seemingly, no organization, no leaders, and a strong tendency to turn rebellion into money, for pikes costing a shilling are sold for three and sixpence. So I hear at the Home Office, and if true it betokens the leaders' objects; we cannot expect more honesty in their followers and an outbreak will be for plunder. They shall not have much time for pillage, but my object shall be to calm things down, and instil just feelings of pity into the soldiers' minds. The people suffer greatly, and the right system is to shew them their folly, without exercising violence against their leaders, who they believe to be patriots and in that belief give their confidence. To separate them from those leaders will be useless until you destroy their confidence by proper dealing; but that done they will abandon the leaders on whom you can fall with just severity. Even then great caution will be requisite for there is no advantage in harshness, and insurrections are produced by bad government, not by the ostensible leaders. Lord John Russell and the Tories are far more to blame than O'Connor in my opinion, though I believe Lord John to be an able and a good man and O'Connor not so: the Whigs and Tories are the real authors of these troubles, by their national debt, corn laws, and new poor law.

"Colonel W. Napier. Long conferences with Lord John, Mr. Phillipps, Lord Fitzroy, and Charles Rowan. They seem very ignorant of what is going on, and by their account the magistrates must be a poor set, on whom no reliance can be placed. Rowan seems to take the best view, but all agree that there are no leaders and no money, and that O'Connor makes profit of his politics: the having no leaders I doubt, though possibly they are very bad, which is for me to find out.

"Journal. Sir Richard Jackson my predecessor writes to Lord Fitzroy, that in half an hour he can tell me all he knows; and for all the light got from the Home Office I am as blind as a new-born puppy: if insurrection

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is going to break out government is strangely ill informed. However, nearly four thousand men are under me and if May is to produce a rising they shall be gradually drawn together, lest the insurgents should begin by picking off small detachments, a danger that does not seem to have been considered here. These pikes are but six feet long, which shews their military advisers are not much up to their work.

"April 3rd. Saw Jackson, an honest man, and speaks his mind freely.

"Nottingham, April 4th. Here I am, like a bull turned out for a fight after being kept in a dark stall. No danger of an immediate rising, but magistrates are alarmed because their houses and families are exposed. Very natural this, but troops cannot guard single houses, which it would come to if these good people had their way.

"8th. Saw Colonel Wildman and like him; he is not afraid, and speaks out. He swears there is no fear and is perhaps right; but as it is said the people have abundance of arms we must not be too secure. The small detachments make me uneasy. I have a good view of the troops on paper, but wanting to see them actually I asked leave, and have been refused because of the expence!

"Colonel W. Napier, April 9th. I have drawn a plan of the district containing only the towns where detachments are, and marking the number of troops in each; thus if suddenly turned out of bed by the Chartists, my hand can be laid on the soldiers without fumbling for half an hour through a brigade-major's returns, smothered in the details of his craft. The troops are in twenty-six detachments, spread over half England, some two hundred miles from me! The magistrates are divided into Whigs, Tories, and personal enmities; and every mother's son of them ready to go any length for his sect and creed. The town magistrates are liberal from fear of the populace; the country bucks are too old, and too far gone Tories to have hopes of

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gaining popularity now by being Radical; so they labour to get troops near their own houses. *Funk* is the order of the day, and there is some excuse, for the people seem ferocious enough. But this fear has produced a foolish dispersion of the troops, these magistrates being powerful fellows. Jackson could not manage them, and probably I shall be also obliged to give way, seeing that in their ranks are the Dukes of Newcastle, Portland, and so forth. Nevertheless my efforts shall be to get my people together. Detachments of one hundred, well-lodged, do not alarm me; but having only thirty-six dragoons amongst the ill-disposed populace of Halifax, with a man in billet here and his horse there—that does. My intent is to talk to these magistrates thus. If there is danger, as some of you insist upon, instead of finding safety from soldiers you will only get them killed like sheep. If there is no danger a great expence is incurred, and discipline injured without reason. This and insisting on quarters, which will make the troops very cosey and be very troublesome to the magistrates, may produce a rational view of the subject, for no doubt there are many gentlemen and sensible men among them.

"The state of the country is bad enough, but in the distress of the people is the great danger; they make pikes, but it is doubtful if they could turn out ten thousand armed men, and not a thousand in any one place. There appears less fear of a rising than of the growth of a base, murderous, servile character, for these qualities were distinct in the mob here when they burned the Duke of Newcastle's house. Remember however that this is my first *coup d'œil* and may be a very erroneous one; I would not give it to Lord Fitzroy, or Lord John, as that might commit me to views which may be reasonably changed.

"Journal, April 10. Colonel Rolleston, a sensible man, is more afraid than Wildman, so I must go by him now; but if a row begins Wildman for me: a capital fellow and an old soldier. Rolleston tells me the Chartists preach assassina-

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tion: this gives food for reflection. What has made Englishmen turn assassins? The new poor law. Their resources have been dried up by indirect taxes for the debt, and the poor law throws them on a phantom, which it calls their resources—robbery follows, and a robber soon becomes a murderer.

"14th. Same state of uncertainty and want of information. The Duke of Portland called on me. He seems totally ignorant of the state of the country, and indeed told me so. A duke and ignorant of the state of the country in which he holds such large possessions!! He gets his information from a poor man, who tells him about the Chartists and has completely alarmed him. This informer is unknown to me, and whether he milks the duke of certain monies, or not, God knows, but his information has neither led to anything positive, nor been of use: on the contrary, it has done mischief by frightening the poor old man, that is as much as a Bentinck can be frightened, for they are a plucky race.

"Colonel W. Napier, April 15. There is no great fear of an outbreak on a large scale, but assassination seems to be the Chartists' creed. At a private meeting of thirty * * * is said to have asked if they had heard of Lord Norbury and how he was put out of the way. Yes! Then do you get rid of obnoxious men in the same way. Colonel Rolleston told me he had this from one of the thirty; adding—a fellow who is a spy is never wholly to be believed, but he swore over and over again that this was said. I have informed Lord John Russell, yet warned him that it would be unfair to condemn * * * on such vile evidence. Worse than that has come to my ears, not to be trusted in a letter, but confirming my opinion that the aristocracy have with their new poor law demoralized the working classes. There are men here who take bullets from their pockets, and say —do you want a Norbury pill? This is a common joke indicating the progress of bad feeling.

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"When the mob burned the Duke of Newcastle's house they proceeded to that of Mr. Musters; he was in London and is an obnoxious man; not from politics, but that he refused the public leave to fish near his house because every idle blackguard used to go there and annoy his family. His wife—Byron's Miss Chaworth, was very ill in bed, her children and servants threw themselves on their knees, entreating the rioters to take everything but not to go into their mother's room as the fright would kill her. They drove the children into the woods on a dark night, locked up the servants, went into the sick woman's room and set fire to her bed! A few, no one knows whether one two or three, rushed into the room, rolled her in a blanket and got her out through a window! Now what can be expected from such chaps if they break out! I am anxious to diminish the number and increase the strength of my detachments; all the magistrates are against this except Wildman, but he again is too reckless and holds the whole thing too cheap. The government seems to take no step whatever to find out what is going on; and—this from high authority here,—*discourage the gentry taking any measures of self-preservation:* meantime the arming certainly goes on more or less.

"Journal. Just heard that eleven men met and cast lots for assassinating the Duke of Portland, because of his support to the new poor law. The magistrates who told me this say they know the man and he is watched; but they will not tell the duke. I do not feel easy, though not believing the fact, for they cannot guard against it if the villain be resolute. The duke is now at Newmarket and therefore out of harm's way, but he shall not return to Welbeck in ignorance of the danger.

"17th. Seen much of Sir Richard Jackson: he is a very good and very clever man.

"18th. On the 12th sent a circular to all officers commanding detachments, calling on them to consider what

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they would do if attacked; and to tell me, from time to time, what was going on in their neighbourhood, and the opinions of the labourers. Their reports are just come, all well written and with a degree of military sagacity beyond my expectations. This has effected two things. 1°. I got acquainted with the strength of each post, and with my officers, and have set them a-thinking. 2°. It gives me a sort of military *surveillance* all over the north of England, independent of the information furnished by the magistrates; and much more impartial, as the latter are all under personal fear and political prejudice. This military information will also be a test for that obtained by the magistrates, and it embraces the pensioners: men half military, half civilians, who have all a hankering after the army. Very likely half are Chartists, but that signifies nothing; they know the troops cannot be easily beaten, and will advise waiting until more resources are at hand, which will not happen. This will tend to quiet, and these men cannot hold their tongues. They will drink and talk with the young soldiers, and from love or vanity or heat of argument tell them what is going on; and if anything serious is brewing their superior sagacity will give them the lead: thus I make spies of them despite of themselves.

"23rd. The Duke of Portland called on his way from Newmarket. I had begged of him to do so, not being able to reconcile my conscience with letting him return ignorant of the conspiracy: the old cock shewed no fear, he has all the Bentinck courage. My wish is that he should go to London; for though not believing the villain courageous enough to attempt the deed, if he should it would make a devil of a stir in the country.

"22nd. Went to a meeting here, but did not like to mix in the crowd, fearing to draw attention, perhaps insult. There were nearly three thousand people, most of them spectators taking no interest in the proceedings; no cheer followed the orator's expressions, it was like a religious meeting.

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Was this deep attention or not? In my mind not, for numbers came and went the whole time, and plenty of a Chartist description walked about wholly inattentive to the speakers. Fergus O'Connor and Bronterre O'Brien were advertised to be the orators but did not come. The estimate of numbers by the mayor was amusing. How many? Oh! not above three or four hundred. More Mr. Mayor. Upon which he called a youth, said to be in the habit of estimating numbers; he got up to a thousand, the Nottingham Journal gave six hundred. There were full three thousand: civilians don't estimate numbers well.

"Yesterday a piece of a letter was found in the park and sent to Sir C. O'Donnel, my brigade-major, by post. What does it mean? The words were written in pencil, and the fragment run thus, '—y, for wit monday, that all of you must bring yure pistels . . . . . day as their will be important . . . . . Is there no foot sogers tho' he sa . . . mee was coming so that the wat is . . . . . acks . . . . . not got over carts and such things, as I saw how the done it at paris . . . . . ist get old . . . . also that we'—the dotted parts were torn. This indicates business.

"April 23rd. A letter from Wemyss. The folks at Ashton-under-Lyne growing patriotic, being disturbed by the itinerant orators, who, like Colonel C——y in the house, talk loud long and foolishly. Matters are going on badly. These poor people are inclined to rise, and if they do what horrid bloodshed! This is dreadful work, would to God I had gone to Australia: however it is now a struggle for existence, a servile war. At this moment the best hand-loom weaver can only earn five shillings a week, the price of food being such that this will not give him bread, without firing clothes or lodging: hence a good workman in full wages must starve! And with this fact our rulers are called statesmen! These people threaten to take arms. If they do they will be crushed by force and will then resort to the means which slaves must employ. Mammon has supplanted

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God: our rulers have worshipped the evil one, and evil are the results. Yet life is transitory, our troubles soon pass. Death is bitter, but only to the body of the man who believes in the promises of Christ, and in the aspirations of his own mind. When men mount the scaffold; when on their death-beds; in fine when their minutes are numbered these are their thoughts: why not cherish them then in life and health, and so act that when death comes we can meet him with intrepid and undoubting hearts?"

The Wemyss alluded to above, was one of two colonels of subordinate command; the other was Sir Hew Ross of the Artillery: the first acted at Manchester, the second at Carlisle. It has been said that Charles Napier was a man of stern authority, and it is true, he was so to all who neglected duty; but with officers of zeal and character his intercourse was marked by urbanity frankness and confidence.

"Colonel Wemyss, April 22nd. As to your writing freely, why that is what I wish beyond all things: I am not such a vain fool as to think a general has more brains than his neighbour because his head is under the dreadful plume they have stuck in his hat! No! I want both you and Ross to write to me just as you think; and heartily I rejoice at having two men so well known to me, and for whom I have such regard: but this will be of little use unless you write like old comrades, freely and at your ease. I do not promise to be always guided by either, because we may differ in our views and I must pay the piper if anything goes wrong; but I think we all three hold nearly the same views, and if we differed I should feel great mistrust of myself, being just come, and as yet ignorant.

"With regard to detachments, my mind is made up to have as few as possible. You seem most anxious to give support to the well disposed, and to brow-beat the disaffected: I am more anxious that no mishap should befall the troops. Still we come nearly to the same point, your anxiety for the troops, mine for the civil authorities, being

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both very great. But I lay down as an axiom, and our first, greatest principle, that the queen's troops must not be overthrown anywhere, because the effect in the three kingdoms would be fearful. If only a corporal's guard was cut off it would be "a total defeat of the troops" ere it reached London Edinburgh and Dublin; and before the contradiction arrived the disaffected, in the moral exaltation of supposed victory, would be in arms. This is more especially to be apprehended in Ireland, where rivers of blood would flow.

"Now let us look at the other side. Suppose from want of soldiers a rising takes place in some town; suppose the worst, and nothing can exceed what happened at Bristol; suppose a second Bristol affair, an exaggerated supposition, because you, or I, or Ross, would be on the spot before such a conflagration could be effected, but suppose it nevertheless. What did Bristol amount to? Only individual loss. The troops were victorious the instant they were put in motion and all the world knew it was a riot; it produced no national evil; it had no public results, though one of the largest towns in the empire was nearly laid in ashes.

"These are my convictions, arising from general principles, and a large view of the subject, the one which the nation will take. We must not let our eyes be diverted by the small interests and personal fears of magistrates, which, though meriting attention, are all local and must only be cared for so far as they can be without danger for the more important matter. There is however one more point:—the soldier's life. He is not to be spared if the service of the nation requires the sacrifice; but he is not to be endangered for the security of private men, who, if they only have the courage, may arm and defend their own carcases. What endangers two-thirds of them? The answer is, so far as I have yet learned from the Home Office and Sir Richard Jackson, indeed all with whom I have conversed, their own inordinate avarice, which will not let them fairly pay

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their workmen. To my knowledge this is not the case in all instances, but with the majority I am told it is so. Suppose it not so in any case: then let these men arm like men, and not shrink and quail before the Chartists, imploring for soldiers. Let each hang up his pike as well as the Chartists; they are rich, they have servants, let them bestir themselves; they know the troops are on the alert and will, in a few hours, come to their assistance.

"The soldiers must be kept together: the consequence of a military mishap would be a national misfortune; of a civil defeat only a trifling private loss. By dispersing the troops the greater evil becomes very possible, even probable. By concentrating the troops the smaller evil may happen; but the danger will give such a stimulus to private courage as will call forth more manly and effectual exertions from the middle classes, who are now supine and trust wholly to soldiers. This apathy I wish to rouse them from. I want to withdraw the detachments from Todmorden and Halifax and give them to Leeds and Sheffield, but Lord John Russell opposes me, being talked over by the magistrates. I have told Lord John, that if an outbreak takes place it is to be feared it will shew itself by a well-planned night attack on Derby, Rochdale, Halifax or Todmorden. I have also told him, that the magistrates should find quarters. Forty-two men are in twenty-one billets! Fifty resolute men would disarm them in ten minutes!

"Sir Hew Ross. Extracts. Write to me at all times as a comrade, or I shall think you take me for a vapouring idiot, whose head is turned by that bunch of cock's feathers in my hat, from which it is hard to say which suffers most, the unhappy general or his purse! Tell me always what you want done, and I will do it if possible: if not will tell you why, for I hate mystery, which is a wonderful creeper into head-quarters. We shall have a rough time, all my reports point to the middle of May as the time when a rising will be attempted. I hate a well-fed

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traitor, but in Lancashire the hand-loom weavers are in terrible distress, and I pity them from my heart. Poor fellows, they know not the wild work that O'Connor and O'Brien, and Oastler—said to be a madman—are leading them to do. Reckless massacre and plunder would be the order of the day if once they were successful.

"Under-Secretary Phillipps, April 23rd. The paper fragment I had the honour to send to Lord John Russell shews that the disaffected are prepared to use barricades; and I have information that their plan to cut off soldiers lodged in billets has been discussed in the public-houses at Halifax: cheap copies of Maceroni's book on pikes are also in circulation.

"To the magistrates of the West Riding, Yorkshire, April 24th. Sirs. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant. To be frank with you, I dislike small detachments because from experience I have learned the danger to which they are exposed in civil commotion; but this danger depends much upon the manner in which they are lodged. The cavalry at Halifax are quartered in the very worst and most dangerous manner. Forty-two troopers in twenty-one distant billets! Fifty resolute Chartists might disarm and destroy the whole in ten minutes; and believe me gentlemen, that a mob which has gained such a momentary triumph is of all mobs the most ferocious and most dangerous to the inhabitants.

"You will admit I speak truth in stating the danger of the queen's troops at Halifax; but you naturally wish to have the protection which the presence of soldiers affords. I am equally anxious to give you that protection, but demand of you a building in which the soldiers can be safely lodged; for be assured gentlemen that my most anxious wish, as well as duty, is to afford the best protection in my power to the civil authorities. But I repeat and feel assured your candour will admit, that to expose a detachment to a midnight massacre would not be to protect but to

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expose you all to the greatest peril. I have too high an opinion of you gentlemen to think you require any apology for this frank exposition of my views, and beg of you to communicate with me in the same strain.

"Journal, April 24th. The magistrates are always trying to get soldiers, and never caring for their safety: they shall not have detachments unless they provide for their security, which they try to avoid as costly without regard for the soldiers' lives. I have written them a strong letter, and sent a copy to the secretary of state, whom they had enlisted on their side. He has had the good sense to see I am right, and takes my side of the question.

"25th. All quiet. Read a report made by Colonel Shaw Kennedy to the police commissioners on the subject of rioters. He was long at Manchester and this report is a most masterly affair; I have felt more at home since reading it, but my task is harder than his, for a greater power is against me. He had only to deal with workmen fighting against their masters; I have to deal with a large mass of the population avowedly arming to overthrow the constitution. However this able man lays down a few general principles and gives a few facts which are of great value to me. His report came to me from Rowan. My belief is the secretary of state never saw it, nor the Horse Guards either: it is worth their reading though!"—This Colonel Shaw Kennedy, now a general, was the organizer of the Irish constabulary; was one of Sir J. Moore's men, and distinguished alike in peace and war by cool intrepidity, administrative talent, and commanding decision of character.

"Mr. Phillipps, April 25th. Colonel Rowan lent me Shaw Kennedy's letter to the commissioners, dated 22nd November 1838: and from it I learn the following facts.

"That the men with whom we have to deal, did in 1830-31, get up a powerful organized force, the arrangements for which were made long before in beer shops and at numerous small meetings: the people were stimulated by various

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pamphlets and finally made 'a turn-out.' That the able-bodied men in that turn-out were eight thousand, of which many were armed, and they had acquired military discipline; they formed good columns, taking up their ground in perfect order, and throwing out their picquets with all the systematic proceedings of a military force. They kept the field four months, and finally yielded from want of funds. In one instance they marched up to a barrack-gate and fearlessly challenged a captain's detachment to fight: had that detachment of soldiers been in billets it would have been forced to fight, and one hundred against eight thousand would have been too great a risk.

"We have now the same men to encounter, but their object is to overthrow the throne. Their number, though not ascertained, is probably greater than before; the arms possessed then they still possess, with the addition of a great number of pikes, so we may fairly suppose every man has a weapon. We have also those indications of commotion described by Colonel Kennedy as the precursors of an outbreak, namely, the beer-house meetings, the small assemblies, rumours, threats, agitators, and exciting pamphlets. So far the analogy is complete: but we have more, for we know that printed extracts from Maceroni's book on pike exercise are also in circulation; and we have information, though vague, that drilling without arms goes on nightly. We are also informed, and of this our information is tolerably certain, that the purchase of fire-arms and the manufacture of pikes goes on in some places with more vigour, in some with less, but still goes on.

"We have also the fragment of a letter shewing that barricades are contemplated and understood, the example of Paris being held out. Finally, the conversation among the poorest classes who meet in public houses is, that one hundred Chartists may destroy fifty soldiers in billets and small detachments; and that the first thing is to cut the railroad and all communications between towns: these are

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all sound military operations, and taken as a whole afford some ground for apprehending that an outbreak will take place sooner or later. Of its being speedily put down there can be no doubt, because funds, leaders, and that discipline which is required to move large bodies, are all wanting; there are leaders for a midnight massacre but not for a mid-day battle: moreover, the avowed objects of the Chartists is said to be plunder and assassination. Such we hear is their language in the public houses, and that alone would destroy them even if a resolute and loyal army were not at hand to crush insurrection. The state of the unhappy hand-loom weavers is distressing in the greatest degree; an industrious man in full work and on the highest rate of wages starves: this is very dreadful, and in such parts the Chartists are most numerous and most resolute. If this state of distress can be ameliorated one great source of Chartism will soon be tarried.

"With the foregoing general view of the subject I have constantly asked myself, what is to be done by me as a military man? The answer is—Secure your detachments from surprize as far as practicable, seek for information and abide events. But if the agitation now going on should produce an outbreak my plan of operations would be as follows. Divide the troops into three portions. The first to be composed of those at Carlisle, Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Sunderland—in all about nine hundred under Sir Hew Ross. The second composed of the troops at Manchester, Stockport, Bolton, Blackburn, Burnley, Todmorden, Rochdale, Wigan, Haydock, Liverpool and Chester—two thousand eight hundred men under Colonel Wemyss. The third composed of troops at Hull, York, Leeds, Sheffield, Derby, Nottingham, and Halifax — about one thousand under myself.

"If the outbreak appeared partial in the northern part of the district, Sir H. Ross would collect his troops for suppression, according to orders previously given to him;

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and I should detach five hundred men to his assistance. If it appeared confined to the western part Colonel Wemyss would act in a similar way, and be reinforced by me. If the rising was in the eastern part I could draw on Ross or Wemyss for aid. Should it be general, Ross and Wemyss shall assemble, each his own division, at such places as appeared to them most suitable, and I should do the same. When it was ascertained where a great head of insurgents was formed I would march direct upon it, combining my movement with Ross and Wemyss, either for uniting or acting separately according to circumstances.

"As to positions for occupation they must depend on the enemy's operations, holding always as a general principle the maintaining of my communications with Ross or Wemyss, or both, rather than with London; and if requisite calling for aid from Ireland, which I am authorized to do. My reason for abandoning the communication with London is, that the force which could be drawn round the capital would be large enough to hold its ground, and if the insurgents moved in that direction the forces under my command would press their rear and flanks, and protect the country from being widely ravaged.

"If the rebels confined their operations to pressing the troops in the northern district a force detached from London could harass their rear, or unite with my troops; but it is most probable, that after the first week the struggle, if continued, would be carried on by an armed yeomanry, and small columns of regulars would rapidly push forth to their aid from central stations when the insurgents were too powerful. I propose therefore that the yeomanry be put on permanent duty in such parts of the district as appear most dangerous. The law now permits men to arm with the avowed purpose of overthrowing the constitution; it is advisable therefore also to arm those who are to be attacked, and whose numbers are

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so great that their array in arms would probably secure the loyalty of the doubtful and timid, crush the hopes of the disloyal and recall them to a just sense of their folly.

His brother William. " Lord John Russell at first took part with the magistrates in their demand for detachments of cavalry, to be placed in billets; he has now avowed that I am right and decided in my favour; but as they are powerful fellows he may not be able to resist them, and I feel rather surprized at my success than confident in its continuance. Lord John asked me, if it was necessary to draw troops from Ireland? My answer was, if his question referred to an encounter in the field we had enough; but if to prevent a rising by a display of troops the sooner the men came from Ireland the better. Had my answer been Yes, without qualification, and no row took place, I should be held up as an alarmist and this cry raised, Why is the country to be at the cost of shifting troops from kingdom to kingdom because General Napier is frightened? If I said there are troops enough and an insurrection did break out, the accusation would be—he tempted it by his supineness!

" Shaw Kennedy's paper is admirable as far as it goes, and taught me more than anything else the nature of their goings on here. No one knew anything about it but Rowan; he had *lost* it, but afterwards found and sent it to me when my report was written. This delayed me, for a comparison was very necessary, and obliged me to recast the report, which has caused them to draw two regiments from Ireland; but even thus I shall have fewer troops than Shaw and Bouverie had, and more enemies. Numbers of workmen are said to have come from London on purpose for the row. Oastler's pike was shewn to me, it is a half pike with a long springy blade, altogether the worst possible; so are their knives, with which they could not stab because the blade is curved at the point. I am here without a soldier and yet overwhelmed with military business. A

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general officer's time is dreadfully cut up with fiddle-faddle work; everything is tried by their absurd district court-martials, which must be read and approved of. Four or five a day come, and some are very difficult. This is earning bread dearly, because unnecessary: it is doing badly what a regimental commanding officer would do well, and is with my extensive command oppressive and not to be rightly done.

"Journal, April 27th. A letter from Lord John's secretary wholly entering into my view of the danger of small detachments. My system of *surveillance militaire* is now also established; the Horse Guards and the secretary of state are convinced, and I hope the magistrates: nothing remains therefore but to carry gradually into execution the plan of rendering the detachments secure. Against this the magistrates and the government will set themselves tooth and nail, for it cannot be done without expence; and, moreover, circumstances render it difficult. The truth is that barracks should be *built* and that they will not do. However, we cannot have everything as we wish in this world, or the next either, or hell would be empty and earth become hell!

"My men should be in three masses, one around Manchester to watch the manufacturers; one around Newcastle-on-Tyne to watch the colliers; one around Leeds and Hull to watch the other two: but such an arrangement of my force cannot be effected in time; it would take a month ere the secretary of state would understand it, and then he would have a host of magistrates on his back! He behaves however very well and stands by me against the magistrates, so that I have my own way in some degree: were it allowed me in all things the country should soon be quieted. Poor fellows, they only want fair play and would then be quiet enough; but they are harassed by taxes till they can bear it no longer. Between five and six thousand men and eighteen guns are under me; we could manage a large force of Chartists, but I trust in God nothing so horrible will

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happen. Would that I had gone to Australia and thus been saved this work, produced by Tory injustice and Whig imbecility. The doctrine of slowly reforming when men are starving is of all silly things the most silly: famishing men cannot wait. And that the people of England have been, and are, ill-treated and ill-governed is my fixed opinion. The worship of Mammon renders the minds of men base, their bodies feeble, and their morals bad: manufactures debase man woman and child.

"May 1st. My command is better in hand now. At first all was darkness: I groped about like a mole. Will there be a civil war? My opinion is that it will only be a row at Manchester and its vicinity, which will be put down; but that will not put down the sufferings of the people, nor their hatred of the rich, and winter is to be feared more than now, for they will then suffer more. Wemyss writes that he is very uneasy, the pot seems to boil near him. With some dragoons and infantry this neighbourhood can be kept in check, but both arms are necessary; dragoons alarm, and slash without killing, and if they are too roughly handled the infantry will soon end the business; rockets also are good bullets and do not kill: but my hope is, if a fight takes place, to have no murderous work as in Ireland, no refusing of quarter, no *spite*. Fight, if fight we must, like men, sparing those who ask for mercy: it surely must be possible to keep down the malignant spirit which seems at all times to have animated those engaged in civil wars!

"May 2nd. Wemyss asks for more troops. He says, a company, marching out for exercise towards Leigh, was told by the Chartists, *We shall be out next week, and if your soldiers interfere we will destroy you all.* There are two words to every question, and as the threatened 6th of May approaches we shall soon see what pluck they have: in my opinion it will pass quietly. Whit-Monday is really I believe their day.

"May 3rd. Reports come in stronger, that a rising will

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take place the 6th. *Voyons!* I have forbid the soldiers to be marched out of barracks for fear of encountering a body of Chartists and having a collision, which must be carefully avoided. I dread bloodshed. If once it begins no man can say where it will stop. It shall not begin if I can hinder it. Lord John has issued a proclamation against training and unlawful meetings; this is good, and I hope timely: he has also given me authority to draw out the yeomanry at need. Reports come from many officers that the Chartists openly threaten the soldiers and trust to a simultaneous attack to beat us in detail: this I expected but cannot draw in the weak detachments, the magistrates are too strong for me, and too much alarmed for their own safety.

"May 4th. Sent Captain Grant, 9th Lancers, to Mansfield to report on a building eligible for securing a troop; he has made a good report, and is a clever officer: we have multitudes of such men, there are no officers in the world like English gentlemen.

"May 5th. News from Manchester, things look black enough. They seem alarmed in London, and the secretary of state now wishes me to be at Manchester. I shall not however go until after to-morrow, for to-morrow is the threatened day and my place should be here or there, not on the road. If they will have a fight God defend the right! One good thrashing will cool their courage: even the Devizes affair was a damper and if they deal with me it will be far worse, for the blow must be as decisive as musquet and bayonet can make it; yet always having a feeling for deluded men, who when vanquished must be spared. Meanwhile Heaven defend my family! If it pleases God that I come not back to them, I must wait until they come to me!

"May 6th. All quiet in Nottingham, and no reports of risings. There is a doubt, if a rising takes place, whether William"—his nephew and aide-de-camp—"and myself can get to Manchester; I have therefore sent instructions to Ross to meet that event. Within thirty-six hours a horrid slaughter

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may perhaps be the precursor of a bloody insurrection! The probability of the troops being defeated is not in my contemplation if, as my belief is, they are loyal; but a terrible slaughter of the unhappy Chartists, so sadly deluded, is a dreadful prospect, even though in their ranks are many ruffians who will do much mischief before they are quelled. What can be done to prevent a collision? Is it likely men can be prevented fighting, whose minds have been making up for it these many months? I fear not, but will try. How full of events next week may be! God assist me to act justly."

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TWELFTH EPOCH.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE terrible responsibility of kindling civil war by error, or suppressing it by force, of spilling blood or avoiding it, now rested on Charles Napier, but with a firm heart and clear head he sustained the burthen.

"Journal, May 7th, Manchester. Reached this place last night. The country from Nottingham undulating, from Derby hilly, towards Matlock Alpine; the pass of Holstandwell Bridge is strong: the country is a fortress.

"8th. All quiet for the moment, but all information speaks of a rising on Whit-Monday. Like me, Wemyss hates this work: how can it be otherwise?

"9th. I have over and over again stated the danger of having billets; why will they not let me hire barracks! The country cannot be protected by detachments. Let the gentlemen and yeomanry defend themselves, local defence should meet local attacks: I cannot, I will not give troops. Yet I have not called in any detachment, because if that were now done the people would rise and the blame be cast on me: moreover, with so little knowledge of this district it would be too decided a step; all that can be done is to put some infantry in buildings where the cavalry are in billets. I have by letter endeavoured to animate magistrates and colonels of yeomanry; but all are apathetic, all wanting soldiers, and doing nothing for themselves. A disarming bill is a sad measure but should be passed. These magistrates are very provoking: I ordered night patrols, and Wemyss tells me, the civil force has been less vigilant in consequence! Well, one must have patience.—Lo! the ministers are out! A

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pretty kettle of fish! Who is to be in the Home Department? Lord John has acted towards me with great fairness: I hope his successor will do the same, for otherwise my position will be ticklish.

"Colonel W. Napier, May 15th. I have already done all that you advise, except taking up strong posts for securing the communications of my detachments with the country: there is bother enough to get any barracks at all for them. It was only two days ago that leave came from the Home Office to hire temporary barracks; meanwhile the Horse Guards were growling at me for keeping the men in billet, as if I could swallow them! A man in this command should have power to do what is to be done on his own responsibility: these people think the necessary precautions can be taken without expence or by magic. I have however hired two barracks, one here and one at Nottingham, both commanding the entrances to the towns, and with free egress to the country. The Chartists hardly know what they are at. The people want food and think O'Connor will get it for them; and O'Connor wants to keep the agitation alive because he sells weekly 60,000 copies of the *Northern Whig*. While this lasts he will try to prevent an outbreak. No premeditated outbreak will occur I think while our imposing force furnishes an excuse for delay: and delay will injure their cause, because the deputies are paid and the people are growing weary of the physical-force men.

"At Stone, in Staffordshire, there was a row: they attacked the yeomen who killed and wounded several, and it has startled the Chartists much to be so easily overthrown by yeomen without loss, while some twenty of their people were knocked down. I had sent two companies there and had they been up in time a severe loss to the Chartists would have happened; very glad they were not, my wish being to keep the soldiers as long from blood as possible: the Chartists had barricades. We are in a strange state, but the coming week will open some clear view. Government should

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give me money for spies, our state is too dangerous to be without them. God send me through the work as a gentleman ought to go through it.

"Miss Napier. Lord de Grey's letter to me is excellent. Would that there were a dozen such yeomanry colonels. The magistrates and country gentlemen appear apathetic; they do not see the dreadful state of the country, or they are afraid. William is all that can be wished, but is too hard-worked; neither of us get any exercise—pen! pen! pen! Tell me any criticisms on my doings that you may hear, for I have queer folks to deal with.

"Colonel W. Napier, May 23rd. The day after to-morrow is to be the great meeting, for which my arrangements were made, when Wemyss gave me Shaw Kennedy's plan for the protection of the town. Liking my own best it shall not be changed, and you have both on the enclosed card. The crosses shew the direction of the disaffected towns from which all mobs approach. All the N.E. of Manchester is riotous, the south quiet: Salford, i. e. all the right bank of the river, is always quiet. Which of the seven positions indicated should be occupied would depend on the place where the mob assembled; but in each my left is protected by the river, my right by the canal; and they are shorter than they look, as only the openings of streets need be guarded and a few windows occupied. The bridges could be easily barricaded and defended by the armed citizens; and from any one position men could be detached against the rioters if needed, or an advance made with my whole force: in each position there are one or more strong buildings.

"Shaw's plan certainly holds a greater portion of the town, but his flank to the north is exposed; he could be attacked in front and rear simultaneously, and if obliged to give ground would find it difficult to cross the canal or the river to reach the barracks: at least this is my view. Wemyss leans to Shaw's plan, but thinks every plan bad, and that we should act on the spur of the moment: yet the

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best way to act on the spur most readily is to have a plan matured. We have, as every one says, one hundred thousand men to deal with, and such a mass cannot be treated as an ordinary riotous mob. The disposition which the people are called on to shew may be understood from the following hand-bill.

"'Dear brothers! Now are the times to try men's souls! Are your arms ready? Have you plenty of powder and shot? Have you screwed up your courage to the sticking place? Do you intend to be freemen or slaves? Are you inclined to hope for a fair day's wages for a fair day's work? Ask yourselves these questions, and remember that your safety depends on the strength of your own right arms. How long are you going to allow your mothers, your wives, your children and your sweethearts, to be ever toiling for other people's benefit? Nothing can convince tyrants of their folly but gunpowder and steel, *so put your trust in God my boys and keep your powder dry.* Be patient a day or two, but be ready at a minute's warning; no man knows to-day what to-morrow may bring forth: be ready then to nourish the tree of liberty,

WITH THE BLOOD OF TYRANTS.

"'You can get nothing by cowardice, or petitioning. France is in arms; Poland groans beneath the bloody Russian yoke; and Irishmen pant to enjoy the sweets of liberty. Aye dear brethren, the whole world depends on you for support; if you fail the working man's sun is set for ever! The operatives of Paris have again took possession of the city. Can you remain passive when all the world is in arms? No my friends! Up with the cap of liberty, down with all oppression and enjoy the benefit of your toil. Now or never is your time: be sure you do not neglect your arms, and when you strike do not let it be with sticks or stones, but *let the blood of all you suspect* moisten the soil of your native land, that you may for

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ever destroy even the remembrance of your poverty and shame.

"'Let England's sons then prime her guns
And save each good man's daughter,
In tyrants' blood baptize your sons
And every villain slaughter.
By pike and sword, your freedom strive to gain,
Or make one bloody Moscow of old England's plain.'

"This is a nice piece of advice! Well, I have just had out three regiments and two guns, and they do not look as if they would be easily beaten!

"Lord de Grey, May 8th. Should it be necessary to call out the York Hussars I shall write as you desire. I am a strong advocate for calling out the yeomanry; it shews the disaffected that the loyal are both able and willing to put them down if they resort to physical force. The present apathy and total dependence on the regular troops is bad; it argues a want of self-reliance in society: force should be met by force on the spot. I say this to your lordship, because Lord Wharncliffe and yourself are the only two commanders of yeomanry that, as far as I am aware, have shewn any great readiness to come forward with proper public spirit: indeed one told me, that if I attempted to keep his corps on duty beyond their usual time half of them would resign! If there be occasion I shall give them the opportunity of making their public spirit manifest.

"I have this day written to Lord John Russell on the subject, as I do not consider myself as having authority to call out any corps, unless in case of actual riot. Now my object is to give a high tone to public feeling, and to daunt the republican portion of the community by one of those decided public expressions of loyalty which tells the world that, whatever diversity of opinion there may be as to what is good for the country, whenever the safety of the throne is endangered all unite to crush the disloyal. It is in this view only that I wish to have the yeomanry under arms; for

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as to the Chartists and their pikes, I have men enough within musquet shot when they please to try their strength. Whether your lordship's views coincide with mine, or not, I should like to know: you know the feelings of your people, and your rank gives you power to judge how far my wishes are likely to be met by yeomanry corps in general.

"Mr. Phillipps, May 9th. I have deeply reflected upon the power which Lord John has placed in my hands. I mean as to calling out the yeomanry. It is an operation of great expence; but when I consider the extent of the present bad spirit, and of the armings, I cannot but hold the opinion that it is absolutely necessary to concentrate the greatest possible force to overcome the people of this district. The primary object is to save the country from devastation, expence must therefore be a secondary consideration. The Chartists affirm that they have 250,000 men armed in Lancashire alone: this is probably a lie, but if they can assemble 50,000 the most dreadful ravages would be committed by the march of such a body: hence, any inconvenience it may cause to gentlemen of the yeomanry to put them on permanent duty, will be trivial to what they would suffer if the Chartists get under arms. Therefore, in whatever light the project is viewed, whether as means of prevention or of combat, it is my decided opinion the yeomanry ought to be placed upon permanent duty, and that the disposable regiments should be called from Ireland without delay.

"I shall, with Lord John's approbation, call out the Yorkshire Hussars and order them to Leeds; and I have written to Sir Hew Ross to call upon the Westmoreland Yeomanry in case of an armed meeting taking place near Carlisle, which he expects. The calling out of these corps may possibly give to the country gentlemen a reliance on their own strength, in which feeling they seem to me, erroneously perhaps, greatly deficient, especially the magistrates. They ought to be assured that this is not a time for either disunion among themselves or apathy. These gentlemen trust more to the

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protection received from the regular soldiers than is either becoming or safe; for there is a widely-spread spirit of mischief, and it must be opposed by a widely-spread spirit of loyalty and self-defence. The regular forces cannot be everywhere; if that were tried they would soon be nowhere, and already attempts to tamper with their loyalty are being made: this is a natural result from billets, and having troops from Ireland my wish is for Irish rather than Scotch, and Scotch rather than English. I am indeed very anxious for hiring barracks at any cost from what I hear of the attempts to seduce the soldiers; yet without reason for thinking evil has yet been effected, though that is hard to determine. The resignation of ministers is fearful.

"Lord Fitzroy, May 10th. There may be and there may not be a general insurrection; but the people menace the use of the pike and fire in all directions, which is perfectly practicable: therefore I distinctly assert that the general here should have power to go from town to town without check as to expence; and to hire buildings calculated for the safety of each post. To do this cheaply he should have an active engineer officer with him, and where detachments are demanded by the magistrates the town should pay the cost; but if it be a post chosen by government the public should be at the charge. If this is not done the detachments must be largely reinforced, without much security gained, for the more numerous the billets the greater the chances of the soldiers being seduced.

"The Under-Secretary, May 11th. Extracts. I am sorry Lord John doubts the expediency of calling out the yeomanry. There are no doubts on my mind; it is the best way to meet either a local or general rising; and as cavalry need drilling it will be good to get them rapidly under arms. This will oppose a front to the disaffected, man for man and better armed. This morning I hear the Chartists have told off thirty men to fall on each soldier. But I have also heard of a society amongst the labourers for assisting

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each other when out of work, where a fine is inflicted on any man who speaks about Chartism. Great good has been done by the proclamation: everything is good that strengthens the faint and weak-hearted, which calling out the yeomanry will do.

"Lord Fitzroy, May 12th. With respect to artillery my opinion is formed on the only ground available now, public rumour. The Chartists assert that more than a million will assemble to march on London and demand the charter. All are to be armed but to do no injury unless attacked; yet, if attacked, they will devastate so many square miles of country in revenge. Such a wild project would render a collision with the troops inevitable, and to meet it my idea is that at Nottingham, which so far as I can judge is free from Chartism, it would be good to assemble cavalry, artillery, and infantry, to enable the general to move at once on Sheffield or Buxton, to keep the communication open with Wemyss, ready to march to his aid or to draw him up, and so act on the flank and rear of the multitude. Now with fifty dragoons nothing could be done against such a mass, but with added infantry and artillery much could be done; especially in Derbyshire, which is full of strong positions where with artillery, large bodies might be arrested. Through Derbyshire the chief part of the Chartists would move, and their convention call their numbers two hundred and fifty thousand: a fourth of the number would destroy the country.

"The same, 13th. Just returned from a meeting of magistrates, assembled at my request, to arrange acting as much as possible in concert. After three hours' consultation the impression on my mind is, that those gentlemen do not expect an outbreak, yet they think it can only be prevented by the exhibition of military force at the different points of danger. Some were for withdrawing the civil power altogether as inefficient; this I strongly opposed, but have consented to furnish troops for Leigh, Bury and Ashton, if good barracks are provided.

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"Under-Secretary, May 14th. Met twenty magistrates. Mr. Forster was in the chair and managed the meeting with great tact: he seems a very able man, and brought them to an *intended* consistency of action, but that is not much to be depended on. The impression on my mind is that there will be a great assembly next week, but not with hostile intentions: however, so many fiery spirits and bad men will be there that it is impossible to say what will take place. If not interfered with the anger will probably evaporate in harangues and seditious language; for O'Connor and others gain such sums by the present state of things that they must wish it to continue and will seek to put off an outbreak, which would kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Moreover the people are tired of the physical-force party, and if magistrates and armed associations would but give them courage they would reject the violent Chartists: numbers now only join because a refusal would make them marked men.

"Lord de Grey, May 15th. I have to thank your lordship for your obliging and excellent letter of the 6th inst. relative to the yeomanry. It is of the greatest use to me, as giving a clear general view of the nature feelings and duties of yeomanry, which will serve to correct my own conduct should the more rigid military habits of the old soldier incline me to draw too largely on the exertions of the local force: an error easily fallen into. As yet however, I have only called for the services of two corps, one but for a day, the other to be in a great measure determined by the magistrates. In the late slight contest at the potteries the yeomanry were of the greatest service, and I am sure they will always prove so. Had the Chartists not been met by the yeomanry their attack would have been on the soldiers, and a deadly fire would probably have been the consequence. I am endeavouring to spirit the civil power here to more activity, for I find a lamentable desire to bring the soldiers and people at once in contact, as if no civil power existed!

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"Lord Fitzroy Somerset, May 17th. This morning a letter from the commanding officer at Rochdale tells me, he has been informed by a respectable inhabitant, that at Burnley a gallery has been run out from a coal-pit to the officers' barrack; that great quantities of gunpowder have been introduced into Burnley, and it is intended to blow up the barrack. I dispatched Colonel Wemyss to examine the informer and take such steps as may be necessary. This morning also Colonel Wemyss got an anonymous letter, apparently from a soldier, worded in terms rather respectful, considering that its contents were to say he and his comrades were resolved to make common cause with the people; that they are the first to suffer by the new poor law when discharged, and that they will not fire on their countrymen. There is some reason to suspect it came from the 20th Regiment, as Colonel Wemyss tells me they have among them many men recruited from Manchester and its vicinity. Yesterday a deputation of Chartists came to the town-hall when Wemyss happened to be there, and their leader told him the quarter of the town which he represented, though considered by Wemyss and the magistrates as quiet and well disposed, is extensively armed and the people confident in their power to beat the troops. He said that his wish, and that of the other Chartist leaders, was to avoid violence in every way, but they would assemble half a million of people next week. These things do not alter my opinion that we shall have a quiet week.

"Sir C. O'Donnell, May 19th. Extract. Tell Sir Thomas White how confident I feel in his yeomanry: it would be impertinent to thank him or them, as their conduct springs from motives of patriotism, but I may be permitted to express my approbation of their soldier-like conduct. I hope they will not be too ardent, but keep cool and patient, recollecting that the people are misled, not bad, I mean the mass.

"Under-Secretary, May 19th. Applications have poured

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in from Bradford, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Huddersfield, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury, Preston and Congleton, all praying for troops, and troops I cannot give. At Bury it is possible that they will find a good barrack at the expence of the magistrates, and if so they can have a strong detachment. Lord Wharncliffe was here last night: he is gone to Barnsley and tells me he will answer for all that district with his yeomen.

"The state of the magistracy of this town is I conclude known to Lord John better than it is to me; but it appears totally unfit to deal with a meeting like that advertised for Saturday. The boroughreeve and mayor are more hostile to each other than can be described, between them there is no concert: nothing is apparently prepared, and, if I am rightly informed, they would not unite though Manchester were in flames. As a stranger I am no authority for this; but if half of what I hear from no ordinary authority be true, the state of this town is very unfortunate and very dangerous. I intend to attempt reconciling them, if but for one day.

"I have *full instructions* from the mayor how to proceed in celebrating her Majesty's birthday, but none how to serve her when 300,000 men are, next day, to assemble with the cap of liberty for their standard! I do not fear the intentions of the leading Chartists at this meeting, because my belief is they wish to make it respect the laws though met for their eventual subversion; but I do fear the dissensions of the magistrates, and the accidents which may happen in so large a meeting: we are not prepared. All that can be done by zeal and ability will be done by Messrs. Foster and Meade, but the occasion demands the whole force of the magistrates united, which I will endeavour to obtain, though without hope of success. Having had secret information since last writing I am still of opinion next week will pass without collision; but my informant positively asserts that the moment the Chartist petition is rejected fires will begin.

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I understand six hundred men are to attend the Nottingham meeting, all well armed.

"To Lord Fitzroy Somerset. I believe these great meetings do not intend to break the peace. What we have most to fear in Manchester is the city war, which is going on fiercely. The boroughreeve and constables are against the mayor and corporation; nothing can reconcile them, and they will not make any preparation for the great meeting to be held on Saturday. All this puts the safety of this enormous town in jeopardy; neither side will act, so that if a breach of the peace occurs, instead of two thousand constables able to seize offenders, or if that be not enough four thousand, they will have none! They must do their work their own way. I have told them I cannot let the soldiers come in contact with such enormous masses of men, thousands of whom will be armed, unless some great danger be apparent and the safety of the town at stake. The races alone attract full fifty thousand, and we shall have races and Chartists together.

"Under-Secretary. No chance of bringing the mayor and boroughreeve together, but the last has prepared five hundred constables which, though not enough, is something: the meeting will no doubt pass off quietly. The assembly at Preston was rather a failure, but orderly. At Sutton-in-Ashfield, near Nottingham, they have prepared a quantity of caltrops or crowsfeet to lame the cavalry, and the meeting there has been named for to-morrow; it will probably pass like the rest. They all seem to consider the Manchester one on Kersall Moor to be the great affair. I am not uneasy, but there seems no doubt that the meeting will be immense, and I have entreated the boroughreeve not to interfere with flags. The plan for blowing up the barrack at Burnley is certainly going on, but we have not yet been able to trace the gallery to its full extent. The necessary steps are taken to prevent mischief and yet conceal from the miners that their diabolical project is discovered, so as to let

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them commit themselves.——10 o'clock. I met the mayor with several other magistrates. We shall have a quiet meeting, and they are about to issue a proclamation to caution the people. An infamous proclamation by the Oldham agitators, quite worthy of the reign of terror, will probably be sent to you by Mr. Foster.

"The Master-General of Ordnance. I should be glad to have Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell 98th Regiment to command at Newcastle, but on the first change of regiments he would go, and a new man command, possibly at a ticklish moment, as has actually happened. If you could send me an old lieutenant-colonel of artillery not likely to be superseded he would be the man; I do not mean an old woman, but even that would be better than change. I am easy about insurrection now. For a fortnight it looked bad, but the move of troops, the arrival of regiments from Ireland, the guns rockets and rifles, appearing at Nottingham altogether gave so strong an idea of preparation, that the Chartist leaders begun evidently to *funk*. They saw they would be obliged to lead their pikemen in the field, and knowing Demosthenes did not like fighting, they, as orators, think it not derogatory to follow his example. They now preach to their poor followers not to come armed, a curious doctrine from those who a month ago preached only physical force. But though they have wisely given up this, and though I am sure, if we get over our great meeting here on Saturday, we shall have no open fight, still, believe me, *we shall not be quiet*. There is a deep feeling of discontent and great distress in the country, unaltered by the fears of those who exhorted them to arms.

"Lord Fitzroy. Major Rivers found at Burnley such a multitude of galleries and so low and dark he could make nothing of them; but he and the commanding officer and the barrack master have taken measures for a close observation of who goes into the mine, and what they are at. Major Rivers ascertained that no powder had been taken into the

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mine, nor had any gallery reached the barracks; and my informant says it is quite safe as yet. The barrack master's house would be in the midst of it, and he is they say a sharp fellow who knows all the people about; he can see the mouth of the pit from his windows, and is, with the commanding officer, so much interested that I feel safe in their hands: when they cry danger, a deep trench will be cut outside and the gallery discovered.

"Under-Secretary, May 25th. I am just about to mount for Kersall Moor to have a look at the meeting and see their temper. One wing of the 10th came by a morning train yesterday; the other by an evening train, which made everybody suppose two regiments had arrived. We made also a great show on the 23rd, and it is generally thought we had then 3,000 men under arms: we had not 1,000! The civil force here is quite inadequate. What are five hundred constables and specials in a town which would turn out fifty thousand people to see a dog-fight? Manchester should have a well-organized police of at least a thousand men.

"Sir Hew Ross. I attended the meeting yesterday in coloured clothes, and will wager, that if thirty thousand were hanged none would have been left alive! Certainly twenty-five thousand very innocent people, and ten thousand women and children, would have been murdered! The remainder might have been Chartists, expressing orderly, legal political opinions, pretty much — don't tell this! very like my own! If there were five hundred regular rascals wanting bloodshed and pillage it would be the outside; fifty dragoons would have routed all that came to fight. Yet I know there were armed men among them, who would quickly have got up a row if the imposing force in the barracks had not spread an alarm more powerful than their exhortations. Many a man will join a row that will not begin one; and many a man would begin one when he sees no force arrayed against him, who would never attempt it if he sees there must be a fight. The government should

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be prepared to consider the charter in parliament and cultivate the good-will of the people, or take measures for disarming them: there is no wisdom in letting complaints be rejected and pikes made.

"Under-Secretary, May 28. The Sutton-in-Ashfield meetings passed quietly. Mr. Irvin dispersed them in the first instance, but they immediately assembled elsewhere in double numbers: was this gentleman's conduct prudent? I am not aware that any other magistrate acted in a similar manner, but I suppose he had some strong motive. Lord John Russell could not feel more satisfaction than I did at the meeting here passing over so quietly: a bird escaped from a cage must have the sort of feeling I have now."

Neither his letters nor his journal take notice of two secret measures to bring the Chartist leaders to reason on this occasion; but the omission has been supplied by Mr. Bingham—a gentleman whose efforts to serve the public and prevent bloodshed were most laudable. He procured a secret introduction to a conclave of Chartist leaders, and thus relates the result. "When introduced he addressed them in these words, 'I understand you are to have a great meeting on Kersall Moor, with a view to laying your grievances before parliament: you are quite right to do so and I will take care that neither soldier nor policeman shall be within sight to disturb you. But meet peaceably, for if there is the least disturbance I shall be amongst you and at the sacrifice of my life, if necessary, do my duty. Now go and do yours!' This firmness and decision prevented any disturbance."

The other measure was more subtle. Having ascertained that the great body of the Chartists had an absurd confidence in five brass cannon which they had concealed, he secretly invited an influential leader, of whose good sense he had formed a favourable opinion, to come to the barrack at a given time when the royal gunners were prepared to handle their pieces as in action, taking the carriages to pieces, and

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remounting &c. This proof of the superiority with which the royal guns would be worked in a fight convinced the Chartist witness, and his report had a powerful effect. But having now shewn how the general dealt with the authorities, his private letters and journals shall exhibit the honesty of his character.

" Col. W. Napier, June 3rd. Our great meeting passed off quietly. There was a very general feeling amongst the *respectables* that we should come to blows; and a fervent hope that the soldiers would *make an example*. Wemyss justly said there was as sanguinary a disposition as could well be among the civilians. I adopted several tests to ascertain numbers, and certainly, including women and children, they were under thirty thousand; this is worth recording as a testimony against the Chartist assertion that there were half a million. Mr. Bingham told me to-day that the presence of troops had prevented a row; that Doctor Taylor came from Glasgow expressly to lead them; that they consulted and decided we were too strong: moreover that they had and still have five pieces of brass cannon concealed. How far his information is good I cannot say; but the 10th Regiment having been suddenly brought up by railroad from Liverpool certainly upset their calculations of our strength. I also puzzled them by the march of a strong troop of dragoons from an out village the morning of the meeting: they thought it might be the advanced guard of a larger force.

" Journal, 8th June. Too busy to keep my journal for a month. From the 10th of May my time has been constantly employed, and the various reports which came in from all quarters, to the effect that the intended meeting would decide the fate of the country, were harassing. All the best informed of the rich people and the magistrates asserted that this district could easily turn out three hundred thousand people on Kersall Moor; and the Chartist newspapers asserted that they would turn out five hundred

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thousand. I did not believe this, but secretly thought one hundred thousand might be assembled:—quite enough to render my position very dangerous. My two thousand men and four guns were indeed enough, if well handled, but not enough to afford mistakes. I had been long out of practice myself, my troops had been but lately brought together, were all young soldiers, and not a dozen of the officers had ever seen a shot fired: all this was awkward. But allowing that no error occurred, what a slaughter! Good God what work! to send grape-shot from four guns into a helpless mass of fellow-citizens; sweeping the streets with fire and charging with cavalry, destroying poor people whose only crime is that they have been ill governed and reduced to such straits that they seek redress by arms, ignorant that of all ways that is the most certain to increase the evils they complain of.

"On one side we have an ill-used people suffering want, and thinking, justly, that if they had their rights the want would be relieved. But how are those rights to be gained? By changing our government into a republic say the vagabonds who want power, and do not want to see their countrymen fed; who like Daniel O'Connell delight in seeing them poor and miserable, as a means of continuing their own popularity and power: keep the people aggrieved and we will keep power by declaiming against those grievances. On the other hand, what do the Whigs and Tories do? Madly refuse the people's rights, thereby convincing them the democrats speak truly, and that aristocracy will yield nothing; that the people are lost if they trust to any things but arms. Madness on both sides. One seeking right in a wrong way, the other wrong in a wrong way. Hence not only slaughter might have occurred, but the example of one rising might be followed throughout England; for the agitation is so general no one can tell the effect of a single shot: all depended upon avoiding collision. I met the magistrates every week and impressed

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on them to the utmost of my power the necessity of not attacking the people, of letting them meet, and speak also, as they have a perfect right to do. That if any orator excited them to overt acts of treason, burning, murder, he should be arrested after the crowd dispersed; that if any went armed we could seize them as being armed. Otherwise to let the people alone. In all this Mr. Foster agreed with me and this line we pursued.

"The redoubted 25th of May came and not three hundred thousand but thirty thousand assembled. At this meeting Wemyss addressed a few of the people in high Tory oratory, and argued with a drunken old pensioner, fiercely Radical and devilish sharp; in ten minutes an eighth of the whole crowd collected round Wemyss and cheered him! These certainly were not Chartists. Some days before this I had a meeting with a gentleman, intimate with the Chartist leaders if not one himself, and begged him to shew them how impossible it would be to feed and move three hundred thousand men; that armed, starving and interspersed with villains, they must commit horrid excesses; that I would never allow them to charge me with their pikes, or even march ten miles without mauling them with cannon and musquetry, and charging them with cavalry when they dispersed to seek food: finally that the country would rise on them and they would be destroyed in three days!

"He said peace had put us out of practice, and we could not use our artillery; but he was soon convinced that was nonsense, and reported my observations to the leaders. I offered him no abuse, said many Chartists who acted on principle were to be honoured, others to be pitied as acting from ignorance, and certain to bitterly repent when they saw the terrible mischief that would ensue. This I believe had a good effect, and saying only what in my conviction was true it is probable I spoke well, for he seemed struck with the evils pointed out as inevitably attending even a disciplined army. At all events my meaning was good, urged

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by my dread of the havoc impending, for every one believed that three hundred thousand men would assemble. Such a force in one mass had never met my eyes, and I was resolved not to let them come near me, but to fight with my guns, keeping cavalry on their flanks to prevent small parties foraging.

"How small accidents affect men's minds and decide events. The 1st Dragoons and 10th Foot came from Ireland with the 79th, but the last being in kilts terrified the Chartists more than a brigade of other troops. Again. Not being sure if the first outbreak would not be at Birmingham, where the *mulcibers* are bolder than the weavers, the 10th were kept at Liverpool as a reserve. Birmingham was quiet and the 10th came to Manchester by wings, one with the band, the other marching with drums and fifes: so I had ordered. The Chartists thought two regiments had joined, and Mr. B —— says this supposed increase of force decided them not to attack: thus the kilt, which was no force at all; and the division of the 10th, which was weakness, contributed largely to our security.

"Under-Secretary, June. By the accompanying letters you will perceive that the Wakefield magistrates, besides calling out the troops, which they have a right to do, appear to have detained those troops when no riot existed, but apparently for the purpose of using them as constables to arrest persons guilty of disorderly conduct. They also assumed a right to give such directions as to the stationing of soldiers as *may appear necessary*. Am I correct in supposing that exceeds their just authority? If so, I hope Lord John Russell will explan this to them. If not, I am relieved from the great responsibility which circumstances may in future give rise to: it will attach to the magistrates. A quarrel amongst railroad labourers was not an occasion for demanding the aid of troops. It is surely not good to call out troops on every trifling occasion, and thus throw the constable's staff into the shade, as if martial law existed. At

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Bury and Hyde the call for troops was fully justified, and promptly responded to; it was also promptly responded to at Wakefield; but I am inclined to believe Lord John will concur in my opinion, that neither the demand for nor the detention of the troops at Wakefield was *necessary*.

"Sir Hew Ross, June. I cannot conceive how our accounts of barrack accommodation differ. But this, and other difficulties and irregularities, proceed from the monstrous absurdity of giving the army half a dozen heads instead of one. The Ordnance alter your barracks, yet I know nothing of it, because we belong to *separate armies:*—one commanded by the Master-General of the Ordnance, the other by the Master-General of the Infantry and Cavalry. Then comes a third:—the Master-General of Finance. Last, not least, the Master-General of the Home Office, more potent than all. Besides these, you and I have our little master-generals called magistrates. *God help the poor English army among so many cooks. Were it broth, it would have been spoiled long ago.*"

The Crimean miseries arise like spectres to confirm this prophecy!

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TWELFTH EPOCH.

THIRD PERIOD.

When these troubles were rendered innocuous by the dexterous management recorded in the preceding pages, the government, Ministers, Horse Guards and magistracy alike, became scornful of what had passed, treating the discontent as a momentary ebullition of a contemptible class: to them cessation of danger seemed the natural course, and they gave no credit to the man who had stopped the mischief. But had an officer of less talent and activity been in command; one less resolute to check the pernicious system of spreading the military in small detachments; or one of more violence and less humanity, a dreadful outbreak would probably have occurred, it might be a successful one: certainly it would have been devastating and sanguinary, and its repression would have rent Englishmen's affections from representative government in favour of republicanism.

Sir Charles Napier, seeing very clearly that the discontent would again gather head, strived to impress that truth on the authorities, yet in vain, until fresh commotion drew forth the same course of error, to be remedied by the same vigilance. Yet so little was he, or the crisis, understood, that we shall find his cautious perceptions of danger and judicious preparation, treated as conscious inability for command, and the gross insult offered of proposing advisers, and employing supervisors to prop up his weakness! Now, having averted evil at Manchester, he returned to Nottingham, and from thence watched all points with great solicitude, while he executed the ordinary military duties, involving an oppressive correspondence and frequent inspection journeys, one of which is thus noted.

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Journal, June 19th. Having visited the quarters of the different regiments, I found those of Rochdale, Todmorden, Blackburne, Bolton-le-Moor and Wigan infamous. Is it not strange that now, when all depends upon the troops, government makes them uncomfortable and discontented both as to quarters and food, for they complain of having too little to eat; and this in the middle of disaffection and when every effort is being made to corrupt them. Their barracks are absolutely disgusting: moreover they are in the highest degree dangerous; for the Chartists may place marksmen at windows commanding egress from the barracks, and setting fire to the last shoot the soldiers as they attempt to form. It is in vain to remonstrate, the officials are so touchy and jealous as to be quite childish, and when children are so powerful it is best to let them alone. Nevertheless, cautiously it must be attempted for the soldiers' sake. Lord Hill wishes this, but he is so beset by the civil offices that he cannot act freely; and he is too noble a fellow for me to encrease his difficulties by want of patience; Lord Fitzroy is the same: they cannot do as they wish or the soldiers would be well lodged.

"Lancaster delighted me, so far as a flying visit enabled me to judge. Westmoreland and its lakes were delightful. The beauty of all that scenery is great. Those gems of bright waters in their rude mountain setting, bursting on one's sight in fresh changing forms with all their lights and shadows, their mists and showers, exhilarate the spirits and give a calmness and happiness to the aching mind which seems like the peace of Heaven, still lingering on earth though driven from the usual haunts of man. My mind wants peace and quiet. I could live on the banks of one of those lakes and feel happy. I always am so when calm scenery and calm people are around me; but my lot is cast in trouble, or rather it has been so chosen. Nothing happens to man that is irksome but what he has himself chosen; all may be traced to his own folly: and yet, who

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made us foolish! Let that pass, suffice it that we are so, unless we take the only course that is left for wisdom: take things as they are and make the best of them; there is no real wisdom but that.

"Saw merry Carlisle. The old castle has been spoiled by foolish people, but that is no great matter. Naworth is the fortress of belted Will Howard, and a snug berth he had. His bed, his books and reading desk, are all there, nearly as he left them when he was called to be judged as he had judged. Perhaps with more mercy, as with more wisdom, though probably he only hanged fellows who were much better hanged than unhanged: at least their neighbours were better for their hanging. The belted man had however only to deal with wild border hordes: Hew Ross who is as good a soldier as he, has to guard against men whose object is to gain their just rights, and are only wrong because they cast away their real strength—that of reason.

"From Carlisle by Newcastle and Sunderland to York, far-famed York and its cathedral. How many hypocrites have entered there to preach and blaspheme and oppress the poor; it almost makes me wish the burning had been complete: but it is so pretty! What a magnificent pile! I would like to live near it, to go in and pray and be calm if but for an hour. Yet it is not God's palace! The border of the lake, the top of the mountain:—there! there is calmness, there is God's temple! There He may be worshipped, there one can live in peace and die fearlessly, the soul unruffled! My command is great. No, not command: responsibility, great and irksome, but no power. I see wrong and dare not put it right, and that is called command, There is nothing to flatter ambition, absolutely nothing; it is indeed better than a miserable lodging in Bath or Dublin, but it is not so good as the healthy and more noble one of a country life.

"Under-Secretary, Nottingham, June 29th. O'Connor was here yesterday. His audience amounted to about two thou-

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sand sufficiently enthusiastic but most of them dispersed when he had done speaking, disregarding other orators. Everything was orderly and quiet. I find there are meetings held on Bulwell Common every Sunday, three times a day. At these meetings Stevens' political sermons are read: the demand for subscriptions has made many hang back, but has not changed their opinions.

"Lord Fitzroy, July 2nd. I find a soldier of the Rifles attends all the meetings here; he is said to be a man of ability, is a chosen man, and remarkable for having no comrade and keeping aloof from the other men. I think the best way to deal with a man of this kind is to reason with him and advise him shewing the impropriety of a soldier going to such meetings, with which he may be placed in collision at any moment. I think such a man may be made a good soldier of by fair words and reasoning. A mill was burned near Manchester, but the people here have changed their tone: instead of pikes and physical-force lectures they make it a religious question and have political sermons."

The Mitchel of the next letter, a colonel and author, thought Napoleon no general, and was intent to prove that musquets and bayonets were inferior to swords for war. Charles Napier adduced in opposition a letter from General Wolfe describing the inferiority of the sword at Culloden, but the colonel treated this authority with as much contempt as he did Napoleon's military genius.

"Colonel W. Napier, June 29th. I got your letter about Mitchel just when setting off to be invested with the red ribbon, for which they gave me twenty-four hours' leave; and ill could that time even be spared from the half-yearly inspections, for the piles of reports returns and books of all kinds now required are endless. It is impossible for a general to do all that is required, and I conclude most of them do very little. If Napoleon Alexander and Cæsar were one man he could not fill up one inspection return honestly, examining everything he signs, and I have eleven.

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Do not speak of this for they are absurdly touchy; but never did you see anything so exceedingly ridiculous as the printed questions of these half-yearly inspection returns. *Is the surgeon fully qualified to fulfil his medical duties?* Upon the answer the man's character is to hang! *Are the beards of the officers non-commissioned officers and privates, cut according to regulation? Does the parson preach a good sermon?* &c. Was there ever such silliness?

"No time to answer Mitchel. He takes Home's and other accounts of the relative numbers at Culloden and rejects Wolfe's; he assumes that Home is better authority because he served in the rebel ranks; Wolfe who was a captain on the other side is no authority! With time to reply I will, meanwhile, to use your words, Let him gnaw the Wolfe's bone.

"Every one, including Lord Hill, Lord John and Lord Fitzroy, thinks the political storm has blown over, they will in time find it is not. The poverty is great, the discontent great, the hope from changes great; the present quiet results from the summer work, the demand made by the convention for money, and the fear caused by the assembly of troops at the points where the leaders designed to begin their operations. The government is diminishing the troops and summer will pass quietly; yet in winter the troops must be again collected, and again we may slip quietly through: but is this governing a country? You and I know the remedy, but were we to tell them, the only question in their minds would be whether Bedlam or Newgate was the place for me. I have however nothing to complain of, because, thanks to chance, things have gone smoothly; because the hour of trial has not arrived, and they mistake expedients and palliatives for remedies. At times I am tempted to give up, not from ill-temper for nothing can exceed the flattering kindness with which I am treated, but because the real state of the country is known to me without the power of doing real good.

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" I hate the poor law, but it is not a cause of the mischief in itself, it is only a train to fire the mine: the evils produced by the manufacturing system and the debt are attributed by the people to the new poor law, which aggravates instead of assuaging their feelings as the old poor law did. Well, if we are resolved to sacrifice everything to the *cotton lords* and establish the principle of turning an agricultural into a dense population of men women and children without morals or health; a population starving one week, earning forty shillings the next, of which, from the corruption in which they are bred and in which they breed, they do not save a penny; if, when these dense masses starve by the rise of a farthing per pound in cotton we still go on as hitherto, let us prepare for keeping the operatives down by force, building barracks like fortresses, holding military possession of the country, establishing a paid magistracy and increasing the force with more troops, or a rural police. We neither remove real evils nor prepare for their effects. What does our present distress arise from in Lancashire? The cotton lords work as little raw cotton as possible, because they want to compel the Yankees to lower its price; they know Jonathan wants money and must sell: it is a trial of strength between English and Yankee cotton lords to make the Yankee come down a halfpenny, and the former starve thousands of wretches whose health and morals they have ruined, or rather never allowed them to have.

" Journal, July 1st. In June I ran up to town to be invested. The showy brilliancy of the court has something very childish and trifling. In the midst of embroidery, gold lace, stars, orders, titles, and a crowd of soldiers, I met many an old comrade of the Peninsular war:—worn, meagre, greyheaded, stooping old men, sinking fast! I too have one leg in the grave. When we had last been together we were young, active, full of high spirits, dark or auburn locks! Now all are changed, all are parents, all full of cares. Well, the world is chained

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hand to hand, for there were also young soldiers there, just fledged, meet companions for their young Queen: they too will grow old, but will they have the memory of battles when like us they hurry towards the grave?

"There was our pretty young Queen receiving our homage, and our old shrivelled bodies and grey heads were bowed before her throne, intimating our resolution to stand by it as we had stood when it was less amiably filled: I wonder what she thought of us old soldiers! We must have appeared to her like wild beasts, and I dare say she looked at us as she looks at the animals in the Zoological Garden. Lord Hill is old and has lost his teeth; poor Sir John Jones looked like a ghost, and Sir Alexander Dickson is evidently breaking. Thinking how these men had directed the British thunders of war I saw that death was the master, the brilliance of the court vanished and the grim spectre stared me in the face: his empire is creeping over all! Yes! we are in the larder for worms and apparently very indifferent venison.

"Under-Secretary, July 10th. There was a consultation among the Chartists in this neighbourhood when the Birmingham riots begun, and it was proposed to march at once to their assistance; but after discussion it was voted that the troops would interrupt the march and the enterprize was abandoned: one hundred pistols are said to have been distributed. The causes of Chartism remain, and be assured the present apparent decline of it is not sound, the spirit is abroad and vigorous.

"Lord Fitzroy, July 15th. Ross has sent troops to Durham, the colliery districts being disturbed. At Newcastle they are not quiet, neither are they at Carlisle; and from the latter place he had been obliged to send a detachment to Cockermouth. From Bolton-le-Moors I hear, that the manufacture of pikes has increased, and Wemyss hears that three hundred stand of arms were introduced into Stockport during the last week. In short

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the agitation is strong everywhere, and at Sutton-in-Ashfield meetings are held nightly.

"Under-Secretary, July 15th. I hear the plan of the malcontents is to rise in different parts where troops are not quartered, so as to divide and harass them, and into this trap I fear the magistrates will readily fall. I said to you, and am sure of it, that the spirit of revolution is strong and increasing, but, as before, it wants leaders money and concert: yet the latter is evidently on the increase.

"Colonel W. Napier, July. I really hardly know what to think about writing to Lord Fitzroy as you advise, though I have several times thought of doing so; for of all those who seem to treat the people's feelings lightest he is the man. He seems to think it only a passing discontent, and he is so clever a fellow, and so good a fellow, that to own the truth he almost staggered me. He would have done so, had not my opinion, formed long since, been confirmed by all I see here. The Birmingham work has shewn pretty clearly how we are ruled"—a great tumult had been caused there by the violence of the authorities. "I only know what the papers tell, for the troops there and at Weedon are not in my district; my hope was to have been sent there, not as liking it but to have stopped the mischief by interfering with the magistrates.

"At Manchester I found the magistrates reasonable, yet several were for stopping the meeting by force, and would have done so with any encouragement; but I swore, if they attempted it not a soldier should quit the barracks till both constables' and magistrates' heads were broken. This was bravado, for I dare not refuse to obey their orders, but the two stipendiary magistrates were with me.

"The London police should not have been sent down to Birmingham. Such a town should be able to hold its own if the magistrates are the right sort of fellows, and one thing strikes me as curious—if the people were armed, how came the police to escape? The leaders cry vengeance for the

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assault made on them. Well, they were assaulted and those leaders were there in numbers, yet a handful of police attacked them and escaped with three or four men wounded. My opinion also is, that the rural police, which Lord John said he is forming, will do no good in the long run; it is good for me though, by placing a strong body between the soldiers and the crowd; a body which, by what we have seen at Birmingham, will nine times out of ten beat the mob: the police were anything but cowed, and with a few more comrades would not have required any soldiers. However one cannot hear truth and the whole thing ought to be inquired into. The magistrates of my district are demanding troops. At Carlisle, at Newcastle, at York, here, there, everywhere, the steam is again on, and in this neighbourhood and Manchester pretty strongly too. Will not this convince them in London that the thing is not over? My reports from Manchester say pike-making is redoubled, yet they will not believe! Of what use is it to write? They trust to the soldiers! but when a rising is put down in blood, what then?

"There are many Chartists among the Rifles; one in particular is an able fellow but I have information of all he does and he is not a bad man. I told the Horse Guards this, and also that my notion was to speak to him rationally as man to man, and seek to convince him that a handful of people had no right to force their opinions upon a nation &c. The answer from Lord Fitzroy was that he had spoken to Lord Hill and Lord John Russell, and Lord John thought it better not for fear of its getting into the papers: that it would be better to make one of my staff speak to the man! Now you may easily conceive young William being floored in argument by an expert Chartist; or O'Donnell either; he indeed would be more easily confuted, as he never studies the subject and piques himself on never entering into politics. My whole success, or hopes of it, rested on my being known to hold the man's own opinions, and only differing as

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to the means taken to give them effect: upon the general himself reasoning with him; on my being an old rifleman. Thus I might stop the taint, but if I do as Lord John advises the man will gain a victory and be confirmed in his views. Interrupted by applications for troops from Cockermouth, Durham, and other places. One letter tells me the Chartists are advised not to collect in great bodies, but to harass the soldiers by rising where there are no troops. The stir is general, and certainly magistrates will be my bane; I begin to know the look of one now as readily as one does an officer in plain clothes: they have a regular *asking-for-troops* face! This is a new adjective, a magistrate's adjective, which is as hateful to me as ever was a French verb.

"Dr. Hutchinson, nephew of the 52nd surgeon, attended us here. I described your illness to him. He said it was the ball pressing upon some large nerve, or upon the backbone, which being cased with some nervous membrane throws the skin into agonies that no one can have an idea of without feeling them. He has published several cases of this attack upon the nervous system of the skin, arising from rheumatic affections falling upon the membrane, or whatever it is. The same effect would he says inevitably be produced by the bullet pressing so as to create inflammation, and he has no doubt of the ball causing your ill-health.

"I fear to write to Lord Fitzroy. A few days ago I merely said that—I saw no way to meet the evil but, to make concessions on one hand, and on the other to organize a strong constabulary, to stand between the troops and the people. His answer was. 'Lord Hill desires me to point out your observation, and to suggest that you avoid all remarks having allusion to political questions; and I am to say, without entering into the merits of the question, that it is clear to Lord Hill, that neither he as commander in chief, nor you as the major-general commanding the northern district, can have anything to do with the matter; it is therefore better that you should confine yourselves to what is

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strictly your provinces as military men. The position of officers is so peculiar in responsible situations, and at the same time so difficult, that it is highly desirable we should not add to our embarrassments by travelling out of the strict line of duty, either in line or in action.'

"After this I have no more to say. I gave no advice as to what they ought to do, but merely said as a fact that discontent was so general I saw no other means to meet it with effect: and that in a confidential letter! You see how fearful they are of looking facts in the face, or of involving themselves in difficulty. Perhaps they are right: governed as the country is, if Lord Hill acted otherwise he would be at daggers with the ministry in a week. I have however all along kept up a strong expression of my views, both to the Home Office and the Horse Guards. Eight detachments were recently ordered in five days, whereupon I wrote to the Home Office that I could not be answerable for accidents arising, either from attacks on small posts or the debauching of the troops, or for discipline of regiments if this division of my force took place. The attempts to seduce the troops are incessant, in my belief unsuccessfully, but the nicest management is necessary and is not used.

"As to the police question, we must fight our battle with the people as we can, not deal with them as we ought; but if this state of things continues the army will be debauched. I agree with Lord John, that a local civil force may be more constitutional, but it will be inferior to an organized body from London. 1°. Because it will be ill managed. 2°. Because it will act with less impartiality. Soon will it be found that instead of advising me not to allude to political questions it would be better to take my advice. At Hull the soldiers and mob joined to thrash the police."

His prognostication of renewed violence from discontent was quickly realized.

"Journal, July 20th. The work of this district is too much for one man. I ought to be at Manchester, but unless under

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positive orders who can resolve to run up a chimney? Some duties are not to be done voluntarily, and to live in a chimney is one. Manchester is the chimney of the world. Rich rascals, poor rogues, drunken ragamuffins and prostitutes, form the moral; soot made into paste by rain the physique, and the only view is a long chimney: what a place! The entrance to hell realized! The alarm is now general again. I wrote to my brother William that it would be so when all was quiet in June: he wanted me to tell the high authorities all my views at once, but I did not; they would take huff, they are so timid.

"Under-Secretary. The spirit of democracy is strong, and increasing, and of a sanguinary collision there is great danger finally, though not now, the present excitement will subside: but for how long? It may be presumptuous to give an opinion, but my belief is that concession must be made to the people's feelings, or the establishment of a strong rural police hurried on. I would do both, thinking them absolutely necessary: if the police force be not quickly increased we shall require troops from Ireland.

"Lord Fitzroy, July. The magistrates of this town—Notts—behave with great propriety and good sense. Along the eastern coast up to Newcastle all appears quiet, but it is said to be in a dangerous state, and at Carlisle Ross says the people are ready to break out—the magistrates tell him so. In the demand for troops at Wigton, the Chartists are said to parade the streets with drum and fife, and fire guns: from thence down through Lancashire we have reports of meetings and agitations, no acts of violence, but arming goes on vigorously. With all this my opinion is that the Chartist leaders wish to avoid a collision with the military.

"Colonel Wemyss, July 25th. That the Chartists make such a quantity of cartridges is a stiff fact; but our not daring to seize them is a stiffer! If the magistrates can prove seditious exhortations to the people by any speaker

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they ought to arrest him, but not in the midst of an assembly highly excited by his oratory; they should follow him to his quarters and there arrest him: that is the right way to go to work.

"Under-Secretary. Condensed. July 24th. All detachments should be composed of infantry and cavalry, none ought to be of less than two companies and a troop; none should be in barracks situated amidst houses in the centre of a town, because fire applied to the houses would burn out the troops, who would probably be massacred while escaping the flames: the cavalry horses would inevitably be destroyed. Shut up among houses, even if not fired, soldiers could not profit from discipline, and attempts to issue forth would generally be destruction, as the enemy, being prepared to prevent escape, would oppose barricades and have marksmen in the opposite houses. If a detachment remained shut up it would be useless as a protecting force, and its own danger great. Officers with small detachments are generally separated from their men, and in a night-attack would be killed while seeking to rejoin their soldiers. Small detachments are easily shut up and may be forced to surrender from hunger and thirst before they can be succoured, especially as their sixty rounds of ammunition would be quickly exhausted.

"A strong detachment quartered on the outskirts of a town is free. It can make head against an enemy, keeping him at gun-shot distance; it can get out if necessary, and attack; it can receive other detachments which strive to unite from the country. In case of arson the soldiers can issue and take possession of other buildings, or keep to the country. It can send a part to aid the inhabitants, or retreat if necessary to some other post: in short a strong detachment lodged in the outskirts of a town commands that town, whereas, posted in the middle of a town it is commanded. These are matters to be attended to always, and

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shall never be lost sight of by me because timid magistrates choose to take alarm. Durham, and every other town, can surely supply a house in their suburbs.

"It is true that there is no great fear of the troops, but let an accident occur and the whole aspect of affairs will change. The Chartists are numerous, and should one detachment be destroyed the soldiers would lose confidence; they would be shaken while the rebels would be exalted beyond measure. Their defeat finally would be certain, but much blood would be shed which need not be shed. Some soldiers have quarrelled with the police at Hull; such accidents are unlucky; the police are odious to the people and quarrels of this nature put the soldiers and the people in tacit confederation against the police, which may produce mischief. The Chartist leaders are not such fools as to let this advantage escape them, they will turn it to account in their tamperings with the loyalty of the troops.

"All these things induce me to press earnestly on Lord John the keeping of the soldiers in masses, the *prestige* of mastery is with them, and their high discipline and loyalty will enable them to maintain their superiority. No man can measure the limits of the present danger, it is not possible to do so; but the troops form a strong barrier around the throne; one which, with proper management, can be implicitly relied on: but if cut up into detachments a taint may begin. Much better will it be to throw out the advanced posts of a constabulary force, and thus keep the enemy off: treason cannot easily enter the ranks if the army be kept in masses. The rifleman has done no harm here because his comrades are in barracks; but were the men in billets he would ere this have made half of them Chartists.

"Major Creagh. What you tell me in *strict confidence* must go to Lord Hill; there can be nothing hidden from him that is important to know. The safety of the public is far too valuable to be risked by over delicacy; it is our first, our greatest duty—*speaking humanly* as the new-light

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people say, and very correctly. I hold this quarrel with the police to be a very serious affair. You were quite right to let me know your private opinion, and it is equally necessary that Lord Hill should see it. I can give you but one rule. Smooth things, reason with all parties, condemn what is wrong in either, but not with acrimony; speak kindly and explain the mischief and wrong there is in these quarrels between men serving the Queen. Speak with the leader of the police also: explain to him the danger of his men being over-officious, if such be the case, in this interference with your men; request of him to speak to them if he is a sensible man, if not ask him to let you do so. In that case do not tell them they are wrong but explain, that as soldiers are under rigid military law which brings them up for all offences it is better not to be too sharp upon them for offending against police law, if they do so, unless in violent cases, but rather to help them out of a scrape than into one. In short, throw all the good humour you can into the matter for at present we want more oil in our salad than vinegar.

"The police force is going to be much increased; it will save the soldiers a world of unpleasant duty and we must work well with them. They have a very difficult part to play. We face rioters in bodies well armed; a policeman, nine times out of ten is alone with a stick, and surrounded by all sorts of rascals. If your soldiers recollect this they will see how ungenerous it would be, as well as wrong, to add to the troubles of the police, who, on their part, should not interfere with the soldiers unless they are doing mischief. Explain these things to both parties: and read what I say to the chief of police, if he is a sensible man. Always enforce on the soldiers that being out after hours renders them culprits, and therefore they draw any bad treatment on themselves.

"Under-Secretary, July 29. If Lord John sends for troops from Ireland, which I earnestly hope he will do, it is desirable that regiments which yet have the greatest number of

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Irishmen should be selected: the difference of religion and country offers additional guards for the soldier's fidelity. The quarrel between the soldiers and police must be managed with great caution. I did not move the 81st from Hull, because the quarrel would then be taken up by the next regiment and the mischief would spread.

"July 31st. The Chartists of this town and neighbourhood mean to go to church in procession, heading the troops: there is no reason to apprehend improper intentions, but it becomes awkward because of their numbers. I have decided to make no change in the church parade. If there be room for the troops they will enter the church; if not, those for whom there is no room must remain outside. Nothing in the conduct of the troops shall give pretext for a riot; but were I not to let the troops go to church it would be to presuppose, what I do not believe is intended, an insult to the military, and so presupposing to submit to the imaginary affront. Were I to hasten our parade and forestall places it would be entering into an undignified struggle unbecoming the character of her Majesty's troops: if we cannot find room it is a natural occurrence and there an end.

"I shall be present and will take care no insult is offered to the sacredness of the place, either by soldiers or Chartists; and shall see that the church authorities are free to exercise their functions: in this view the clergymen and magistrates shall be consulted and requested to caution their people against undue zeal, which the presence of soldiers might otherwise induce them to exhibit. But while I take these steps to preserve the peace and decorum becoming a congregation assembled to worship the Almighty, I shall have a strong picquet in barrack under arms, in case intemperate people should resolve on violence and insult. There is much alarm in the town about this matter, but it is among a certain class and in my belief without foundation. There was a meeting last Wednesday in Nottingham Park: it took

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place at night, about a thousand men, no women or children.

"Lord Fitzroy, July 31st. I lose no opportunity of telling Lord John Russell the great danger the magistrates will draw on us by insisting on detachments—danger to discipline, danger of defeat, danger to loyalty which is the worst: the drunken rascal of the 81st at Hull exclaimed *Damn your eyes we are all Chartists.* Then the hand-bill given to the soldiers at Manchester; the letter to the corporal of the 34th; the rifleman here! These things, occurring far from each other, being put together, the inference is that the troops should be kept in masses; such taints could then be detected: with small detachments fear is always an agent of corruption, but cannot operate on masses.

"Colonel Wemyss, July 31st. At Wigton the magistrates picked out their confidential people to be special constables: when assembled to be sworn they said, Oh! never mind we will keep the town quiet. What! are you armed? Yes! every man his musquet, and we will soon settle your forty soldiers if they are saucy. So much for the *élite* of Wigton."

He was now, as he had feared, entirely overborne by the indirect power of the magistracy, or rather of particular magistrates who forced the foolish weakness of the Home Office; and that blood did not flow was chiefly owing to his extreme vigilance and wide knowledge of the Chartists' secret designs; to the influence he obtained over the wisest leaders by his firmness and gentleness towards the people, combined with his known opposition to the violence of some civil authorities who were eager to bring the soldiers into action. Meanwhile his remonstrances against the errors of government were as freely urged as his rebukes to the Chartists, but did not meet with such a reasonable response. Conjoined with his previous resistance of personal wrong from Lord Ripon, and his avowed politics at Bath, they raised a secret but implacable feeling of dislike which pursued him to his latest hour. His genius was indeed too

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great to please or to be stifled, but his spirit was too strong to be overborne, and once placed in a prominent position his course was that of a meteor for the nation: for the government however he was only a man to be thwarted and rejected, unworthy of notice save in enmity.

"Journal, July 25th. The Chartists say they will keep the *sacred month*. Egregious folly! they will do no such thing; the poor cannot do it, they must plunder and then they will be hanged by hundreds: they will split upon it, but if mad enough to attempt it they are lost.

"July 26th. The pot boils every way. Rumours of war from Carlisle—merry no longer! from Newcastle, from all parts of Lancashire. Demands for troops will soon multiply. The country magistrates are a miserable set generally; they insult the people, are hated, and on every alarm grow frightened. The magistrates of towns have a little more pluck, but the country magistrates bully them, finally inoculate them with their own fears, and then pour in calls for troops. If the soldiers are spread as the magistrates want, the men will soon lose discipline, grow insolent to their officers, and when punished will turn Chartists: I shall be defeated by the magistrates they are so powerful, but the safety of the country is at stake and I will do my utmost.

"As matters stand I am for a strong police, but the people should have *universal suffrage*—it is their right. The *ballot*—it is their security and their will, and therefore their right also; and the new poor law should be reformed: but while doing these things, I would have a strong police to stand between the soldiers and the people. My reasons for this are as follows. Good government consists in having good laws well obeyed. England has abundance of bad laws, but is every man to arm against every law he thinks bad? No! Bad laws must be reformed by the concentrated reason of the nation gradually acting on the legislature, not by the pikes of individuals acting on the bodies of the executive. The law, good or bad, is to be obeyed, and

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the magistrate is to enforce obedience. How? By his constables. But there are now so many people who think the law ought not to be obeyed, who have armed themselves for disobedience, and are moreover so well instructed in the quibbles of law, by which it may be safely broken under cover of its own protection, that the magistrate is frightened, morally and physically. Moreover in cases where his courage is equal to the work he has no force with which to act: he may be a bold and clever man but he is still a cypher.

"I will not take an obnoxious Mr. U—— for my magistrate, but Colonel Wildman. He has ability, courage, activity, generosity, and all the influence of property. Yet Colonel Wildman shall not be taken at Newstead Abbey. He shall be transplanted to the dense, demoralized population of Burnley or Ashton-under-Lyne, or Manchester, where his virtues would not be understood, or valued if they were; opposed to men with whom he is only known as the magistrate, and as such looked upon as a foe. How is he to be obeyed? Where are his constables? Two or three, perhaps two or three dozen, shopkeepers quailing under fears of all kinds, natural fears, fear of exclusive dealing, of private vengeance. Men as helpless as their magistrate are thus opposed to a rough set who are perfectly aware that these constables are helpless, and are themselves therefore, every man a hero in the crowd, ready to commit any crime his heart may devise. What is the result? Outrage! Call in the troops! But to that there are two objections.

"First you must have an immense force, with its expences, to give every magistrate a guard: all the troops in the northern district would not furnish a single county, and then the second objection arises—dispersion of troops, which destroys discipline. In a few years they would become amalgamated in opinion with the people, you would have a Chartist army not a royal one, and one you had armed and drilled! What then would become of the throne and constitution?

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Lost! There would be no 'kicking against the pricks' the bayonet would be master. My principle is not to risk such danger. Correct bad laws and do the people justice: this is indispensable if we would have peace. But I am talking of supporting the laws as they are. To avoid danger to the throne you must keep the army clear of the people, and fortify it in principle against treason. How then are you to support the magistrates? By an effective police force constituted either on the principle of concentration or that of local election; or, if you please, a compound of both.

"Manufactures have formed an artificial state of society: a dense polluted population dependent for food on accidental variations of trade, one day in full work and high wages, the next neither work nor wages, and all willing to break the laws. To meet this you must have a strong police, and if it become contaminated with the democratic spirit you have your military force in reserve and the throne is safe. Whereas if the military are contaminated you have no reserve, the throne would be first degraded and then overturned. For these reasons we should in our present state of bad government, public debt, manufacturing and general discontent, have stipendiary magistrates and an armed police.

"Let us suppose the whole people wanted and could force a republic. What would result? A desperate struggle between the manufacturing and landed interests, ending in a civil war, to be decided finally by a military chief who would not be fool enough to wear a hat when a crown was in his hand. Nor such a rogue either: for what patriotic man would let his country be governed by dozens of squabbling republican fools, when his own good sense and single will could rule and guide her aright? This is foreign to the subject, but speaking of the means to oppose attempts to make England a republic, I cannot help a glance at what our state would be if they were successful.

"They have asked my opinion about having more troops from Ireland. Surely they are wanted when all the north

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threatens and every post brings demands for soldiers from Carlisle and Newcastle-upon-Tyne down to Newcastle-under-Line; when all Lancashire is armed and in a ferment; when I cannot say at what moment a general rising may take place—if one is to be, and truly there are signs. I have indeed nineteen regiments, but also half England to garrison and defend.

"And then such magistrates! three from Loughborough sent for troops to *save life and property*—their messenger came at a gallop and a troop was in a few minutes in full trot for the rescue, my utmost hope being that it might help to extinguish flames and bury the heroic 'petty sessions' with military honours in the smoking ruins of Loughborough!! The troop arrived, the town was in alarm, but not in flames; the magistrates were alive, but had removed, the nearest to six miles' distance! Captain King, unable to act, sent to seek the runaways, and at 10 o'clock at night by threatening to leave magistrates and Chartists together got one of the former in presence. I reported all this and Lord John gave them—*a gentle reproof!* Saying, if evil happened it would be on their shoulders.

"July 28th. Great anxiety about the collieries in the north. I have sent Campbell 98th—now Sir Colin—there from Hull. The colliers had better be quiet, they will have a hardy soldier to deal with; yet he will be gentle and just, or he should not be there, for I want not bullies to join the civilians' cry for murdering the people, to *make an example.* One may be required, so much the worse, but let not soldiers seek occasion for it, as almost all the civil gentlemen seem to me to do: let us avoid that as we would sin and death!

"July 30. Alarm! Trumpets! Magistrates in a fuss. Troops! Troops! Troops! North, South, East, West. I *screech* at these applications like a gate swinging on rusty hinges, and swear! Lord, how they make me swear! The people are not ready for a fight though: there may be bloodshed and burnings, but no fighting.

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TWELFTH EPOCH.

FOURTH PERIOD.

HITHERTO no indication of bodily suffering has marked Sir C. Napier's correspondence; yet the following extract from his journal shows that he was all this time in dread of the most terrible and heart-breaking of personal afflictions:—blindness!

"Journal. The Home Office and the Horse Guards write that they think little of the quarrel between the soldiers and police: this is to be seen:—but shall I see then at all? I fear not. Blindness! My God what an awful thought! it makes my blood run cold. Perhaps I may die first and be spared that suffering. My poor mother! How I think of her suffering, and sometimes reproach myself for not remaining for ever at her side: but I did all things as she wished. My own hour of darkness now comes apace, I must bid adieu to reality for ever! Nor face, nor form, nor aught will be seen more by me; all must be imagination, except pain, until blessed, welcomed death, comes to send me to those who are gone! Yet God tempers trials and will temper mine so as to be bearable, and with courage we can bear much. And after all death is not a distant event for a man of fifty-seven, especially when smashed as my body has been. All in God's good time. We can neither hurry nor retard the hour of fate: all that a brave man has to do is to look his trials in the face without flinching, and thank heaven they are no worse. Yet, if that stuffed feeling in the nose from my wound should come on also, what would become of me! Oh! God! I will repine not even at the

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loss of sight, at anything if spared that horror of horrors! I will not think of it."

Here let it be remembered with what fortitude and even gaiety he bore, when in Lisbon, the dreadful suffering alluded to above; how his letters sported with torture to save his mother and sisters mental distress: but never did bodily suffering impede his course of action, never indeed, until this outburst, did he even let it be known that he suffered. The intrepid spirit that sustained without complaint, the pain of broken limbs when a boy, the horrors and sufferings of Coruña when a youth, sufficed during manhood and old age to suppress all evidence of agony, until the approach of the most terrible of ills forced from him this one and only groan of his life for himself.

The sacred month of the Chartists, in which all were to cease working as an evidence of the power of labour over all other interests, was now at hand.

"Journal, August 2nd. Sacred month! Do they imagine they can make the people of England stop work for a month? How are they to feed? Rob. What! All England turn thieves in a day. Why the thieves, were they two millions, would be floored instantly by the ten millions who were not thieves! It is a farce, but the attempt may produce a tragedy and to prevent that is in some degree my affair. I can however only do my own work and with such magistrates God knows what may happen.

"Lord John Russell, August 2nd. The accompanying sketch will convey the clearest answer to your enquiries, and the detachments in danger, chiefly from fire and position, are marked on it. Should a rising take place all communication between those places would be intercepted. The organization of lodges is a powerful one if well executed, which it probably is; at the same time it is more theoretical than practical for the field: it will prepare them well for an outbreak, but will be very dangerous when they get under arms, for all will talk and order, no man will obey. But this does

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not render attacks on weak detachments less dangerous, because the Chartists can prepare beforehand and it would be only a work of a few hours.

"Journal. The Home Office has resolved to make Durham find barracks if they will have soldiers. All right, drive on coachy. But how the wheels roll and the coach sways from side to side, and the spokes rattle and the axles crack! Oh, the old state carriage, how it shakes and jolts in the deep ruts of folly and quagmires of knavery! We shall upset it at last and God help the passengers.

"August 5th. Meetings every night in the market-place, and good sense talked by the speakers: some a little outrageous, but nothing to demand notice. My advice to the magistrates is not to interfere unless the peace be broken: why should they? If the mob break the peace I will break their heads; we will have no burnings, no disgraceful proceedings, which the honest part of the Chartists deprecate: but when men assemble to express their political opinions it is unjust as well as foolish to disperse them.

"August 6th. The plot thickens. Meetings increase and are so violent, and arms so abound, I know not what to think. The Duke of Portland tells me there is no doubt of an intended general rising. Poor people! They will suffer. They have set all England against them and their physical force:—fools! We have the physical force, not they. They talk of their hundred thousands of men. Who is to move them when I am dancing round them with cavalry, and pelting them with cannon-shot? What would their 100,000 men do with my 100 rockets wriggling their fiery tails among them, roaring, scorching, tearing, smashing all they came near? And when in desperation and despair they broke to fly, how would they bear five regiments of cavalry careering through them? Poor men! Poor men! How little they know of physical force!

"August 7th. My brother Richard's birth-day. God send him happy days! I wish he had a pursuit, there is no

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happiness but in a pursuit; a house, a garden even is a pursuit, flowers, animals, all around furnish pursuits; we live and die as they do, they are God's creatures as we are, and they pass more quickly through life and warn us. I could live in a garden and a *wee* farm, have a cow and graze a horse, and try little experiments and breathe pure air, and then lie down and die! When my sight fails I shall not see the world, and 'tis but a step further not to hear it. Oh these eyes! But it is folly to fret, it may be some years yet ere light vanishes. My poor Richard, I fear his eyes are in more danger even than mine, and he has no child's voice to hear! Strange are these dispensations! But he is all honour and goodness, and for him also there is the chance that life may pass away before sight leaves him; if not, God tempers the wind!

"August 8th. All in a ferment, meetings everywhere.

"9th. No time for journals. Write, write, write all day: the plot is as thick as batter pudding.

"10th. My birth-day. What recollections! At my age no man of sense can value life, or anything in it except quiet. Oh! quiet, blessed quiet! to be so is to be as happy as we can be in this life. All my thoughts are now to get easiest out of life and with least pain to my wife. With my girls sorrow will soon be over; youth can bear the shock. I loved my father as they love me, yet a few months made all bright: after that there was and is, and ever will be, a holy reverence for his goodness and talent and character, attended by the feeling that we shall soon meet again. Thus will my children feel when I am gone and their enjoyment of life will not be spoiled. God has ordained that youth should enjoy life, and if my girls read this they will know I wish them to do so. I know not why this train of thinking has come, but in age a birthday brings such thoughts.

"The Secretary of State says, If you wish it Lord Strafford will visit any part of your district to give assistance and advice. Non credo! That Byng is a good

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fellow said a soldier of the guards in my hearing in 1803. He is said another, what's of him, but the most part is boots and cocked hat—he was very young and the dress then was preposterous. Now I have more cocked hat than I want, thanks to the stupid regulations; and as to boots his won't fit me. I want neither John Byng's advice, nor Johnny Russell's, and will offer mine to both, feeling quite equal to my own work. Are they getting frightened as the sacred month approaches? I verily believe so, and they think Lord Strafford a better man in the hour of need! Perhaps he is so, I won't dispute that; but he shall not be my dry nurse, better or worse. If they want him let them give him the district, I am quite ready to give it up, yet while here no privy councillor over me: that's as flat as a pancake.

"August 11th. Troops ordered to Bradford if I 'approve.' I don't approve, but if they give a good barrack the men shall go. Meanwhile all on tiptoe! Every one expects a row: not yet, the pear is not ripe. If these foolish men keep their sacred month they ruin themselves; how can those who live by labour live without labour? Robbery must be the result, and the English people will not support a cause by such means; the Chartists will not do so. I deny that Chartism is a general feeling, and there are plenty of good men among the Chartists who would turn on robbers acting in their name. The silly magistrates of Mansfield are in labour and a troop of dragoons has gone off to deliver them of their fears: the old Duke of Portland is played off by a spy.

"August 12th. The magistrates here want to act rightly, but have been bullied by the county magistrates into a proclamation against meetings which have been held every day in the market-place and race-course: this is unwise. —— Just as I wrote came a call for troops to disperse a mob in the country. I rode out, ordering dragoons to follow me. Mr. N—— and I found the mob, which would not notice

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us and marched on. Old N—— put on his spectacles, pulled out the riot act, and read it in an audible voice—to who? Myself and about a dozen old women, looking out at their doors to see what we were at! We came back, found another mob, and ordered it to disperse. No. N—— told me to disperse it. I laughed, the dragoons laughed, the young women of the mob laughed, and then old N—— laughed and so the second act of folly passed. Hardly home however when a second call came; then a third; a fourth; each time we were paraded in order of battle and each time were laughed at: so the day passed in great excitement.

"August 13th. Magistrates again read the riot act on the race-course. We scolded, laughed again, and this second farce ended; but three or four times was I obliged to mount, and indeed remained on horseback until long after dark. The mob was abusive but very timid, the approach of a dragoon made them fly like sheep. The soldiers were keen for a fight. The mayor and corporation issued foolish proclamations and then let the people jeer them; it was not wise to prohibit meetings and processions and then let them take place in defiance of their handbills. The town magistrates however endeavoured to do their duty with a conscientious regard for justice; all seemed to act with a strong sense of honour, and good feeling: the only fault was threatening injudiciously and then allowing the Chartists to threaten them.

"August 14th. Mayor and town magistrates this morning asked my advice: they were evidently alarmed. The country magistrates were exhorting them to prevent meetings, and the Chartists were bullying them. My advice was given in writing, they took it and since then all is quiet and will probably remain so: the poor people when left alone, have no desire for disturbance.

"August 15th. Napoleon's birthday! All quiet. The magistrates wanted me to call out the yeomanry. No said

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I, no yeomen. If the Chartists want a fight, they can be indulged without yeomen, who are over-zealous for cutting and slashing. Matters must go hard ere I call them out, it shall not be done until the troops are fairly in the field. Then all must arm. The difficulty is, that where there are no soldiers the magistrates must have yeomanry; for they have no means of their own, and neither judgment nor courage for the occasion, as far as I can judge. There are exceptions, many, but also too many who having been oppressors of the poor are now surrounded by dangers too great for their courage: having debased the people, whom want has roused into action, these tyrants quail, and unhappily good men must unite with the oppressors.

"August 17th.—Reports from the outposts that all is quiet throughout Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, Cheshire, Westmoreland, &c. Bolton is the only place where shot has been fired, but only three there, and those from the eagerness of the magistrates. In one instance the officer refused to fire, and everywhere the soldiers hung back from bloodshedding, the civilians crying out *slaughter!* Yet the soldiers are all staunch to the Queen: no disloyal feeling, no hesitation with them, all resolute and ready, nay, even eager for fight, but averse to fire on unarmed people. The troops are all that their country could wish; humane, obedient, bold: the eight thousand men under my command would meet ten thousand, yea, more, of any nation on earth, for officers and men are full of intelligence, physical power and discipline. I have seen much of our cavalry now, they are superb, and if properly led will go through anything." Balaclava!

"August 19th.—Everywhere a sudden calm has succeeded the storm; it is unnatural, for the causes of discontent still exist. The fact is that the Chartist leaders' calculations are quite at fault; they have found the difficulty of uniting their people in simultaneous efforts. Many of the chief men have been seized, there has been no resistance, and

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in this Lord John Russell has deserved well of the country. His failure has been in not making concessions, and not diminishing taxation: he cannot take a great view of affairs.

" August 20th.—The Home Office and the Horse Guards again think Chartism is at a discount; they are wrong, it increases. The middle classes were frightened at pikes, the Chartist leaders saw this and we hear no more of pikes: but they are all there, none have been given up or destroyed. The shopkeepers are no longer alarmed, they have no love for the aristocracy and think commerce will flourish as well under a republic: they see also what great preparations the Chartists are making for exclusive dealing, which alarms them. The mayor and corporation of Bolton are said to be Chartists; the same at Carlisle and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; the constables everywhere are, more or less, and all avow that the people are oppressed.

" August 23rd.—I was mad not to go out as governor of Australia. I could have founded a great kingdom, and by this time my whole plan would have been in full operation and the colony nearly ready to declare internal independence as a people:—with a systematic education, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, and the abolition of the law of primogeniture as regards land: for if a man produces children, he is bound to provide them with the means of living, as far as he can. I would have so ruled Australia that the land should never have been thus collected. I would also have done my best to prevent the introduction of great manufactories, by promoting discussion on this simple question. How can they tend to the strength, the freedom, the happiness of a nation? They produce corrupt morals, bad health, uncertain wages, and dependence on a foreign market, instead of on a strong and virtuous labouring class. They stimulate speculation by offering means for accumulating great fortunes in a few years, which is the worship of mammon, the ruin of virtue, overthrowing all moral principles.

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"Men are restless and discontented with poverty in manufacturing places; they have all its sufferings and have not the principal pleasures which make men content under it; that is health, enjoyment of country scenes, country air, and interest in the seasons and various productions of nature. The exhausted unhealthy manufacturer has no such enjoyment; he has no resources but gin, cards, and all kinds of debauchery. The countryman worships God; the manufacturer worships gold:—that gold which alone can relieve him and his sickly family from the misery they endure: thus the practice of sin, united to mammon-worship, makes a ruffian. Yet such is the system which your political œconomist calls the prosperity of England! Hell may be paved with good intentions, but is assuredly hung with Manchester cottons.

"How can good and otherwise sensible men imagine that the wealth of a nation, and its prosperity, can depend upon the vast riches of a few persons, accumulated by the toil, privation and destruction of the health and morals of millions? This one fact should teach that it must be wrong. Our prosperity, as the wise Lord Ripon called our misery:—our prosperity has not a foundation on sense or honesty: and so these deceived good men would think if they extricated their minds from a labyrinth of details entered upon, under the illusion that money riches are strength and happiness and virtue. Riches are good, yet the riches of a country do not altogether consist of money, but in just government, in a happy people, content with the poverty which attends labour.

"A healthy labouring class, where a man's toil gives sufficient clothes, food and lodging, for himself and his family, with a cabin and garden to interest him, will not envy rich men, or seek to rise above an humble lot, except by time, frugality and honesty. They feel they have enjoyments, some, nay most, beyond the power of riches to give; and many which riches take away. All poor men who have

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good sense see this; those who are foolish are either guided by cleverer men, or are too contemptible to destroy the harmony of social order: if they make the attempt the world scorns them and they perish, because their country is happy and beyond their power of disturbance. But for such a state there must be no debt, few taxes, and those laid on equitably, and that was my plan for Australia. I could and would have executed it, and by this time it would have been a rich and powerful colony; a little state rather, able and resolved not to allow England to send more convicts to Sydney: that infernal population would thus have gradually died away, and a better one have arisen to unite with us in due time. The difficulties were not great, I feared but one, the want of money to begin. This difficulty has not yet taken place, though it is doubtful whether they are yet out of the wood, lustily as they halloo:—that is the speculators, and that knave —— holloa! nevertheless my belief and hope is they have passed the danger: it would vex me to find them fail after all their troubles.

"Colonel W. Napier, September 8th.—We were foolish the first two of the three sacred days. On the third the mayor and magistrates asked and followed my advice, instead of calling out troops and reading the riot act as they had done the other two days: the result was that the third, which was to have been the last of Nottingham, passed quietly and all is peace. I am tired of folly above and below. A letter from the Home Office said, 'Lord Strafford, if you wish it, will visit any part of your district to give assistance and advice.' I want neither, and have heard no more of that. The next impertinence was the sending Colonel Angelo upon a mission through my district. He came at night, told me he was on a mission, was very mysterious and incomprehensible, and went off, leaving me ignorant of why he came. Some time after Lord John sends *Colonel Angelo's Memoir* for my opinion! It settled that infantry were placed where cavalry ought to be, and the contrary.

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Had I done as he recommended, the cavalry would have been dispersed in billets at Halifax, the infantry at Bradford, both towns wickedly Chartist, whereas by my arrangement both are in barracks and strongly posted: the folly of Angelo's memoir is now felt. Other things happen that I don't like. It pleases me that you have had the correspondence you mention with the Duke of Wellington;"—a short but remarkable one in which that great man stated that his political object was to heal the dissensions of the time, which he thought were leading to ruin, and therefore he overlooked the bad conduct of the Whigs.

"There are strong symptoms of different corporations leaning to Chartism and democracy, and the £70,000 voted for the Queen's stables did the government mischief even with its own friends. Wildman disputes with me about the police, which he strongly opposes. I say the laws must be obeyed; if bad alter them, but without a strong police manufacturers are unmanageable. Power warps judgment, perhaps it has done so with mine here, though God knows I have little enough of power! Masses of men in manufactories must be held in check, especially when morals are so very low as they are here. The devil understands his work when he makes death so disagreeable or he would find it hard to keep us here.

"Journal, September 24th.—This month has been of unvarying quietude; there was however a meeting at Sheffield which just shewed that all is yet alive: indeed the haggard faces of the poor suffice to tell this to any observant man. There is among the manufacturing poor a stern look of discontent, of hatred to all who are rich, a total absence of merry faces: a sallow tinge and dirty skins tell of suffering and brooding over change. Yet often have I talked with scowling-visaged fellows till the ruffian went from their faces, making them smile and at ease: this tells me their looks of sad and deep thought are not natural. Poor fellows!"

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Selections from his public correspondence shall now enlarge the record of England's internal condition at this perilous time. It gives a lesson: for the discontent was not a temporary ebullition, it will again revive. Ameliorations, some accidental, some extorted, some conceded from policy, have since then averted violence, but the labouring mass still requires the right of self-government through direct representation, and will again demand that protection against power. A population which furnishes such heroic soldiers as those of Inkerman and Balaclava will not always submit to be treated as unworthy of rights enjoyed by men not so good as themselves.

"Major Bayly, August 10th.—I attach little credit to the threatened attack on Chester Castle, yet be prepared. You must urge the town magistrates to swear in special constables and arm the pensioners; the gentlemen of the city may arm themselves also. Be most careful of the castle and cautious how you weaken your garrison in case of danger. Colonel Wemyss has orders if armed insurgents move from Hyde towards Chester to have them pursued by as strong a body of cavalry as he can spare.

"Colonel Wemyss.—Lord John told the Loughborough magistrates he had forty applications for detachments which my remonstrances had caused him to refuse: however, they got a troop and I fear many others will also succeed. Chester Castle must be Bayly's first care, and the townspeople left to their own valour. They do not like to arm against their fellow-citizens! Well, let their fellow-citizens cut their throats. If they will not stand by the soldiers why should soldiers stand by them? We dislike fighting our fellow-citizens as much as they do.

"The same, 11th August.—Anxious to hear how matters go on to-morrow though certain there will be no general rising. If the government mean to hang the condemned men it should be done to-morrow: it would make others pause before they begun mischief.

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"Under-Secretary, 12th.—I have just come from accompanying a county magistrate to Barford, where he read the riot act to about 100 people, who were said to have been moving about from mill to mill, forbidding the workmen to continue labour: this mob dispersed with sufficient good-humour, and there was not the least occasion for the troops to act.

"Sir H. Ross.—From my experience of the magistrates I warn you, that unless you get the necessary preparations for the soldiers' barrack done before the soldiers arrive the magistrates will do nothing after. They generally try to get off promises, so tell them no cavalry shall march until a barrack is ready for them. You will find this a capital pair of spurs!

"Under-Secretary, August 15th.—A report from Barnsley states that the riot act was read there on the 12th and the military called out, but nothing important occurred. At Sheffield the same thing occurred on the 13th instant. The Chartists assembled, it was supposed to rescue two of their leaders, but dispersed quietly on the appearance of the troops.

"Colonel Wemyss, 16th.—Really the conduct of magistrates who go grouse-shooting at such a crisis is too bad, and proves, if anything is proof in the world, that we shall never do without stipendiary magistrates: if the present ones would do their duty nine detachments out of twelve would not be required. I think we have got matters tolerably quiet here; however they certainly bullied our magistrates wickedly. They met in defiance of their proclamation on a hill near the town, and away we went to disperse them, but when we got there away were they on another hill, still cheering and defying the magistrates constables and dragoons! Darkness luckily came on, and we returned with the fame of having dispersed them, but having done no such thing: however, they were afraid to try the game again next day. I suspect their reason was, that I said in the hearing

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of many, I would, if the magistrates pleased, send a rocket after them which would kill fifty or sixty. This was partly in joke, partly to make them believe they owed their security to the forbearance of the magistrates rather than to our not being able to catch them.

"Under-Secretary, August 16th.—I send Colonel Custance's letter, stating his reasons for refusing a detachment to Cole; they appear very sufficient. I would not trouble you were it not to shew the strange fact, that at a moment so critical there was no magistrate at home! I believe there is none now, and I this day got a letter from Colonel Wemyss with the following passage. 'Major Cheape had great difficulty in impressing on the magistrates the necessity of remaining in the town of Leigh while the troops were rendering aid to the civil power.' I have no doubt Lord John Russell will disapprove of this conduct in the magistrates of Leigh and Colne.

"August 17th.—A report from Bolton gives details of the riot there, which I enclose. From Carlisle Sir H. Ross reports having called out the Cumberland and Westmoreland yeomanry cavalry. The town was in a ferment on the 13th, but the 15th all was quiet in consequence, Sir Hew believes, of the promptness of measures and the imposing force arrayed. He speaks in the highest terms of Colonel Hasell and the yeomanry under his orders. The troop at Barnsley was called out on the 15th and some people were arrested, but no disturbance took place: all was quiet yesterday. There is however much ferment in the country.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Cairncross.—Accept my approbation of your own and your officers' conduct during the three days' rioting at Bolton-le-Moors. I have especially remarked the humane and cool conduct of Captain Bush in not firing on the people:—an extreme measure which the result proved to be uncalled for. Inform that officer that I feel it due to him and to Captain Anderson, to report their excellent conduct to the commander in chief.

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"Under-Secretary, August. — Excellent news from all parts. The campaign is over."

Notwithstanding this apparent calm the general was too keen-sighted not to perceive that all the causes of mischief still remained, and he did not fail to warn the authorities that it was so, but they snatched, as before, with a childish confidence at every lull, calling it the end of all troubles; and as a matter of course he had now a renewed struggle with the magistrates and higher powers about detachments and lodgings for the troops.

"Lord Fitzroy, August 25th.—Everything seems quiet, but I confess I don't feel much confidence in its continuance beyond a couple of months. There are many mischievous persons at work, who I fear only wait for dark nights. However the cowardice of the popular assemblies has been conspicuous.

"Sir H. Ross, August.—I wish to have a statement of defaulters at Wigton and Cockermouth compared with those of equal force at head-quarters: it will shew the mischief of billets. Two companies are at Halifax in barracks, and two in billets at Newcastle-under-Lyne. The first have seventeen defaulters and none tried; the second, in an equal space of time, have had sixty-two defaulters and seven courts-martial! Hence if the magistrates of Wigton and Cockermouth will have soldiers they shall fit up barracks.

"Under-Secretary, August 28th.—The Carlisle magistrates are not acting well. I always suspected there would be some difficulty, but not that the magistrates would make us a bow altogether after their promises had led to so many arrangements. If Lord John approves, I propose to write to the lord-lieutenant of Cumberland, stating the difficulties I am thrown into by the magistrates not fulfilling their promises, and requesting him to represent to them that arrangements for quartering the cavalry had been made on the faith of their application and promise of barracks. Should this fail to move them—they being relieved from the pressure

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without—will his lordship sanction my hiring and fitting up the place now preparing? if he does, he may depend on me to make a stiff fight first with the magistrates.

"Sir H. Ross, August 28th.—'The devil was sick the devil a monk would be,' &c., &c. Just so with the magistrates all over the north. When the Chartists put them in a funk, Oh, barracks! yes as many as you please. When they get soldiers and the Chartists are quiet, Really we can't afford barracks, they are too costly. This is the case everywhere, but your chaps have put me to most inconvenience. I do not understand how gentlemen, having due regard for promises, can retrograde in this fashion! Shew them this letter, except the first passage, and that too if you like.

"At Mansfield and Loughborough they have performed their promises like gentlemen; but your cocks of the north are moss troopers, and want *Belted Will* among them again: with the power I would find the *Will*. I joke, but am vexed at this matter, and trust you will press the magistrates with all the ill-nature and bitterness you can muster. Of one thing the magistrates may be assured. I will not be made a dupe of by false promises a second time: their conduct is provoking and unfair.

"September 1st.—Withdraw the Cockermouth detachment at once, and also that at Wigton. Order them to march without giving time for the magistrates to write humbugging letters to Lord John. Let them have the trouble of writing to you in the first instance; I find the more trouble one gives them the more easily they are dealt with in the end. However I trust a good deal to the Chartist steam, which will be up again in two months or more, when dark nights begin and work slacks.

"Duke of Portland, September 3rd.—There seems reason to suspect the honesty of your grace's informant. A man who pretends that such a general movement of the working classes as we have lately witnessed can depend upon the freedom or imprisonment of Mr. O'Connor must be actuated

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by some sinister motive, or have very little perception of what is going forward. The Chartist spirit is not broken: a few miserable violent fools and some resolute knaves have been put down, or rather checked by the array of force exhibited against their mad acts; but the Chartist spirit is not broken, it has only been made cautious and therefore perhaps stronger."

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TWELFTH EPOCH.

FIFTH PERIOD.

THE northern district now became a less anxious but scarcely a less toilsome command. There was still to transact, besides the civil affairs, the military business of twenty regiments, spread abroad as if scattered from a pepper-box, and he was not allowed even the usual staff.

"Adjutant-general.—I cannot go on without a brigade-major. You have I conclude your own list, and a subaltern I believe cannot hold the post, or I would recommend to your notice that very fine young man, and thorough soldier, Crawley, adjutant of the 20th Regiment. Poor fellow, without money or interest he is working up a long avenue, but be assured he has the making of a first-rate staff officer.

"Journal, September.—I am asked to meet the Bishop of Lincoln at the *ordinaries*. What does it mean? I will go if it be not a political demonstration, but it is an old saying, that where a priest and a woman are together the devil makes a third: this is doubtless true, for whatever a priest says a woman believes. I would disbelieve the sun if a priest told me it was a fine day, were it not that God speaks to me through the sun.

"26th.—Our dinner was a *black* affair. I would not have gone, if I had not first ascertained from Lord Rancliffe that Lord Scarborough, the Whig lord-lieutenant of the county, was to go, and so concluded that it could not be a party dinner: yet it was so. The first toast, *Church and State*, made it clear we were a Tory party, for the acclamations were immense. I looked to Lord Scarborough for a sign of disapprobation, but he was immovable. He sat on

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the right of the chairman, Lord Lincoln on his right, and I on Lord Lincoln's right. The next toast was *the Queen*. Glasses were filled, but not a sound of applause followed. Her Majesty's health was drunk in significant silence. 'No man cried God bless her,' except myself. Then came the *Queen dowager, and the rest of the royal family:* instantly the room shook with shouts of applause.

"The lord-lieutenant and magistrates of the county! This was a puzzler, because the magistrates are Tories and the lord-lieutenant a Whig: there was a faint attempt to applaud, so weak as to be worse than none. The bishop's health was given before the lord-lieutenant's, which was incorrect, the latter being the representative of majesty. He made a well-turned speech, the meaning being that the people's pockets had been successfully picked for a church just built; and that this must be continued for more churches. However, being voluntary, this is no great harm; and I quite agree with Bishop Kaye, who seems to be a very clever and a very good man, that unless we pray education is a very idle affair: but bishop, we must be fed before we are content. You and I are content because we are well fed; but the poor will tell you that when God ordained rich and poor He did not ordain a national debt, incurred for foolish and unjust wars; and that He gave the poor brains to understand their own case. Your eloquence then is vain to produce content without food: you cannot put God in the wrong. You are a clever and good man, and you ought to know that when a press is in full activity bamboozling must die a natural death. Truth is in march, sadly shackled indeed still by ancient follies, but the press will set her free, and the next hundred years will produce more change in the condition of man than the last thousand.

"Why does a nation have its own law and language and habits? Because it is small, and by some accident has been morally and physically separated from its neighbours; but what separation will there be when we travel fifty miles

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an hour? Will not a thousand motives produce union of interest between countries now divided by distance, though soon to be within a few hours' travelling? Is not nationality wearing away by commercial intercourse? Has not provincialism almost ceased? Communication and the press have beaten down the old barriers, and men no longer cling to old habits and faults and inconveniences, because they are provincial or national. The bishops must talk more wisely if they expect the present generation to listen to them: for if they preach forbearance and patience under heavy taxation they will only concoct hatred and scorn of themselves.

"Lord Scarborough got up, said nothing and no man cheered: he sat down without giving them a dressing, so I could do nothing. But then the county members with loud shouts and long, and Lord Lincoln returned thanks: he was exceedingly nervous, and nearly broke down. Just before this toast, when the Queen dowager was given he said to me laughing. You and my left-hand neighbour, Lord Scarborough, are in the wrong box. So I see said I, and the *reigning Queen also*. The next toast was myself, with long flattering speeches; and in reply I laid strong emphasis on the devotion of the army to the Queen, which was understood."

His half-yearly military inspection now recommenced.

"Nantwich, October 11th.—A very old town, full of houses built with *brick noggen*. These old names remind me of ancient days, and make me say to myself how happy England was when you were built Nantwich: when there were no cotton manufactories with their long chimnies; when men worked in the fields, and were robust and fit for war and happy in peace; when they thought of nature as they laboured and breathed pure air amidst her works. Now they breathe smoke, wheeze cotton *fuz*, and only think of quaffing gin at the *palace* when their day's labour is done. Well, God help us for the devil's grip is on us now.

"Chester.—A fine old town. Saw a capital house if we

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can get it, Baitche Hall. I feel light at heart with the idea of quitting the baker's shop in Wheelersgate Street Notts, though Charles the First did lodge there:—loaves lodge there now.

"This day my father died in 1804 at Clifton. How small others appear when I think of him! He cared little for those things which ordinary men seek so eagerly; he was too great, too majestic for small command:—but what signifies all this? Death!

"Lancaster.—A fine old town, with John of Gaunt's Castle. Here I met Assistant-Surgeon Ore, who told me he was in the ship when my old Blanco died. Mr. Ore constantly fed him with biscuit, but the long voyage killed him. My weakness was the cause of his sufferings. Twice I went to shoot him in London, but my heart failed and I took him to Cephalonia, where I thought to pass many happy days with my old horse! How I did love him! Well, I and all I love must go the same way. Mr. Ore told me he grew so fond of Blanco that he wanted to say prayers for him, to the great horror of the ship captain; yet I am sure he has a soul as good as most masters of merchant ships. Noble excellent animal! you were good, and brave, and faithful as ever charger was; and as you so often escaped being shot would you had died in your stable: your picture and your memory is dear to me, with your playful ways. Heigho! this is a weary world, and I will go to sleep, which is like death. Yet we love sleep and fear death! Strange! If they be alike death must be indeed a blessing.

"Carlisle, October 21st.—Major ——'s depôt here is in good order. He is a time-server and behaved ill to me in Cephalonia; he thought my defence against Adam would ruin me: and so it would had one of Adam's stamp been commander in chief; but we had Lord Hill, and Lord Fitzroy, and John McDonald. This —— has however overshot his mark; he finds himself a major under my

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command, and instead of a ruined colonel on half-pay sees me a major-general, K.C.B., commanding the largest force in England. Justice however must be done. —— is a good officer, and my confidential report shall back up his own efforts to get a lieutenant-colonelcy, for he is clever hard-working and zealous. I bear him no ill-will, and as he has, night and day, the *best policy* at heart, he is an honest fellow. Moreover he is good-natured, so far as consists with a regard for what is what, when is when, and who is who, and all that who wishes: he is good-nature in a cuirass without a crevice. A devilish good soldier though.

"Tynemouth, 22nd.—The 98th Regiment is the best drilled and disciplined regiment of the district. Campbell, excellent himself, has made his officers so: Majors Gregory and Eyre are very superior young men. We went down a coal-pit here, being lowered in a basket 950 feet in two minutes. We went through various galleries, and were told amongst other things of a current of air maintained by fire. We heard also that when a horse becomes furious it is terrible, for he runs off with a dray through narrow galleries, killing or maiming all before him! The nags seemed all very good-humoured, so I suppose they like their position poor things; at all events they are well treated though living by candlelight: fear keeps their drivers in order, and it is pleasant to have horses so much the master of man as to prevent brutality.

"November 1st.—Returned to Nottingham. My wife nearly knocked up. Women are not made to bear fatigue: their spirit indeed carries them on but their bodies fail, and they want food oftener than men do.

"Duke of Portland, September 9th.—Your grace has misunderstood me. I did not say O'Connor's imprisonment would have *no effect;* but that it could not arrest the general movement, as your grace's informant seems to think: so far from that arrest stopping violent proceedings

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I have no doubt it would encrease them. Mr. O'Connor is one of many leaders, and amongst the more moderate. Dr. Taylor is the most violent, and wishes, nothing more, to see O'Connor out of his way, they are enemies. Dr. Taylor frequently exhorts the multitude to the use of arms. Your grace's barometer is however a very correct one; while the Chartists keep their arms we may suppose they intend to use them—they do keep their arms.

" Under-Secretary, September 29th.—Last night came a report from Colonel Wemyss relative to disturbances amongst the colliers at Poynton. He tells me the magistrates are anxious to retain the troops until to-morrow; and I have, in consequence, directed him to enquire as to the origin of the dispute; because, if the troops are called upon to interfere in disputes which are wholly of a private nature it is right the government should know how far either party may be in the wrong. These sorts of disturbances are of a kind in which the magistrates, at whose disposal the troops may be placed, have a direct personal interest, or may have.

" The same, October 2nd.—The disturbance in the collieries is unpleasant because it breaks the tranquillity, and may at any moment be turned to mischief by agitators. I know it is a difficult matter to mediate between master and workman, but if some one unconnected with these colliers were to speak to them they would listen to reason, which at present does not seem the case. They seem not only unreasonable but somewhat ferocious. Perhaps Lord Normanby would approve of my going to that part of the district, and, with the aid of Lord Vernon's agent, endeavouring to restore peace. Reason and justice have generally their due weight with bodies of men whose interest it is to listen to them; especially when the speaker has a magistrate, and the law, and, not least, plenty of dragoons at his back! Every barrack in the northern district is full, the dragoons Lord Normanby wishes to withdraw from Carlisle, must

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therefore go to Leeds, and the innkeepers there will then be as much incommoded as those of Carlisle are now. His lordship is no doubt aware that the squadron was sent to Carlisle at the request of the magistrates, with a positive promise to find a barrack; they hired a building and set workmen on because I had refused troops until satisfied they were in earnest; yet the moment the troops arrived the workmen were struck off and the barracks refused!"

Grave events were now to vindicate his prescience in opposition to that of the higher authorities, who thought the violence employed at Birmingham, and the savage prosecutions and sentences afterwards, had entirely crushed Chartism. Once more the spirit broke forth, and according to his prediction, with more dangerous commotion as winter approached.

"Journal, November 5th.—An outbreak at Newport in Wales says rumour; if true it is only what I had expected. It is said the soldiers were defeated and numbers killed; that is nonsense, there may be some killed, but a mob cannot beat troops unless under some extraordinary circumstances.

"6th.—The outbreak is true. There was a headlong attack, and thirty men of the 45th defeated 15,000 assailants: this last is an exaggeration, but it would take a handful to beat thirty soldiers.

"9th.—The Chartists swear they will not let the ball drop; I believe them, but they must shew more pluck to make anything of it: they seem to have shewn none at Newport, and nine or ten have been killed.

"November 15th.—The steam is getting up here again and the mayor has asked for nightly piquets: rumours from the outposts also are rife.

"16th.—If government means to defend the throne it must make preparation by giving the people their rights, being ready also to resist outrage and defend social order by having a strong police in every large town, and a stiff body of soldiers in this district.

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"20th.—The town of Bradford is getting unquiet, that is the poor fellows are hungry, and the magistrates being in a funk have written to Lord Normanby for more troops; they shall have no more. I have given all my commanding officers written instructions, as in such a large district I must command by the pen, which is difficult, because orders are not obeyed unless looked to personally. The cavalry are excellent as to non-commissioned officers and privates, their defaulters are but nine to eleven of the infantry; but their officers really know little beyond fox-hunting, dancing and shooting; they are however a very fine set of young men, extremely clever, and zealous also when put to their work perforce. Caring nothing for their profession and thinking it a bore they know nothing of it. They are nevertheless the makings of the finest cavalry in the world, being full of spirit and talent, with good looks, courage and honour; in fine they are ready for anything but the dull routine of duty. Few of them mean to stay in the army and they will not study. I could indeed make anything of them in a camp, but it is in vain to try in a district embracing nearly the half of England. Two things are certain:—they will do their work with spirit when brought to the mark; and the devil can't make them read."

The next letter has reference to a political dinner at which a Mr. Proby used opprobrious language about the Queen, in the presence of Colonel Thomas and some officers of the 20th Regiment.

"November 22nd.—M'Donald's letter is very good, and I shall read the gentlemen the lecture on their political effervescence. Men at the head of troops are not to exhibit their party politics: nor are they to allow their Sovereign to be reviled in their presence. What! Officers sitting quietly to hear a young Queen abused! Fye! What could she have done to merit this? It was not right.

"Manchester, November 24th.—Read the reprimand to Colonel Thomas and the other officers concerned. The

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truth is that, Colonel Thomas excepted, none of the poor fellows went with any political feeling at all, but out of curiosity to hear Sir Francis Burdett speak, he being expected. They all swear they heard no abuse of the Queen, yet Colonel Thomas must have been near Mr. Proby. However, they had no business at a political dinner.

"November 27th.—Bradford discontented, and everywhere agitation. Alas! with good cause. Want and misery, all that man can suffer they suffer.

"Lieut. Huband 8th Hussars, Nov.—The magistrates are more alarmed than there is occasion for. The meetings you mention go on in every other town prominent in Chartism, but are not likely to break out just now. The correspondence with Newport is not peculiar to Bradford; it was the same with Birmingham, Bolton, Carlisle &c., and the magistrates in each settled that their town was head-quarters for Chartism, which was not true. Manchester is the place, and there Feargus O'Connor arrived the night before the Newport affair. I tell you this in confidence, to show the necessity of seeking other information than that of magistrates, who are naturally influenced by local circumstances affecting their personal safety. Your old soldier of the Guards is just the man from whom to gain much information, and if his going often to you might expose him to danger he can write to me under a feigned name. Such men are invaluable, as their information is honest and loyal.

"Under-Secretary, November 28th.—There has been a disturbance at Sheffield, but so imperfect a report has been sent I really cannot tell you more until I hear again; the troops were called out, and almost immediately returned as the mob dispersed of itself, so nothing serious can have happened, but it marks a readiness for mischief that requires watching.

"December 1st.—I enclose a paper—a Chartist plan of attack on Notts barracks, that came by post last night. I

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attach no importance to it. The hiring of empty houses can be easily watched, so can the crossing the river in a boat; and the *instruction*, said to be carried on in the meadows over the river, can also be discovered if it goes on, which I disbelieve in toto. No patriotism could stand drill in low wet meadows, on a winter's night. If Mr. Frost was sentenced to be drill sergeant under such circumstances he would forswear Chartism in a week! But while I hold this paper to be a trick to make us fidgetty, I am very sure the Chartists are everywhere at work, and the terrible state of distress in this town is both pitiable and dangerous, for there are certainly two thousand people starving. I am going to meet the mayor in hopes of doing something to relieve these poor persons, it is quite horrible to see them, and to know that many who are not seen to beg are in still greater want. I hope the people here will in prudence if not from compassion, do something to relieve the sufferers, for when men beg in bodies they will soon do worse.

"Journal, December 1st.—An anonymous letter come, with a Chartist plan. Poor creatures, their threats of attack are miserable. With half a cartridge, and half a pike, with no money, no discipline, no skilful leaders, they would attack men with leaders money and discipline, well armed, and having sixty rounds a man. Poor men! A republic! What good did a republic ever do? What good will it ever do?

"2nd.—The streets of this town are horrible. The poor starving people go about by twenties and forties, begging, but without the least insolence; and yet some rich villains, and some foolish women, choose to say *they try to extort charity*. It is a lie, an infernal lie, neither more nor less: —nothing can exceed the good behaviour of these poor people, except it be their cruel sufferings.

"3rd.—Spoke to the mayor about a subscription:—the excellent mayor, Mr. Roworth. He joins me in all my opinions as to the thrice-accursed new poor law, its bastiles,

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and its guardians. Lying title! They guard nothing, not even their own carcases, for they so outrage misery that if a civil war comes they will be immediately sacrificed.

"4th.—I have spent the whole morning with the town magistrates, many of whom seem to think the distress quite light, others the contrary. The day after my letter describing the misery, the statement of which I had chiefly from the mayor, the guardians of the poor-house issued a notice that they would supply those in distress out of the poor-house: on the 30th November I saw their list of 1200 people who were destitute, and that number rapidly increased. It is clear therefore that the mayor was right in what he told me and I repeated to you; for if, as some magistrates assert, there is very little distress, why did the board of guardians put forth their notice of out-door relief? And why is there a meeting called to relieve the poor?

"Sir Hew Ross, December 7th.—In answer to your question I think a mixed force is the best, because, if the Chartists take proper means of fighting in a town we know cavalry can do little better than get out of it with all possible speed. . Horsemen cannot charge people in garrets, and they cannot sit in their saddles while chests of drawers, bedsteads, stones, tiles &c., to say nothing of musquetry, are poured from the said garrets. Therefore cavalry are only useful to bully a mob, and save the lives of those who compose it, by chopping them a little instead of destroying them by fire-arms. A hundred fellows may get ugly-looking gashes that would frighten a thousand of their companions into the vigorous use of their legs. But ninety of the chopped hundred men would be as well as ever in a week, and so proud of their wounds, as to resolve to live all their lives on their past glory, and never again look a dragoon in the face. My own opinion is, that had a troop of horse alone been at Newport the men would have been destroyed, or defeated; and a pretty *flare up*, would have run like wild fire to Carlisle. I have been long preaching to the government to unite

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both arms, but they will not though they give me no refusal. I am shackled by, *will be fully considered*—there is not such a pair of manacles in all Newgate as that sentence. I only hope that the full consideration may not be given in shape of a *crowner's quest* over the bodies of thirty dragoons in billets: there are things which will not bear the future tense, and this is one.

"I am for joining horse and foot together on all excursions; if hard pressed the dragoons could take the infantry behind them for ten miles, which would enable the latter to make thirty miles a day without any great fatigue. It would be well to practise them at this. I will do so here and tell you how we get on: but though I have given you my opinion let it not bind you, we are too far asunder for any interference should we be turned out.

"Colonel Thom, December 9th.—I ought, when at Birmingham, to have gone out to your house, but meeting Mr. Collis at his warehouse I found him so agreeable and well informed, and so obliging withal, that he enabled me to see what I much wished, the manufacture of fire-arms. Secret information from Sir H. Ross says there is decidedly a correspondence going on between the Chartists in England and those of France; his informant is, he tells me, worthy of trust and confidence: the details have been sent to the secretary of state. It is necessary you should know all I know; but let it go no further, unless you think it would give any clue to your police chief for watching stray Frenchmen. Depend upon it, if your chaps turn out, I will send every man that can be spared to you; but my force has been so dispersed by the secretary of state, that if a row begins to save Frost I doubt whether there will be a man to spare. The word with the Chartists here is *We will die ere he dies*, alluding to Frost: there is much humbug and vapouring in all this.

"Duke of Portland, December 8th.—I have to thank your grace for the information you have been pleased to give

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me. Whatever discrepancy there may be in the details, which come from various sources, the cream of the whole seems to be, that the Chartists are endeavouring to make a push to save Frost and carry forward their own plans: I do not believe they can do either if we are circumspect.

"A letter from Merthyr Tydvil yesterday, states that Colonel Considine says, he came to Newport with contempt for the Chartists, but he now thinks, if they attack they will be too much for the troops there, numerous as they are. I do not believe Colonel Considine either said, or thinks this"—he never said so, he was too good a soldier.—"We all know how words are put into men's mouths; but I tell your grace this, to shew that the opinion in that neighbourhood is that the Chartists are strong; and if they get the advantage there, it will run north like wild fire, but will I think be put down and punished as rapidly.

"O'Connor must be wrong in saying Frost was forced into an outbreak; it seems plain he expected to succeed against thirty men and the success was to be a signal. As to private assassination, it is very possible and very practicable, but will have no useful effect for their cause: for example, if they shoot me from behind a hedge the magistrates have in reserve one hundred and sixty-four other major-generals, all anxious to be employed: Bobadil himself could hardly slay us all! And if they did, it would only be a godsend to the colonels.

"Lord Fitzroy Somerset, December 10.—Mr. Phillipps has from me information received from Sir H. Ross. It contains an account, given by Dr. Taylor to a Chartist meeting, of an intercourse carried on between the Chartists in London and the disaffected in Paris, and exhorting the Chartists to be ready with their arms. Ross seems to place much faith in his secret informant, but much cannot be placed in Dr. Taylor, and supposing the doctor's statement correct it signifies very little. I imagine neither English nor French party can be of any use to each other; for by

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Dr. Taylor's account the French are plotting against their own king and consequently can have no funds but what they want themselves: it is not now as when a French king supplied English malcontents. Dr. Taylor says the correspondence is carried on by Frenchmen on both sides of the water.

"Lord Normanby, December 10th.—Mr. U—— has the character of being a great alarmist, and by all I hear he has reason, for he is extremely odious to the people. I believe he has the confidence of the Duke of Portland, and their sources of information are the same. Taking the cream of the many informations received from various parts it is possible some ill-arranged commotion may take place in Frost's favour; but nowhere is there evidence of an organized plan, the only thing of the kind was contained in the paper sent to Mr. Phillipps on the 1st instant. It says men drill in the meadows over the river, but unless thousands do this there is no danger; and if there were but hundreds they would be discovered: so, whether begun or to begin that matter is nonsense. The whole affair is folly. They are, it is said, to cross and recross in a boat to avoid being observed passing the bridge: it would take the whole night to pass a thousand men and the constables could not fail to observe it. Then drilling in a marsh in winter! It would require more hardy men to do that than the poor weaving devils here, half clothed and starving: they are much more up to setting fire to houses than such cold work.

"Again, we are told they are to hire empty houses just before the outbreak and filling them with combustibles fire the town in many places: this is more probable than the drilling and pleasanter. I have begged the mayor to get a list of empty houses, and we shall watch those who hire rooms; for no information is to be despised, it would be dreadful to be taken unawares. I also informed the magistrates in the neighbourhood of Sheapshead about the pikes

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and drilling, and this morning received their answers: they only speak of *rumours of drilling*. On the other hand, great distress, great fervour amongst Frost's friends, great party excitement, and great numbers being armed and eager to do mischief, are all facts which may lead to unorganized risings in different places without system, or means of being sustained, and which will neither be simultaneous nor difficult to suppress. That Frost's trial may bring all to a head is very probable, but the troops are staunch and everywhere on the alert. I always speak however of safety in the district with regard to the present moment, being far from thinking we are safe in a general point of view. There is no diminution of Chartist principles; they have only assumed a more cautious and religious garb, adjourning from the market-place to the church; and that is the only very clear indication of a directing power working systematically, which I have been able to trace.

"December 12th.—Dr. Taylor told the meeting to be ready with their arms; that he had seen two revolutions, one in Greece one in France, and hoped soon to see one in England. This was received with loud cheers and cries of *we are ready*. He said he did not wish them to injure others, but their neighbours were rolling in plenty and he supposed those he addressed were too fond of their wives and children to let them starve, and that they would *dust their oppressors' coats well*. This is the upshot as to what they were to do; but he added that six Frenchmen were employed carrying on a correspondence with the disaffected in France—two in Paris, two in London, two as couriers. *The palace of Louis Philippe was to be lighted without gas*, but whether that was to be the general signal or not I forget. Taylor had another meeting on Sunday, and told them, in his *sermon*, that he would repeat his caution to be ready as they would be wanted before three weeks. Sir H. Ross writes that the borough magistrates take no cognizance of what passes out of their jurisdiction, and the only county one, residing in

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the immediate neighbourhood of Dalston, prefers hunting in a distant part of the country to looking after his neighbours: so Dr. Taylor and his followers have full scope to follow their own inventions.

"December 14th.—The sound judgment displayed in the excellent note received from the Rev. J. H. Hamilton of Sheapshead, which I enclose, will put Lord Normanby at ease, so far as regards the part of the country from which it comes: it seems a just course between the effervescence of an alarmist and the stagnation of those who will see no danger.

"Report to the Home Office, December 22nd.—I have been to Bradford, where the magistrates are in much apprehension of popular violence, resulting from the accidental union of three causes, viz. Chartism distress and Frost's trial. Whether the magistrates over or under rate the danger I will not say, being afraid of ignorantly jumping to a conclusion; but I imagine, that while there is some danger in Bradford from the above causes, there is not that organization or concert with the Newport people which the magistrates apprehend. With regard to the civil force, 1800 special constables have been sworn, who are to assemble on the ringing of the largest and smallest bells of the parish church; the alarm posts for these men are various, and have been pointed out. These special constables, though perhaps not very valiant, would serve to guard the court-house, and secure those whom the magistrates ordered the military to arrest. There are thirty-two watchmen under a chief, who would be useful as a body-guard to the magistrates, among whom there is one that would not easily be bullied by a mob: I mean Mr. Thompson. Not that I would insinuate the want of spirit in the other magistrates, but Mr. Thompson has, apparently, such a decided cast of character and clearness of expression, that acting with Lieutenant Huband of the 8th Hussars, who is full of intelligence and energy, nothing would be left undone that the civil and military force could effect.

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"Such are the arrangements made for the present, and I hope Lord Hill and Lord Normanby may consider them sufficient, even supposing the utmost fears of the magistrates should be realized. I must say also that those gentlemen seem both vigilant and resolute, qualities which will in my opinion be sufficient to prevent mischief. But in great manufacturing towns, such as Bradford, an efficient police under a single commissioner is absolutely necessary to give the law its proper tone and energy, and to prevent the necessity of demanding the aid of troops on minor occasions: the distress in Bradford is however very great. The magistrates told me the guardians under the new poor law have a great latitude given to them for relieving all that are in real want. I hope they use this power freely, for parsimonious conduct would at this moment produce very great danger.

"Duke of Portland, December 24.—I have the honour to acknowledge your grace's letter. I have also a letter from your informant, and two letters have reached me from Carlisle and from a Northumberland magistrate, both giving as near as possible the same information. I am not the least afraid of the pensioners failing in duty under authority: but they *must* be Chartists. Situated as they are, dispersed and single, common sense tells us that these poor fellows would be the first to whom the Chartists would apply for military instruction; and how could the poor pensioner, alone in his hamlet, refuse? Would it not be to sign his death-warrant? But take him out of his village, place him under a chief, and the scene changes; he has then an excuse to be loyal and death awaits treason.

"Under-Secretary, December 29th.—Dr. Taylor says the two Frenchmen carrying on the Chartist correspondence with France lived in the same house with himself; perhaps it might be useful to find out if Frenchmen really live in that house, which no doubt is known to the police. For my part I think this supposed correspondence, if it exists, must be

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a mere trial between the leaders which can cheat the other, and it will die when they discover that neither have cash. I hear that Mr. Frost's lawyer has written a circular to the Chartists, requesting them not to rise in his favour or commit any violence till after the trial, as any disturbance would be a serious injury to his client. The Duke of Portland's secret informant says something is to happen here to-night. I don't believe!

"Journal, December.—I have certain information that fire balls and caltrops, are being prepared here and at Sheffield for an outbreak:—pretty Christmas gambols! I am rather uneasy about Bradford; and everywhere the magistrates are in great alarm. Bradford is the only weak point, but the hussars there have been reinforced by infantry from Hull. If attacked each post must fight for itself, lustily, while I collect a reserve to march as events may dictate. I have certain intelligence that many sales of gunpowder have been made to countrymen this week, exceeding what has ever been known before. Was it to poachers? No, to the poorer people and to strangers. This looks as if Johnny Bull was getting restive. Poor fellow! No wonder! But the whole quantity sold would not furnish more than 8000 cartridges! Poor wretches, they surely will not provoke war with such a miserable provision."

Thus closed the first year of his command, and the story of it may be fitly terminated with the following reflections extracted from his secret journal.

"There are queer fellows in this world. Every day I hear the same stupid opinions expressed, and the same demand for what are called *vigorous measures:*—that is to say hanging a dozen men called agitators: that is to say men who differ in opinion from the men who demand their death. A pretty mode of governing! The people are discontented because they want food: a few men cleverer or bolder than the crowd, either from evil design,

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for their own gain, or from honest indignation, or from wisdom, or some other cause speak aloud what they think will relieve the people and are believed. These speakers are called demagogues, and your vigorous people would hang them. Well, they are hanged! Are the people fed by that? No! They become more angry, more vindictive, and the peril of the country is greater. Such is the result of vigorous measures, so called but which are really *idiot measures*. What then is to be done? says John Donkey the member, the legislator, the statesman! Why feed the people Johnny, and give them votes, short parliaments, ballot: give them their rights. Here we are on the eve of an outbreak. What good will victory do? the people, beaten in the field will resort to assassination and fire, and thus become entirely demoralized by bad government.

"Radical cure being rejected by our government, let us consider expedients. I am now ordered to keep permanent detachments at Newcastle-under-Lyne; detachments at Durham; detachments at Cockermouth: my force will soon be frittered down to a corporal's guard. This is playing the Chartists' game, and the greatest danger may be apprehended:—danger of being tainted if we are not careful, and of being cut off if we come to blows. I dread a small war of posts, we could not carry on such a struggle. We must keep together in barracks, and have paid magistrates and a well-organized police in all the manufacturing towns: thus the troops would not be called upon until it comes to a civil war. Moreover it is not decent to have the law of the land upheld by soldiers at every turn: if it is necessary what sort of law must it be! The principle upon which government should act, is conciliation on one side and a strong hand to repress outrage on the other. Speaking only as a general officer, I say that government must have a strong police with paid magistrates, to uphold the law without calling for troops on every occasion: the soldier forms the reserve and should not be the advanced guard.

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"There is a regular correspondence between the French and English Chartists, the object of both being to get money from each other. Formerly the French paid the Sydneys and Russells &c. to keep England in trouble. Matters are different now. The French Republicans are beggarly cut-throats, and neither will nor can help our knaves; their object is pillage: the very essence of republicanism is pillage. The moment a clever or industrious man gets more than his neighbours they desire to pull him down. This is their creed in France. Our Chartists will get no money from the French *Liberals*. Their friendship will soon cease; for it may be taken as an axiom, that when individuals, or bodies, lay taxes on each other all union soon dissolves: a friend who borrows and does not pay becomes an enemy!"

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TWELFTH EPOCH.

SIXTH PERIOD.

CHARTIST commotion was not ended, but, previous to resuming that story, some purely military correspondence shall illustrate the general's care for discipline even when unsupported by those in authority; for to oppose mismanagement in high places was the struggle of his life.

"Major ——, December.—Let me give you advice: never put into a list of real grievances things which are imaginary; they do away with the effect. The barracks are dangerous, filthy, all you say; but when you add that there are no means of keeping the soldiers within bounds you make me laugh. What would you do if they were in billets? Yet I should expect you to be in excellent order in billets: it is discipline, not stone walls that keeps soldiers in bounds. Then, one-half of your accommodation is stone-floored. My dear sir, I have been for nine months in a lodging with stone floors, and my wife and daughters bear them very well: soldiers must not be so delicate; my own room is just seven feet by ten, and stone-floored!

"Major Gregory.—I know of no reason why the soldier should get worse rations in the Isle of Man than he does at Newcastle. A man is not forced to be a contractor, and there is no pretence for cheating the soldier out of his food: I am therefore at a loss to understand Lieutenant D——'s allowing the rations in the Isle of Man to be inferior to what are issued in England. I laid the misconduct of the contractor before Lord Hill and the master-general of the ordnance; they have taken it up, and given Lieutenant D——full power to protect the soldiers from the cheating vagabond: yet the

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lieutenant is so weak as to let him have his own way, and still give rations that he the lieutenant does not consider equal to what are issued in England. He thus establishes a precedent for giving in the Isle of Man worse rations than in England. It is not less cheating, but no cheating of the soldier at all that I want.

"Major Wilson, December.—I have ordered a court-martial on the man who made a frivolous complaint of Ensign B——, but you must order Captain Egerton to explain to his subaltern, that I consider him nearly as much to blame as the private. Had he formerly done his own duty at Newcastle, as a good officer, this man would have had too much respect for him to dare a frivolous charge: but seeing that in a moment of hardship his officer took more care of himself than of his men he lost that respect which ought to exist.

"Captain Egerton must explain to this young officer what carelessness in duty leads to, namely, commission of crime, and infliction of punishment on soldiers by those very officers whose conduct set them a bad example: officers should never forget that they are judges as well as officers. Captain Egerton is I hear a soldier, who will do what I want, and as I want, viz. instruct his subalterns, and not reprovingly but kindly. There is no better lesson in command than to let captains teach their officers and privates. It imposes responsibility, obliges them to reflect on their own duties, and gives a facility for explaining themselves to others: for this reason I like to see officers always attached to the same company as far as is practicable. My wish is to have every officer under my command know that I watch his conduct. Daily I have to confirm courts-martial, and it is my duty to ascertain the general conduct of those who bring men to trial; but also I lose no opportunity of bringing to Lord Hill's notice all officers' and privates' names that in any way distinguish themselves: to do otherwise would be unjust.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Coutance.—I have approved and

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confirmed the sentence on Sweeney, but think it very severe; two months with hard labour would be sufficient: however, it is left to you to remit if you like. The disturbance in the room was very serious, so was striking the corporal; but we know youngsters will get drunk, and two months would be a sharp lesson. You have however a difficult task with so many detachments, and I do not like to add to your work by injudicious lenity: do as you please, but I have before me a lighter sentence on a rascal of the 7th Dragoon Guards, for desertion, with three former convictions for desertion, insolence to his captain and theft! I wish you to tell the court that, although to avoid the bad effect of revision the sentence is confirmed, it makes me sorry to see such severe sentences: they do no good. Had this man been sentenced only to two months it would have had more effect.

"The same.—I agree with you in not remitting punishments; it very rarely does good, and need seldom be demanded in a regiment where a colonel and his officers are all together, because they come to a certain degree of understanding as to the quantity of punishment to apply to each crime, and in all cases revision is easy, the court being in the next room. But very different is the situation of a general officer. A revision by him is a tedious affair. Suppose sixteen courts-martial come to me by a single post, as once happened, then the expence of postage and the detention of the man all combine to make revisal bad. To revise courts-martial adds much to my labours, for I read a court-martial twice over, in some cases three times, and again when it comes back!

"Look also at the extraordinary sentences passed. Not a fortnight ago a man of bad character deserted and was a few days away before being caught: the court sentenced him to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, and alternate months of solitary confinement! A lance corporal was at the same time sentenced to one month solitary confinement for being drunk when commanding a picquet—drunk on duty

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at such a time as this! And now Sweeney's sentence of four months! where, as you justly observe, there was none of the knocking-down system; for if there had been the sentence of four months would be just. The corporal's crime was far greater than Sweeney's, especially in these times; yet I think the corporal's sentence sufficient and that it will have more effect than a heavier one. Heavy sentences compel me to remit: when sentences are light I have no scruple about one man getting a little more than another for the same offence; but when one man has weeks and another months for the same fault I am necessarily obliged to remit a portion of the latter. Everything confirms my opinion that a corps of judge advocates should be formed, one of whom should attend every court to establish a uniform system. I mean to propose this to Lord Hill when there is more time.

"Journal, January 1st 1840.—Last night a dragoon was fired at while passing through the street: three constables heard and two saw the shot fired, yet they did not catch the man.

"2nd.—A sentry at Haydock Lodge fired upon.

"4th.—Sale of gunpowder goes on briskly in Nottingham, and I have seen some of the fire-balls; they are mischievous for undefended houses and frightening peaceable citizens, but ridiculous as weapons of battle. Lord Normanby has desired me to offer £200 for discovering the man who fired at the dragoon, but I will not do so; the thing has made no talk, and £1000 would not find the man; it is only shewing our teeth without biting: let us shut our mouths and the thing will be unnoticed.

"Under-Secretary, January 1st.—I enclose some information received last night from Mr. Roworth, mayor of Nottingham, a gentleman of whom it would be difficult to speak too highly. The informations come from only a few of those who sell gunpowder; the rest are supposed to be Chartists who would not speak the truth. I cannot say too

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much of the mayor. His active benevolence and watchfulness are most praiseworthy; and the good feeling of the people under very severe suffering is admirable. Meanwhile taking the powder sold these three months past at 300 lbs. it will make 7200 cartridges: to be on a level with soldiers sixty rounds are required for each man, and this gives cartridges for only 120 men! Allow twelve times the quantity to be sold, it provides 1440 men for Nottingham and its vicinity; and of their fire-locks one thousand would not go off and forty would be cast away on the first shot: about four hundred undisciplined men would remain to deal with, and a wet day would put the four hundred on a level with the rest.

"The same, January 5th.—All we can learn about the gunpowder, is that there are 60 or 80 people who sell it in this town. I send a letter from the mayor, who says, if he called his colleagues together about paying any one as referred to in this letter, there would be discussion for two days, the whole town would know it and it would be finally refused. As to the watch committee, he might as well consult the Chartists, for they would know all that passed in ten minutes after the council had fixed any point. As to the reward for discovering the man who fired at the dragoon, before doing so it is right to state, that the firing has made no talk, and, strange to say, has not got into the local paper: a reward would perhaps do what this vagabond has failed to do, viz. create alarm.

"Lord Normanby, January 6th.—The mayor gives me the following information from excellent authority.

"The Chartists have what they call rockets, which they believe will, if thrust into a window, blow the roof off a house. Their arms are chiefly pistols, and they have cast a vast quantity of balls. Their plan is to attack the middle classes and reduce them to the same state of poverty with themselves. They have no fear of the soldiers, because they mean to go about in small parties of fives and sixes accord-

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ing to their classes and sections, with their arms hidden and so as not to attract attention by their numbers. These small parties are suddenly to attack houses with their rockets, yet do not purpose to kill any one—how avoid it? The moment any Chartist is convicted, whether it be Frost or any other, this warfare is to begin and all labour instantly to cease. The mayor has a strong belief in his informant, who is a Chartist but opposed to physical force.

"Journal, January 5th.—Great abuse of me in a Manchester paper for my district order. I issued it to prevent bloodshed, and believe it did so: I would again issue it under the circumstances. Had I not issued it some attempt would have been made on the troops and the blood of some poor people spilled.

"10th.—Colonel Martin writes from Sheffield that he has positive information as to an attack on him to-morrow.

"11th.—Met all the magistrates.

"12th.—Patroled all last night. Saw the Chartist sentinels in the streets; we knew they were armed with pistols but I advised the magistrates not to meddle with them. Seizing these men could do no good; it would not stop Chartism if they were all hanged; and as they offered no violence why starve their wretched families, and worry them with a long imprisonment? I repeat it, Chartism cannot be stopped, God forbid that it should: what we want is to stop the letting loose a large body of armed cut-throats upon the public. My wish is to prevent an outbreak, not to provoke one. The magistrates, happily, agreed with me, and my excellent friend William Roworth the mayor was worth a host.

"Colonel Wemyss, January 11th.—The Duke of Portland writes, that he has positive information of a general rising to take place to-morrow, Sunday: I do not believe it.

"Lord Fitzroy.—I am aware of the Duke of Portland's alarm. How far his informant may be credited I cannot say, but doubt much that any outbreak will happen until

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an order for the execution of a Chartist arrives at Monmouth, when outrage may happen.

"Under-Secretary, January 12th.—Last night Colonel Marten's report came from Sheffield. It coincides with the intelligence sent by the Duke of Portland, that a rising is to take place this night. Another report from Lieutenant Huband at Bradford contains nearly the same statement, but he says, the report was, that the outbreak was for the 10th. Lieutenant Huband's report was on rumour, Colonel Marten's on depositions sworn before magistrates. These things made me consult the mayor, who called the magistrates together and we agreed that nothing more is necessary than to be on the alert. We could not I think be so quiet if desperate work was close at hand; men's nerves would shew excitement and give warning. Colonel Marten tells me there is not a single magistrate in Sheffield!

"Lord Fitzroy, January 13th.—Last week I drew out the garrison, posting a chain of picquets, which would, on an inroad by the Chartists of Sutton and Arnold, bar entry into Nottingham. Three days ago, a rifleman drinking in a public-house was asked by a countryman—Why did your general take out the soldiers? The rifleman not wishing to say what he thought answered, Our general is a doctor as well as a general, and as the weather was fine he thought a little exercise would be good for the men's health. *Don't gammon me with your doctor*, said the man and took from his breast a plan with the position of each picquet marked, having riflemen and dragoons written over each, and the exact number of men. *None of your doctor gammon, no one could get into the town to help his friend without the general's leave!* The plan was drawn with pen and ink, and the soldier tried to get it, but the other would not let him touch it.

"Journal, 14th January.—An attack has taken place at Sheffield, feeble, badly arranged and base. Marten's dragoons frightened the rioters, no lives were lost, but one poor

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dissenting preacher was badly wounded: many prisoners taken. The insurgents shot the poor preacher wantonly for there was no firing, it was the deed of some ruffian. This is a danger which must be a consequence of an armed multitude rising: ruffians will murder, burn and plunder, devastating where there are not troops to quell them.

"15th.—The sale of gunpowder continues, all is however quiet, but only in consequence of the troops being on the alert.

"January 16th.—Anniversary of the battle of Coruña! Oh that I should have outlived that day to be at war with my own countrymen! better be dead than live to see a civil war.

"17th.—An attempt to fire the barracks at Barnsley on the 15th, but Lieutenant Yates of the 1st Dragoons behaved with a good sense and presence of mind that baffled the attempt.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Marten, January 17th.—The papers have not treated you fairly, your promptness in advancing against the incendiaries was certainly what saved the town from being fired. However the government is aware of the fact, for I sent your report to Lord Normanby: from that, though you give little more than a statement of facts, it is quite plain that your arrangements did the job.

"Colonel W. Napier, January 19th.—Misery is running riot through the greatest part of this district, that is to say through the manufacturing parts; the agricultural parts suffer less perhaps, at all events, being less condensed it is less perceptible. At Nottingham the gentry are really very good-natured: the mayor and one or two more got up a meeting, and in a few days near £4000 was subscribed, *despite of the exertions of the poor law people*, who said we were encouraging idleness. The poor here have resolved to die rather than go into the union houses, and I have not the least doubt that numbers would have starved sooner than go there; certainly they would have resisted hunger

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until the feebler bodies of their children perished, or been so reduced as never to recover their health. Many who were willing were refused admittance. I know of an old man who being starving was told—Oh, you can't have anything to-day, come again on Thursday. But I have gone two days without food and shall be dead before Thursday. Oh, we can't help that, you must weather the storm as others do. And he would have died if the mayor had not fed him.

"Now for what I saw, and which is not *quite without foundation!* as the poor law folks tell you all stories of suffering are. Being at the police on Christmas night, the rain falling heavily, the mayor said to me, General you shall see a case. A pretty young woman came in, she could hardly move, being on the point of child-birth: she had been refused entrance at the union, and had one child in her arms and another at her breast. She had entered the town that morning, seeking her husband, who was a hod-man going about for work: she had no acquaintance, no shelter, was wet, half dead with cold and about to be delivered in the streets. She was willing to go into the poor-house and was refused! They abused her for being what she owned she was, but said very quietly Tell me what I am to do, either good or bad? The mayor said, What does her goodness or badness signify? It is not a case of morality but of destitution, and her children are not bad. Devil a bit would the poor-house folks take her in. The mayor then asked the other magistrate to join with him in signing an order to force the poor-house keeper, but was refused. And this excellent mayor is abused because in giving help with the subscription money he relieves men of Chartist principles.

"There is one family here that would save a city from God's wrath. Wrights the bankers. Mr. Smith Wright is one of the firm and a better fellow never rolled in riches, as I believe he does. However the misery is so horrid, the poor law rules are necessarily broken and put aside, and relief out of doors is given perforce. We have 800 men

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paid by the private subscription and, horror of horrors! 200 of them rank Chartists, employed by the mayor's order, at which some people here cannot sleep in their beds: they would ere this have slept less if they had a *vigorous mayor*, for the town would have been burned. My firm belief is that it has been saved by the good heart and good sense of Roworth the mayor, more than by anything else:—if we are saved, for the Chartists have prepared a quantity of combustibles and are exceedingly ferocious. There are quite enough of rascals amongst them to fire the town; and also many good fellows so enraged at villainy, such as I have described, as to be ready for any violence, though they would regret it when they saw what would happen.

"Both these classes are very dangerous, but the cowardice shewn is absolutely ridiculous. One night, when out with 12 dragoons, a mob of 2000 followed and assailed us with abuse so violent as to make me fear they would end with stones, a large heap being at hand. Thinking they would have some respect for me, I told the magistrate and the dragoons to ride on while I spoke to the mob, and I rode back alone. To my surprize all fled, pushing each other down in their haste. At Sheffield not a man faced the dragoons; fire and assassination are their weapons, and now their nature, because they are driven to that course, the poor law being the goad to keep them going. That law is however, in a great measure, only new in name, for they give out-door relief everywhere in the manufacturing districts; but they still separate parents and children, which the people will not bear, and they are right. The hatred to this law is not confined to Chartists, nor to the poor, it creates Chartists, it makes them sanguinary: they mean to spare no one that has a good coat if they once get to work: in short it is all hell, or likely to be so in England.

"Peter Bussy, the great Chartist leader at Bradford, has fled; he refused to join in the physical-force work and they were going to murder him. They now want to burn towns,

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with all the sick, and infants, and aged! All this has been provoked, but sane men cannot join in such bloody work. My district order got into the papers God knows how! certainly not with my consent or knowledge. The fact was, that I had positive information of an intended general attempt to fire all our barrack. Our officers were either worn out by constant threats, or over-anxious, and were harassing their men, who, on the other hand were, though I believe perfectly loyal, making long strides in liberal opinions: I however never *say* this, because you can have no idea of the touchiness I have to deal with in some quarters.

"The same, February 5th.—We go on from bad to worse here; the people are starving, and the guardians of the poor are, as you justly called them, *guardians of their own pockets.* If a starving wretch, irritated by the overseer's domineering insolence answers him, the unfortunate may die, for the overseer will not let him get assistance out of the house, or get admitted in. If he complains, the guardians say to the overseer—Well what are we to do in this case? Oh! that's a terrible rascal, he is one of the discontented insolent villains that infest this town. *My friend we can do nothing for you.* So Mr. Overseer is absolute despot. Meanwhile we are going on, making pikes out of files and battleaxes out of old saws, and buying up gunpowder and making fire-balls: at least the police tell me so, and I believe it is so. Yet when these Chartists turn out to use these weapons, as at Sheffield and Bradford, they shew fear past description, or equal to that of the magistrates at Bradford. There, having only their rattles the constables disarmed and took prisoners all the Chartists they met, the Chartists having spears. Not a soldier was present, they were in another part of the town, where the magistrates kept them to guard their sacred persons. Not the least attempt was made at resistance by the incendiaries with their pikes and fire-balls; yet the magistrates sent an express to Leeds for a piece of cannon, and another troop of dragoons, thus alarming the whole country!

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Now, if I gave them a lecture the Horse Guards would be down on me like a thunderbolt! You cannot conceive the caution forced on me. The attempt to burn a large town like Sheffield was atrocious; the rascals taken deserve to be hanged: but what good will that do? None! We are in a state which no example can better, because the halter cannot be put round the right necks!"

At this time he was severely attacked by acute rheumatism, arising from the unhealthiness of his lodgings and his frequent night excursions: and the general discomfort of his personal position was very oppressive.

"Lord Fitzroy Somerset, January.—When I was first appointed, you told me Lord Hill would allow me to choose where I would have head-quarters. I thought it best to see a little of the district before deciding, and now my wish is to go to Chester. I cannot get a house here in which to live on my income. At the request of the gentry about Nottingham, made without my knowledge, Lord Manvers offered me the house which Sir R. Jackson had; but I could not live in such a house without ruin. Having only £300 a year of my own,—which being in the American funds may now at any moment become 0!—my military income added to it and the advantage of a large family, will not let me live in a palace like *Helen-Pierpoint*. Chester, now the railway is ready, is not more than two hours from Manchester, from whence railroads push out in all directions towards the north. Hence in point of time, and reference to the greatest portion of the force Chester is a central position; and my hope is that Lord Hill will not think the change inconvenient for the service: if he does, nothing more shall be said.

"January 26th.—Very ill with rheumatism. Even Robertson will let me swear at rheumatism I hope, and I must in face of all the saints terrestrial and celestial. Robertson tries hard, but cannot make me a saint. The Chartists are bad soldiers! It appears from the depositions

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of prisoners at Bradford or Sheffield, there was one desperate leader, Holberry, sent to Nottingham to lead the Chartists against me: he deposes that the troops so worried the Chartists there they were afraid to attack. So far so good, I saved blood! This is a blessed thought.

"January 30th.—This day, my great, great, great, grandfather, Charles the First was *be-nobbed!* and well he deserved it: he was a jesuitical hypocritical rascal as ever wore a crown. He died with pluck because he was in his right place, on a scaffold!—not the right place as a king, but as a man. God rest his soul, but he was a bad king, a bad soldier, and a bad man.

"Under-Secretary, February 2nd.—There is more protection for the country in having one town occupied by a troop of cavalry, than two towns, each occupied by half a troop. Besides the absence of soldiers makes magistrates more alert, and at the same time, induces them to be temperate and conciliatory. The conduct of Mr. Roworth the mayor of Nottingham, shews what great influence a zealous, temperate and active magistrate can acquire over the population. I am very far from thinking troops unnecessary, but Bradford shews what the civil power can do if resolutely used; and the putting down one riot by constables has more good effect than putting down ten by soldiers: it also gives the civil powers confidence in themselves, which is very desirable.

"Sir H. Ross, February.—Ingilby's letter to you is a very sensible one, except *his* telling *you*, how helpless a gun was without artillerymen, which possibly you had some idea of before, though the magistrates would not believe it. God forgive me, but sometimes they tempt me to wish they and their mills were all burned together. I am going to take the company from them and expect a fearful battle, in which they will probably defeat me: however Lord Normanby has been hitherto very staunch. I find it took five hours for the reinforcement to arrive! This demands

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enquiry, for though neither hussars nor gun should have been sent for at all they ought to have been at Bradford in two hours and a half. There is reason to believe the soldiers were alert, and the delay caused by the magistrates' messenger taking two hours to go nine miles! I ordered Colonel K—— to take the dragoons and a gun four miles out and back, and let me know the exact time that march took. He answers by a calculation of his own and Ingilby's instead of doing what he was told. What think you is his reason? The *weather was rather wet!* Now I know as well as he does, that a gun troop of hussars can go seven miles in an hour on a pinch; but I wanted to have a practical proof on that road, and to make it evident to all they could reach Bradford in any weather, in little beyond the hour when danger required a push. You will agree with me that alertness is necessary, or may be; and that troops should consider it as a matter of course, and occasionally practise it, to be aware of all the little accidents that are sure to happen. Now, with due respect for K——, the wet day was that to be preferred, as the men have good barracks to return to, and are not made of sugar. Men afflicted with difficulties are the greatest subverters of discipline.

"Wemyss, February 13th.—The meeting at Bolton was like all others, and there was no wisdom in the mayor and magistrates refusing permission for a meeting which they could not prevent. Our mayor and magistrates acted more wisely; they gave permission but refused the town hall, and that meeting was perfectly quiet, lasted only twenty minutes, and very few attended. At Bolton and other places where permission was refused meetings took place notwithstanding, but with bad feeling towards the authorities. Here there was good feeling, and thus a proper respect for the people produced respect for the law. Those who called the meeting told the mayor, if he would send two constables, they would at the constable's bidding arrest any man pointed

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out; this is much more sensible than shewing teeth without being able to bite.

"Journal, March 5th.—Ordered to inspect the barracks of the district, and report to the secretary of state, marking the positions where I would erect new barracks, in place of the miserable hovels called temporary barracks in which the troops have been so shamefully placed for twelve years. It is just however to state, that the condition of the barracks would have been unaltered for a century, had not Colonel Thomas, 20th Regiment, brought it up in the House of Commons; his motives concern not me, but such is the fact. He attacked Sir Hussey Vivian, which made the latter demand a court of inquiry to examine those of Manchester, designated by Colonel Thomas in the house, as *disgraceful to the country:* yet they were and are my best!! The master-general, piqued at the attack, made a tour himself, and saw the horrid holes of Wigan Bolton and Rochdale. He was shocked at those accursed holes in which to lodge human beings and resolved to assist in putting things right, at least not to oppose me and the troops. We then poured broadsides of complaints, until, beset on all sides, the government resolved to move in the matter, and I was summoned to London, where the various heads of departments being tolerably ignorant of the affair, from having other avocations, but not choosing to avow their ignorance formed their own plans separately. Some wanted a few large barracks, some a good many small ones; they could not agree and sent for me to decide: those who would not yield to equals would submit to an inferior. Thus it all falls on me.

"1st. Ashton-under-Lyne.—The magistrates all as haughty as you please, fear nothing and will not pay for barracks.

"12th. Burnley.—The landlady, and her three maids—such beauties! my bad eyes have been much better since I looked at them!

"Todmorden.—On high ground where the hills branch

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off at Blackston edge. The pass to Todmorden is deep and strong; so is that out of it at the Rochdale side. The country very pretty and wild. Caught the train, and was nearly overthrown down a place twenty feet deep.

"Manchester again.—Millions of letters here. I feel very ill. I know not what ails me, but have a fearful depression of spirits not to be shaken off. Yet I must work, my pay from the public goes on and so must I: better die honest than live a rogue. My pay comes out of these poor men's pockets and not to work is to cheat them.

"March 4th.—Anniversary of the day George and William were wounded near Condeixa in Portugal; my head too was then still tied up from my Busaco wound. Time flies! Take 1811 from 1840 and 29 years remain! Oh Cocker! Cocker! We were three active chaps then. I was 28, George 26, William 25. And now! *Och hone!* 57, 55, 54!!! I command half England, George rules the Cape, and we are both knights commanders of the Bath. William is a companion of the order and finishes his History this month. This is not bad, but what good is it? A few years and we are gone, forgotten! Yet! is it pain to go to those who went before?

"14th.—Ill all day, but worked hard.

"16th, Halifax.—Very unwell, but must get on with my work. Late to bed, having had much to do, all done though, thank God for that! Now for a dose of opium, called by doctors morphine, but opium is opium. John Chinaman is right!

"18th, Dewsbury.—A curious place. Cavalry should not be here. The town is in a hollow, bounded on one side by the river Calder: it has three entrances, each through a pass, and no messenger could get out of the town save through them, so that cavalry might be blocked up. They are there now by order of the secretary of state, at the repeated demands of the magistrates. I have however got

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them a strong stone barrack capable of a long defence; and ordered them in case of agitation to communicate daily with Leeds, where the officer has orders to march in strength on Dewsbury, if the communication ceases: the cavalry are thus secured from being cut off. There should be infantry at Thornhillbriggs. They would support all the cavalry detachments, and protect all the neighbouring towns. This will not be done: we irritate the people and do nothing to guard the country. But the curse of mammon is upon us and we perish: the poor starve, that 5 per cent esquire, may become 10 per cent esquire, and keep four horses instead of two. God does not allow these things to go unpunished: all unholy pleasures carry their pains with them.

"Now to my treadmill, to that labour which bears no fruit, that preparation for civil war! Fool that I was not to go to Australia! there peace, health, natural life, invited me; but I would not have been Sir Charles, or a general! Both are to me worthless: a farm in Australia would be more happiness than the Garter.

"Leeds, 19th.—Arranged with Bradford magistrates, who are in a proper fright: the people are everywhere starving in the manufacturing districts, and of course everywhere to be pitied and feared.

"York, 20th.—Barracks good for cavalry. The cavalry officers are fine fellows, but entirely engrossed with hunting, shooting, and horse-dealing: this never did, and never will make soldiers, and with the finest men in the world, and the finest horses in the world, and the best appointed, our cavalry will never have much success.

"March 21st.—The anniversary of my father's birthday. It is also that on which Marshal Ney set me free at Coruña. Oh time! time! Thou shark which swalloweth all! How many were alive then who we can meet no more on earth! But can men think that so we part, that all we love are but figures in a hurried dream? Nonsense! we must meet again, or how could the brain bear the weight of memory,

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if the hope of futurity did not come to its relief? There is a mystery and death unravels it.

"23rd.—Went to Hull, passed down the Ouse and Humber; thought of Tostig and the Danes, and Harold, and of the Hothams. The citadel of Hull ought to be strong and is weak.

"March 25th, Nottingham.—Arrived here after a three weeks' tour, ill the whole time, and having the comfort of knowing that a poor and extravagant government will do none of the things I have proposed for the soldier: my report will be thrown away. Yet an army is no joke and the soldiers well know that the game is in their hands. A private of the 81st put a letter in the Bradford paper plainly saying so, yet professing the greatest loyalty, which I am convinced the soldiers feel: but it will not do for the Crown of England to be held on opinion, like that of the East India Directors. There is but one thing that controls a standing army, viz. the will of a sturdy and united loyal nation! let that be removed and the soldier is master: he may use his power well or ill, but he is master.

"26th.—Work! work! work! Letters and courts-martial. I am an attorney with incessant briefs and no pay. Who could imagine when thinking of a man being a general, that his time should be taken up reading courts-martial—four, six, ten a day! I am not a soldier but an attorney's clerk.

"28th.—The Chartist delegates are to assemble here at Nottingham, April the 6th.—Oh ho! the Chartists are finished! are they?

"April 4th.—This day year my command of the northern district begun. My time has been one of labour and anxiety without reward, for nothing can be shewn! I have ten times the penwork that Cephalonia gave me and nothing to shew. There I protected the poor, regulated justice, and executed really great works. Forty miles of road hewn out of the living rock, and many fine buildings, and horses with carts introduced into a country previously without them, were things

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to make a man feel he had lived for some good. Here my time is lost in drivelling correspondence and reading courts-martial, with much additional gribble grabble. I command ten thousand men but never see them together. Well! patience, duty must be done. What have I to do with ambition?"

It is painful to note these internal throes of power and energy in a mind conscious of ability to serve the country greatly, yet condemned to the drudgery of a monotonous and pernicious official system, which plastered, as it were with bird lime the wings of a noble ambition—but his time was coming.

"Journal, April 6th.—Walked out with my two merry little affectionate girls; I fear they are idols but cannot help it: the godly tell us we must have no idols. Perhaps they are right, but for all that fathers and mothers will have them, and I have no idea of being singular in that respect.

"April 7th.—We are all alive again. The delegates for the national convention have met, though no one knows who they are or anything about them, except that report says they met in the democratic chapel.

"8th.—This meeting of delegates has not produced any sensation, the physical-force heroes are cowed for the present: they started too sharply and are obliged to pull up: they had zeal, good-will and arms, but were deficient in arrangement, in union, in leaders, in money, all of which are necessaries of life to a rebellion!

"11th.—I have been treated by the gentlemen of this neighbourhood with much kindness, which I could but slightly return, being in a miserable lodging, a baker's shop. Wishing to shew these kind people that I had at least a sense of their good nature, I have asked all who have invited me to a dinner at the George the 4th. Ten were pre-engaged, but we sat down twenty-two. It was an agreeable dinner to me because they were good enough to be pleased; and so far as feeding went with reason, for old Mrs. Ward gave us a

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splendid feed. Splendid is the correct cant word I believe: everything now is *splendid* or *interesting*, and *carried out*, not executed or effected. Well Mrs. Ward carried *in* her splendid dinner, which then became most interesting: that is, there were two *lovely salmons*, one at each end, and in the middle a most *interesting turbot:* every one ate in the most *correct* way, the champagne was also *splendid*, and then the dinner was *carried out!*

"I like Nottingham, the poor people are good, and were they fairly treated they would be perfectly quiet. Thank God we have had no row, and not a drop of blood has been spilled. The gentlemen here are so good as to give me credit for this, which I am not sure of deserving, save from my great desire to prevent mischief. They are here generous to the poor, and do much; but it will not do, the rich manufacturers are too hard a set. There are two men of these parts for whom I shall always feel the greatest regard. Mr. Smith Wright of Rempston, and the mayor, Mr. Roworth, they are among the 'noblest works of God.' Kind-hearted, generous, benevolent: these two men would have sufficed to save the scriptural city.

"12th.—Not well, having been forced to drink at my dinner more than usual, which does not agree with me. I never was drunk in my whole life, and I doubt whether another soldier in the army can say that.

"April 14th.—Lord Fitzroy asks me to let them take away two regiments of cavalry and two of infantry. Certainly if things remain quiet, but who shall guarantee that? Now if I say yes and an insurrection breaks out, all England will cry out upon me and the Whigs would give me up; at least I should be a fool to trust them. No! there will be an outcry that I am an alarmist, and my very keeping of the country quiet be used as the proof. Now I do not like being in a cleft stick any more than Caliban did; so I composed the following letter, but on second thoughts sent another to the same purpose safer for myself and therefore

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better. Lord Fitzroy and Lord Hill are very cautious; they do not like the least political opinion being expressed and I will not expose myself to a second hint. But how an officer holding my high situation can do his duty without forming opinions, and decided ones, on the state of the country is not easy to say.

"First letter. In my late tour I made much enquiry as to the state of the country and found it quiet; but in the manufacturing districts great distress prevails, which is not the case in the agricultural parts. While this distress exists the physical-force people have materials to work upon, and therefore I delayed writing about the reduction of the forces in hopes commerce would revive. It has not yet done so and the district continues tranquil, which leaves me little to say against the diminution of the troops. But government has seen how suddenly disturbances arise, how suddenly subside. One day we have been under arms throughout the district; the next, apparently without necessity for a single soldier; yet, but for the soldiers the country would have been plundered. This state, peculiar to a discontented and partially-armed population, makes me always feel unwarranted to recommend any diminution of the force here.

"If you ask my opinion as to the state of the country, it is the same I entertained when in town. The idea of gaining the Charter by present employment of force is dying away, men of that stamp could not now produce disturbance; nor do they believe they could themselves, or think of doing so: but of Chartism as a principle, my belief is it becomes more general. I may be wrong and my abilities are too small to give weight to my opinion, nor do I ever talk politics: but while listening to others I see, or think I see, three things, namely, great distress, great party violence, and a want of confidence in the present government even amongst its own party. Hence arises a very general idea that a great change is at hand: some fear it, some wish it, as they are influenced by imagined personal interest.

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"I do not think my view prejudiced, because having for a year abandoned politics and never mixing myself with any party, or reading any newspaper, I am ignorant, even of the parliamentary discussions and confine myself wholly to my work as an officer: I think of nothing else, and if I speak of what passes around me to you, it is that you may better judge the value of my opinion as to the force required."

His second letter, precise and guarded, placed the decision in the hands of the commander in chief with little explanation. It is thus men of contracted minds cut off the sources of knowledge by which the machinery of government can be moved with just effect. Yet this remark applies here more to the ministers than the military authorities, who were themselves only partially of power: slaves of the lamp and the ring they dared not hang up the roc's egg.

He now obtained leave to fix his quarters at Chester, and his journal continues to shew his sense of the official fetters which clogged the free action of his powerful intellect.

"April 16th.—The Chartists are stirring again at Newcastle-on-Tyne. *Chartism is at a discount.* Ho! ho! Will there be an insurrection? My position will be personally very awkward. I am not afraid of myself, but a great deal of my masters. A general acting from his own brains, if he has any, may command his troops with effect; but when he has to act under others at a distance, cramped here, cramped there—do this! do that! God help him, for he cannot help himself. Montrose would have saved Charles the First but majesty floored him; even the genius of Cromwell was meshed by his canting masters until he wisely got rid of them; Leslie at Dunbar was not beaten by Oliver but by the priests! Well I care not, and will as an honourable man do what seems right, just, and humane, to all, in hope that what is good for the people of England may follow. And so far as falls within my limited sphere all shall be done to assist the poor, for they are ill-used and suffering. I must however give my approval of government for

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having avoided bloodshed by executions: it is cruelty to do so, and useless for changing men's opinions. We have no right to take life for opinions: in battle it is unavoidable, by law horrible. It is not law or justice but barbarity to slay men for political opinions, in which thousands of good and honourable men agree with the condemned person! It is not justice, it is the vengeance of a dominant party.

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TWELFTH EPOCH.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

In a country-house near Chester the overworked general hoped to recover health, but was debarred of that relief by the indecision of the Horse Guards, which forced him into a filthy unventilated lodging within the walls of that ancient and insalubrious city. This was a great vexation, but as usual treated jocosely. "We arrived here yesterday. Our house is as old as Babylon and apparently rotten, but seems pleasant for a town: we are like mites in cheese." His labours did not diminish. The Chartist commotions were not over and some military mortifications disturbed him, because they sprung from an improper bending to political persons, and while detrimental to discipline were also injurious to professional dignity. His first letter is however a noble tribute of praise to a noble soldier.

"Sir H. Ross.—I am exceedingly sorry to have so hopeless an account of Sir Alexander Dickson, who among the soldiers of his day shone with marked brilliance: and in what age did war produce men more hardy or more brave? England had before beaten France, but when was France what she was when Wellington overthrew her armies? If there is aught to boast of in military renown it belongs to the army of Wellington; and surely the leader of that terrible artillery which thundered through those great battles cannot die and be forgotten like an ordinary man. I hope England will not let him pass away unnoticed: his funeral ought to be a public one, and on his tomb should be inscribed—*He led the artillery of Wellington.* A greater epitaph could scarcely be written except for the chief him-

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self. The men who fought in Spain drop fast; the youngest of them must now begin to think of folding his cloak around him and falling decently. The immortality of fame which Wellington has cast over us like a mantle of light will endure; but our bodies are separate things, and more is the pity, for of all things being old is the most disagreeable: at least I find it so. I hope you may succeed your friend, I know of no man more worthy.

"His Sister.—I go into lodgings at Chester. I had a nice house, but Lord Fitzroy said, if Chester was found unsuitable I must change again; thus my house was lost, as it could not be taken for three years with a doubt. Why should Chester not suit? I have been ill, very ill, but on my tour was obliged to defy it, though I felt as if I could not get back to Nottingham.

"Journal, April 27th.—'Chartism is now over, the people see their folly, we shall have no more of that nonsense: how quiet the country is!' Thus am I told. Nevertheless on the 25th the Chartists at Colne thrashed the new police, and troops, horse and foot, were obliged to march from Burnley to their assistance.

"29th.—The Colne affair so far over that the troops have marched back, but the people told them they would not have the police. I always foresaw this, and said to my brother William—that the people would first oppose the establishing of the police, and would fail; but the ill-will would remain and the people would hold the law as an oppression, not a protection as was once the case. Now if England gets into such a state what is to be done? Some will answer *justice*. Bah! When was a government ever just? a government always resorts to force. We shall appeal to soldiers, and then grande confusion as in the French chamber of deputies, when the knaves were disputing about free constitutions while Blucher's Prussians were plundering the town, and finally put a stop to their grande confusion with two field pieces.

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"May 2nd.—This is a fine old town. 'The Rows' are very curious and antiquarians have exhausted conjecture on the subject; none of them seem to think they were built to keep people from wet, but have accidentally taken this form: they are very convenient.

"May 4th.—All the world and his wife racing. The scene is beautiful, the old walls overlook the course and are crowded, while below are booths, punch and judy, swings, men and women, drunk, and sober; and the old river Dee glides on his course, his waters and those wild rioters on his banks running alike to the ocean of futurity, to be lost and heard of no more, going, going, gone! All the rogues, and fools and drunkards in the country seem collected, and the Row balconies are filled all day with idlers and well-dressed girls, young and old, looking into the streets from daybreak till dark. Such idleness I never witnessed as at Chester. My life has been long, it has but *twelve years* to run, and yet I never, in any country, witnessed such stupid idleness as in Chester. Those who go to the course have some fun, but those who hang over the Row-balconies all day like old clothes, see nothing, hear nothing, do nothing."

He lived just twelve years longer!

"May 5th.—This is the anniversary of Fuentes Onoro! What is glory, why do we love it, why love those who fought by our side in those dread contests in Spain? Aye! love even those who fought against us. What a fond bond of union is throat-cutting. Yea! verily we love it and devilish queer animals we are therefore. The fact is, men in the field are generally healthy, strong and full of spirits, life is enjoyed and dangers past are bonds of union: we admire those whose courage and generous daring made them conspicuous. It is impossible to love or admire a coward; his nature is base, his motives of action selfish; he does right only from fear or forecast.

"9th.—Rode out. *Reiza* pretended to be lame because

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he wanted to go home! What nice animals horses are, one loves them in one's heart. I long to live in their company like an Arab. I am an Arab. I hate a home and wish to go about with my women and my horses and tent.

"Colonel W. Napier. May 11th.—Your sixth volume come, but my eyes are bad and my reading slow. The critic who complains of the length of your work and compares it with Gibbon drivels: he might as well find fault with the ordnance map of England for being as big as a carpet, when Wyld's map of the world is only the size of this paper! Chartism goes on silently, but we shall have a quiet summer, for trade is reviving a little and the people are patient beyond conception; they are a fine race, and it is a sin to govern them so ill. Some great convulsion is approaching in the world, for bad governments clearly only hang now together from habit, as you said of your house: the first strong shake will produce a new order of things.

"Journal, May 13th.—I cannot get my romance from Colburn, but got his £50 for *Notes on Light and Shades*. My notes are full of errors for he would not let me correct the press, but his notes are good.

"15th.—Last night called up by a magistrate for troops to quell a row with the colliers at Flint. Labouring at my barrack report. I require £160,000 and they have not the money; but they must expend £40,000, or discipline will go and the soldiers will desert.

"20th.—My Elizabeth's birth-day. What is this world, and what are we? Memory! Oh thou racker of the heart, thou tearer up of times past, thou picturer of things never more to be seen, of faces no more to greet, voices no more to be heard! Yet but for their remembrance how terrible would be death! This makes man fearless.

"22nd.—Finished barrack-report, and for ever, for I'll swear Lord Normanby will not be such an ass as to read it. He knows the treasurers have no money; but neither he nor

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they know that they are weaning the soldier from his loyalty by bad barracks.

"26th.—Inspected the 96th and 79th, two fine regiments, and got another lesson on the necessity of fresh air: the 79th are all pallid, their chests are affected and they have many men in hospital. The 96th all healthy. The latter are in well-ventilated barracks, the former in a cursed Manchester mill; large rooms full of men and only ventilated by single panes of glass: this is one of the ways in which poor factory children are destroyed. What mad œconomy to have bad barracks for troops: health, spirits, discipline, everything suffers, even their loyalty; yet government will not lay out a penny while they give £70,000 for royal stables, and £2000 a year to Lord Monteagle!

"30th, Windermere.—The mountains hanging over the still water and the wild look of the place are enchanting to one who, like me, loves to dwell away from towns and people, and see nature in her wildness, and there live.

"June 1st.—Saw the 98th. Campbell is first-rate, what a nuisance that such a fellow should be kept back, while such as Colonel —— get on. But fairness is fairness —— is not a bad man; he is only one with a hundred-horse power of temper, his judgment and ability being that of an old maid's tea-kettle. If we have a war Campbell will be a first-rate leader of a brigade.

"June 9th.—Saw the Chesnut troop of Horse Artillery: beautiful as ever. How celebrated it was in the Peninsula under Sir Hew Ross. I recollect at the Coa how they fought a French battery across the river; they beat Johnny Crapaud out of the field. There also I saw a poor horse's leg knocked to pieces, yet the noble animal pulled on as if not hurt! he walked a few minutes unobserved, for the shot raised a dust and the officers were attending to some men who were hurt. I never look at this troop without vivid recollections.

"11th.—Came back to Chester yesterday. Henry"—his brother, then a widower—"has been a great pleasure to me.

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I am sorry he has given up his profession; he would either have improved it or made himself known in some other way, for his abilities are great and his mind active; but he is losing the last from living alone: contact with the world only can keep up self-confidence. He forms ideal pictures of perfection, and because he does not fill the frame-work holds himself cheap. Were he to work in the world he would find his own level, which is far above most men: he would thus be taught his real powers. Man ought to live an active life: Christ and Socrates lived amongst men, a recluse is useless.

"17th.—Colonel Thomas made a long report to the quarter-master general, saying, that there never was anything so disgraceful as the way his regiment was embarked; and that the military authorities, from Lord Hill to the unhappy Colonel Falconar, on whom he especially falls, ought to be d——d one and all; that the navy are even worse than the army and his men on board were like pigs! I stepped into the Liverpool coach, for having previously taken all precautions to have the embarcation regular I was resolved to blow up the offenders as high as the tallest steeple in Liverpool. Colonel Thomas's charge was entirely unfounded: he is just fit to be a member of Parliament. The Vesuvius war steamer is immense; she can carry four hundred men and fifty tons of baggage, and had but three hundred on board. Colonel Thomas was not there, but there is a key to the affair. A 'friend,' referred to in his report as the authority, was agent at Lloyds and wished to be made a surveyor of steamers: he avowed to me that he had not seen the regiment embark, but thought it a good opportunity to shew how much evil *might* occur, unless a surveyor of steamers was appointed! The officers of the regiment say they were treated like princes, not pigs, on board the Vesuvius.

"Colonel W. Napier, June 23rd.—Class meetings of physical-force men are going on secretly with great precautions: this is on certain information, yet I am continually told how

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tranquil the country is, though in addition 4000 men at Stockport have maintained a *turn-out* for two months. I ought to have the power of going about more, but cannot afford it, the barrack report cost me £50: it may not perhaps be worth that to the public, but certainly it is not worth that to my girls who have paid for it. Hotels are oppressive. I am known everywhere, must travel with post-horses, and the nature of innkeepers is not to be overcome: travelling with a carriage entails certain rooms and charges—one must *dine in the Apollo!*

"My barrack report approved by Lord Hill, but not a word yet from Lord Normanby: it is a puzzler. Officers and soldiers are very sulky; the first most so, with least cause, yet cause enough for both. Like all needy people our rulers are parsimonious without being œconomical; and here they are in a cleft stick: for if they take away the troops up start the magistracy like bees from an overturned bee-hive; and if they leave the troops barracks must be built, for when Chartists are quiet the magistrates refuse temporary barracks. This dilemma made them demand my report, which Lord Hill approves, and it calls for £160,000. They are up to the knees in mud, having the magistrates on one side and poverty on the other; or rather abominable extravagance, for the royal stables and Lord Monteagle's pension would have lodged the troops well.

"Mr. Macaulay, Secretary at War.—I have to request that the charge in my contingent account for travelling expences on ordinary military duties may be allowed. This district is more extensive and contains more troops than any other; there is consequently more frequent occasions for the general officer to visit parts of it, and he is thus put to more expence than any other general commanding a district. Every regimental officer, non-commissioned officer and private soldier is allowed marching money to cover his increased expences on the road: this is an admission of the principle. Now in making his half-yearly inspections, and executing other duties,

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the general may slur them over, or he may execute them thoroughly, but it will be under the very heavy tax of £2 a day, and the question forced upon him is this:—not how long those duties require his presence, but how long he can afford to maintain himself, his aide-de-camp and his servant at an expensive hotel? I say expensive, because the general officer is known everywhere, and really the innkeepers think he is as rich as my neighbour Lord Westminster.

"Now you, sir, must know as well as I do, that it is impossible to resist the tyranny of innkeepers: it does not always take the shape of pounds, but it does that of sixpences, and a man cannot travel over half England—my district amounts to that—fighting about sixpences! The expence of my half-yearly inspections, and other duties, deduct one-sixth of my staff pay. I think you will say this is not just. I have nothing but what comes from my military income: but that is not the question. Were I a man of independent fortune I should still say this deduction is unjust, and it is greater in the northern district than any other."

Notwithstanding the palpable injustice of this affair, enhanced by the fact, that the barrack journeys were not any part of the general's regular duty, Mr. Macaulay not only refused reimbursement but took pains to prove that the general's allowances amply covered all such expenditure:—making however the small mistake of setting down about £300 a year more than the reality: in short giving one of those official refusals which combine the utmost injustice with complete ignorance even of the official facts of his department. Mr. Macaulay, who thus unjustly deprived a hard-working officer of honestly-earned pay, had just come from India, where he had been for years complacently enjoying £10,000 yearly for doing nothing, his appointment having been a gross Whig job.

"Journal, July 4th.—Fires in most houses! If Noah had lived here after the flood the climate would have kept him in

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constant fear of another voyage: by the way did he swim in fresh water or salt?

"13th.—We are all quiet, but combined with so much distress, and so much injustice, as to leave me little confidence: 'tis not the quiet of content, and the quiet which force acting on wretchedness produces is a hell to me. Against a Chartist, pike in hand and bent to fight, I can stand with bold front; but against pale faces and humble conduct there is no fighting! However the Whigs have not shewn any ferocity this past year; it is but just to say they have been patient and merciful. Half the land has been openly in arms and not a drop of blood spilt on the scaffold!

"July 24th.—Anniversary of the Coa. This is the world! If we could see before us a few years how brave men would be: how fearless of death! My greatest objects in life then, were my mother, Susan Frost, and my young sister Caroline; it was indeed a hopeless feel about the last, for the blow had been struck; but I hoped to live with the others and to have them was enough of happiness. They are all gone and I never lived long with any of them! Always we were separated, and for what? Pursuit of a profession:—fame! gold! How civilization has destroyed happiness. In the wilds of Australia I should have procured food with them, working hard, having good health, and all around me happy: even trees and animals would have been my friends, with whom to live and die. Now all have passed away except my brothers and two sisters, and we live asunder, not sundered in affection but apart: the home of our childhood is in the hands of a stranger, the body of our father is where we are not; the body of our mother where we are not; on their graves we cannot sit to moralize on the coming hour; even *their* bones are separately laid to rest. We set an imaginary and erroneous value upon life! yet it is best to bide our term and patiently await the end of the queer journey. We cannot controul events, but can bear

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them with patience if we resolve to do so: it is not what happens but how we bear it that contributes happiness. Patience however is not easy when mental or bodily pain presses.

"This day thirty years I slept sound and happy on a rock, with my feet to a fire, on a Portuguese mountain. Having come away from the bridge about twelve at night with General Craufurd, Rowan and others, I reached the 52nd bivouac about one in the morning, wet to the skin, rain having fallen in torrents. George and his company were on an immense plate rock, the rain was over, they had a good fire and a supper of beefsteaks with tea. I had not eaten that day, except a bit of bread George gave me during the fight, and was fairly *done up* as the fancy say, being tired, starved, anxious about William's wound, and depressed at our having fought so uselessly, throwing away lives so recklessly. I stripped and the soldiers who were then dry and had supped took—one my shirt, another my coat, and so on, to dry them. I sat meanwhile naked like a wild Indian on the warm rock—it was very pleasant, drinking warm tea, and eating steaks half raw, taken off the poor beast which had drawn our baggage all day:—one cannot be sentimental about bullocks on such occasions. We regretted the poor fellows who were slain, there were a great many, but the excitement of battle does away with much regret, there is no time: it is idleness that makes people grieve long, or rather bitterly. For my charming, my beautiful, my gentle sister Caroline I still grieve; yet at Busaco, a few hours after hearing of her death, a shot went through my head, and my thoughts were no more of her loss: my anxiety was to know if George or William was slain, both being still in battle, as the firing told me. Yet for my equally, not more dear sister Cecilia, my wretchedness was intense. They were two charming girls: the recollection is painful. Adieu battle of the Coa!

"August 2nd.—Agitation in all directions: police thrashed

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at Lancaster, and the Charter is again the cry: my warnings to the government were sound.

"3rd.—More agitation. Colonel Wemyss thinks the remedy is hanging. Wemyss is a clever man and a kind-hearted man, how can he think thus! God send that our rulers may not take up his idea.

"Colonel W. Napier, August.—You are right about our Indian empire. I had an argument in Dublin with an East Indian general, Briggs, a clever fellow he was too; but when I said Circassia and the Caspian appeared the places to meet Russia and cut her line with India, he did not seem to coincide, yet gave no sufficient reason. As you say, if Russia sends an army to Bokhara it will be difficult for us to make war there. I wish you would fill up the outline which your letter to me sketches, like the great triangles of an extensive survey.

"The people of Lancashire are in a dreadful state of starvation. I told Mr. Phillipps ten days ago, that without entering into politics, or pretending to treat the question of the corn laws, I well knew the people were starving; and when told by able men that to abolish those laws would immediately feed them they will make it a rallying cry; attributing to those laws evils not belonging to them, and to their abolition virtues which it will not possess. This cry will enlist numbers of a class that Charter and pikes frighten away. To this I have received no answer. What they mean to do Heaven knows, but the starving goes on. The people propose to have starving processions, which in a town like Manchester is no joke: they also say they will take bread where they see it. Then come the soldiers on the stage and the convulsions of famine are quieted by the bayonet.

"Journal, August 10th.—This day fifty-eight years old, and a wayward life of adventure has been mine! A good romance it would make, full of accidents by flood and field, stories of love and war and shipwreck, and escapes of all

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kinds. I dare swear few men have had more adventures than myself: and yet, eventful as my life has been, my present high position and the threatening state of the country render it probable that the short portion which is left for me of life *may be the most eventful of the whole!*" A strange anticipation, fulfilled to the letter!

"August 11th.—Again a row at Colne: they threaten to destroy the police. I have asked Lord Normanby's leave to go there to smooth matters.

"12th.—Lord Normanby wishes me to go. The Colne chaps have killed a constable and thrashed the police: several are wounded: the police have resolved to resign unless they get arms.

"14th.—Colne. There is perfect cordiality with the soldiers, the riot has not been political. The police must be armed; if they are to be protected by soldiers they are of no use!

"August 15th.—Made arrangements to protect Mr. Bolton of Colne against those who want to kill him. The police are fine men and have good pluck. Mr. Benbow advised the Colne Chartists to *hang Mr. Bolton, and then consider what to do.* Pity Mr. Bolton was not smitten instead of the poor constable Halsted. This Bolton treated the soldiers like dogs until I put that to rights.

"Lord Fitzroy.—On the 8th there was polling for church-rates at Rochdale, which produced excitement. Mr. Boyd the magistrate thought there was cause to call out the troops. Captain Smyth 79th thought there was no cause. Mr. Boyd ordered the troops to load and they did so: Captain Smyth saw no cause to load; his men were 200 yards from the mob, he frequently went in amongst the last and nothing could be more quiet. When the polling ended the crowd dispersed quietly. There was no dispute between Captain Smyth and the magistrate.

Journal, September 1st.—Untoward day for partridges. Were Mr. Secretary Macaulay one I would turn sportsman.

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Is it not too bad that men who like me have been working hard all their lives for the country should be exposed to this man, who returns from a lucrative post in India to be made secretary of war without any knowledge of his work?

"September 2.—Saw young Horsford, son of my old friend Mrs. Horsford. She and Mrs. Byng and Mrs. Butler made the Bermuda times very pleasant. Mrs. Byng's beauty was radiant: she was then twenty, she is now forty-eight and still resplendent. Mrs. Butler was pretty, but so gentle, so winning, so delightful, that I have rarely met her equal. Mrs. Horsford was very good-looking, as clever as the others and very agreeable; but not so grand as Bradamante and Marphisa, so I called the other two: they were not easily to be matched even in England.

"8th.—War threatened. What is to happen? Black Charles Napier has some strong ships in the Levant. Would that another Charles Napier was there also with a strong brigade, we might give the name another shove. Perhaps with a strong brigade I might yet do something for my bread. I do indeed a great deal for it here but it is only kneading work.

"12th.—War appears imminent. I may yet command an army! that would please me, yet without a wish for war, it is the worst thing that could happen to England.

"13th.—More sounds of war. Charles Napier will probably open the ball, he is taking decided steps apparently, and no doubt by order of government: no man more likely to win. He has at least checked the horrors which that ruffian Ibrahim Pacha was perpetrating.

"15th.—The plot thickens, our rulers are playing the game of Russia and smoothing her path to India.

"16th.—The discontent at home increases, yet every body tells me my district is so quiet! So may a thunder-cloud for a time, but it looks black.

"24th.—Got back to Chester. Riot in the Isle of Man, troops called out. Caused by the introduction of English

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money, twelve pence to the shilling. The Manx shilling was 14*d.* and the poor thus lost 2*d.* directly and more indirectly, for every article which before sold for a Manx penny now costs an English penny; the poor customer therefore pays a sixth more, which is equivalent to one-sixth reduction of wages. Hardly could a poor man live on the six shillings he earned before, and now he is reduced to five! And when he is angry at this wrong soldiers are called out to quiet him! It is horrid to govern people in this way.

"25th.—No mischief yet at Man. If blood is shed there it will be murder. Lord Westminster has sent me a haunch of venison: I wish he would ask me to eat one with him, I would tell him about the poor Manx men, he might perhaps do something. No! lords do not generally understand these things; he would probably tell me that twelve English pennies were intrinsically worth the Manx pennies. Lords do not know about the necessaries of life; they do not know that a poor man getting fourteen penny loaves for his shilling's worth of Manx money will only get twelve now, and the shopkeeper will not add a sixth to the weight of his loaf for the English penny. If the Manx farthings remain the evil will be less, but the shopkeepers will soon make them vanish.

"September 27th.—Anniversary of Busaco, in which I was shot through the stem and George through the stern: that was burning the family candle at both ends. I was on horseback and the shot stunned me; black shadows came across my eyes, my sight went, I reeled in the saddle and fell: my cousin Charles picked me up and then the blood gushed from where the ball had entered: it was supposed to have lodged in my brain and that I was a slain man. I could not see or speak, but heard—*Poor Napier, after all his wounds he is gone at last.* I felt obliged by this regret, but hoped they would not bury me, being still all alive and bent upon living. The observation made me uneasy though, for when a fellow shews no life they are sometimes on a field

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of battle over quick in burying him: so with a slight twist I intimated, alive but not merry.

"Four soldiers of the guards carried me in a blanket to the convent of Busaco by Wellington's orders: he was close to me when I was hit, but rode away at the moment and was returning as they bore me off. Who is that he said? to answer was not possible, but my hat was pulled off and waved to him and he ordered them to take me to his quarters. Going there we met a clever surgeon, Kirkpatrick of the artillery, and General Alava. Setting me on the grass, he and another surgeon worked, and very disagreeable work it was; for the ball was embedded in the bone and pull as they would it could not be extracted, though they cut open my cheek for three inches. At last one put his thumb in my mouth and pushed while the other plucked, and away it came tearing innumerable splinters of bone with it: I did not call out, but it was very painful. Poor Alava could not look on and turned his back. There are I believe few Spaniards so troubled with feelings of a kind nature as that brave and noble Spaniard; he is above his nation in all things, and must feel bitterly the devilry going on in his country: so much for Busaco. I still suffer enough from that wound now, thirty years after!

"30th.—In Man the magistrates, as usual, want troops to do everything and the civil power to do nothing, except insult and provoke the people: they do not bestir themselves anywhere—north, east, west or south; all are alike inert and nowhere endeavour to find out why and where the poor suffer. Nor do they work with government to relieve them; nor shew sympathy; they are listless, or fox-hunting, or grouse-shooting; they see no crime but poaching, and for that small fault, if fault it be, they are merciless! Wife, children, health, may all go down together: if a poacher is caught they will not spare him.

"October 5th.—A report that the ships have destroyed Beyrout. Sad work! it is great cruelty beating down a town

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full of women and children and bedridden old people and sick: it is very dreadful to fire on any but troops.

"Durham, October 20th.—Work! as the lightning said when it split the steeple. Colonel Chatterton studies his profession, and will, with opportunity, make a figure.

"November 2nd.—Captain Williams, prison inspector, was here last night. He told me he found a man sent to prison for a year with hard labour, without a trial! He was accused of poaching and the magistrate's clerk sent him to gaol with an illegal committal for a year, stating that he had been *tried and sentenced!* The gaoler knew no better, the man remonstrated in vain, and had been in prison six months when Williams found him, and told the case to Lord Normanby. No wonder we have Chartists.

"5th.—My wife suffering from pain in her face, caught at church. Pity the devil can't keep women from church!

"7th.—Black Charles is doing his work in Syria like a good fellow, and trying to prevent horrors. Her Majesty would not be the worse for a dozen such black gentlemen as he.

29th.—Glorious news of the taking of Acre. What will not boldness do? A strong fortress which has stood siege after siege taken in three hours by ships!! The poor Egyptian slaves have been slaughtered by thousands from the obstinacy of that rascal Mehemet Ali. Poor fellows, their fate is hard, to fall for a tyrant they detest! What a life mine is! drivelled away in reading courts-martial!

"December 4th.—Wrote again to the Secretary of War to request some allowance for travelling expences. Eighteen months in this district, travelling 4250 miles in that time, and all posting, besides being from eighty to one hundred days at hotels, for which they allow me nothing: this is very unjust.

"5th.—Dined with the bishop. He seems a fair man in conversation; but oh! the riches of the church! He, who has lived a life of ease has £8,000 or £10,000 a year and a

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palace: I who have lived a life of hardship, wounds and banishments, have one thousand.

"7th.—Napoleon's remains have reached the Seine and are honoured as the hero deserves to be honoured. The stain inflicted on England by the murderers of Napoleon can never be washed away: of all the base cowardly actions committed by a nation, or rather the rulers of a nation, the sending of Napoleon to Saint Helena is the most disgusting and the most impolitic: he should have been preserved in England to keep the French rulers submissive to English policy. What harm if he had got back to France? He would have had no longer means or provocation for conquest: his old conquests indeed had been only the results of successful defence, but he could not again have roused France to the same exertions—Napoleon was not a god! He never gave marks of folly though, and to attempt to be a conqueror again would have been folly. All he could have done was to lead the spirit of the age, to train and guide liberty in its growth, restraining exuberance.

"11th.—At last government has authorized an expenditure of £52,000 in the way pointed out in my barrack report. What will follow? The Ordnance will order estimates upon estimates, and a year will thus pass without anything being done. Against that humbugging department my force must be tried now: with able engineers at its disposal it does nothing but mischief. We shall quarrel, and I being in the right will of course be overset: we cannot overcome power except by sneaking, and that is not for me. However it is a great thing to have got so much money out of the Whigs for the public good, and without a job! It has been my doing, but Lord Hill has backed me well.

"16th.—It is said the sultan insists on Mehemet Ali being destroyed: if so it is a Russian trick and she will then take the Porte under her protection. Napoleon is to be buried to-day. Glorious man! The whole world now acknowledges your greatness!

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"Christmas day.—My family all well. God be praised! Does the Deity enter into these matters? Who knows! The Bishop of Chester of course! I wish he would tell me, but I suppose he won't unless in church and in an orthodox manner. It is too cold a day for that, and there is no assurance that my belief would follow. Such things require undivided attention and I should be thinking of his ten thousand a year. Oh! the priests, the priests, they are worse than Sir Harry Vane. Heigho! it is hard to be happy. Susan wants to be merry, so do most people, but it is not so easy to be merry as children think: they are merry however and of them is heaven composed! Innocence is with them alone: so we are told and so it is. Old people are full of evil passions, which are indulged knowing them to be evil and therefore we are miserable: our own folly is the cause of our misery and we should bear the results of folly patiently, looking forward not back. So ends my Christmas sermon without the bishop! Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. I can die.

"27th.—Macaulay will not allow my travelling expences, though I have now posted 5250 miles in this district, and lived above 100 days in hotels with my aide-de-camp and servant. I will memorialize the Lords of the Treasury against this Macaulay being allowed to make a bagman of me; bagmen are paid their expenses though. *Voilà une grande différence. Sacristie!*

"December 31st.—The people are starving and the government do nothing! Confound these men who call themselves statesmen because they are in place, they have no other title to the name. What will the coming year produce? Fate settles these matters, luckily, for if God left them to us what wild work we should make!

"January 2nd 1841.—Hard and fearful winter for the poor. What a state we are in! What pleasure, what comfort is there in riches when all around us suffer? I never did and never can enjoy alone. This is not from principle, for there

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is no sense in it unless enjoyment is at others' cost, but there is something so painful in others' sufferings as to destroy all pleasure. My punishment of Sir F. Adam was the most ill-natured thing I ever did with deliberation: but it was right to chastise a tyrant. Vindictive feelings were however there also, scorn and anger which ought not to have been indulged; they were soon over but should have ceased before my book was written: yet if oppression be not rebuked, all government had better end and slavery be accepted at once.

"January 3rd. Black Charles and Stopford at loggerheads. So it always will be when government gives power to mediocrity and age, with an active vigorous man known to be all enterprize as second in command; but the Admiralty never yet acted with sense or judgment, or common justice; what board ever did? The First Lord and Board of Admiralty are as bad, as, as, what? I know not faith! unless it be the Master General and Board of Ordnance.

"6th.—Took my quarterly oath that I am Charles Napier and no other man. Oh! wise secretary Macaulay! You are almost as wise as if a board was tacked to your tail; however nature has done her work to make you neglect yours as much as if you were a board of ordnance.

"7th.—We seem to go on well in China, but John Chinaman is a cunning knave; and it cannot be believed that 300 millions of the most self-sufficient proud people of the world will take a kick from Admiral Elliot and be brought to their bearings by the capture of a little island like Chusan. I asked Lord Fitzroy to send me out there, but was refused.

"14th.—A fearful day, the cold is terrible. God help the poor people in their dreadful suffering: well may they exclaim, *we want justice not charity*. The secretary at war still refuses my expences: this is just:—the more my duty, the worse my pay. Lord Hill says he will take it in hand." He did so but could not move Macaulay to justice—his Indian profits had dulled his perception of the virtue.

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"February 12th.—What is to be done about McLeod? Surely the Yankees dare not hang a man who only obeyed his orders. If our government bear this our pride and honour go for ever: men will feel ashamed of being English. To resent it will cost me all I possess, my money being in American funds, but better to lose it than see England so dishonoured.

"14th.—A letter from Sir Hussey Vivian: he can neither understand his own business nor mine. Why should not plans of barracks be kept prepared? Estimates are different things, I never supposed they could be kept prepared; at least never said so: but plans may be, and ought to be. Sir Hussey is not wise, and because he is not the soldier will be kept in bad barracks for some years longer.

"27th.—Sir C. Shaw, police commissioner at Manchester, tells me the government police established there is to be turned over to the town: this is bad, it will become a means for oppression in the hands of faction. A large town like that requires a police, but ought to be ruled and paid by a responsible chief unconnected with town or manufactories. He ought to keep in order not only the gentlemen who regard all things that can be got at as meums, and all that can't as tuums; but also, a more difficult task, keep the rich manufacturers from grinding the poor to powder when raw cotton is falling in price: such people naturally desire a police paid and governed by themselves.

March 14th.—Mr. Davenport has offered me his house of Calvelly and, though expensive, it shall be taken for the sake of my girls' health. Lord Hill has also consented to headquarters being at Calvelly Park: this is pleasant after two years' misery in lodgings, too small and without a room to write in undisturbed!

21st.—Write, write, write. 22nd. ditto, ditto, ditto. Confound all geese but those that have wings, and those too for lending their quills.

27th.—I shall have my way about barracks yet, if I have

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patience. I do not care for a clever fellow kicking me, but the worry of fools takes all the patience out of my body.

"April 1st.—Two years of command over! so life passes. Command! No! it is not command, it is slavery under noodles; but Lord Hill has not his own way and he is no noodle, he is a glorious soldier, but a little too good for the Whigs and Tories he has to deal with.

"Colonel W. Napier.—Fear of publicity is great at the Horse Guards. Lord Fitzroy in alarm lest my barrack report should get into the hands of the public. What harm if it did? It is very disagreeable to be thus daubed with government slime, and at times it inclines me to *cut the painter*. Yet how give up my profession! I am reading the life of Hoche as you advised. His only weak point was his admiration of a republic, under which his genius was, by his own account, constantly upset. One sees nothing of this in Napoleon. Hating republics and republicans, he waited for better times and made them. Hoche had one great advantage in the civil war of Vendée:—the people did not fight for food but for a Bourbon, and against the mass of their countrymen. How different would a civil war be with us! The rich have driven the poor mad by oppression, and think to regain lost respect by greater oppression!

"April.—You tell me I am popular in Chester. I did not know that, nor do I now know why? However, as you observe, unbought praise from such a source is agreeable" —it came from poor men. "It is surprising to me that you have not heard from Lord Fitzroy, but one of the best points of the Horse Guards is that they do more than they promise. As to the Canada matter I conclude, on general principles, that McLeod is a Canadian rap; that the Yankees who are trying him are rather worse; that Fox will do what is right, Lord Palmerston will do what is wrong, and a fair prospect of war will arise out of the medley."

It is well known to persons acquainted with the secret affairs of that time that Mr. H. Fox then British Minister

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at Washington prevented a war by his great talent and prudence.

"The duke is abused for his speech, *Illiberal speech*, about the navy. I at first thought it a wise and useful one, but am now convinced he was wrong; our fleets can always take strong fortresses and it was Old *Douro's* stupidity which caused the failure at Burgos: he ought to have *had up* the squadron from St. Ander. Don't trouble your head about the flying sap, a *flying squadron* is the thing for business in John Bull's opinion, and with John's effervescences not even the duke can interfere with impunity! Mr. Wilbraham told me that Lord Normanby said to him—Chartism is dying away, for the Northern Liberator had gone out for want of readers. My answer was, that I could not account for that fact, but could not believe it was from a cessation of Chartism. Writing then to Campbell at Newcastle, he says, 'the merchants wanted an advertizing paper, and the *Liberator* did not circulate among purchasing and selling people; another paper was consequently set up with a large capital, and the Liberator was bought for a very liberal sum.' This simple fact, the real cause not sought for, has tranquillized the ministers as to the state of the country! Campbell tells me Chartism is spreading more than ever about Newcastle-on-Tyne; but a minister thinks all safe and tranquil because a miserable newspaper has sold its types! Robberies and murder go a-head here, two burglaries within a week at Chester. A thin weak lady has however defeated three robbers with blackened faces, one of whom put a pistol to her head; she knocked it out of his hand and cast him headlong down stairs! Well done poor law! and well done old lady!

"April.—Australian affairs seem to be carried on expensively: it is said £24,000 has been paid for a palace! My design was to model the government upon the system of Frederick the Great. Five hard-working secretaries, viz. one common, the others for justice, agriculture, police, public

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works and schools: they should have done without clerks who could have been added as the colonists increased; thus the frame-work would have expanded. Three hundred a year at first for the secretaries, and my own pay £1000; I told them £800 was enough, but say £1000. Allow £500 for lodging *all*, and a government would have been established for £3000 a year. A poll-tax of one pound where wages were from 7 to 16 shillings a day would not have been felt, and would have given £3000 above the expence of government for contingencies; this would have increased in the lump as the colonists increased, but would have diminished to the individual.

"My intent was also to carefully lay out such portions of the hundred thousand pounds—which I had demanded from government only as a loan to be repaid—as might be necessary for the security and advantage of the colonists individually. This in colonizing is everything: for though in England one man is only the twenty-millionth part of the public, he would be on landing a three-thousandth part of the colony, and therefore a much more important being to the commonweal! In this view the immediate interest and comfort of each individual is of the first importance, the expansion of the democratic principle being the only means of preserving the aristocratic principle, by making it respected. That the population would be immoral and bad I know, but the greatest rascals would have been satisfied to see Kennedy, Light and myself, and other good fellows, working hard to forward those very rascals' own wishes and success as colonists. The soldiers also would be ready in case of need, and to them I would have given high rewards for ten years' good service, keeping tight discipline. Fifty soldiers would have done as to force, but very small bodies are not easy to keep in discipline; two hundred would have been better, and enabled me to hold courts-martial and shoot a mutineer: but power to send

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home in disgrace, with loss of home and land held on military tenure, would have sufficed.

"My plan for schools was all arranged, and from the chief school after twenty years all public functionaries were to be chosen; no other obligation was to be imposed on people to educate their children; and the schools should have been open for persons of all ages. The code Napoleon should have been taken for our jurisprudence generally; I expected opposition to this, but found none, so far as I ventured to sound. Chinese artizans should have been introduced; and camels for exploring, as the chief difficulty in my eyes was finding places with water for halting. Camels would carry enough for searching, which tired men and beasts half dead with thirst cannot do. At watering places, when found, Martello towers and a family of missionaries should have been established. These fellows have enterprize and industry, and would soon form good *taps* for exploring parties, to halt at and provision. I designed also to drill all the boys at school, to prepare for dealing with the 60,000 convicts at Sydney."

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THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

On the 5th of April 1841 he took possession of Calvelly Hall.

"Journal.—This place belonged to the famous Sir John Calvelly, or Calverley as Froissart has it, a friend of the Black Prince. If he was such a monster as his royal crony they have now probably a warm berth, and are not, like me, troubled with rheumatism. This is a beautiful spot, but too grand for a poor soldier of fortune without fortune, like me: but it is a delight to see my girls running about in this fine air.

"April 21st.—My scheme of passing some years here is already ended! Lord Fitzroy Somerset has called to offer me, from Lord Hill, a place on the Indian staff; but he gives me leave to decline the offer, which is very honorable treatment: it must be considered, but my wish is to go."

On this offer he consulted his brother William, whose advice was, *to go if he felt a call for such a service; if not to remain at home.* The reply was—"The appointment is accepted. My hope is to get there safe, but to move my family is fearful! I go overland and shall insure my life for two years. If there is war in the Punjaub, which seems likely, a good command may fall to me: it will be sorrowful to leave you all for it is late in life and I am much worn."

Worn he was, anxious and ill, yet his labours increased rather than diminished as his command drew to a close.

"Colonel W. Napier, June 18th.—Poor Considine, and his

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successor Barlow, on my staff, are both dead—and all their work falls on me while preparing for India. The '*Aigle Catchers*' have been making a row at Newcastle. In my opinion Irish regiments should not be commanded by Irishmen, they go on better with others. Major —— won't let a soldier speak to him unless brought up by a non-commissioned officer! And now when some of his men behave ill he is absolutely encouraging them in outrage.

"June 26th.—Been to Newcastle. My spirits were very low until my mind was fixed for India, then they rose; but my work is so hard it gives no time for thought. There is fear of a row at Manchester, where Shaw has sent 200 constables to meet a body of furious, justly furious, Irishmen.

"July 19th.—No exercise for a month, not even a walk, except my journey to Newcastle. The Horse Guards would not let me settle the 87th matter as could easily have been done, but insisted on a report, desiring me to give no opinion publicly. The parties have consequently sent in twelve pacquets, each as thick as one of your volumes, out of which my report is to be concocted while suffering agony with rheumatism in my arm, which is nearly paralysed; the spasms only seize me in a certain position, but then come like the wrenching of a bad strain: am I on your road of pain? If so I am done."

In this manner he worked for the public to the last moment of his stay in England; but only his private story need now be traced, until he is found again in arms augmenting even the glory of England by his courage and genius, for his head was made for war though his heart always yearned for peace.

"Colonel W. Napier.—My rheumatism not better and is very painful, with little sleep. Alexander Johnston tells me I am to have 10,000 men on the Indus: I care little where, being a fatalist, as most people are in my belief. I can't get my life insured, my wounds have given me too great a shake; and my conviction that the objection is sound is

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just why I wish to insure. Meanwhile gladly shall I get away from this district, for how to deal with violence produced by starvation, by folly, by villainy, and even by a wish to do right, is a hard matter: hard I mean to deal with it conscientiously, for act as you will it must be with some injustice: honest men on both sides furnish rascals with pretexts, and then blindly follow those rascals as leaders. A man is easily reconciled to act against misled people if he has an honest plan of his own; but if he is only a servant of greater knaves than those he opposes, and feels he is giving strength to injustice, he loses the right stimulus to action. In 1839 the government certainly let me take my own course; but if the Tories come in, violent measures or, what they call *vigorous measures* will probably be taken: that I could not bear, and rejoice to have escaped the trial. However, I may wrong the Tories: Peel is a clever man, and as he gave way in one instance he may in another. But this alone will not do, the people are starving, and if not fed the less violent the government the more violent will they be.

"Every element of a ferocious civil war is boiling in this district, and if asked what class of men appear most just and most anxious to avoid it, I should say the officers; but of all classes the worst are the magistrates. The Tory magistrates are bold, violent, irritating and uncompromising; the Whig magistrates sneaking and base, always ready to call for troops, and yet truckling to the mob: at least this is the tinge on my mind in my intercourse with them, though I cannot bring any body of facts to bear me out. As to the Chartist leaders they are not trustworthy; they are demagogues for evil, not for good; they would all fall under the mischief they have provoked, and are now, provoking. Last year I told the secretary of state, that without pretending to have an opinion on the merits of the corn-law question, it was very clear that question would ere long form a rallying point, on which Chartists Republicans and shopkeepers would unite and form a league not easy to

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deal with. This I am inclined to believe is now coming to pass, because the dissenting ministers are taking a violent part, which of course they do to please those who pay them. This ere long will produce a powerful body, and possessing such weight that it will not be very manageable in the manufacturing districts. It will have leaders of great riches and influence, and as they can only hold place as leaders by the general suffrage of their followers, the mass of whom will be Chartists, the latter will make great progress, although hated by those very leaders. This is the last dose of northern politics I shall give you. The duke will do no good I fear. First because he won't try; next because he would be overwhelmed with reproaches, and because his ancient feelings are so strong. He is like a gnarled oak, there is not a bit of bend in him; and his twists cannot be cut into knee timbers because they are twists the wrong way."

Thus terminated his long and arduous command in the north of England, during which he certainly saved the country from insurrection and bloodshed: nor were his predictions of after mischief unsound. After his departure starvation and misery did their work. Strikes riots and frequent conflicts with the police proclaimed the people's feelings; the military were recklessly brought into action and blood was shed: yet Chartism became more vehement. And then the corn-law agitation, taking exactly the course predicted by him, grew too powerful for the government, and its success, combined with disunion amongst the Chartist leaders, abated the spirit of Republicanism. True Chartism however abated not, until the memorable 10th of April 1848. Nor then through the prosecutions, harsh and vindictive as they were, but from the fact, established by the immense display of special constables, that the Chartists were not the majority: this went home to the people's understandings. Chartism is however not dead, it only sleeps, to awake with an improved judgment.

Charles Napier shall now be followed to India, but it is

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worthy of notice that on his departure the staff of the northern district was increased to four general officers to do the work he performed singly, and for which Macaulay refused him the extra expences.

"Marseilles, October 25th.—No occasion to describe a journey through France, it is known that the post-boys wear jack-boots, they are the chief things to be observed because ever before you, and there is no scenery to draw off attention. There are however paved things which our agreeable neighbours call roads, laid without the least regard to that scientific course which they taught in the Simplon, but have abominably neglected even there and on the Mt. Cenis. However Englishmen have no right to crow, they are satisfied if the surface be smooth, and hard enough to founder their horses. *John Crapaud* is now curing his roads of the stone by giving them the gravel, without attempting scientific slopes. Science and common sense are nearly synonymous, and both outraged by these road-makers.

"28th.—Reached Malta. Passed through the Straits of Messina, with the phantom-looking head of Etna looming in the clouds and the plain of Maida on the left! the glory of brave men perishing with their bodies, the eternal mountain bidding time defiance.

"31st.—Among the isles of Greece. What is to happen? They are now free and roguish, living on their character of past times, cultivating their literature and proud of what they were, yet giving no indication of again becoming great. They seem inclined to throw Otho overboard; to tie his hands with a constitution would be more sensible, killing kings is a bad habit which unsettles all government. But the Greeks, still sick with slavery, are incapable of great achievements; and Otho seems to think injustice and cruelty is the way to enlighten a clever high-spirited people, after ages of misery and darkness. The Greeks are a proud people, and Otho by treating them well would save his adopted country and himself from much suffering.

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"November 4th.—Egypt! The land of wonders!

"6th.—Left Alexandria by the Mahmoudie Canal, sixty miles long, ninety feet wide, eighteen deep: a great monument of the villainy and stupidity of that barbarian Mehemet Ali. It is said he had it executed in one year by one hundred and fifty thousand men, who had no tools but dug it out with their hands! They had no pay and 29,000 died of starvation! I quarrel not with him for making them dig with their hands, that might be good or bad for them; but the starving the poor people was unqualified evil. Working with their nails might be a remedy for starvation; not a very wise one in the present state of the world though, nor very creditable to Ali's boasted '*talents and enlightened views*,' so extolled by vulgar English mercantile adventurers and travellers. But when we find nails digging canals, and teeth having sinecures, the great pacha must be left to those who have more time and talent than myself to describe the rascal in proper colours.

"Having made his nail canal one would imagine it was for general traffic. Woe betide the boat and boatmen he finds on his canal! His own boats only are allowed to ply, except the tract boat for English travellers—permitted because the communication with Suez is profitable to him. None but European merchants have any property in Egypt; the land and its produce is the pacha's private property and his tax is the full produce, out of which he returns a miserable dole, partly grain partly money, at pleasure. This is the 'great man' of adventurers, who have by frauds reached to fortunes, and to whom the pacha, for they are sharp sharks enough, has made grants. Every £100 they get from him adds to the cry *How great is the ability of Mehemet Ali!* He has however much diminished the population of Egypt since the reign of the Mamelukes, whom he murdered at a feast. One leaped his horse from the walls, about 40 feet, it is called 60, without injury to the man, or the horse which bore him off to Syria.

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"November 7th, Cairo.—This city of caliphs and genii and Arabian Nights is very pretty and very stinking. It is however a curious old town worth seeing, but my anxieties and my age go ill together with sights, and my spirits are wretched. The whole of Egypt is a marvel, and 'tis a sin that it is not well governed. Why did we give it up when we were in possession by right of conquest over conquerors? and when it was won also by the lives of Abercrombie, and thousands of others! Had it been kept, Alexandria would now be a Liverpool; Cairo would be clean and beautiful, with a full traffic from the interior of Africa, and civilized Abyssinia would be pouring down her produce by the Nile to Cairo. Then the word of God spreading through the *darkness* of Africa! a point so dear to Tories. Think of that bishops! Think of a bishop of Alexandria! another of Grand Cairo! a third of Thebes! Deacons of the Delta also! Prebends of the Pyramids! Think of Mahomet floored alongside of Sesostris, and the Pope gibbeted on Pompey's Pillar! Alas! it is no joke to fight battles for nothing when the happiness of a whole country might be created by profiting from the bloody work!

"November 15th.—In the desert.

"16th.—Still in the desert. Vultures, gazelles, camels, and as much pebbles and sand as could be wished.

"Suez.—A very curious but disagreeable place; bugs abound; water does not and what there is salt and horrible, Seidlitz powders are preferable as a beverage but too scarce here. Mr. Waghorne is a very active gentleman, but his arrangements are by no means completed; ten pounds expended at this place would make the run a hundred pounds better: he must also have horses better trained to draw his carts or necks will be broken in the desert, and people don't want to be picked by vultures like the camels. Travellers find the greatest civility at the hotels, and though we were delayed by ill-broken, or rather wild horses, in the desert, the driver, Mr. Williams, was most attentive and careful. How-

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ever, no one can altogether enjoy being pulled along by four wild Arabian steeds attached to a tax-cart, kicking, rearing, plunging and gibbing.

"Bombay.—Arrived here 12th of December, and on the 13th first set foot on Indian ground. I had visited Aden on my way, a strong place easily defended: it will be large. Beyond our lines, which are stronger than Gibraltar as being flanked by an island, a rich plain seems to extend far into Arabia; if well-governed and well-founded as a colony Aden will be most valuable: but no government cares about such things, all with them is from hand to mouth work, without reflection or plan.

"Poonah, December 28th.—Assumed command here this day, having resigned the northern district of England in October! Pretty quick! We are very uncomfortable, no house holds us: a soldier should not have wife or daughters, his hat should cover his family."

No event of Charles Napier's life exemplified the daring and firmness of his temper more than this journey, which he thus spoke of in after years. "When I look back to the desperation which made me come to India at 60 years of age, and on the dreadful journey to Marseilles with so many women, I feel how strong is my love for my girls: had I then died not a farthing was left for them. My passage to Suez was paid beforehand perforce, and my pockets were empty; all I possessed was expended on the journey, and the illness of one of us would have forfeited the whole by keeping us behind the steamer at Marseilles! It was one of those bold adventures which amount to rashness, but my resolution was to risk all for my girls. At Bombay the purser received my last money, a bill for £500 in payment of the voyage from Suez, and returned two pounds! Happy was I to end that long, long journey of danger to me."

He was now quick to master his own position and the state of public affairs, but ere he speaks himself a slight preliminary sketch is necessary.

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Sir W. McNaughten, mover and director of Lord Auckland's unhappy Affghan invasion, had been killed at a conference with Acbar Khan; General Sale was besieged in Jellalabad; General Elphinstone's army had been utterly destroyed in retreating from Cabool, himself remaining with a few officers and the wives of officers prisoners. This catastrophe had produced consternation throughout India, all sense and energy seemed to vanish; the government which had rushed with such ostentation of power and boasting to an unjust war sunk under the calamity, and the public partook of its weakness.

On the upper frontier, the Khybur pass, of which all persons, civil and military, seemed to have an exaggerated terror, was between Peshawur and General Sale, and when two feeble attempts to succour that officer failed hope of his safety died away. On the lower frontier Colonel Palmer was shut up with a thousand men in Ghusnee. General Nott was in Candahar, having a considerable army but menaced by the main body of the Affghans. Brigadier England was at Quettah, in support of Nott; but the Bolan pass was between him and Sukkur on the Indus, where a small British force held the northern parts of Scinde. In this state of affairs, after two unsuccessful attempts had been made to force the Khybur pass, a force under General Pollock reached Peshawur, destined to succour Sale; but he had no carriage, his sepoys were disheartened, and a numerous body of Sikhs, though professedly friendly and their Prince Dyan Singh was so, had assembled near Peshawur evidently meaning mischief: fortunately, at that moment Lord Ellenborough took the reins of government.

"Journal, January 22nd.—I have seen the Poonah brigade. Very good tools to work with if need be; and need may be, for the Affghans have rebelled against Shah Soojah, Lord Auckland's king, have murdered Sir A. Burnes and shut up the garrison of Cabool without provisions; the roads are snowed up and the troops will be done up. Sir W.

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McNaughten the great mover of this silly policy of conquest remains in Cabool. Rumours of fights, victories, defeats have filled my morning visitors' mouths for the last month, but all communication is cut off and we only know the danger the unhappy Cabool garrison is in; no provisions for any length of time, no ammunition, and hordes of foes without to prevent escape. What is to be done? I would put myself at the head of the best force to be collected and win my way to Cabool. While writing the above, a letter from Sir T. McMahon says, Scinde is growing troublesome, and he has recommended the Governor-General to send me there. This will probably happen, and I like to go, but do not like to leave my wife and girls. However war admits of no hesitation, the sea is troubled but my little boat must be pushed into the waters! What is to become of this? God knows! His all-powerful hand rules and as He wills we must move, be it to destruction or disgrace, to good or ill, to life or death. My wish is to be left quiet a little while in each day, to obtain an insight of Indian wars history and country; for knowledge and thought only can enable us to act wisely in such positions. This the world will not believe, and idle talk is thought more important than reason and reflection. If my morning hours only were secure from worry it would content me; but only by snatches can needful knowledge be obtained.

"January 23rd.—McNaughten has been assassinated at a conference with the insurgents; falsely called rebels, for what right had Lord Auckland to depose Dhost Mohamed? It was a scheme of money-seeking merchants that caused the war, and we have caught a tartar! More war with these wild tribes must now be, and it is clear that I shall go to Scinde; nearly as clear that I shall have the whole command of those countries and be 1500 miles from my family. This demands nerve, but it will not be for long, the expence will prevent a long war and it will not be my taste to eke it out. This is speaking indeed as if already appointed, but

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who is there? My hope is to act satisfactorily for the public and I am not likely to spare myself, yet I am too sensible of increasing weakness from age to hope much: hurrying fast towards the end it will be fortunate to reach it in the hour of victory: who would be buried by a sexton in a churchyard rather than by an army on the field of battle? But this is not for us to settle; perhaps the best end is that longest delayed, certainly the best is that which fate ordains. May mine be honourable, come how or when it may, this life has many trials and 'tis well to leave it. I am now past fifty-nine and for this command should be thirty-nine!

"24th.—My feelings grow strong. A post may keep me at Poonah, or send me fifteen hundred miles off to head 20,000 men in a difficult war, against natives defending one of the most difficult countries in the world: add to this, the worst part of the affair, a bad cause! I am not acquainted with the troops to be commanded, or the people against whom we war; yet the eyes of the world will be upon me, for the whole world sees and talks of our Affghan failure, which it will be for me to repair. To try my hand with an army is a longing not to be described; yet it is mixed with shame for the vanity which gives me such confidence: it will come and I cannot help it as to my mind; but as to my body it is not so. Oh! for forty, as at Cephalonia, where I laughed at eighteen hours' hard work on foot under a burning sun: now, at sixty, how far will my carcass carry me? No great distance! Well, to try is glorious!

"February 3rd.—All sorts of reports about the poor people at Cabool, the worst is to be expected. The Scindians are said to be growing more hostile, if so I shall certainly be sent. I am ready.

"March 4th.—Received the following from Lord Ellenborough. 'Madras. I have the honour to transmit a letter given to me by your brother Sir George Napier at the Cape. I shall feel greatly indebted to you if you will have the kindness to send to me, at Calcutta, a statement of your views

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with respect to the manner in which the honour of our arms may be most effectually re-established in Affghanistan. I have just heard of the disasters of Cabool. I arrived here at noon to-day and sail this evening.' Now it happened that when I heard of the Cabool massacre, having a presentiment of Lord E.'s difficulties on first arriving, and knowing that those who had produced misfortune were not the men to furnish a remedy, I drew up a plan of campaign. But never having seen Lord Ellenborough I was fearful of sending it to him, and thought rather to send it to Sir Thomas McMahon or Lord Auckland, being mad to see so many lives thrown away by foolish men; but my wife so earnestly opposed its being sent to Lord Auckland, as useless, that it remained in my desk. It will reach Lord Ellenborough the 16th with the following letter.

"Poonah, March 4th.—I have been but two months in India, yet in that time our misfortunes have naturally drawn my thoughts to the war on the north-west frontier. The result has been the crude memoir herewith transmitted.

"The details of our misfortunes seem as yet involved in mystery; the only point clearly ascertained is the slaughter of a large body of our troops, whose courage has not been impeached. That great faults have been committed may be assumed, because the force destroyed, though possibly not equal to the defence of Cabool, was fully equal to secure its own honour and safety. This Sir Robert Sale has proved by his noble defence of Jellalabad against the same enemy, and with less than half the force massacred without resistance at Cabool.

"The first operations should be an endeavour to relieve the garrison of Jellalabad. If the newspapers speak truly General Sale has only provisions to last till 1st of April, when these fail he must surrender or be destroyed. He is differently situated from General Elphinstone. The latter had no right to expect reinforcements, he well knew they could not reach him because of the snow and the enemy;

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he had a strong force and knew he had but a limited quantity of provisions. Thus daily becoming weaker, physically and morally, I know not why in such circumstances he did not at once give battle, and he had no right to negotiate with rebels. General Sale's position is essentially different. He has a right to expect reinforcements, and to abandon his post would be to give the enemy a second victory. General Sale has gloriously fulfilled his duty of defence. Had General Elphinstone made a vigorous attack he would probably have now worn well-earned laurels instead of chains!

"General Sale may be relieved by treaty, or by force. In the first case, surrounded by barbarian nations and lately-conquered tribes within the frontier, a treaty made under the pressure of recent defeat would be a dangerous experiment. As to force, all history tells us of the difficulties of warring in a mountainous country occupied by a hostile population; yet difficulties must be encountered with fortitude and can generally be overcome. The country between Peshawur and Jellalabad is spoken of as very strong, but if men can get to the top of hills which command a pass, other men can generally get there also without going headlong into the pass: when troops have been destroyed in passes they have commonly fallen victims to want of conduct in their leader.

"Ignorant of the country I really am afraid to say much, but cannot help thinking a large force ought long since to have been assembled at Peshawur, and ere now have forced the Khybur pass: this should be attempted by pushing one strong column along the left bank of the Cabool River, and a second to turn the pass if possible by the south. These flanking columns should be commanded by resolute officers, expressly selected, and with picked men—the general commanding the whole using whatever stratagems the resources of his mind and the local circumstances offered. The judicious application of money to gain intelligence, and even allies, amongst the Khyburees, might be most effectual: not

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that I would purchase a passage, as that might entail purchasing one back again :—it should be forced.

" Destitute of local information I dare not criticise what has been done, it would be presumption; but in the confidence with which your lordship has honoured me, I will ask, why this tremendous pass has been attacked by small detachments? To force the most dangerous pass of a country, where whole armies have been before destroyed, ought only to be attempted with many thousands, yet it appears to have been attempted with hundreds. Had the brave men who are said to have reached Ali Musjid, and were then obliged to fight their way back again from want of provisions, reached Jellalabad, would they have been of use to General Sale? No! they would have added to his distress by diminishing his provisions. Either the papers give a lying account of this matter or it was an operation of exceeding folly: the stories may be false, but they are believed and show what a want of confidence exists in the public mind.

" What force has been collected at Peshawur is not known to me, but I hope its operations are vigorous; assuredly there is no time to lose; for if the intrepid defenders of Jellalabad fall without some desperate effort being made to save them, great will be the disgrace and melancholy the catastrophe! In all cases, and whether Sale has been relieved or not, the first military operations now ought to be, if the numbers means of transport and military chest admit, to move upon Cabool from Peshawur, and from Candahar by Ghuznee. The strength of these columns should have no limit but the want of means; the greater the force the more certain the success, and after our defeat we must be very cautious against another reverse. The force from Peshawur should be about thirty thousand; that from Candahar not less than ten thousand: such appears to me the force required; but these plans ought to have been all prepared a month ago!

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"The above movement, if well executed, would liberate Shah Soojah, who is said still to make a desperate defence in Cabool, and we ought not to abandon him. The column moving from Candahar would distract the enemy's attention, oblige him to divide his forces and remove our disgrace; and when our colours were once more unfurled at Cabool your lordship would be able more freely to adopt any line of policy you chose. Perhaps, if a noble, generous, not a vindictive warfare, be pursued by our troops, as I sincerely hope, it might be very practicable to retire immediately with honour from Affghanistan, leaving a friendly people behind us. The Affghans are a noble race, and although their mode of warfare is abhorrent to civilization, a sanguinary inroad would be disgraceful to us and would not give them more humane ideas! Once re-established in Cabool a very small entrenched force would hold that place, if supported as described in the memoir which accompanies this letter.

"Such my lord are the views which have presented themselves to my mind; but I must repeat, that my want of information as to the disposition of the troops, the means of provisioning them and of the power of the treasury to meet the expenditure, makes me ashamed to offer my views, and my hope is it may not lead your lordship to place more confidence in my opinions than they deserve. This is a sadly-hurried letter, but I am aware that if it is to be of service it must not be delayed. I feel also that your lordship may, before it reaches you, have information to render it inapplicable: indeed while writing, there is a report that Scinde shews signs of hostility. Our Indian empire has had some great trials, but as far as my judgment goes no former governor-general was ever placed in so trying a position as your lordship. This war in Affghanistan is too far away to be carried on without a frightful expenditure, and yet, if not carried on with vigour it had better be given up: languid wars amount to defeat and end in defeat!"

To this communication and the memoir Lord Ellenbo-

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rough answered, that the want of transport and supplies for the indicated force would bar the execution, nor had he so many men disposable. Nevertheless, a few months later the expedition against Cabool was undertaken in strict conformity with the suggestions in the memoir. Fewer numbers were indeed employed and with success; but the armies advanced from Candahar and from Peshawur, and the defiles of the Khybur were won by turning them and seizing the summits of the hills on each side. The war was however not conducted with the magnanimity and compassion hoped for in his letter. A revengeful spirit was evinced on more than one occasion, and with savage fierceness: the destruction of the bazaar of Cabool, in itself a vindictive Vandalism, was accompanied with very terrible excesses.

"Journal, March 29th.—Not feeling sure that Lord Ellenborough was aware of the evils that will probably arise if we fail to relieve Sale, I wrote the following reply to his second letter, and now await events.

"Poonah, March 28th.—Extract. I am sorry the force proposed for attacking the Khybur pass cannot be assembled; but perhaps I am mistaken in thinking so large a force necessary, those on the spot ought to be the best judges. My hope is that they may find that collected at Peshawur equal to the adventure, and that they may without great loss of life succeed; for it is peculiar to these enterprizes that the bravest and best fall first, and the honour of arms devolves on the care of those who have flinched. This may happen without personal stain, yet it rarely occurs without a loss of moral superiority, which is very mischievous to troops. Your lordship's words indeed express exactly what is required at this moment. '*The thing I am most anxious about is the recovery of our military reputation in Affghanistan by some decisive success.*' That is the one thing necessary, and it was this view of the state of the war that induced me to recommend the concentration of the largest possible force at

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Peshawur, because the peculiar state of this war makes a decided success imperative.

"The first operation is to relieve Sir Robert Sale: if we fail to do this our arms will suffer, not only the misfortune of a second defeat following on that of Cabool, but such a defeat as entails a third, by the consequent destruction of those heroic soldiers who have attracted general attention and admiration. Their fall at Jellalabad would have a greater moral effect, to the prejudice of our name and the courage of our troops, than the loss of ten times their numbers on the field of battle. But this is not all the evil that would arise from failure in the Khybur pass, it might produce great difficulty in withdrawing the garrisons of Ghusnee and Candahar. It is said that between those towns there are no very difficult passes, but between the latter and the Indus are many—some stupendous. It is necessary to embrace all these things in estimating the importance of success at the Khybur, and the means to render the operation decisive should be if possible proportionate. For if Sir R. Sale be relieved, I imagine your lordship will not find much difficulty in honorably concluding this contemptible, but sufficiently irksome and expensive war—a war in which I am sure, from your experience in Indian affairs, you would never have involved the country.

"Journal.—My design was to put Lord Ellenborough on his guard, fearing the *many* generals he has in the north-east would destroy poor Sale, and that if he lost confidence in them he might call upon me too late to recover the campaign. To undertake impossibilities is not my ambition. I could save Sale now, but not after another failure; certainly not with the means which would then be left disposable; for it is said the sepoys don't like the work, and the thrashing will not *encourager les autres:* our own blunders would be enough without other people's.

"April 7th.—This day last year I took possession of Calvelly Hall, settled as I thought for several years in that

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beautiful place, and then commanding the northern district of England. On the 8th of October I quitted it, and on the 12th of December following am commanding a district in India! What would an ancient general say to such travelling? Putting aside chronology, I might have engaged Cæsar in England, got thrashed, and bolted to have a slap at Alexander in aid of Porus in less than two months! If either of those *two chaps*, as my little Emily calls them, could come back, how they would stare. Yet this is tedious travelling to what is coming! A hundred years will see railroads to the Persian Gulph! A great change is coming on the world. No man can deny the connection between the moral and physical world; mind and body mutually affect each other, and printing and steam are changing the bearings of matter. This change will change all connected with it, mind amongst the rest.

"April 12th.—Pollock was to attack the Khybur the 28th ultimo. To get through a long and difficult pass is a dangerous operation: it is to attack a position which has all things in its favour; it is to go into a hole with an enemy spitting on your head; art is with your foe as well as nature, and you must trust to your genius for making the enemy blunder.

"13th.—The Bombay and Poonah world give me credit for writing the letters of *Lucius Junius* on this war. I am not the author, and would not deny it were it so, for they are capital.

"23rd.—General Pollock has forced the Khybur pass, so far as Musjid Ali, in face of 10,000 Khyburees: the war now ought to go on well, for if Sale be rescued all is safe. Musjid is about one-third of the pass, and experienced Indian officers think the rest presents no difficulties. This is good, but General England, having marched from Quettah with a convoy for Candahar, was met at Hykulzie by 1000 Affghans, who defeated him, and he got back to Quettah with difficulty and loss of life"—it afterwards appeared that he

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lost but one hundred in action and had no difficulty in retreating, not being pursued. "Ghusnee has also fallen. Colonel Palmer capitulated with a thousand men, and when he began his march we hear the whole was massacred: this last is only report.

"From these reverses we may draw these military lessons. 1°. Never to occupy towns in a hostile country without giving your garrison all necessary means of defence until succour can arrive. 2°. Never attack, nor risk being attacked, when only half your force is in the field if you can have the whole in hand: General England might have doubled his force by waiting for Colonel Simmonds. Sometimes an inferior force must attack, because it is in the enemy's power and it is better to fly at him tooth and nail than run away to be caught: in the first case you may be victorious; in the second defeat is certain.

"General England, knowing he was to be encountered, quitted a fortified town when nothing called on him to do so, and when a part of his force was defeated did not bring the whole into action. Now if a man makes up his mind to attack he should follow it up; had England done so he would have won. He marched out with half his force, he attacked with half of that half force, and did not bring up the remainder in support: this was terrible work. Pollock and Sale will I hope put all right so far as the honour of our arms is concerned; but they cannot bring back to life Apthorpe and May, and the gallant men who fell with them at Hykulzie! England's misconduct is however only hearsay, we must have his own story ere we judge. My fear is that they will send me to Scinde, where there is now no honour to be gained. Had they sent me there at first, as the Bombay government wanted, this disaster would have been spared—perhaps not though! Well, a soldier must go where ordered, and no grumbling.

"April 30th.—That noble fellow Sale has given Acbar Khan a thrashing at Jellalabad; it is one of the most bril-

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liant things ever read of: with fourteen hundred men he attacked the 6,000 besieging him and totally defeated them. No more news of Pollock: he complains in his despatch that his men are totally knocked up for want of due numbers, yet he has fifteen thousand men! I told Lord Ellenborough thirty thousand would be required, and if fifteen thousand are exhausted with fatigue ere one-third of the pass is won, and no serious fighting, my estimate was not far wrong! Had the Khyburees resisted, as everybody said they would, Pollock must have stopped progress until reinforced. I hold therefore by my first opinion. The Bombay government has made a second application to have me in command of Upper and Lower Scinde—from Kurrachee to Candahar. This is not agreeable. At this season to move in Scinde is death to the soldiers; consequently I shall be shut up in that miserable fishing village Kurrachee for five months, and can do nothing until the very end of October. Meanwhile General Nott is shut up in Candahar, with his ammunition, his food, his moral force, daily decreasing: why does he not fight with his seven thousand good soldiers and twenty-four field pieces? If Sale has beaten Acbar Khan's six thousand with fourteen hundred, Nott might defeat more than are opposed to him. He ought to beat them in every way and on every side: it is madness to lose the ascendant over semi-barbarous enemies.

"May 3rd.—Left Poonah to visit my family at Mahabuleshwar—eighty-four miles. The scenery is magnificent, three, perhaps four thousand feet above the sea. The woods are luxuriant, but tygers, cheetas, bears, hyenas, snakes, scorpions, centipedes, and such like pleasant chaps abound, and are apt to accompany you in an evening walk. There is a report of cholera at Kirkee, if it spreads I shall return to Poonah at once. Strange disease! One hundred and thirty soldiers have already perished, and not one officer! This horrid loss was without necessity, for no one knows why the troops were moved in April and March, which

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always produce cholera. Here then, besides loss of life, if the calculation that every soldier costs £100 be correct, and to me it appears low, this freak of government has cost 256,000 rupees! and at a moment when it is perpetrating every dirty trick against the soldiers! I say nothing of misery. To talk to the Company of humanity would be too ridiculous.

"May 20th.—Pollock has sickness, his communications are difficult, and he has been obliged to send back a detachment to help Bolton's brigade up from Peshawur. He seems to be in a ticklish position, but courage and good sense may free him. The papers say Nott has ordered England to meet him at the Kújuck pass. From this we may augur that his state is bad, and that no road turns that pass or he would not order a beaten general to meet in a pass, a foe who had beaten him in the plain. England marched the 28th of April with two thousand five hundred men, leaving three hundred and fifty in Quettah. Nott sallied with five thousand men, on 7th and 8th of March, to fight ten thousand cavalry, who enticed him two days' march from Candahar while their infantry slipt round his flank and nearly overpowered the garrison; but though entirely composed of sepoys it bravely repulsed the attack. Colonel Wymer also, being sent to forage, was attacked, and the fight gallantly maintained on both sides but we were victors. A Captain Chamberlaine was distinguished. He cut down three Affghan horsemen, broke his sword on a fourth and finally freed himself. Many of the enemy fell on our bayonets, charging home into the square. Nott is said to have marched seven miles in line, and begun his cannonade at fifteen hundred yards!

"Sir Jasper Nicolls seems to be an old woman, if one may say so of a commander in chief! This is hard on Lord Ellenborough; for not being a soldier himself he ought to have one with him. Why don't they send Lord Seaton?

"May 21st.—Better news. Bolton has joined Colonel

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Monteith, and is said to have cleared the Khybur. We shall see if Pollock can move on; provisions have reached his camp, carriage is now the only difficulty.

"May 23rd.—General England has again fought on his former ground, taking due precautions he won the heights with only eight men wounded: a clear proof of former negligence.

"Partabgur.—The scene of Sevagee's honest conduct!! He and his *Waynuck*: it is their *way!* Sevagee the founder of the Marhatta power, met Ayool Khan Aurengzebe's general at an arranged conference; pretending to embrace him and having previously armed his own hands with steel claws, the *Waynuck*, he tore him open!

"May 28th, Sattara.—A miserable town governed by a beast, with a Don Pomposo Resident who acts as dry nurse. Why does not the Company get rid of all these pensioners and stipendiaries? This Rajah, the Peishwa, and some dozen of others, who have no claims, cost great sums of money. The old Peishwa was a traitor, a murderer; he tried to assassinate Mr. Elphinstone our Resident, thus forcing us to depose him, which was done after a hard battle or two and then we pensioned him! We are a strange people.

"Jejewry, 31st.—A magnificent pagoda here: my family encamped under it among the grandest tamarind and mango trees, several of which measured 18 and 20 feet round at the height of my shoulder: the tank is superb, four good acres of water. The trees were full of monkeys who came continually to eat out of our hands: one entered our tent at night when I was lying at the door: he walked over me and awoke me; I followed him and could see nothing, but next morning my wife's apron was found outside. The monkey had taken it, pulled out her money, wrapped it up in a bit of paper and put it back, but carried off a biscuit she had been feeding him with in the evening: he left the apron, gloves and money! Honest fellow!

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"Sapoor, June 1st.—The road is not bad, but the Rajah the Resident and government of Bombay are not only grossly ignorant of road-making but cannot muster money to build tunnels where the nullahs cross the road, and after a few showers of rain the roads are closed until October! Can it be credited that a government is so stupid? I dare say it has not found out that the traffic thus cut off would repay the expence of arches being turned over the nullahs. The Rajah is building two bridges when two hundred are wanted; little things indeed, not deserving the name of bridges but absolutely necessary, for the deep nullahs though only a few yards wide stop all carriages, and the Ganges can do no more!

"Poonah, June 14th.—General England has joined Nott, and the latter has moved on by Kelat-i-Ghiljie towards Ghusnee with three thousand men. Pollock remains idle at Jellalabad. He will have a cumbrous army when he moves, the passes will be closed behind him, and he will I fear come back to Peshawur like Tam O'Shanter's mare with the loss of his tail." This happened exactly when he did come back, that is, after reaching Cabool and destroying the bazaar there.

"23rd.—Another mortal case of cholera. I hope it is not returning. We have lost great numbers, the village behind my house is nearly depopulated, but when the hour comes the grass must be cut! Yet my wish is not to be made hay of yet, no time suits one to die.

"July 2nd.—An army of reserve is being formed at Kurnaul, apparently to impose on surrounding nations: perhaps the Sikhs of the Punjaub are shewing disaffection—if so Pollock will have a job.

"July 24th.—This day, thirty-two years ago, we fought the battle of the Coa! Middle-aged men now were then unborn. Well this is again an eventful hour with me! I am ordered to take command of Upper and Lower Scinde, and must be separated from all I love in this world of cares

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and wretchedness. And for how long? Well, my mind must be bent on its work, not on its miseries. Lord Ellenborough says that all the *politicals* are to be placed under my orders: I shall work well with these people but was resolved not to be under them. I never quarrel with such people if they behave well, and I think them useful in their place; but that place is not as councillors to a general officer, he should have none but his pillow and his courage.

"August 10th.—This day 60 years old. Well, patriotism is no chimera: it is the resolution to be honest, carried into effect where our country requires us to act contrary to our wishes comforts and happiness. Perhaps few trials are more severe than sending a man at sixty away from his family to a distant country and a bad climate. Well, Lord Collingwood did not flinch, nor will I, if I know myself.

"24th.—My command is to extend from the Kojuck pass to the Indus at Bukkur, and down to the sea: what to do is not said, but all information is to be sought for relative to the road from Bukkur to Mooltan by Bhawalpoor. What does this mean? A war in the Punjaub? What else can it mean, and that my division is to move northward? They had better take care with these wide-spread *combined movements;* they are anything but combined. Why does not Sir Jasper Nicolls come forth to direct these matters? My design and hope is to find excuses for acting on my own responsibility, and going right before there is time to set me wrong! Assuredly if there be war I will not wait for orders as Pollock and Nott have done, letting the enemy gather moral and physical strength while both run from us in streams. Twenty-six thousand men have been idly wasting strength and money from March to September, the finest part of the year in those regions for making war. How is this to be answered for? Time will tell, but until then it must be set down as a blunder. Perhaps I may do no better; it is yet to be proved how I can command a large force, or rather a

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small one in face of an enemy. Have a care Sir Charles! forget not, that caution and zeal and daring must all be employed to insure success, and if any one of them has too much vigour you will spoil the salad!

"Here the fifth volume of my journal since taking command of the northern district shall close: four years eventful to me are therein noted; what awaits me to record in the sixth volume God only knows, but it will probably be the most eventful time of my life!"

What Sir C. Napier designated above as a blunder was the result of Lord Auckland's previous policy, or rather want of policy: the delay was unavoidable. Mr. Kaye, in his cumbered compilation of the Affghan war, has with little knowledge and no judgment cast the whole blame on Lord Ellenborough, characterizing his letter to General Nott, 4th July, 1842, which finally set the armies in motion, as evincing *"Jesuitical cunning, or discreditable feebleness of will:"* and he describes General Nott and Pollock as eager to advance. Lord Ellenborough knew however, that, flourishingly as those generals might talk of advancing, to enter a hostile and desart country without ample supplies and carriage would, when the communications were abandoned, be destruction; and it was only on the 3rd of July that a private letter from a *"Political,"* placed on the line of communication, told him that General Nott had supplies and carriage. Not so with Pollock. His force was destitute at first, for Lord Auckland had merely sent him to withdraw Sale's garrison, and hence numbers of the animals taken to Jellalabad were hired for that point only, and were by him sent back when he decided to remain there. He thus reduced himself to helplessness and could neither advance nor retreat until Lord Ellenborough, by great efforts, in twelve weeks forwarded twenty-three thousand hired or purchased animals; but on the 3rd of July they were still on the road, and Affghanistan was such a word of panic that many drivers deserted with their animals: when Pollock

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did move, in September following, his force was even then not fully equipped.

In this state of affairs Lord Ellenborough's letter of the 4th of July was written, and it could not reach Candahar under nineteen days; it might be intercepted; and the same time and risk were required for an answer. Absolute orders would then have been a folly, a wide discretion was necessary and was given, with a frank exposition of the difficulties and advantages of two operations presented for choice: that is, a safe but obscure retreat by the direct line on Scinde; or a dangerous but glorious circuit by Cabool. This choice was a fine compliment to a brave man, and the acceptance of the danger a guarantee for the necessary energy in the general. Lord Ellenborough did not order this dangerous movement, but his wish was so strong for it that he pointed to the recovery of the Somnaut gates and the taking of Mahomed Ghusnee's mace, as an additional stimulus to the soldierly feelings of Nott: and those feelings were so strongly counted on, that all the subsequent government measures were taken on the assumption that he would advance; the time being so well calculated also, that the two armies reached Cabool within a day of each other!

The army of reserve was another part of this combination, and was a wise exhibition of force to awe the intervening nations, and give what was really a retreat the appearance of menace, of victory and honour. Mr. Kaye and others, equally ignorant of facts and of the great principles of war, have strongly condemned and ridiculed that measure: the Duke of Wellington on hearing what had been done, and the reasons, thus wrote to Lord Ellenborough.—"You might have done less, you could not have done more, and I think your generals ought to be able to execute your plans."

Sir Charles Napier's journal up to this period touched only on the general state of the war then existing, and his command at Poonah is not noticed: but some public letters and extracts from private correspondence will supply the

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want. The first was to Sir T. McMahon on a mutiny which arose soon after Sir Charles' first arrival.

"Poonah.—I send you copies of letters received from Colonel Hughes, but am much too ignorant of Indian affairs to offer any remark. Brigadier —— will doubtless do what is right. Anywhere but in India I should at once proceed to the spot and punish the mutineers; but here, being ignorant of Indian affairs, I dare not take upon me to act, and it would be unwise to hamper Brigadier —— by my presence at Mulligaum.

"January 14th, Brigadier * * *.—On the 9th instant I wrote thus to you. 'Be so good as to let me hear from you daily 'till all is quiet.' I have not received from you a single line, and were it not for Colonel Hughes I should, up to this moment, have remained perfectly ignorant of what is going on at Mulligaum! You must excuse me for expressing at this great surprize and regret. This morning came from Colonel Hughes a copy of your letter to him, dated 9th instant, in which you say—'I have this day ordered a wing of the 52nd Regiment to furnish a detachment of one hundred men for the Mehyjee Fair, to march on the 12th instant. If they obey my orders I shall be satisfied that no mischief is immediately intended.' These words astonish me. Have not the mutineers imprisoned your artillery, loaded their own arms without orders, chased an officer of your staff to shoot him? and you talk of waiting to see if the mutineers will obey a prospective order totally unconnected with these outrages—but if they choose to obey an order about a fair you will be satisfied!

"Sir I shall not be so satisfied; nor will the commander in chief be satisfied; nor will military discipline be so satisfied. What does your satisfaction amount to? Why, that no mischief is immediately intended. You really do astonish me. Would you leave mutineers to brew and concoct their dangerous schemes 'till it suited them to break out into open war against authority? I can draw no other con-

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clusions from your expressions to Colonel Hughes. I expected long since to have heard from you that you had seized the ringleaders and put an end to the mutiny; and not that you wished to see whether the mutineers would add another crime to those they had already committed. Such a line of conduct is more calculated to create criminals than to repress crime.

"I am under the necessity of requesting you to forward to me by express, categorical answers to the following questions. 1°. Have you liberated the Golandauz—artillerymen? 2°. Have you imprisoned the ringleaders of the mutiny? 3°. If you have been opposed in those necessary steps have you disarmed the wing of the 52nd Regiment, which you have sufficient force to do? If you have not done these things you will be pleased to do them forthwith; for I assure you sir, that I have no idea of remaining five days longer with a portion of my division in a state of mutiny, and the officer in command giving me no information of what goes forward. You have nearly 1000 men and four pieces of artillery at your command, and I expect to hear by express that you have put down the mutiny, either by fair means or by force, within two hours after the receipt of this letter. If your answer tells me you feel unable to do this I will myself proceed to the spot, to learn whether the 52nd Regiment or the East India Company is to be master at Mulligaum.

"Sir Thomas McMahon, January 30th.—When I demanded on parade of the 24th N. I. if the men had any complaints to make, they came forward in great numbers to state their grievances as set forth in the accompanying papers, while some hundreds of soldiers belonging to other regiments thronged around eagerly listening to what passed. I feel well assured that the claimants will receive justice at the hands of Yr. Er. and the government, if their claims be well founded; indeed a longer delay in settling them would prove injurious to the service, and it would be very painful

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to me as a general officer to appear again on the inspection parade of soldiers who had in the most respectful and authorized manner urged, and will again urge, their right to money, which, on active service, they had confidingly placed in the hands of government! I would sooner pay their demands myself than go through such an ordeal.

"I do not say whether these men's demands are just or unjust, but they have a right to expect a decision one way or the other. The native soldier is, I understand, gentle and patient; but the patience of these men has been exhausted by receiving no answer to their remonstrances. These poor men are not factious fellows cavilling for an allowance to which they may or may not have a claim; they are men who ask for their own money, saved when on active service and placed with confidence in the hands of government for transmission to their families. Such complaints cannot be passed over, they are too serious. In forty-eight years' service I have never witnessed so hard a case as this, and have no doubt that your excellency and the governor will cause those concerned to give immediate attention to it, for any further delay would be very prejudicial to the service, especially so at this time.

"Journal.—The good people of Bombay seem to think old soldiers are pieces of iron that may be kicked about at pleasure: the treatment the men receive is revolting to one's feelings."

A man who thus rebuked the negligence of authorities, and defended soldiers' rights so vigorously, could not fail to be obnoxious to corrupt and unjust power, and he was so marked at Bombay, where justice seemed to be only known as having existence by the clamours of oppressed persons demanding it. But nearly a month after this remonstrance he is again found complaining in the strongest terms that the government had not taken the slightest notice of the soldiers' just claims. Meanwhile he freely expressed his opinions on other points, and amongst them on an occur-

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rence of the Affghan war which had made much noise, viz. the cold-blooded murder of thirty-six prisoners of war by Shah Soujah, when under British protection.

"The adjutant-general. Extract. — The question is, were they put to death as assassins, or soldiers taken in battle? If the first it was a just execution, if the last a massacre; a breach of all law, divine and human. Sir W. McNaughten asserted that they were assassins but does not offer a single proof in support; and if he believed his own assertion why did he endeavour to save a man of them? Lord Keane was more decided and consistent; he thought they were assassins and said, execute them. I think him wrong, because their guilt does not appear to have been established. That murders were committed I dare say, but that did not constitute the prisoners murderers!

"Another point remains untouched by Sir William. What brought him there? He seems fond of Vattel, but never to have studied chapter xi. '*of sovereigns making an unjust war.*' As to Napoleon's putting the people to death at Jaffa it was an entirely different case, being a matter of necessity authorized by the rules of warfare. Besides Napoleon had no voice in the matter, his army did the job in despite of him, he could not have saved them if he would; and there was no reason why those men were to be spared *twice*, but every reason why they should not! War cannot be made with rose water any more than revolutions, and the great question is to be right, and justified by circumstances. He who enters into wars without just cause has, to use Vattel's words—'a dreadful account to render to the King of kings, the common father of men!!' To that tribunal poor Sir William has been called.

"I have read '*Lucius Junius.*' His letter is admirable, who is he? Every word is true, and every word proves him to be a thorough soldier: were I Lord Ellenborough I would find him out and send him with a high command to the north-west. The letter just before it is very inferior,

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and the attack on Mr. Erskine and Lady McNaughten perfectly unjustifiable: at least that on the lady. What had she to do with it? God knows her misfortunes are heavy enough, and a man is a cowardly rascal who under a feigned name attacks a woman, especially a woman in distress. Were I related to Lady McNaughten I would lose no time in finding out the writer and sending an ounce of lead among his brains, unless he was quick enough to forestall the compliment in my favour! He is clever enough to know that such an attack was neither sensible nor gentlemanlike, nor humane, nor religious, nor honourable: if Lady McNaughten has offended him let him tell her so, taking a proper time. Anonymous assassins are to me odious, from '*Junius of infamous memory down to the lowest scribbling coward in John Bull.*' The author of Lucius Junius is a gentleman; he only pays off Sir William McNaughten, because to do so was necessary for the defence of the army. The whole story must come out when General Elphinstone is tried. Lucius Junius makes me strongly suspect that Elphinstone is an ill-used man; and I have other and stronger reasons for thinking so, if that man can be called ill-used who bears it, which I never did and never will do. I suspect he was crushed by illness.

General W. Napier. — The general framework of this army is bad. The officers appear better staff officers than ours, but as regimental officers worse. There is nothing I can remedy as a major-general; plenty that should be quickly arranged were I commander in chief. People here are full of the superiority of Europeans, which as regards the soldiers is perhaps true. I have not seen the others fight. But the mistake is this. The former European officer was the enterprizing hard-headed daring fellow who taught and formed the sepoy:—the Clives, Laurences, Bussys, &c. The present European is a youngster who makes curry, drinks champagne and avoids the sun; in ten or twelve years, if he has brains and health, he acquires some

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knowledge and is put on the staff: thus the regiments are constantly commanded by lieutenants. At this moment a troop of horse artillery here is commanded by a cadet of fifteen, who came out with me and whom I puzzled by asking him what the dispart of a gun was!

"While this deterioration of the European goes on the native officer seems to acquire a higher grade in general estimation, because from want of European officers the young and ignorant command nominally, while the natives, ever at their posts, are the real officers and very good ones too! There is a great cry for more regimental officers, because the few there are have more work than they like; but no one seems to foresee that your young inexperienced wild cadet will some day find the Indian army taken out of his hands by the *Soubadars*, who are men of high caste and very daring:– many have got orders of merit for noble actions. Very lately the bearers of a wounded officer, being pressed by the Affghans, set him down and run; the Affghans made a rush to murder him, but a Sepoy serjeant shot the first, slew the second with his bayonet, and defended the officer until help came:—yet at that moment they were retreating, and hotly pursued! Now, when knowledge is added to such intrepidity our European ascendancy can only be maintained by keeping the regimental officers complete, especially those of the higher ranks. The Soubadars are steady, respectful, thoughtful stern-looking men, very zealous and very military, the sole instructors of all our soldiers. If our rulers think this a trifle, and none appear to think it worth consideration, they will some day be surprized; and to this they are adding a dirty parsimonious defrauding of the Sepoys, which has within two months produced a mutiny in six or seven regiments in different parts of India, one under my command.

"Lord Ellenborough has from me a general plan of campaign, the leading points being to save Sale and then to abandon Affghanistan and occupy the left bank of the Indus,

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and put back Dhost Mohamed on his throne. The details are too long to give you, but I have also told him that the chief causes of our disasters was fancying that when a smart lad could speak Hindostanee and Persian he was a statesman and a general, and was therefore made a political agent. As to holding Affghanistan, it would be folly equalling that of the attempt to conquer it; but our flag should fly at Cabool again before we quit the country, or the men of Nepaul and the Burmese will, so it is said, be upon us. Many princes within our bounds would also rise, and meanwhile the treasury is empty. Lord Auckland has left a pretty mess and we shall have trouble, but it is delightful to me not to have poor starving manufacturers to deal with; if we have war it will be with tyrants whom it will be good to upset: John Company's is bad but better than a native prince."

This opinion of John Company he had after reason to modify. He knew not then of the wholesale confiscations of property, the licence of torture to collect exorbitant revenues, the nepotism, the rapacity, the universal injustice of the Company's rule where not controlled by the English judges' courts in India: he knew not then of the overbearing money-seeking tyranny of the Indian government, and the hideous system of supporting the iniquity by falsehoods in Parliament.

"Journal, May 15th.—Poor Lord Munster is dead: I knew him from his boyhood. He was with us on the Coruña campaign, and afterwards in Spain. I once heard him tell the duke, that he had been an aide-de-camp but left his general because he charged him too much for dinner: the duke was exceedingly amused. At Fuentes Onoro he was thrown in a charge but escaped by his youthful looks: he told a French officer he was wounded and the good-hearted fellow immediately said *Ah! pauvre garçon, vous êtes bien joli, allez, cherchez vôtre maman.* I met him the instant after and he told me how he had escaped.

"May 20th.—Pollock forced the Khybur pass on the 4th or

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5th of April: he had about twelve thousand men and reached Jellalabad. Every one thought there would have been a desperate fight, but scarcely any resistance was made: meanwhile a report of his defeat had reached Sale who instantly made a daring sally and defeated the enemy. On the other side of the country General England has lost the confidence of his troops, and private letters say Nott does not stand high with his army.

"June 16th.—Every one feels eager to know the policy of Lord Ellenborough. He seems to me a man of decision and ability, and one to make the best of the bad bargain Lord Auckland sold him, viz.:—half a dozen garrisons cut off by the enemy! These northern people however do not seem to be so brave as we are told: French or Americans would not have let us get through the Khybur. More men have been lost by one hour's skirmishing in Spain than Pollock lost by his whole operation; indeed he lost so few as to create a suspicion that they mean to await his coming back; but he seems to have a good head for arrangement and will beat them. His long halt at Jellalabad puzzles me: a halt was perhaps necessary to prepare for an advance; but halting for a month is not easily comprehended, as all difficulties must have been foreseen and learned from Sale: in a short time probably we shall have good reasons given.

"June 28th.—I have not given a dinner yet, having no knives, forks, spoons or dishes: we were miserable without baggage, and delighted to hear of its being on the road after a seven months' voyage, when suddenly, within twenty miles of Poonah, it was robbed. We have lost about £100 worth, and the inconvenience is more distressing: Sir Thomas McMahon has very kindly lent us some things to go on with."—He afterwards discovered that the robbery was committed at the Bombay custom-house, and the perpetrator was well known, but no redress could be got.

"June 20th.—The season for gormandizing here is the monsoon, and such magnificence! A colonel gave a ball

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last week at a cost of only two hundred guineas! My intent is to give eatable dinners of twenty, feeding all who ought to be fed; my cook is the best of Bombay and there shall be lots of claret champagne and hock, and if that don't satisfy the society without two hundred guinea balls it may go to a hotter place than this. The female talk here runs thus:—Will you marry Mr. A.? Well, I don't see that better can be done, dead or alive he is worth three hundred a year—that is the youngest civil servant's pay, his widow's pension being the same.

"The worries of command here are great, it is a bore to be thwarted by fools who will stand up against what is good and useful: one shakes indeed finally into ease, but a horse just taken from grass don't like harness and a fool for coachman. All the stuff in the U. S. Gazette about myself and my drill is pure nonsense; they are very few and more to get my own hand in than anything else, for it requires habit to move large bodies: there are two awkward things to think of in a field, viz. *what to do*, and *how to do*. These three arms had never been worked together, and the infantry only in the same dull formal round on the same smooth piece of ground, which tired them to death. Now they go out altogether and over the hills, which they like: my belief is no one before did this, so it makes a talk. The Sepoys are capital soldiers.

"Our dear friends of the Punjaub have sent a force to help Pollock in eating his provisions; they were unasked, won't go away, possess the Khybur pass in reality, and have forty thousand well-drilled troops in rear of the pass under Avitabili, a clever Neapolitan. If this be true, it may not be, it is high time to have an army of reserve. Pollock would look blank with Acbar Khan and forty thousand Affghans in front, and Avitabili with forty thousand Sikhs on the top of the Khybur. I hear the duke has sent Lord Ellenborough a plan, but any plan must fail if the generals lose time. Pollock, we hear, says he has not means to move; why then did he go without means?

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"July 16th.—You ask about the muskets. I found everybody running mad about the superior range and accuracy of the matchlock, and it seemed a settled point that the musket had no chance. To put an end to such a silly and dangerous opinion I bet five guineas with a great stickler for the matchlock, that I would with a common musket beat the best Marhatta matchlock man he could produce. I got some officers and privates to practice with me every day until the best shot was ascertained. He and myself then contended. He put in eleven out of twenty rounds at one hundred and fifty yards, my hits were only eight, but the whole camp thus got interested and at the end of two months Captain St. John owned that no matchlock man would have a chance, and paid his bet. He could not count upon firing above five or six shots in half an hour as the matchlock takes so long to load and prepare; we reckoned on sixty shots in that time and at least twenty in the target. So the matchlock is now laughed at in the camp and the musket has its place again.

"I cannot describe how entirely it was settled before that the musket had no chance; the soldiers were persuaded they would be shot before they could get within range of their own arms. I could not have credited this feeling from hearsay, and officers and men were alike. I explained that the error arose from having fought matchlock men ensconced on high mountains where a shot downward reached and hit the uncovered climbing man, while his musket could neither reach nor hit when fired almost perpendicularly upwards at men well covered: the strength of the position was thus taken as the measure of the weapon. It was my firing myself with the soldiers that did the job: preaching till doomsday would have been useless. Our musket is however too heavy for the Sepoys, it should be made lighter without reducing the bore or length of barrel. I am going to try the range of wall pieces, they might be useful in Affghanistan where the people have no cannon; on certain posts they would

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undoubtedly be good, and could go with the troops where from want of forage cannon cannot be taken. With these and mountain guns on camels I think some long marches might be made unhampered with horses and bullocks, except for provisions. They are all for horse artillery here. My opinion is different. It is not an arm for mountain warfare where no guns oppose us.

" Various reports come as to our force in Affghanistan. 1st. It is to retreat when it can. 2nd. To advance when it can, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. 3rd. It is to remain where it is, which it must do until animals are collected in India to move in autumn. Meanwhile we know some strange facts. Sale with one thousand men defeated Acbar Khan, and his guns were scarcely cooled when Pollock joined him with twelve or fourteen thousand fresh troops; yet Acbar laid siege to Cabool and took it immediately, within eighty miles of the victorious army! There may be good reason for this inactivity, and no one can condemn Pollock without a full knowledge of the details. He cannot stir from Jellalabad, all the letters say so, without eleven thousand more camels; he will thrash any force in battle, but the Affghans won't give him that chance. This war is a harlequinade, and we must hope like Moore in Spain, '*that all which may happen won't happen.*' Lord Ellenborough's anxiety must be great: if he steers through all these rocks he will deserve well of India and of England. Much would I give to see the duke's opinion and plan. I wish he was here, or that those who command armies would read his letters."—The duke had not given a plan, he only approved that of Lord Ellenborough, who did steer through the difficulties and was rewarded with recall and insult by the directors!

" Journal, August 26th.—This day public orders give me command of the troops in Beloochistan and in Upper and Lower Scinde.

" Bombay.—I am bothered with little worries, and the

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pest of providing creature comforts which should be left to Macpherson my aide-de-camp, but he would do too much and smother me with baggage. Being determined to cut down the baggage of the Indian army I must begin with myself; it will be *a job* but shall be done if I live: a trencher more or less in my train seems a trifle, but the source of the Indus is but a stream melting from a handful of snow! Unless a man be right himself his house is not built on a rock and cannot stand: the words of Christ are true even in our unrighteous calling.

"September 2nd.—What a government, what a system! I go to command in Scinde with no orders! no instructions! no precise line of policy given! How many men are in Scinde? How many soldiers to command? No one knows! I am, if sharp enough, to find that out when there. Sir George Arthur seems to have a good head, so has Willoughby, but the first has only just arrived, the last is not chief and cannot change a bad system"—the nature of Mr. Willoughby's *head*, and *heart* will be shewn hereafter. "They tell me I must form and model the staff of the army altogether! This is easy to do: but is it in 1842 that the Indian staff should be modelled? our empire being nearly one hundred years old and existing by military force! That I must act for myself is clear, or rather by my own lights in their interest, for they know nothing. Feeling myself but an apprentice in Indian matters I yet look in vain for a master!

"September 2nd.—Visited the arsenal and found some rockets. Captain Watson where did those rockets come from? England, general. When? A few months ago, overland and secretly. Ho! are they hidden to continue the secrecy? I don't know. Pack up half and put them on board the Zenobia in which I am going to Scinde. This is singular: we send for rockets from England at an enormous expence, and at the risk of a quarrel with European cabinets should it be discovered that we secretly convey

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arms and ammunition of war through Egypt; and when they are in the Bombay arsenal we lay them aside to rot! I had asked for rockets and my belief is these are the rockets sent out: so we make war in India! And all our cavalry are, I find, in the mountains of Affghanistan, none in the sandy plains of Scinde! Diable! Am I going to make war with such bottle holders!

"September 3rd.—Off in three hours, and this is old Oliver's day, the day he won Dunbar and Worcester, and the day he died; and a very good day to die on, as good as the second or the fourth! '*A crowning victory.*' Strange! Why are we superstitious? Why is there a devil? It puzzles man and so he is superstitious. Charles! Charles Napier! take heed of your ambition for military glory; you had scotched that snake, but this high command will, unless you are careful, give it all its vigour again. Get thee behind me Satan!"

Such was his Poonah command, but he has not noticed in his journal a remarkable instance of mental power overcoming nervous sensibility exhibited by him at a public festival, where a sword-player offered to cut an orange in halves on a man's hand, without injury to the member. The general offered his right hand for the trial, but the swordsman after careful examination said it was unfit for the experiment; he presented the left hand and it was admitted to be properly formed; still the player was nervous and refused to display his art on a man of such rank: his trepidation was apparent yet Charles Napier sternly insisted, and then the swordsman with a deep-drawn breath cut, the orange fell in halves, and the skin below was slightly razed, but without bloodshed. It was not without design this danger was incurred, for he was no reckless seeker of evil, or of display.

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THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

SECOND PERIOD.

CHARLES NAPIER'S course was now to be through terrible scenes of war, and noble scenes of government.

"Journal, Kurrachee, Scinde, September 9th.—We had scarcely quitted Bombay harbour when a man was reported sick. Expecting cholera, I went forward and found a soldier slightly attacked: the only doctor on board thought lightly of the case, but in an hour several cases happened of the worst kind of spasmodic cholera, and all night the number increased. The deck was instantly cleared for their beds and every aid given, but many died. Rain came down and the decks became scarcely bearable from heat and stench; for to clean them was not possible and as men died they were rolled up and instantly cast overboard. The darkness of the night, the pouring rain, the roaring of the waves, the noise of the engine and the wheels, the dreadful groans of the dying, all in horrid convulsions; the lamentations of men and women who were losing wives, husbands, children; the solemnity of the burial service read by the glimmer of a solitary lanthorn held up to the book, presented altogether a dreadful scene. No man knew whose turn would be next.

"Morning came and the rain abated in degree, but the fierce disease defied all skill and we cast twenty-six of our companions into the sea! The 5th, 6th, and 7th, night and day, were passed in this terrible manner; and in these four days of wretchedness we threw fifty bodies into the waters. The decks were covered with filth, the sick packed close together, no room for the living until the dead were thrown

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away, the survivors nearly broken down with fatigue of nursing, the doctor, Collum, exhausted, the engineer dead! Luckily we had a spare engineer going to the steamers on the Indus, otherwise the ship would have been in peril: but worse threatened. Hitherto soldiers only had been attacked, now it menaced the sailors, who took to drinking; if this had continued, all the troops being down, the ship could not have been worked with either sails or engine and must have been lost. The moment was critical, especially as the two mates were drunk: however only two sailors fell, and on the 8th the disease took a milder character. Previously the patients had died in three or four hours; now they lingered ten or twelve and many began to recover—those that died however still turned quite blue.

"Towards evening, on the 9th, no new cases appeared and we reached Kurrachee at night: it was dark, both mates were drunk and we got out of our right channel, but the horse-boat was in tow, the natives in it knew the track and calling out saved us just as we were closing on a reef. Then we cast anchor where we should be high and dry at low water, but where the rough sea running would have beaten us to pieces. The decks were still covered with sick, most of them convulsed, all utterly helpless to the number of eighty, and again therefore we heaved anchor. Everybody was now translating what the men in the tow-boat were calling out, and the master of our steamer was distracted by various interpretations. The waves swept loud and dashing over a reef, evidently close at hand; the captain, at the prow, was calling out for soundings and the men throwing the lead sung forth their responses, which the drunken mate repeated differently to the captain! I heard the lead's-man say five fathoms, and the mate shouted to the captain seventeen!

"It was so dark, the noise so great, and the roll of the vessel so violent I could not go a-head, but sent poor Captain Sawbridge of the Grenadiers, himself a good seaman, to tell the ship's captain that his officers were drunk and deceiving

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him; he came astern, and then we heard tow-boat people shouting that we were going on to the reef, and for God's sake to anchor. Everybody now interpreted and there was but one thing to do. Peremptorily commanding silence, I named two officers, Doctor Collum and Captain Hughes, to interpret and we then came to the truth. The tow-boat people were shouting Anchor! Anchor! Quick! Quick! or you are lost. We did anchor and happily in good ground.

"Next day I landed, pitched a tent on a promontory for the troops, and got all the beds we could; we had nearly thrown all ours overboard, because one would not inclose a dead body and two were used with each. Every comfort was now supplied, but ten more died on shore and amongst them my excellent friend Sawbridge; the disease seized him at dinner and at 12 o'clock that night he was a corpse!

"A very pretty woman, Mrs. Webber, was very ill, we saved her on board, but scarcely had she landed when a second attack killed her: her poor husband was distracted. He was the engineer, a fine young man and a general favorite, and had been married only a few days before he left Bombay! A sergeant, just made sergeant-major of a Company's regiment, also died, having left his wife and children behind: that bolt shot close to me. I however never felt the slightest fear; if I had it would quickly have disposed of me, being weak from not touching food for four days, prostrate and helpless from sea-sickness. This was more painful than if I could have assisted the sufferers, as that would have occupied my mind, which could only contemplate the progress of the murderous malady when my spirits were lowered by want of food, sea-sickness, and the parting from my family. Thank God, the disease was arrested by isolating those who had it, or, more properly, it ended itself on Manoora Point. So ends also the sad story of the cholera on board the Zenobia, where we lost out of 200 soldiers 54 in four days, and 64 before the eighth day! The ship

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captain, Newman, by firm and skilful seamanship saved the vessel: his conduct was admirable.

"September 13th.—Reviewed the garrison of Kurrachee, 2000 men, and resolved to try a rocket or two. No one knew exactly how to throw them; but Captain Sinclair of the Artillery, Lieutenant Munbee of the Engineers and myself undertook the job in front of the lines; my wish being to give the soldiers confidence in the weapon though having little myself. Our first behaved pretty well, bending only a little to the wind; the second played a trick. Sinclair touched him with the port-fire; he did not go off and we both approached, one on each side, and Sinclair looked up into the rocket to ascertain if it had ignited. I said, don't look up, he is a-light, I see it:—just then it blew up, we were both covered with flames and smoke and the spectators gave us up for lost. Sinclair's trowsers were speckled with powder but he escaped unhurt; Munbee was struck on the arm and slightly bruised; I felt a severe blow on my leg yet did not fall, and looking down saw that a splinter had torn my trowsers to pieces and the calf of my leg also! The wound was horizontal, three inches deep and four long or rather more; it cut clean through the calf and was ugly to look at. The surgeons sewed up the wound and ordered quiet in one position for three days, at the end of which one half was healed by the first intention; the other was not, being jagged; yet here I am on the 24th able to limp with a stick. Dr. Collum gave me leave to travel on the 19th, coming with me, and, as he foretold, I improve and am steaming up the Indus in the *Comet*."

Notwithstanding the severity of this wound, such was his activity of mind that he obtained sufficient information to frame a report on the wants and future prospects of Kurrachee, pressing on the governor-general and the government of Bombay, projects for a boat-bridge over the creek, the boring for water, which was scarce and bad, the building of a lighthouse, and the forming of vegetable gardens.

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At the same time he took vigorous measures for the health of the troops, then suffering not only from cholera but scurvy, which had attacked seven-eighths of one regiment: in fine a master's hand was felt in every direction. But now also the intricacies of Scindian affairs, military and political, were to be disentangled; the last having been complicated by the pompous vacillating proceedings of the political agents. The state of affairs may be thus sketched.

A series of foul negociations by Lord Auckland's government had given the British a treaty, permitting a partial occupation of Scinde and a complete control of the Ameers as a paramount power. These princes of the Talpoor race had overturned the Kallora dynasty about sixty years before, and being Beloochees had entirely subjected the Scindians proper by bringing down their mountain tribes to domineer in the plains. There were thus four races in connection, namely, the mountain Beloochees, the Beloochees of the plain, the Scindians proper and the Hindoos: the Ameers were tyrants to the third and fourth races, princes of the second, and held chieftainship over the first. The Talpoors reigned as the *Char Yar*, or brotherhood, because four brothers, dividing the country as to possessions governed in common. Their children and grandchildren did the same, but were at this time split into three families, viz.—that of Hydrabad, that of Kyrpoor, and that of Meerpoor:—the first in the south, the second in the north, the third in the east, bordering on the great desart. From the *Char Yar* system also sprung a custom of giving the brother instead of the son succession to the *Puggree* or turban of command, which carried with it a certain power, and crown property in addition to the patrimonial possessions. It was, when Charles Napier landed, worn by Nusseer Khan at Hydrabad; at Kyrpoor by Roostum Khan, an aged man who had in person assisted to dethrone the Kallora princes. The Meerpoor prince, Shere Mohamed, or the Lion Mohamed, acknowledged however a sullen half allegiance to Nusseer.

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The treaty forced on these Ameers by Lord Auckland to facilitate the invasion of Affghanistan, had been signed under the guns of Sir John Keane's army: it rendered the Indus free for all the fluvial nations, and gave the British paramount authority in Scinde with possession of Kurrachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Roree, Shikarpoor, and a chain of posts by Dadur to the Bolan pass. For more than three years it had been in force, and Lord Ellenborough's orders were express as to observance of its stipulations. This was vital for British interests; for the Ameers, fretting under the yoke, were exciting the mountain tribes to war, and preparing for it themselves, being encouraged by the Cabool disaster. In pursuance of this policy they were continually breaking the treaty; yet with barbarian cunning one or more of their number always pretended to be faithful and opposed to the policy of the others. Such was the political state of Scinde when General Nott advanced from Candahar to join General Pollock at Cabool, having orders to retire afterwards to India by the Khybur pass, while General England fell back by the Bolan pass into Scinde with all Nott's encumbrances. While the troops were so dispersed the safety of General England and the British supremacy in Scinde evidently depended upon Sir C. Napier's vigour and judgment as a politician and commander, and with this explanation his journal shall be resumed.

"Journal, September 24th.—On the 21st I embarked at a *bunder* on the Indus, bunder being the name for any hard spot, such as a pier. This one was two miles from Tattah—the *Pattala of old.* We are now 70 miles up the river, which appears some 700 or 800 yards wide; the water is muddy, yet when cleared by standing, or with a little alum, is delicious. Thirty years ago, in Bermuda, I read Arrian last, was delighted and wished to have been with Alexander: now I command an English army on the Indus. What shall I be, what see, what feel, thirty years hence? Greater than here my hope and belief is: perhaps Alexander himself may be my companion. Meer Gholam Mohamed came down

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the river to meet me as an ambassador; he is a relation of Nusseer Khan our great enemy, and has several attendants. These Ameers are tricky and do not calculate their danger, which is very great; all their childish ceremonies and civilities will not avail if they don't stick to their treaties: we break treaties, but that is not a reason for letting others do the same!

"September 25th, Hydrabad.—Every Ameer and every great man, they tell me, has sent twenty trays of sweetmeats, and above 100 have already come; the whole bank is lined with them, each being the size of a table and balanced on a man's head: strange perversion of civility! These Ameers know that neither myself nor any officer with me eat a morsel of these things, yet they pour them in and to refuse them would be a mortal offence. The Ameers have received me so far with the highest honours, but for all that they must keep their treaties. My intention is, if possible, to give them a lesson upon their revenues, though princes are not good scholars.

"September 26th.—Yesterday paid my visit to the Ameers. They received me with the greatest honours, greater even than were paid to Lord Keane, for they sent their sons to meet me outside the town. The proceedings shall be related in detail, because the Talpoor's rule seems to be on the wane, and possibly this may be the last independent reception they may give as princes to a British general! As to these high honours, this seems the reason. Lord Keane entered Scinde because Lord Auckland had broken faith as to our treaties; the Ameers were sulky, no wonder; but being then unable to resist by arms they put the best face on a bad business, and received Keane as the general of a strong army in the ordinary way: going out of the usual custom would have betrayed fear and lowered their dignity. But now we occupy two of their most important towns, a large force under General England is coming down the Bolan pass, I am come with a British regiment from Bom-

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bay, and other troops are moving about in their territory. They have long felt themselves at our mercy, and our mutual friendship has been cemented by a treaty which kindly relieved them from the inconvenience of independence: they signed but do not like this treaty, have broken it in every petty way, and are much alarmed. Meer Gholam soon discovered that my power exceeded Lord Keane's, being entire over the politicals as well as military branches, and court is paid accordingly. Moreover the great force now assembling in Scinde is a puzzling affair for both the Ameers and the English; and I am as ignorant as they are, though able to guess that it is to execute my plans, now in Lord Ellenborough's hands at his own request.

"Nusseer Khan pays his court to me thus. First a great man meets me on the Indus, and on landing 40 men come with trays of sweetmeats; again, at the house of the political agent, Lieut. Mylne, 60 more trays come, with ten sheep and vegetables. I dress in full uniform with decorations. A magnificent palanquin, covered with scarlet cloth, lined with scarlet, and pillowed with cushions of green velvet, awaits me, and camels, having rich housings, are there for my retinue. My wound prevents me riding or a horse would have been sent; but fifty of the Scinde irregular horsemen, the political agent's guard, attend me, wild picturesque fellows with their brilliantly-coloured trappings, very much like stage banditti. Crowds of Scindian peasants, armed and unarmed, flock to see the *Saib*. We approach the city, the Sirdars meet us, all mounted and with mounted retainers, their horses lean and small but active and showy. Some few of the riders have spears, all have sabres, and each a shield on his back. This and the coloured trappings, the men's own dresses of variegated shawls and silks, the turbaned heads interspersed amongst the handsome Scindian caps, and the exceeding grace of all, presented a thoroughly eastern scene, very beautiful. Nor were the high castellated and ornamented ramparts of

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Hydrabad, towering above the armed men and crowded with figures similar with those below, calculated to render the picture less curious.

"The walls of Hydrabad appear to be of soft brick, but are full of loop-holes curiously made, having below each a channel, cut like a trough, which slopes off to nothing: they are thirty or forty feet high and have an ancient and romantic appearance. Nor were the people less so, with their horses plunging and neighing, their own loud voices and exaggerated yet graceful gesticulations, eager as the animals they rode. The sons of the Ameers, in palanquins, met and turned back with me, and then the crowd became dense; but our strong palkee men forced rapidly onwards, while imprecations struggles and fights occupied the people on foot, all resolved to see the *Feringhee General Saib.* On reaching the gates the difficulty augmented, the palkees went slow and salaams were made on all sides.

"The beauty of these people is very great, and though in the crowd it was diversified by many ugly negroes' faces, scarcely could an ugly Scindian be seen; on all sides were fine manly countenances, with eyes of fire and teeth of snow, dark skins but not black, nearly my own complexion. We worked our way through the narrow streets and armed gates to the palaces of the Ameers, who to save my leg politely held their durbar outside. They arose and helped me to rise, which my lameness rendered difficult, and seated me on the right hand of Nusseer, a large fat man, not handsome yet not ill-looking. I did not see anything bad in his face, but he '*hates the English*,' and of course is a '*damned scoundrel*.' What bad taste the villain has. He does not like to have his country subjected. Well, there he was, hating us—but too well bred to shew it to me, being indeed very civil, as they all are in their manner.

"They would all try on my spectacles, were puzzled by them, and repeatedly asked if I was very happy and very comfortable? In return my interpreter continually asked if

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they were very happy and very comfortable? This was the more incumbent on me, as having just written a *billet-doux* to them which could by no means add to their comfort or happiness: it was to request they would not break treaty by levying tolls on the river, and hinted, that if they did so my next visit would be less welcome. Nusseer had not yet received it, because amidst such civility it was not right to mortify him before the multitude; he will get it to-morrow and shall stick to the treaty! Foolish man, he sees not that it will in time fill instead of injuring his treasury.

"When we had sat some time he presented me with an immense sum of money, £6,000, which was of course refused— at which, I hear, all the Ameers were much offended, because Lord * * * * * had different ideas and took their money. On him they pressed £2,000, on me £6,000. Lord * * * * * * * * * * also, I am told, accepted presents. These things were formerly permitted by the government and might be right or wrong according to circumstances: not so when they are prohibited. *Chacun à son goût:* mine is not to take. The government however knew of and sanctioned Lord * * * * * 's acceptance. Having taken leave and no cash, my next visit was to the palaces of those Ameers who are not on terms with Nusseer's party, and are favourable to the British. They received me with far more cordiality: they have no ambition, and so long as they collect their revenue care little whether we occupy their town or not. The same scene here as before, the same offer of money but not so large a sum, at least the towel holding the gold did not seem so large. This was a curious day. I was dictating like a Roman consul, and threatening the dethronement of princes if my orders were disobeyed!

"Up to Hydrabad the river is very wide—from 600 yards to six miles; the bed however eternally changes in depth and breadth, and even in course. A crocodile, the only one we have seen, took a look at us this day. There are many turtles with claws, good to eat, and one was caught, but

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something was found in its stomach which made the soldiers throw it overboard: I made no inquiry, but do not mean to eat turtle in Scinde.

"September 27th.—This day thirty-two years ago I was shot through the head at Busaco, and am now, being past sixty, just lamed by the bursting of a rocket, and sailing up the Indus in command of an army! Wonderful are the vicissitudes of my life, and my escapes from danger within the last six weeks have been as great as ever! Cholera, shipwreck, and the bursting of a rocket, yet all escaped! though with a severe wound. This river Indus is a grand piece of water and will again become celebrated and enrich these countries; there is no want here but of man's making. The banks fall in fast, hundreds of tons have done so as we passed. The water-course must have changed many times since Alexander sailed down, and can only be the same between the mountains: in the flat it shifts every year, nay, every day, and the mouths must be quite different. Wherever wood appears the bank is four or five feet, sometimes twenty feet, above the water, the opposite bank being invariably low and without a shrub: yet there is deep soil everywhere. These woods are all preserves, and are principally of the Babul tree. The captain of the Comet tells me the current is from four to five knots an hour; Burnes says two and a half: the skipper is probably right.

"The banks exhibit mica in strata, the deposit does not appear to be sand, and the water is liquid mud, it requires no soap in washing. The banks above water are perpendicular, with the white mica strata shewing for the hundred miles we have gone about two feet from the surface, but spreading in patches where dips happen in the ground. Doctor Collum calls it mica, but I will get some examined, for guesses are worthless. Travellers' conjectures are convenient castles in the air for idle voyagers' repose, and fools are gulled by them. Sir Alexander Burnes, though not an idle traveller, seems to me an exaggerator; and as a surveyor makes his

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protractions meet, nolens volens. He says the banks fall with a terrific crash and noise as loud as artillery. They now fall before my eyes every hour and make no noise; should the water sink even eight feet more they could make no great crash. Minute criticism on a great traveller this; but it is accurate statements and not the number of miles his horse carries him that makes a man a Humboldt, and the neglect of them makes him a Munchausen! This little fact shews Burnes' turn for hasty conclusions, formed on hasty work I know what surveying is very well and am sure his was loose and slovenly; as good as the case admitted of may be granted, but without positive assertion he gives the reader to understand that it was very accurate.

"September 28th.—My leg painful all yesterday, yet the rapidity with which it heals is wonderful. Carried on the 21st by men, I have been now three days walking about without a stick: pretty well for a wound which severed the whole calf of the leg to the bone! Shoals of crocodiles this day; very harmless it is said, but while accepting this assurance in words I would not like to trust their honour by bathing—the innocents!

"September 29th.—Passed the Luckee range. Lord Keane's army passed here along the river but the road has been since washed away. We have now neared Sehwan, and the water has narrowed to one hundred and fifty yards. On the northern Luckee range are the remains of a fort, after passing which the banks are again low. Did the river ever run between the Luckee and Halla ranges? It has washed away half of a pretty mosque, and Burnes speaks of Sehwan being two miles from the water; that marks the varying course of the river, which rolls its mass of waters like a whale floundering for pleasure.

"September 30th.—Pelicans, at whose bodies my companions continually do fire and continually do miss.

"October 1st.—What immense produce might burthen

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this running sea! Civilization would soon bridle this mad river: the Dutch control the rude northern seas, and a few dams run obliquely down the stream would restrain the vagaries of the Indus. Would that Sehwan were mine: quickly it should defy the river and have quays, and agriculture for twenty miles around, while vast canals should carry the waters through the land. Science would play with the Indus, but it cannot be controlled by misery, poverty, ignorance, and a tyranny calculated to destroy the earth and man. The wild beast only thrives here and the Ameers torment even him: their diversions are destruction, their sole business to hoard gold! Their extortions impoverish their own treasury, they kill the goose for the golden eggs: but the last egg I suspect is laid. My object will be to resuscitate the goose; but while doing so the Ameers may go by the board: if so it is their own fault. Did God give a whole people to half a dozen men to torment? I will strive to teach the Ameers a better use of their power, and if they break their treaties the lesson shall be a rough one!

"October 2nd.—The banks shew more cultivation, grain is now occasionally seen. What grain! A field of *jawarrie* presented stalks full twelve feet high! and the soil is the same all along! Pelicans again. Pelican is a fine stately fellow, something between a lord and an alderman; with a dash of the philosopher, for when shot at he rises gracefuly, carries his paunch just out of reach and alights again to his dinner like Sir William Curtis. The mercury is at 90° in the shade.

"October 3rd.—I feel idle on board but am not so, having seen or read all yet known about the Indus, and finished a report upon Kurrachee, shewing government how very important a place it may become and how to make it so. They will no doubt put me down as a visionary; but had I Kennedy to aid me, and power, they should soon see the vision realized! Some camel grass has just been brought on board. The stalks are a sort of reed, some sixteen feet high, colour

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a light but bright, yellow, very beautiful: its graceful waving is beyond that of feathers. Saw an enormous bird, larger than any ostrich. Its body small, with white feathers near the tips of its wings, red legs of immense length, and its neck also. To us on board it seemed six feet high if not more, for it was not quite erect. Steadfastly it watched the water from the bank, and never did so large and so handsome a bird meet my eyes. No one knew it and guns were prepared, but its hour had not arrived poor bird. We were too far off and left him in all his dignity, king of birds on the Indus!"

Being now close to Sukkur, where political events were bursting from their artful coverings, his journal once more assumes a public form, and will be best introduced by extracts from a private letter written at Kurrachee to his brother Henry.

"September 18th, 1842.—My position here is very ticklish, but danger from war none. When General England joins me from Quettah I shall have 12,000 men; yet no cavalry, which in this open country would be wanted if the Ameers attack me. My difficulty will be to act with judgment as chief political agent. I believe Lord Ellenborough's intentions are just and honourable, I know my own are; but hell is paved with good intentions, and both of us may have difficulties to encounter. Still I feel neither diffidence nor hesitation; my plan is formed; so is Lord Ellenborough's, and my belief is that they are alike. The mountain tribes threaten to attack England's column in the Bolan pass; but there is great reason for doubt, and I have sent to advise and authorize the commander in Upper Scinde to make a forward movement towards the pass, which will assist England in his retreat by menacing the rear of his enemies. He has the mass of my forces and, until he joins, there are only 4000 men in Upper Scinde. I ought to have been here two months ago, and have now to move 200 miles up the Indus through a hostile country with a guard of only fifty men."

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This did not prevent his braving the Ameers in their palace and prescribing amendment.

"Journal, October 4th.—A report that England's cavalry has been cut off in the passes: it is probably a confusing of the misfortune that befell Nott's cavalry near Ghusnee and if true must be trifling as he had very few. Any evil to England's column would bother me: the best way to aid him will be to bring the 22nd and 28th Regiments up from Kurrachee, and taking 2000 men from Shikarpoor march at once into the Bolan. It would however be an awkward job; for the Brahoe Beloochees are called by Postans, who has been political agent with them, forty thousand fighting men, and amongst their own defiles they are not to be treated as children! My hope and belief is that England will come through safely, but if he is intercepted he must not be left without a strong effort to pull him through. What is to become of Nott if he meets a reverse? What of Pollock if he meets with one? Time must answer. This is a war of risks without objects. Why abandon Candahar and Quettah before Nott has effected his junction with Pollock? Everywhere we fight without a base. Should Nott's foot get thrashed, as his horse have been, he has neither Candahar nor Quettah to fall back upon: nor Ghusnee, for that he has blown up.

"October 6th.—Important letters from Lord Ellenborough. He works hard for his bread and acts well; but he seems to be more held in check from home than he ought to be: a man entrusted with an empire should have no check but public opinion, a rigid responsibility, yet free to do at once what he deems needful. All the sentiments of honour and honesty towards the weak that Lord E. expresses please me; I believe him liberal and honest in all he does and no man can do more. With God's blessing I will stand by him so far as executing his orders; and methinks that in India this is wanted as much as anywhere. Men come here to make money, it is the empire of Mammon; and they are

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right to a certain extent, for man will not move without a motive, and what motive can they have but money? There is however reason in roasting of eggs, and making money should have limits. Example. The Wuzeer of the Kyrpoor Nusseer Khan, came to me lately to pay in the name of his prince the usual compliments, and offered a present of money: now my worship of Mammon is peculiarly strict and fervid, but I could not accept the ready rhino because it was beyond limits.

"My leg is swelled and painful, it ought to be well. What an unlucky devil am I! Two thousand soldiers were standing around, every man within reach of mischief and I alone was hurt! Sinclair and Munbee were close, Sinclair, a giant, rather closer than me. How did we escape being blown to atoms? Our hour was not come! The blow was like that of a bruise: it has given me a shake. They tell me I shall recover. Pooh! young men do not know what an old one feels; I did not until I was old: the recovering spring and elastic restitution after illness or accident is gone. Youth like the sea rises and sinks again; age like a river goes down! down! and there is no up. Fate! fate! Let me go to work."

His public correspondence, commencing at Kurrachee, will now disclose the progress of his command.

"Governor of Bombay, September 14th.—General England's first division marched from Quettah about the 10th; the second will march about the 18th; the third about the end of the month. Lieutenant Brown, political agent, has reports from spies, that various tribes mean to attack England's columns. Brown's impression is that no attack will be hazarded; and it seems reasonable to suppose, as they could have attacked England in a divided state and did not, that they will hardly attack him when he has picked up the garrison of Quettah, and is within reach of Dadur, Shikarpoor and Sukkur. But as the resolutions of barbarians are generally more sudden than wise, I have authorized

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Colonel Wallace, commanding at Sukkur, to push 500 men one or two marches from Shikarpoor towards Dadur, if he judged it useful. This, menacing the rear of any force opposed to England, might prevent a contest with that officer, which in our present state would have a better effect than a victory. It would be a higher tone to say, We retired through the Bolan and no tribe dared attack us, than to have those tribes say, The English escaped us fighting for their lives.

"Colonel Wallace, September. — The moving of your column to aid England is suggested because the march of a corporal's guard will be by barbarians exaggerated to that of a brigade before it reaches ten miles! I venture to say my arrival here with two companies of the 28th Regiment has been already reported at Hydrabad as that of a thousand men, and coupled with an advance from Shikarpoor it will flutter the Volscians: that is, bother the mountain tribes!

"Lord Ellenborough, September 15th.—From what I collect, Kurrachee is healthy and congenial to European constitutions. No illness has been caused by the insalubrity of the air. Cholera was imported from Bombay, scurvy has arisen from the issue of salt provisions and want of vegetables. I have prohibited the first, arranged for a better supply of the second, curtailed the issue of ardent spirits, and caused lime juice to be served out. I have also advised Sir George Arthur that money can be got here on government bills with a gain of one or two per cent. This saving may be small, but such transactions encourage people to place confidence in our honour, which it is desirable to inculcate towards our nation whatever course political circumstances may induce your lordship to adopt towards the Ameers.

"Governor of Bombay, September 18th.—I mean to pay my respects to the Ameers in passing Hydrabad: it is an attention due to them and to omit it would look insolent. It may also tend to make matters go smoothly, because

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they will then learn that they must adhere to their treaty, a fact easy to make plain without breach of respect, or good breeding.

"Lieutenant Mylne, September.—Gholam Mohamed came and begged a passage to *honour me*. I knew well enough what he was at but did not refuse him; it would have been uncivil, and his coming could do no harm. A barbarian can never avow his real motive of action, even when aware one knows it as well as himself. He was allowed a passage also, because, unless some further information changes my present determination, my design is to put a stop to the quarrels of the Ameers at Kyrpoor. I do not mean to let armed bodies keep dancing about our cantonments.

"H. Maddocks, government secretary.—The Ameers do not appear to be acting loyally, and I desired Lieut. Mylne to give them the letter of which a copy is enclosed. It appeared to me improper to allow the wording of one article to neutralize the whole spirit of a treaty which it must have been the intention of every article to enforce! The Ameers attempt to prevent supplies coming to our camp at Kurrachee, and our remonstrances are treated by them as an infringement of article 5th. The wording of this article may admit of cavil, and as the Ameers seemed disposed to take advantage I saw but one mode of getting rid of their subterfuge, namely, to reject their statement, that we had violated the treaty in listening to the complaints made against them by their own subjects. I insisted that the complaint was made by us on our own account—and this is the truth. The protection to their subjects against the oppression of the Ameers may be a consequence of the treaty, but offers no excuse for breach of treaty! The Ameers levy tolls on the river: that is a direct breach of treaty.—Article xi. They have also ordered toll to be levied on the boats of the merchants of Bhawalpoor, as well as on their own boats.

"To my remonstrances the Ameers of Hydrabad have given no answer. Yet the warning which that communi-

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cation gave was, in my view, fair and honourable towards their highnesses. They have the right to reject my interpretation of the treaty; but then let them give their own for the decision of the governor-general, and on that take their ground as independent princes.

"I hope the governor-general will approve of my having, by my letter, placed Nusseer Khan of Hydrabad in such a position that he must either avow his hostility openly, or conform to the treaty. He will probably do the last so far as words go, yet continue to play the same underhand game that he now does: but after that distinct warning the case against him will become stronger. It is only since my arrival here that I have heard of Nusseer Khan's having levied tolls on and fired into the Bhawalpoor boats, navigating the Indus under the supposed protection of the treaty. This appeared to me so important that I have directed Lieutenant Brown to obtain the proofs necessary to establish the fact, which we hope to have in about ten days when they shall be forwarded.

"Lieutenant Mylne has been directed to ask for a copy of the order, or *purwannah*, which he told me the Ameers had given to Narmull many months ago to sell goods in the British cantonments free of duty; also copy of the order from Nusseer Khan to arrest that man. I do not understand why any permission was required or received from the Ameers. The 12th and 13th articles of treaty forbid the Ameers to levy duty on goods sold in the British cantonments; therefore no permission was necessary, and should not have been accepted by any British subject or servant, as it casts a reflection on the integrity of the treaty.

"Major Outram, October 8th.—The Ameers are like all barbarians, ignorant and cunning; they will get on the rocks: however the length of their tether is the treaty, and they have been given to understand that they shall not go an inch beyond it; if they do they must take the

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consequences. I know what that would be were I master, and suspect what it is likely to be.

" Lieutenant Mylne.—Your answer for the Ameer Sobdar is gone; he is made a feeler for Nusseer Khan, or else is afraid and wants to keep well with both sides: they will not come to the scratch. God help them if they do:—yet they and their people would be much better for our rule. My letter has done good by bringing matters to a clearer understanding, but we must come clearer yet."

These frequent expressions of scorn for the Ameer power were used with design to reach those princes and shake their confidence.

" Sir G. Arthur.—General England's people have met with no difficulties hitherto. I have had some dealings with the Ameers and been rather rigid: they must decide now on their course. I have insisted on having written orders contradicting those given to their own authorities; four have consented, two swear they will not but have returned no official answer: they shall. They are like Macbeth's witches 'keeping the promise to the ear.'

" Lord Ellenborough, October 8th.—I send copy of my report on Kurrachee, original gone to Sir G. Arthur: a lame one for I was lame. My hope is that he will send me the boring rods, and permit me to construct the bridge of boats over the creek on General Farquharson's plan, and the light house proposed by myself. Officers shall be immediately employed to survey this place and its environs.

" Lieutenant Munbee.—It was of no use to write sooner, because I had neither time to consider the affairs of Kurrachee nor power to sanction things as I wish to do. Now there is more time to consider, and more power.

" 1°. You will proceed with all possible speed in the construction of a lighthouse and its establishment, according to your report and that of Captain Frushard; but my serious request is to make your arrangements in the most œconomical way.

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" 2°. Let me hear as to the progress made in your search for water: does that which you found increase or diminish? As this is one of the most important duties, you may select an intelligent non-commissioned officer to put at the head of any number of people necessary to vigorously search for water.

" 3°. Purchase a boat of such dimensions as will float on the creek, I mean the largest: have it coppered and a rope stretched across the thwarts, made to unship so as to have all clear for holding troops. Make other arrangements to enable horses to be taken in and out with safety; for example, the bottom must be strongly planked, and two old iron guns or two anchors sunk as you propose.

" 4°. Send me an estimate of the large sheds proposed in your letter for the bundur, and for Kemaree point, and proceed without delay for the erection of the latter.

" 5°. Let me know what you are authorized to do to the bundur by the military board, and I shall probably be able to aid your more rapid progress.

" 6°. Send me a large plan of the Rham Bhag—Fort at Kurrachee, with your proposed defence in red ink or carmine. Your project cannot be judged of without the plan, one cannot fortify on mere recollections; and remember it was from a palanquin and late in the evening when I saw the Rham Bhag. The estimates may follow the plan, but let me have that at once and do not lose time in fine painting and ornament: let it be rough as you like, only be exact in all the measurements, lines and angles, and draw the lines of fire. Make no talk in the cantonment, but quietly do what I require and do it quickly: there are many reasons for this besides my aversion to see government works go on dawdling. Do not keep one estimate waiting for another but send off whatever you first prepare: this will be easiest for both, and be assured mine is not an idle time."

Thus early did he foresee and strive for the commercial

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grandeur to which Kurrachee is now rising. And it must be admitted that he seized his command with extraordinary vigour when the circumstances under which he gathered the data for his report, of which the plans mentioned in these instructions were only a part, are considered. For he was but a few days at Kurrachee, suffering from the rocket wound, embarrassed by the care of the sick soldiers, perplexed by the separation of his forces and the supposed danger of General England's column, and plunging himself into all the intricacies of Scindian politics, the course of which is now to be resumed.

Observations on a convention between the British Resident at Hydrabad, and a confidential servant of the Ameer of Shadad.

"The Ameer's friend asked this question. Will the British government assist the Ameer if he declares for its interests and thereby draws down the enmity of the other Ameers?

"*Answer by Sir C. Napier.* The British government will support him with its whole force in maintaining the treaty of 14 articles: and if by adhering to that treaty his personal safety be endangered, he has only to place himself under protection of the British Resident, and any insult offered to him will be resented by the governor-general.

"*Ameer's friend.* If the other Ameers refuse to grant the purwannahs and write to that effect and you see Meer Shadad's seal to it, do not think anything of that but remember what has been communicated to you at this interview.

"*Answer.* I will not enter into any secret intrigue to assist the Ameer in deceiving their highnesses, his relations. What the Ameer signs for that he must answer for. If he adheres to the treaty the governor-general will support him, if he refuses he must take the consequences. The governor-general is alike strong to support friends and punish enemies. The Ameer is an independent prince, a party to the

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treaty and his highness must judge for himself and abide results. But if his highness condescends to ask my advice, it is to adhere to the treaty and place full confidence in the protection of the governor-general: always bearing in mind that his highness is individually as well as collectively pledged to the execution of that treaty. Intrusted by the governor-general with the command in Scinde, it is my wish to preserve the friendship existing by treaty betwen the British government and their highnesses the Ameers; this treaty is the bond of union and if broken the friendship must be broken also! Therefore I am resolved to report to the governor-general the slightest infraction of the treaty, which had better not have been made than not be observed."

At this time General England had passed the defiles without loss or difficulty: but the dangers of his march had been by public opinion greatly exaggerated, and Sir C. Napier, daily assailed with strange tales of peril and obstacles almost insurmountable, had been very anxious for the safety of a column which was to compose more than half his force. His opinion of England as a general had been very low, and hence, when the troops came safely down through the passes, he with a generous emotion, thinking he had undervalued that officer's talent, addressed an encomiastic letter to him. It has since been adduced as proving the high opinion Sir C. Napier entertained of General England generally; it does not do so, as will be found in the course of this work; but with this explanation that officer is entitled to the following record.

"General England, October 6th.—Allow me to congratulate you on your successful progress in a most difficult retreat; for your convoy is like Falstaff's bill for sack, and your troops like the item for bread. I really did not expect that you could have passed the Kojuck without immense loss. Your having done so does you great honour, encumbered as you were not only with your own baggage but all the riddances of General Nott's force.

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"I rejoice with all my heart at General Nott's success, but no man can deny that of the two operations that allotted to you was by far the most difficult, whether the composition of your troops or the ground to be got over is considered. His is a compact force of picked troops formed for active service, with only the baggage absolutely necessary; no sick, and having, besides cavalry, a powerful artillery and no passes to force. Yours the refuse of his force, no cavalry, few guns, the hospital of both corps and the baggage of both, with perhaps the greatest passes in the world to traverse, and the enemy the same in both cases! Lastly, assuredly not least, the one force animated by the pride of an advance, the other under the depressing influence of a retreat."

Subsequent information convinced Sir C. Napier, that the march was a mere procession and conducted without order, or skill, or danger, or difficulty.

"Lord Ellenborough, October 16th.—Although the Ameers have assembled their troops for a quarrel among themselves they seem a little inclined to use them against us if opportunity offers: at least so it would appear by the intelligence enclosed. I have often observed that barbarians become quickly reconciled when a common enemy appears, and as readily split when the danger passes away. The Ameers thought General England's force was coming with some evil design and became friends at once; they imagine now that we are going to give Shikarpoor to Prince Timour, son of Shah Soojah—and that he has come here for that very purpose.

"Sir Thomas McMahon, October 18th.—England seems to have conducted his retreat well—the terrible matchlocks that were to kill us ten miles off seem to have killed no one at ten yards! Nott and Pollock were lucky. Had five hundred of Napoleon's *Voltigeurs* been amongst the rocks they would have had sharp work. However, it has all ended delightfully in getting back these poor women: that

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would repay us even had we lost five thousand men. Now then for raising the curtain which has hid the Cabool tragedy. Palmer, Shelton, come forth and tell the British army why you surrendered!

"Sir G. Arthur, October 18th.—The engineer at Kurrachee has found water in the Ghisree hills, close to Kurrachee. Good water, but whether constant he cannot say: so far however success has attended the attempt, and I hope the governor-general will allow me to negociate for Kurrachee, as all things are now favourable."—It had not been made over by treaty. "I have had hard labour in reading an immense number of documents, to gain sufficient knowledge of the position in which we stand to make out a report ordered by Lord Ellenborough. I maintain that we must hold Shikarpoor if we want to do business as merchants in Sukkur! If we abandon Shikarpoor the robber tribes will descend from the hills and occupy the great jungle between those towns; the commerce of Shikarpoor will then be ruined, for between the robbers of the Bolan pass and those of the jungle it must perish. Conducted chiefly by Hindoo Banians, will they remain between two bands of thieves? Impossible! Shikarpoor connects us with all the countries north and west, and is the seat of all their money dealings; thus it becomes a place where we can always learn what goes on in Central Asia, and from whence trade will pour into Sukkur and Bukkur.

"In a military view it is important.

"Suppose the jungle full of bands. If you attack them with infantry they retire, snipping off probably an officer and two or three men. Twenty-five miles through this jungle clears it, you bivouac and return and they follow you like your shadow; but with cavalry at Shikarpoor the robbers would be caught as in a trap. The whole district is now barren, but the soil is said to be the most fruitful in India, and if we occupy the district it will yield an immense revenue. I hope therefore to persuade Lord Ellenborough to

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let me negociate for the purchase. A negociation was commenced by Lord Auckland, it is still open, and relinquishing seven or eight lacs due by those Ameers who own the district would do the job, with this accompaniment—*Pay up your debts or give us this district!*

"I am delighted that the poor women who were prisoners are at last safe! their unhappy fate sat like an incubus on my mind. The Cabool garrison left that place the 8th instant covered with glory: we don't hide our victories under a bushel; but among the nations of the East a little vaunting has a good effect. What will now be said for surrendering to a nation having so little courage that even when posted in tremendous defiles they dared not look our troops in the face:—fighting there has been none.

"Mr. Maddocks, 26th October.—I am sorry to send you so many papers, and to Lord Ellenborough so long a report; but I came here so ignorant of Scindian affairs as to have to learn while describing, and therefore have not done so in as condensed a form as I could now, though still not without a delay which passing events will not allow. Secret information, sent to Major Clibborne—head of the military intelligence—since I sealed the pacquet to Lord Ellenborough, shews that Meer Nusseer Khan has made up his mind to fight with us! he will probably unmake it again. I shall do all in my power to make him think more wisely, by being more rigid with him. If one gives way the least to these half-civilized people they think it is from fear. Poor people I should be sorry were blood to be shed from such egregious folly.

"Lord Ellenborough, October 27th.—I had just prepared a letter proposing the total abolition of the political agency when I received your Lordship's letter on that subject, and I shall select those whom Major Outram deems the most efficient of the people employed, as those who are to compose the new establishment, which I hope will be a very small one. I shall continue anxious until I hear whether

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your Lordship approves of the view I have taken of Scinde affairs. The Ameers are said to threaten resistance, which I do not believe — those vagabond spies always have a story: *se faire valoir* is their motto! Meanwhile most heartily do I concur with you that 'king-making and chief-creating,' is no longer a system for so powerful a government to pursue. On first coming to India I observed how deeply the old Indians are imbued with love of this petty policy, so totally beneath the spirit required to rule this enormous empire."

A justly-grounded hatred of the British and the tottering appearance of their power was now pushing the Ameers to war, and as the troops were very much scattered and very sickly Sir C. Napier's position was hourly becoming more critical. Lord Ellenborough had proclaimed his resolution to maintain the rights acquired by treaty inviolate, and had given especial orders in that sense to the general, who was therefore bound to unravel all the Ameers' intrigues and disputes. In this view he had of necessity recourse to the political chief, Outram and his staff for information, and quickly discovered that they had been pompous and inefficient, playing fast and loose with the Ameer; at one time careless and conceding, at another bullying, at no time wise or vigorous. Costly also and ostentatious, affecting particular friendships and enmities according as the princes flattered or offended them. Nevertheless all their information, public and secret, all indications of design by word or deed, combined to show that the Ameers had systematically violated their treaty and were preparing for war. They were disturbed and alarmed by the general's prompt rebuke, being nervous and timid from intemperance and debauchery; yet their secret preparations for war went on unceasingly and finally caused their downfall. Their conqueror has been accused of driving them to hostilities and seeking bloodshed: with what injustice will now be seen.

"Journal, October 7th.—I have been dictating to the

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Ameers. Four profess obedience: two others do not, but they made the treaty and shall keep to its provisions. They are tyrants, and so are we, but the poor will have fairer play under our sceptre than under theirs. The treaty expressly says, No tolls shall be levied on any boats navigating the Indus. They still levy tolls, which shall not be, or they will sing *toll de roll toll* and I shall sing small! which, with 15,000 British soldiers at my beck I am not disposed to do. What do they answer to my remonstrances? We only levy tolls on our own subjects. But good sirs the treaty says no boats shall pay toll. Yes general, but it also says, The Ameers shall be despotic rulers in their own territory and the English shall not listen to any complaints made against them by their subjects. Verily your highnesses speak truth and I will not listen to a word your subjects may say against you; but the treaty says no tolls shall be levied. It is not your subjects therefore but we who complain, and having once done so, beware! if you do it again the consequences may be my levying a toll on Hydrabad.

"Now good princes, will you have me believe you so silly as to wish to levy toll on your own subjects' boats and trade, while all others, even those of your enemies the Sikhs, pass free? Pooh! pooh! Your toll-levying is to enforce gradually your ancient scheme of destroying all commerce on the Indus; or you think our armies in Affghanistan will be cut off, and then your toll question will be good for a quarrel: that cock won't fight. First place, our armies will be successful in Affghanistan though you expect otherwise; next we have troops enough here to throw you all into the Indus. When you levied tolls on all you ruined your own subjects and every one else; there was no commerce, and your openly-avowed argument was that your subjects *were too rich*:—that the more they were taxed the more obedient they would be.

"Another question. Suppose you had a right to ruin

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your own subjects, what right to ruin those of the Sikh princes?—The river is ours from Mittenkote to the sea and no Sikh boat shall pass free. Is this a doctrine to be endured? You might as well say you will dam up the Indus and drown the Punjaubees, the river being yours where you stop its flow! No. The treaty which opened that river for commerce was right, and we have reason in holding to it: it is also more useful to you and your people than to us. Our view is supported by common sense and humanity, and, what is worth more in your eyes, by 15,000 soldiers and twenty pieces of cannon." It is curious that he afterwards found the Ameers had stopped the flow of the river to destroy the country of Cutch!

"These poor foolish Ameers think, that with all those soldiers in possession of the Indus they can lay out its banks in forests for wild beasts; and with four armed steamers plying on the waters can destroy villages and all cultivation, refuse wood for those steamers, and by tolls destroy commerce and the welfare of their wretched people, who are frequently seen to pick the grains from the dung of the officers' horses to eat! *Mene! mene! tekel, upharsin!* How is all this to end? We have no right to seize Scinde, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be. But it seems possible so to frighten these Ameers that they would abdicate in our favour if we left them their hunting grounds and revenues, and we might do both. They have usurped their power within sixty years by the sword, but they cannot keep it by the sword, so let it go as it came.

"October 9th.—Official accounts come of Nott's victory on the 8th of September, and of his destruction of Ghuznee. Why did he destroy it? I do not like this: he seems a harsh man. Pollock's victory of the 3rd also. He has not destroyed Cabool, but hung out the British colours on the Ballar Hissar. And now Lord Ellenborough, if he gets back the prisoners, ought to put the Dhost on

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the throne, or liberate him and let them alone, withdrawing our troops. Talking of troops and fighting, one smiles at the battles as the skirmishes have been called. Pollock loses some sixty or seventy men, Nott some forty! We used to lose as many for each company in Spain. They blow out a *scrimmage* wonderfully in India, but General Pollock seems to be up to his work.

"October 11th.—All the Ameers, except Nusseer Khan and Mahomed Khan, have accepted my interpretation of the treaty. I could have let them run on until they irrevocably committed themselves, but that would have been unfair. My horses have arrived: Jack Sheppard wicked as ever, he will fight every horse within reach of his heels: yet no riding for me, my legs are wasted and weak. Devil take the rocket.

"October 12th.—An intercepted letter from Nusseer Khan to the Belooch mountain tribes tells them, Now is their time to aid him to expel us from Scinde. This breaks treaty in two ways. The 8th article forbids the Ameers to negociate for any purpose without our participation: Nusseer now calls on tribes with whom we are at peace to rise, and treat us as that chief did who destroyed poor Clarke at Noofusk."

Lieutenant Clarke, in charge of a convoy, was cut off in the Cutchee hills and died, fighting terribly: his strength was equal to his spirit, both heroic.

"I have proposed to Lord Ellenborough to take advantage of the breaches of treaty, and placing a subsidiary force in Nusseer's court force him to treat his subjects with humanity—seizing Kurrachee as a punishment: that, or to take nothing but control his government. There are people who will here stickle for *vested interests*, and say with Nusseer, and the donkey driver, Things are come to a pretty pass when a man cannot wallop his own jackass. But here the donkey has vested interests also, not compatible with *wallopping*. And Nusseer, besides wallopping

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his subjects, has called on the mountain tribes to wallop us: they are about 150,000 fighting men, and he, if they answer, could have some thirty thousand. One month ago they would have ruined General England, and may annoy him still. I thought his getting through those passes was owing to his own skill; but Major Outram tells me that *he* had before quieted all the clans except the Kakurs, and had enlisted the Brahoes, who are the most powerful, in our service: in short that the merit was his, not England's." This was not true, but it was habitual with Major Outram to assume the merit of other men's actions.

"Probably my next orders will be to march on Hydrabad; if so my point of attack will be the N.E. angle, which is very weak. But my hope and trust is not to be compelled to bombard the town, or to assault. If Nusseer is mad enough to resist, my design is to let all the women and children go out to a fort about half a mile from the town; it is a religious place, but a fort nevertheless. Nusseer will then feel so lonely, and we shall look so ugly, that methinks he will strike his colours like a wise man."—A cross note written after Hydrabad fell, touching this supposed weak point, runs thus. *So Outram told me, but that and all he said to me proved false and foolish.*

"October 13th.—Again on horseback. Saw Prince Timour. He is heir to the Cabool throne yet prefers a pension under British protection! My feelings for this poor wretch are those of contempt; he takes an ignoble pension in a land which belonged to his ancestors. The Douranee throne is his of right, is vacant, his younger brother is fighting for it aided by a strong party, and is in possession of the Ballar Hissar, and this fellow sneaks away snivelling to Loodiana! His two sons called on me: they are nice lads, very handsome and resolute-looking. The eldest, about fifteen, had been out fighting at Candahar, and I suspect will have a touch at his uncle's weazand when older: that is, if the said uncle, Futteh Jung, preserves his weazand so

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long, for it seems pretty certain Acbar Khan will save the youngster the trouble whenever Pollock leaves Cabool. If these boys become full fledged they will give Acbar trouble, unless their base father ruins them at Loodiana. Poor boys! Born to empire, or at least to fight for it, which is as grand and glorious, yet now condemned by their vile parent to the purlieus of the Zenana!

"15th.—The son of the Ameer Ali Moorad came to see me, bringing from his father a quantity of money as a present. It is lucky that my temper is not avaricious, or it would be hard to be so tempted every two or three days by these bags of gold. The lad is a little fat fellow, as broad as he is long:—*the fat boy:* but such a face and head! Napoleon's! a black Napoleon! He is full of intelligence, and will give us English trouble or help. His father is superior to the other Ameers in character, and is now at war with his nephew, Nusseer Khan—of Kyrpoor not Hydrabad. They fought lately, Ali was victorious, and I have offered mediation. If not accepted my task will likely be to put both down, for having two armies close to my cantonment is dangerous: both hate us, both are trying to raise the hillmen against us, and both might strike a peace to attack me. Meanwhile they compel me to harass my men with strong guards.

"Ali Moorad sends this boy with fine speeches and gold to win me to his side, and people say he is himself a fine fellow; at least Outram says so. His fine boy is not only the *fat boy* but the *artful dodger:* when about twelve years old, he is now fourteen, being on a visit to Mr. Knyvet, a political, the latter took out a handsome watch which little Fatty resolved to have; he asked to look at it, shut his hand and held it fast the whole visit, his elder brother repeatedly whispered to give it back, but no answer, save a determined shake of the head. When they went away the youngster moved off clenching his fist on the prize, silent, and with a straightforward look as if he heard nothing. This looks

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as if Fatty would have his own share of the commerce on the Indus.

"October 16th.—My mind is made up that we ought to enforce the treaty and set commerce free on the Indus. I am not an admirer of commerce, God knows, when it is to be favoured and all rascality practised towards the poor to forward its progress; and my belief is that Lord Auckland made the Affghan war for the *interests of commerce:* that is, to make rich merchants of England richer and the poor of England poorer. But here our interest and that of the Scindian people are on this point one. Wherefore I avow wanting only a just pretext for forcing the Ameers to do right for their people, and for themselves. What do they struggle for now? To levy tolls on their own boats when those of other nations go free! Oh! the goose and her golden eggs! The Ameers won't fight, my force is too strong, and this is the moment to do the job; because being strong it could be done without bloodshed, could be done with my pen! Major Outram is of my opinion and I like him much, for that reason probably, for I confess not to like those who differ in opinion with me. I may love and respect them but do not like them as companions: it is very tiresome to have everything one asserts argued, my temper won't bear it.

"October 17th.—Secret information that Nusseer Khan of Kyrpoor and Ali Moorad are reconciled, because the Ameers of Hydrabad told them, that when the English were assembling troops to take their territory it was no time to quarrel. They will certainly unite their forces, and one of them went towards Hydrabad this day. If they play any tricks they will get thrashed. England's 1st column joined me the 12th; his 2nd is at Shikarpoor; his 3rd has passed Dadur; but I shall have to send 2000 men under Wallace to Ferozepoor the first week in November, unless the Ameers are restive beforehand: my trust is that they are too much afraid. If they begin I shall be down the Indus upon them

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with 5000 men before they can look about. But my mind is bent upon stopping war, and if left alone I will do so. Barbaric chiefs must be bullied or they think you are afraid; they do not understand benevolence or magnanimity. Porus did, says the scholar. True book worm! but he was confoundedly thrashed first! In such cases they are reasonable, knowing your mercy cannot be fear. I do not want to draw trigger against the Ameers, and we need not; but if we shew a wish to avoid doing so they will be at us and must be thrashed into sense. My popularity would be small if the soldiers knew my strong resolution to prevent prize money! What a wretch is man!

"October 18th.—A letter from Lord Ellenborough, very kind and flattering to me but very unjust to Major Outram. Lord E. seems an unjust man. Every one speaks highly of Outram, yet Lord E. makes war on him, and why? because he defended Lieutenant Hamersly. When General England got beaten at Hykulzie he tried to cover it by saying there were fortifications which had been worked at for two months: now the political agent, Hamersly, ought to have known it, if so. His not knowing it was no excuse for England, because he might have used his own eyes; there is a military operation called reconnoitring: but Lord Ellenborough, who is not a soldier, very naturally thought the political agent to blame and fell upon him without enquiry; he denied that there was any fortification except in General England's despatch; and I believe, when that general, a month after, defeated the same enemy with the same troops at the same place, every one was satisfied that no works had been there. The political was right, but Lord E. treated him so ill that the young man, who was sick got worse, and his doctors say he was killed by the bad treatment received: certainly when delirious he raved of the matter. Outram defended his memory, for which, *he says*, he has been the object of mean spite; so he believes, and so all he has told me goes to prove. I cannot take up the

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cudgels for him, he is able to defend himself; neither does he wish it; he is much too confident in his own rectitude to want assistance, but what I *think* of him shall go to Lord Ellenborough when called to give an opinion."

The whole of Major Outram's assertions regarding himself in this matter were untrue, and Sir C. Napier's animadversions on Lord Ellenborough unfounded; but under the impression that they were just, he not only gave his opinion but obtained from Lord Ellenborough the appointment of commissioner under himself for Major Outram. It was reluctantly granted and entirely out of delicacy towards the general, who had soon ample cause to regret his successful generosity. Lord Ellenborough would not have left the chief political authority with Major Outram even had he thought well of him. To do so was inconsistent with his policy, which was not to divide power, and not to place generals under politicals: he however did not dismiss him because of Lieut. Hamersly, but for having in his public capacity made *statements to the Khan of Khelat which were inconsistent with truth.*

"Journal, October 20th.—Letters from Lord Ellenborough. Peace with China. A private letter says peace came in time, had the Chinese resisted a month longer all the army would have been in hospital. Lord E. orders a double royal salute; he makes the most of every success and is right: half the world it is said don't know what the other half suffers, and I add, that two-thirds of the world believe any nonsense the other third tells them! His lordship approves of my letter to the Ameers; and by the same post the agent at Hydrabad writes, that the said Ameers have cried *peccavi.* It is well for them, my orders being to apply force at my discretion. I am also ordered to make a fresh treaty: this is what I wanted, and my hope is Lord E. will agree to my demands on these chaps. If he does I will make a rich and happy people yet: that is, perfect freedom of commerce shall be secured on the Indus and our

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Mammon-hunting merchants and manufacturers will do the rest! This poor Scindian people will then be better off; and in time Sukkur and Kurrachee will be large towns instead of miserable mud villages with a population of robbers, all filth and poverty and misery.

"October 21st.—In a rage. The poor wounded soldiers from Hykulzie, coming with England's second column, were thrown down like dogs; neither the staff officer nor their own officers took any care about them. Those gentlemen have had a bit of my mind, and not all yet. I have made those poor fellows as comfortable as their severe wounds will permit.

"22nd.—The negligence of officers about their men is intolerable, and two Queen's and one Company's officer have had my sentiments, and another shall: the set are bad, and badly will I treat them. There are however some magnificent young chaps, fit for anything.

"October 23rd.—Made acquaintance with young Chamberlayne of the irregular horse, one of the finest young men to be seen; with work to do it would be easy to pick out a gallant set of youngsters. This lad's brother is the Lieut. Chamberlayne who was with Black Charles at Acre; another brother, in the irregular horse, is coming down the pass. He is the man who dashed singly among the Affghans near Candahar, cut three down and came clear off though his sword was broken. He has lost the use of one hand from an Affghan cut, but he smote a fellow's arm so clean off that after the fight it was found with the sword still grasped! Of this fact there is no doubt. Young Chamberlayne saw the arm picked up, holding the sword, and all his men here saw it also; so did another officer, and they could hardly fabricate such a story. Chamberlayne himself says, he supposes he did as he cut a man with all his force across the arm, but four being upon him at the time he can only say he cut in all directions.

"A letter from General England says the thieves are still

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close to his rear-guard: I met his second column in march, and saw how contemptible the thieves must be. With a single troop of Hussars opposed to this second column I would have destroyed or taken the whole convoy; a string of camels for miles and miles, with guards dotted here and there like moving milestones! Had England been regularly attacked nothing could have saved him: he is not an officer and can never get over Hykulzie. It is said Pollock and Nott are like cat and dog. Nott has taken Ghusnee; the fools met him outside! he had a picked force, with two fine European regiments and twenty-four well-appointed pieces of cannon; they had 12,000 men, he had 8000, and also 2000 cavalry. Beat them! yes, he could not help doing so! The Affghans are certainly cowardly, the Cabool tragedy must have been Elphinstone's own doing. McNaughten indeed! Why did he not put him in the quarter guard with a sentry over him!

"October 24th to 30th.—If I have not been worked no matter. Lord Ellenborough first sent for my views on our position in Scinde. Why! I had hardly been in Scinde! However by labour my letter of the 17th, finished on the 27th, went, and rest was really required after reading quires of written papers. Holy Paul! what hammering at things called letters! Hieroglyphics that would puzzle the priests of Isis and Osiris! Well, my letter had just gone when down comes Lord Ellenborough's order to abolish, at one slap, the whole of the political agency! one hundred and fifty people in this house alone turned off without warning or thanks! And Outram, who has worked like a horse and to whom in my belief the safety of England's corps is due, at the head of them! While Clerk"—now Sir George Clerk —"in the north, who has done no more than Outram, is made envoy at Lahore with enormous pay and the title of excellency. This is very hard on Major Outram, and makes me feel disgust when so able a man is so treated, to say nothing of all the others. Well, it is no fault of mine, but

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